

# US POLICY TOWARDS INDO-PAK RELATION: DURING COLD WAR PERIOD

**Mrs. Srujana Sahu\***

*Ph.D. Political Science, Berhampur University*

## ABSTRACT

*Since the independence and violent partition of two South Asian countries India and Pakistan in 1947, both are closest and bordering neighbours with close literary, social and cultural bonds but remained at great distance from each other. There are many reasons and factors behind such turbulence situations and unstabilized political environment but Kashmir issue remains the primary factor and problematic for the development of two nations. The disintegration of Soviet Union had positively impacted Indo-US relations in post Cold-War era. The post Cold-War strategic scenario provided a chance to both countries to redefine their bilateral priorities. The US was always keen to improve bilateral relationship with Indo-US relationship. It also has contributed to growing menace of terrorism. Peace in the region and normalisation of ties depend on Pakistan taking on a stronger antiterrorism policy have provided more beneficial conditions for a peace process. Traditional cultural and economic ties between the Indian subcontinent and the Gulf region have existed for several centuries now. Strengthened further, both India and Pakistan continue to have important economic and strategic ties with the countries of the Gulf. They also have the potential to make positive interventions in the bilateral conflict between India and Pakistan. Analyses the role and position of the Gulf Arab States - in particular the member states of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), and their potential in acting as a buffer for the Indo-Pak conflict.*

*Indo-US strategic relations were touched new heights when the Obama administration had declared India as a major Defence partner in 2016. The new US President Trump also showed its softness towards India and called Indian Prime Minister Modi as a 'True Friend of US'. The decline of US-Pakistan strategic relations has positively affected Indo-US relations. The Pakistan factor has always affected Indo-US relations.*

**Keywords:** *Cold war, Indo-Pak Relation, Kashmir Conflict, International Peace, Sino-India Relation*

**Mrs. Srujana Sahu**, *Ph.D. Research Scholar, P.G. Department of Political Science, Berhampur University, Bhanja bihar, Berhampur, Ganjam, Odisha*

## I. INTRODUCTION

Historically, both emerged as independent states in August 1947 experiencing partition followed by communal riots and mass exodus of communities on both sides of the border. Twenty-first centuries has brought about far reaching changes in the international system and security relations among states in the world. Some major conflicts in different regions of the world turned out to be a significant achievement of the post-cold war world order. South Asia remains unaffected by this changed phenomenon. It is still conspicuous of high-level tensions,

confrontation and conflicts. Their differences were further accumulated by their divergent views on the doctrine of two-nation theory. Contains major policy objectives but the infiltrations in Kargil led to the animating of such more. This has led to a serious situation with the attack on Indian Parliament by the terrorists in 2001. This was followed by the period of two years deadlock as India wanted some concrete step to resolve the problem of terrorism. It gave serious setback to the process of peace initiative. India and Pak Relations between the United States have been on an up-and-down trajectory since Independence in 1947. While the seeds of distrust sown during the Cold War era and India's testing of nuclear weapons have seen bilateral ties plunge to new lows, the recent Indo-US relations surge to new heights. The role of the U.S. in Pakistan's foreign policy throughout the Cold War, the 'war against the USSR' in Afghanistan – regarded as the first test case for Pakistan during the Cold war as a frontline ally of the U.S - and, currently, the fight against terrorism should not be understated. As a consequence, Pakistan has been repeatedly disappointed that the U.S. does not share its fears of Indian hegemony on the subcontinent, while Washington has been expecting further engagement from Pakistan in the fight against Communism and terrorism, rather than diverting economic and military assistance to address India's hard power capabilities.<sup>1</sup> Pakistan has been America's partner since the Cold War era for decades, while U.S.-Indian relations had remained rather cold throughout the decades since the Cold War. Only in recent years has Washington started reaching out to New Delhi to complete its geo-strategic objectives in countering China's growing role in the region. There are multiple reasons why Pakistan-U.S. ties keep plummeting: Pakistan's growing friendships with China and Russia; China's discontent with their friendly relations; and the U.S. blaming Islamabad for the rise of terrorism and radicalism in Asia and the Middle East. One can argue that China-Pakistan relations would never have seen their current level of partnership across the board if China were indecisive about its stance on the Kashmir dispute or if China wasn't so supportive of Pakistan on multiple other diplomatic matters, such as rejecting India's diplomatic bid suggesting that Islamabad is a terrorist state.

## II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE:

I have come across, in course of my research, many books and articles, which are mentioned India-Pakistan relations is available in the forms of books, research articles and websites. Though, most of which, is of historical significance, yet it facilitate understanding of the root causes of contemporary problem. It is likely to serve as a good background material for evaluating the bilateral ties of the two countries. Since nature of present study is very contemporary, one has to depend upon the scant literature available on the theme. From the available material broad trends and tendencies can easily be deciphered

- **K.L. Rao** “India, United States and Pakistan: A triangular Relation”, Himalaya Publishing House, Romdoot, Dr. Bhairo Mora Girgaon, Bombay(1985) has discussed about the changing trends of Indo-US relations since India declared her policy non-alignment and some negative aspects of the impact of America Alliance policy towards Pakistan.
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### III. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY:

- i. To find out the real chemistry of bilateral relationship between the world's two largest democracies;
- ii. To find out why India and the U.S.A. regard each other as diplomatic collaborators;
- iii. To find out the reasons why the two nations have a mutual strategic interest in having close relations;
- iv. Culture cooperation through exchange of documented history, language and culture practices in the two countries.
- v. Assist government in economic policy formulation through in depth policy research.

### IV. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:

The present study is historical and analytical in nature. It has been set in the context of the Indo-Pak relationship between the two countries, cold war and after cold war have been discussed which provide a historical setting of the study. The research data have been collected from books, research articles, research articles, magazines and newspaper, while it has not been possible to interview any policy makers some experts in the field has been consulted. Holistic approach has been adopted to have an in depth analysis of all the dimensions related to India-Pakistan relations. All the secondary sources available in the form of books, research articles and journals have inspected.

### V. US POLICY TOWARDS INDO-PAK RELATION: DURING COLD WAR PERIOD.

The history of geo-political events that took place during 1947–1971, in context of India Pakistan-US-Russia-China. In international politics, every state is motivated by its national interest, frequently concealed as a moral concern. In other words, there is no friend or enemy when it comes to the national interest of any state in this global world. The ambiguous and confused history of relations between the US and Pakistan is a clear example of this political realism. The international system is dominated by the Super Power whose major aim is to increase their “sphere of influence” in all parts of the globe.

## **INDO-PAK RELATION:**

### **Kashmir Conflict:**

There is a good opportunity of security cooperation between Indo-US through strategic partnership which will also bolster their bilateral relations. Besides, the emerging Indian market is important for the US trade interests. Today's cross-border groups view territory expediently, as a base from which they can organise their campaigns and plot their attacks. Cross-border terrorism has emerged as a great threat to the security of India. Terrorism originating from across the border has slowly attempted to strangle the democracy and sovereignty of India. By its nature, the term "terrorism" is bound up in political controversy. Because terrorism implies the killing and maiming of innocent people, no country wants to be accused of supporting terrorism or harbouring terrorist groups. The attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon in the USA on September 11, 2001 brought transnational terrorism to attention. This kind of terrorism is also known as cross-border terrorism. Some analysts believe that it was Western intervention in, the third world, specifically the "humanitarian intervention" of the post-Cold War period that encouraged the emergence of today's cross-border terrorists. According to Dr. Thomas P.M. Barnett, a Professor at the Naval War College, US, the world may be divided into three areas, the core, the seam and the gap states, based on their level of globalisation. Core states are those thick with network connectivity, financial transactions, liberal media flows and collective security.

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### **1. India's neighbourhood challenge:**

India is like island of democracy between seas of anarchical or instable states. Probably, no other neighbouring country has experienced uninterrupted democratic regime for more than 15 years. Additionally, in some countries there is cultural radicalism targeted at India, and terrorists and mafia groups are patronized by some of India's neighbouring state.

### **2. Boundary disputes:**

Unsolved border disputed with Pakistan in the area of Sir Creek in Gujarat, the LOC in J&K, AGPL portion in Siachin and with China in Aksai Chin, Arunachal Pradesh and Transk-Karakoram tract further compound the problem.

### **Factors Indo-Pak Conflict:**

Pakistan has for decades exploited the dissatisfaction and given covert and overt assistance in fuelling insurgency in these regions. The intelligence agencies have an important role to play as the eyes and ears of the

government in different communities to detect feelings of anger and alienation which need immediate attention. India is emerging as an economically and military strong nation in both continental Asia as well as the Indian Ocean region. Pakistan views India's rise as a threat to its own ambitions. It is thus resorting to cross border terrorism tactics to keep India engaged in proxy wars and divert its resources from other developmental issues. It aims to degrade India's conventional superiority through a process of **strategic fatigue**. Intermittent interruption arising out of the actions of non-state actors and fundamentalism can be checked in the region if both countries cooperate with each other by pursuing peace building measures to prevent the conflicts and restore the mutual confidence<sup>28</sup> which must be taken as a challenge by both nations.

### **U.S. Foreign Policy Objectives:**

**India:** During the period of Cold War, the U.S. perception about India was very low and therefore, often ignored it. The closed and weak economy of India gave it little influence in global markets, and its non-aligned foreign policy caused periodic tensions with Washington.<sup>2</sup> However, today with its billion-plus population, democratic institutions and values, steady growing economy and substantial defence establishment, India represents a partner of great value. In few years, it will become one of the world's largest economies, and an important factor for the region's security and stability.<sup>3</sup>

**Pakistan:** The U.S.' main strategic objectives in Pakistan are to make Pakistan a stable and strong state which remains in control of its territory and nuclear capabilities, and also averts the export and development of extremist elements/organizations. The U.S. also expects that Pakistan should improve its relations with India in a comprehensive manner so that both the states could focus their attention on the socio-economic development of their respective countries.

**Afghanistan:** In Afghanistan, the U.S. has tried to improve the capacity and legitimacy of Afghan state and institutions, both military and civilian, as part of an overall effort to foster stability, reduce extremism and defeat Taliban. In this regard, the U.S interests in the region are based on the two pronged strategy, such as: First, fight against terrorism:

**China:** Though China is not located in South Asia, but it is always there due to its alliance with Pakistan and its rivalry with India.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, China shares borders with five (Afghanistan, Bhutan, India, Nepal, and Pakistan) out of eight South Asian states, making it an integral part of South Asia.<sup>5</sup>

### **China-India Policy:**

Under Obama administration, the U.S policy towards South Asia has displayed more continuity than change. Thus, Obama's stewardship of the U.S. foreign policy is continuing his predecessor's success in maintaining regional stability and the U.S. pre-eminence in the South Asian region. In line with this strategy, Obama while continues to build a cooperative relationship with China but at the same time hedges against its growing military power, all the while forging a strategic partnership with India.<sup>6</sup>

### **Cold War Period:**

There are several factors that affect the conduct of the U.S. foreign policy in any particular region. These factors include the level of continuity of the U.S. interests, the attention, amount and quality of information available at various levels of government, the constraints that the region, and the type of influence and number of nongovernmental interests that are found in the region.<sup>7</sup>In the post Second World War period, the U.S. does not have vital interests in South Asia unlike the U.S. interests in the Persian Gulf, the Caribbean or in East Asia where oil, geographic proximity or enormous trade defined U.S. interests. South Asia does not possess the resources, location, or markets vital to the U.S. interests. Thus, during the Cold War, the U.S. trading and investment involvement in the South Asian region was negligible. The most important global factors were the development of Sino-Soviet rift, the emergence of oil diplomacy, and the Vietnam War. In line with its disengagement from the region, the U.S. adopted a neutral stance between the Indo-Pak Wars in 1965 and 1971. Greater challenges to the U.S. neutrality occurred during the Indo-Pak War in 1971, because the Soviet-India Partnership and the Treaty of 1971 successfully neutralized the U.S. and China. It was during this time that the Sino-U.S. rapprochement occurred due to the efforts of Pakistan. Moreover, there were several other factors that reinforced those who argued for policy of disengagement from the region. Thus from the above description it can be asserted that the U.S. policy towards South Asia during the Cold War period has been basically inconsistent, confused, and reactive rather than a long term and calculated one. The continued absence of direct material interests has helped to limit the U.S. involvement in the region. Instead, the U.S. has been guided in its South Asia policy by its global interests and has, therefore, tended to view regional conflicts largely from global perspectives.

### **VI. FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR DURING COLD WAR.**

**State sponsored terrorism:** The links between top army personnel, bureaucrats and political leaders, on the one hand, and terrorists and drug barons, on the other, have acquired a measure of legitimacy under the banner of Islam and jihad in Pakistan.

**India's Counter Terrorism:** India lacks a coherent strategic response to terrorism; there is **no doctrine**, and most of our responses are kneejerk. **Unintelligent Intelligence Infrastructure:** India has a multitude of intelligence agencies. Coordination between them on the ground is not up to the mark. Experts also opine that there is competition among intelligence agencies which prevents information sharing. A crucial weakness that most intelligence agencies suffer from is the lack of resources. They most often fall short of trained officers and finances. In South Asia, terrorism and the related violent activities are not new phenomena. In fact, various groups have been using terrorism as an instrument to advance their respective causes such as national self-determination, separatism, militant religious extremism, so on and so forth. However, it is the increasingly global nature of terrorism that is playing a significant role in altering the rhetoric and challenges in South Asia.<sup>8</sup> Every state in South Asia is currently a victim of or has fallen victim to the terrorism related activities. In this regard, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India are presently affected by terrorism and extremist violence on their soil.<sup>9</sup>

**Indo-U.S. Relationship:**

Relations between India and the United States have been on an up-and-down trajectory since Independence. The two countries mostly shared cold ties until the end of the Cold War. Since the end of British India's colonial rule in 1947 and the subsequent partition of the South Asian subcontinent, Pakistan's foreign policy has been driven largely by geopolitical and ideological concerns. The international system and subordinate systems are affected by each other, the former basically sets broad limits, context, and direction of regional conflicts in the subordinate state systems. Since India and Pakistan are situated in South Asia—a subordinate state system—the impact of the international system dominated mainly by the United States and the Soviet Union on the Shaping of their external policy environment would explain their conflictual relationship. This study is confined to an analysis of the involvement of the United States - one of the Super Powers in the conflictual and belligerent relationship between India and Pakistan with brief intervals of lull, since their becoming independent in 1947.

**Sino-Indo relations:**

The Sino-Indian border conflict coincided with the Cuban Missile Crisis and was largely ignored in the world media. Yet today, in retrospect, this remains a major issue in the politics of Asia while the Cuban Missile Crisis is of academic value after the demise of the Soviet Union. The Sino-Indian clash sounded a virtual death knell for the Communist movement in India, till then the best organised political party after the Indian National Congress. It was one period in the history of otherwise difficult India-US relations; when the Indians regarded the US as their friend. The prompt and generous American response to Indian needs at the time of military reverses against the Chinese in October/November 1962, had a deep impact on the Indian psyche. India had rejected American mediation in resolving the Kashmir dispute with Pakistan that started immediately after Independence. Further, India refused to follow American diktat not to recognise the 'Communist China'. This despite the fact that the US assisted India with loans and free food in the immediate period after Independence, to cope with an economy exploited for decades by the British Raj. The US stood by India during the 1962 India-China war, which the South Asian nation eventually lost. The US dubbed China's action as "blatant Chinese Communist aggression against India" and helped the country with arms and ammunition, and civilian supplies. Early 1950s, U.S. analysts had a good understanding that "when Pakistanis talk about defence, they talk about defence against India," if China were indecisive about its stance on the Kashmir dispute or if China wasn't so supportive of Pakistan on multiple other diplomatic matters, such as rejecting India's diplomatic bid suggesting that Islamabad is a terrorist state.

**VII. INDO-US STRATEGIC RELATIONS IN 21ST CENTURY:**

The Indo-US bilateral relations can be expressed into the broad era. These are Cold War era and the aftermath of Cold War. The post Cold War era, can be divided into the era before and after September 11, 2001. We will be discussing Indo-US bilateral strategic relations in 21st century. The US President Obama also made a similar 'Comment in the strategic document, which leadership: Priorities for 21st century Defence'. In the new US

defence strategy, called “pivot” to the east, the US experts that India should play an important role in the region. The United States had also recognized India as a major ally in South Asia region. India needs to formulate a comprehensive national anti-terror strategy which must address many issues – defence, law enforcement, intelligence, diplomacy, economic development, education, promotion of socio-political justice – within the context of policies promoting national security.

#### **Post Cold War:**

The reforms also helped strengthen the economic cooperation with the US and the rest of the world. The US and other western countries, including Japan, slapped wide-ranging sanctions against India. President Bill Clinton even recalled the US ambassador to India. The major U.S. interest was to prevent the absorption of the area into the communist orbit. Due to this only geostrategic significance at the initial phase of Cold War, there was some degree of the U.S. involvement in the South Asian regional security environment. In this context, India's image in the eyes of U.S. policy makers was that it was not capable of providing leadership to South Asia in the fight against communism. Post September 11, 2001 attacks in the US and December 13 terror strike on the Indian Parliament in the same year, the two countries decided to collaborate closely in the global war against terror. The personal rapport shared by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President George W Bush ensured the ties remained on an upward trajectory. In 2005, the two countries inked the New Framework for the US-India Defence Relationship identifying priorities for cooperation in maritime security, humanitarian assistance and counter-terrorism.

#### **Pre cold war:**

The two countries, however, have launched the India-US Economic and Financial Partnership and the India-US Strategic Dialogue under Obama's watch with the President describing the relationship as “a defining partnership in the twenty-first century”. President Bush visited India in March 2006 to hold further talks on the civil nuclear deal and also give a push to defence and economic ties. The improved relationship between the two countries was highlighted once again when US agencies cooperated very closely with their Indian counterparts in the aftermath of 26/11 Mumbai terror attacks. A successful trip is expected to undo the damage done by a visa ban on him as chief minister of Gujarat, over his alleged role in the 2002 post-Godhra riots. PM Modi and President Obama would look to strengthen bilateral ties, enhance cooperation and agree on technology transfer as India seeks to become a developed nation in the 21st century.

Thus, the menace of terrorism and terrorism related activities will remain an important threat to the U.S. interests in the region and also to the South Asian states. In this context, the U.S. has a long term interests and strategy in the region regarding the threats posed by terrorist organizations.

#### **VIII. CONCLUDE:**

The dissolution of the erstwhile Soviet Union has been an impetus for Indo-US relations. Since the early phase of 21st century, the Indo-US strategic relationship is evolving at greater pace. There is a good opportunity of security cooperation between Indo-US through strategic partnership which will also bolster their bilateral relations. Besides, the emerging Indian market is important for the US trade interests



Terrorism, the “cancer of the modern world”, a growing threat to the maintenance of an orderly society and a scourge which undermines development, economic and political stability and democratic institution is one of the most challenging problems of the modern times. In fact before developing any strategy to deal with Pakistan, which has been sponsoring and abetting terrorism in India, the government must formulate its own strategy to deal with internal security. Instead of relying support from the United States or from the military rulers of Pakistan, India must rely on its own mechanism to deal with terrorism and other extremist outfits like the Naxal movements. The starting point of Indo-US relationship is to go back deep in the annals of the past which has evolved and taken shape through various up and down.

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