

CHAPTER IV
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SIGNING THE
AGREEMENT: THE EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN
THE POSITION OF INDIA VIS A VIS PAKISTAN

Chapter IV will describe about the history of conflicts between India and Pakistan, in the scope of past and present. Then to give clear explanation on the development in the counter-terrorism programs between India and the US and also the dynamics after the Agreement was signed. And also, to show that the series of Defense Cooperation until the signing of the Defense Framework Agreement 2015 can strengthen the position of India vis a vis Pakistan as the main rival in the South Asia Region.

A. The History of Conflicts between India and Pakistan

Over the history, India and Pakistan have conducted a relationship in the problematic and profoundly stricken out atmosphere in which the former Indian Prime Minister, Inder Gujral precisely categorized as a 'tormented one.' (Jha, 1986) In the continuation of their relationship, they picture each other clearly as something called existential 'bogeyman.' India still considered Pakistan as an obstacle to India's foreign policy, in the scope of its immediate neighborhood, and also in India's extended neighborhood. Even with India's vision to reach out more than South Asia in its rise in the international stage. An 'unending' tension and conflict has categorized their relationship as neighboring independent states (Rahul, 1970).

For more than six decades, the Kashmir dispute has caused inhibition in the bilateral relations between Pakistan and India. The first India-Pakistan war happened in 1947-1948 when India did the occupation and denied the rights of Kashmiri people. Later on, India's action in occupied Kashmiri produced the swell of freedom movement by the Kashmiris in the late eighties when the Indian forces attempted to smash the freedom struggle. Pakistan chose the strategy of compellence by assisting the freedom movement in Kashmir due to their

disappointment to the International community and the UN (despite its resolution) to settle the protracted conflict. Also, India accuses these active militant groups of having links with 'Pakistan's intelligence agency' (Abdullah, 2012: 7).

The causes of Kashmir dispute are not similar to the common other inter-state disputes, neither dealt with vital strategic matters nor revolved around any tremendous geopolitical significance. The original fount of the conflict might come from diverse conception dealing with the establishment of the state in the South Asia region. India's initial commitment was to build a state based on secular nationalism. Hence, they saw the inclusion of Kashmir with majority consisted of Muslim people will automatically show its secularism. Furthermore, this concept worked in which if a Muslim-majority area could flourish in a Hindu dominated state, India would have been implemented the secularism successfully. On the other side, Pakistan considered The Kashmir territory as really significant to the integration of their dominion, since it is a homeland for Muslims in South Asia. So, it would be incomplete for them if the inclusion of Kashmir failed (Ganguly, 2007: 144).

Later on, the efforts of initial reconciliation between India and Pakistan happened called the Shimla Agreement in July 1972, in the period after another war between the two immediate neighbors (Woodman, 1969). This initiative came 25 years after India raised as the Independent States after British Colonization. The preamble of the Agreement stated that 'The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan are resolved that the two countries put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hit her to marred their relations and work for the promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship and the establishment of durable peace in the subcontinent'. The conflict and confrontation indeed have disrupted the relations between the two Countries. Unluckily, worse condition before 1972 did not change significantly after both Countries failed to implement the Agreement comprehensively (Scott, 2011: 59).

In essence, the Shimla Agreement contained some technical details about the attempt to return the Prisoners of War, but not massive enough. Hopefully through the Agreement, both Countries will settle their distinction by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them, but in fact not resolved yet. The Agreement mainly stressed on how 'the basic issues and causes of conflict which have bedeviled the relations between the two countries for the last 25 years shall be resolved by peaceful means', but in the real condition the basic issues and the causes of conflict did not resolve peacefully or by non-peaceful means and remains quite intact. Within the scope of issues, the Agreement spoke about the efforts to reach 'a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir', but, in the following 40 years later, the problems in Kashmir still stood in the confrontational bone of contention between them (Scott, 2011: 59).

The persistence of 'unending war,' has flourished with unsettling results only just created entrenched rivalry outlooks for the two neighborhood Countries. The war of Kashmir happened in 1947–49, whereas the wider conflict happened in 1965 and 1971 caused the collateral fire in Kashmir. The root cause of trouble lies far back in history, and present-day Indo-Pak tension is a prolongation of Hindu Muslim feelings that characterized India long before Independence and partition. When the British Empire controlled in 1892 and introduced in a rudimentary way the principle of election and representative institution, the Muslim expressed their apprehension of being dominated by a majority with whom they differed in every sphere of life (Mir, 2014: 110). Besides the Kashmir and Kargil mini-war of 1999 that Kashmir-based, the other place of the within the Kashmir where war collided is in the Siachen glacier. The Kargil War is the last clashed between two Countries where they brought military forces in the battlefield to fight each other, the cross-fire across the Line of Control still happening up until the present (Scott, 2011: 62).

B. The Development in the Counter-Terrorism, Cyber, and Intelligence Cooperation between India and the US

India constantly considered Pakistan as being a state that backs up the activity of 'terrorism.' In the beginning, India related the assistance from Pakistan for Kashmir and Sikh Insurgent in the 1970s, that one of the strategies from Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, for advance strategic depth, a device to replace the previous bad strategy and give early reminder for the capabilities of Pakistan that had been damaged in the next two War with India in 1971. The constellations happened in the internal Kashmir, had increased the insurgency activities in the valley of Kashmir in 1989. The former Pakistan President, Benazir Bhutto, stood on the political assistance for the Kashmir cause, while the Inter-Services Intelligence ISI provide material and substantial assistance to the insurgent groups, distributing funds over the ceasefire Line of Control conducting from Pakistan-controlled Azad Kashmir/ Baltistan into the Indian-controlled valley of Kashmir (Scott, 2011: 62-63).

Pakistan has a close relationship with the US, but it turns into intense situation after the 9/11 events, due to the confusion and disbelieves from the two parties. Many people in Pakistan shared a thought that the war on terror program was enforced on Pakistan by the US Government, whereas they doubt the seriousness from Pakistan officials in combating terrorism. Specifically, Washington administration did not give a hundred percent trust towards Pakistan's security officials, in particular, the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), due to strongly suspected assist the Taliban by giving aid for weapons, ammunition, intelligence, and even direction to suicide bombings (Waseem, 2011: 14).

The strategic community in Washington has also shared disappointment with the level and quality of assistance from Pakistan and has lifted attention about the most recent capability for viability as a functioning state. They also gave deep attention for the involvement in which the Pakistan Army

has held its counterinsurgency (COIN) operations. There is an example of the COIN doctrine based on the best exercise from Iraq, but Pakistan has chosen for a combatant approach to counterterrorism. In the period of the so-called the Swat and South Waziristan operations in 2009, Pakistan Army worked slowly in the huge mission against the enemy and did not give protection for civilians, caused displacing millions of people. The Criticism for Pakistan due to their decision not to follow the COIN doctrine that is based on a policing approach which hinges on law enforcement agencies, for instance, police, intelligence agencies, the magistracy, and the court system. Moreover, then those bodies will operate as leading actors in preserving social order and building security (Waseem, 2011: 14- 15).

India and the US encouraged more significant counterterrorism cooperation, since the tragedy of the 2008 Mumbai attacks, which caused mortality for 6 US citizens and almost 200 Indian people. The commitment involved the effort of US in pressuring Pakistan more on this issue. On the other hand, India was evident on the Pakistani source of the attackers (Scott, 2011: 64) :

“The more fragile a Government, the more it tends to act irresponsibly. Pakistan’s responses to our various demarches on terrorist attacks is an obvious example[...] Those in charge of the terrorist infrastructure in Pakistan have resorted to other stratagems to infiltrate terrorists into India. Infiltration is occurring via Nepal and from Bangladesh, though it has not ceased via the Line of Control in J&K. We are aware that the sea route is another option that is now being exercised. A few interceptions have taken place, though we failed to intercept the 10 Pakistani terrorists who came by sea from Karachi on November 26. The terrorist attack in Mumbai in November last year was clearly carried out by a Pakistan-based outfit, the Lashkar-e-Taiba. By the investigations carried out, including the Agencies of some foreign countries whose nationals were killed in the

attack, there is enough evidence to show that, given the sophistication and military precision of the attack it must have had the support of some official agencies in Pakistan.”

The United States and India have conducted Counterterrorism cooperation that has grown in late years. In 2000, the two States established a U.S.-India Joint Working Group on Counterterrorism. This group has provided the exchange of intelligence on terrorist financial activities and assisted joint training in border management, surveillance techniques, aviation security, and terrorist incident response including weapons of mass destruction (WMD) (Sharma, 2012). Through the Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) Project, US Bodies such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) continuously drilled Indian security apparatus in counterterrorism actions, for instance in advanced crisis response, hostage negotiation, incident management, explosive incident countermeasures, and terrorist intervention (Office of Antiterrorism Assistance, 2005).

In the moment of the inaugural 2009 U.S.-India Strategic Dialogue, President Obama and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh unequivocally insisted on eradicating terrorist safe havens in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The Counterterrorism Cooperation Initiative (CCI), established in the following year, has involved short- and long-term projects for extending joint counterterrorism capabilities by the supplying of advanced techniques, best exercises, and investigative capacities as well as cooperation between forensic laboratories, reciprocal investigative support, and mutual intercourse and training. The CCI has dealt with money laundering, terrorist funding, mass transit, and rail security, maritime transportation, and port and border security. (Weitz, 2017: 19).

The United States built a Homeland Security working group supervised by the bilateral High Technology Cooperation Group (HTCG) in 2014, with the purpose to provide shared access to counterterrorism linked with technology (U.S.

Department of State, 2014). The Indian and U.S. intelligence services have worked together on various regional terrorist threats, such as the new South Asian branches of al-Qaeda, the Lashkar-e-Tayyiba (LeT), Jaish-e-Mohammad, the Haqqani Network, and the Islamic State also recognized as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), with its Arabic acronym, Daesh. The Defense Ministries from India and the US also conducted a dialogue about these regional terrorist threats at the highest priorities (Weitz, 2017: 20).

Then, in February 2015, India officially prohibited ISIS and its related organizations under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act. Later on, the U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry and Indian Minister of External Affairs Sushma Swaraj promoted, “The U.S.-India Joint Declaration on Combatting Terrorism” as a piece of their Strategic and Commercial Dialogue (S&CD) on September 22, 2015. In the document featured concerned on common interests in regional terrorist movements, both States obvious long-term counterterrorism targets, and their willingness to finish “a bilateral agreement to expand intelligence sharing and terrorist watch-list information” between two States (U.S. Department of State, 2015).

The annual YudhAbhyas exercise that held in 2016 concerning on counterinsurgency and counterterrorism treatment in mountainous areas (Gady, 2016). The Top Officials of both Governments acknowledged that their counterterrorism relationship must thrive to address the shift in threats and technology. Narendra Modi gave the speech before the U.S. Congress in 2016, and he stated that the “traditional tools” used to combat terrorism are not enough and that both countries have to “deepen their security cooperation” by new and diverse methods in fighting terrorism (Zingerle, 2016). Obama also emphasized the significance of seeking more creative occasions for collaboration in counterterrorism. In this coming, Modi and Obama agreed to sign an agreement facilitating for expanded data exchanges between India's

Multi-Agency Centre and Intelligence Bureau and the FBI's Terrorist Screening Center (IANS, 2016).

New Delhi and Washington Officials have increased cooperation in combating cyber- terrorism. The U.S.-India Cyber- Security Forum, established in 2001, created a framework for dialogue between the U.S. and Indian cyber agencies (Indian Ministry of External Affairs, 2006). In the following ten years, the two Officials agreed on a memorandum of understanding that providing a more substantial exchange on cyber information and expertise (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2011). In 2013, they organized a Strategic Cyber Policy Dialogue. The Framework for the U.S.-India Cyber Relationship is the first time for the US the United States to sign such document with any foreign administration. Both countries shared the same common interest, for example, supporting the implementation of international law, public-private partnerships, and suitable norms of state cyber conduct (Prakash, 2014).

Both sides also agreed to strengthen cyber-security cooperation on substantial infrastructure protection, malicious and criminal activity, and to at last implement a bilateral cyber-security cooperation agreement (Bhattacharjee, 2014). In late August 2016, Parrikar came to the U.S. Cyber Command (CYBERCOM), the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA), the Air Combat Command (ACC), and the 480th Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance (ISR) Wing, possibly in order to expand partnership occasions with all these Bodies.

It is clear that counterterrorism partnership is one of a substantial element of strategic collaboration between India and the US. They have been tried to conduct the best exercises and information with each other by training programs, joint working groups, and numerous other relations at the bilateral, regional, and world stages. They have been bind together in serious willingness to prevent and eradicate terrorist threat and actions and also carry justice for the deserved parties. In January 11th, 2018 the US **Ambassador**

Kenneth I. Juster gave his statement regarding the US- India relations on building a durable partnership for the 21st Century, he said (US Embassy, 2018):

“One last, very important point regarding this pillar is our critical and growing cooperation in the area of counter-terrorism. Each of our countries has suffered horrific terrorist attacks and continues to be targeted. We have a strong mutual interest in eliminating this threat to our societies. President Trump and other U.S. leaders have been clear that we will not tolerate cross-border terrorism or terrorist safe havens anywhere. As part of this effort, last month we launched the first-ever U.S.-India Counterterrorism Designations Dialogue. We need to continue to enhance the sharing of information, designations of terrorists, combating of financial crimes and networks, and disruption and dismantling of terrorist camps and operations – both regionally and globally.”

Furthermore, both States conduct some following meetings in this year, for example, they recently held 2+2 Dialogue on September 6th, when Secretary of State Michael R. Pompeo and Secretary of Defense James Mattis met with their Indian partners, Minister of External Affairs Sushma Swaraj and Minister of Defense Nirmala Sitharaman. All of them have a dialogue in order to deepen strategic, security, and defense cooperation as the United States and India together meet the challenges in the Indo-Pacific region and beyond. They also discuss the joint statement on the 15th Meeting of the India-U.S. Working Group on Counterterrorism, to continue the inaugural U.S.-India Counterterrorism Designations Dialogue before, in December 2017, all the delegations came and examined continuing work to assure the effective practice of domestic and international terrorist targets (US Embassy, 2018).

In fact, there is a constant uncertain opinion from the Government of India towards the commitment of Pakistani Government to the US Officials to implement a stronger resistance barrier for terrorism due to the recent terrorist attack in Peshawar on December 2014 that caused death for more than a hundred Pakistani children (Riedel, 2015). Narendra Modi gave his speech in front of the Congress. He mainly monitored that “while it was a global problem, terrorism was ‘incubated’ in India’s neighborhood.” However, one little concern from the Government of India for the US is that they hardly refused the US mediation attempt on the Kashmir conflict with Pakistan and the other issues that consider as the internal domain of the Indian Government (News Desk, 2013). The prohibited geographic nature challenges, issues of feasibility, and legislative constraints will seem to put aside the cooperation between the US and India on these matters (Lynch III, 2016).

C. The Benefits of the DFA 2015 for India: the Efforts to Strengthen the Position of India *vis a vis* Pakistan as the Main Rival in the South Asia Region

The immense animosity is a general knowledge to portray the relations between India and Pakistan from the past until present. Their post-partition engagement is quite similar compared to a Great rivalry between the US and Soviet Union in the Cold War. Both Countries has been engaged in five times conflicts and implemented unceasing campaign to create destabilization towards each other in unconventional means. These undoubtedly have caused significant cost on both sides opposite with some unfortunate facts, that South Asia is the most impoverished region with the greatest concentration of poverty in the world highest incidence of poverty, and abysmal Human Development Indices. It is also a region with the highest density of population in the world with 342.25 persons per sq: km, probably one of the most terrific frontiers to combat the great killers of humanity, like malaria and HIV-AIDS (Nawaz, 2014: 4).

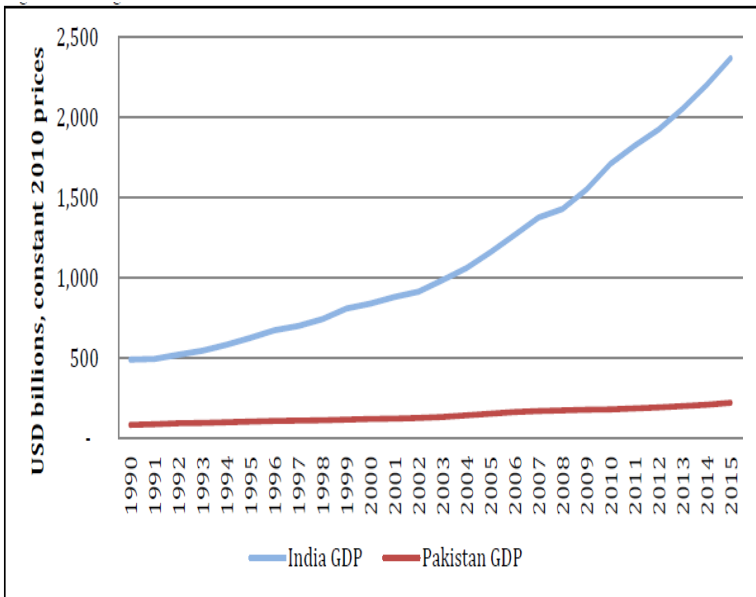
In the field of defense, South Asia, had consistently consumed relatively high defense expenditures since the 1950s, Parvez Hasan, one of the leading Pakistani economist and also a senior positions in Pakistan and then at the World Bank, described the South Asia Region in his own words, he stated (Nawaz, 2014: 5):

“One is tempted to speculate on what might have happened if defense spending, which at its peaks in the late-1980s, reached 7 percent of GDP, had been half the level [emphasis added], and that these resources had been allocated to social and economic development and potential economic gains from regional economic co-operation had been optimized. It is not frivolous to suggest that Pakistan's economic growth rate over the long period of 1970-2010 could have been at least two percentage points higher than it was—that is, 6-6.5 percent per annum, rather than 4-4.45 percent per annum. These would have meant an economic size double of what we have, higher education levels, lower poverty incidence, and less social tensions, including fewer extremisms. It is also interesting to note that, with an economic size twice the present level, the actual defense spending, would not be any lower, even if the percentage of GDP allocated to it was half the present level. If one adds to the mix the assumption of greater trade and economic co-operation between India and Pakistan over the past four decades, one can argue that the whole history of the subcontinent could have been a happier one.”

The developments in the Military of India and Pakistan will create profound impacts for regional and international security and the rise in India military will shake the Asian balance of power in the 21st century. Reciprocally, Pakistan serious willingness and efforts to prosecute effective counterinsurgency and counterterrorism campaign within its frontier is also the significance for global counterterrorism

efforts. They need to properly wage counteract for the negative spillovers across the boundary with Afghanistan and India. Despite the historical conflict between India and Pakistan, the stable political relationship of the two neighbors will determine a strategic balance in South Asia. The data from the World Bank until 2015 showed that the GDP of both Countries is in a significant difference and will impact for their defense spending, as Diagram 4 will show the GDP of both Countries for the last 25 years (Mason, 2016: 9).

Diagram 1. Divergent Economic Fortunes in India and Pakistan

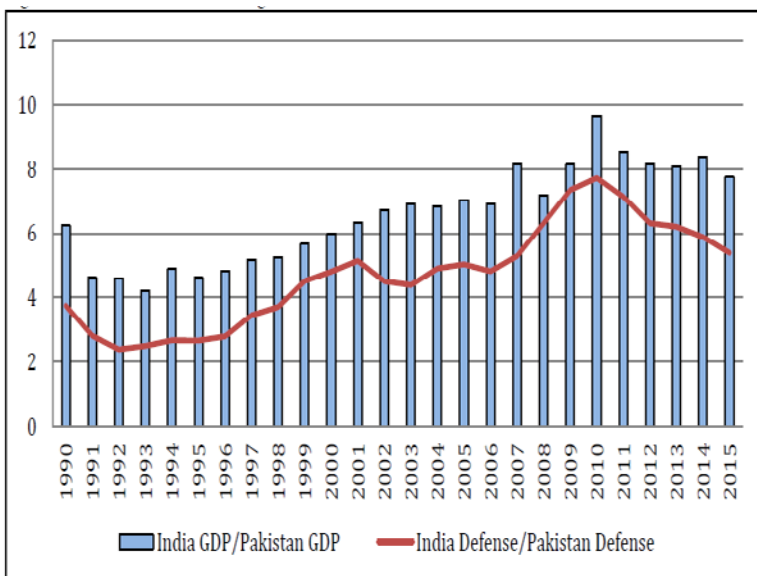


Source: *Military Budget in India and Pakistan, Trajectories, Priorities, and Risks*

The more significant and expanded rate of India's economy relatively has made India spend more on defense expenditure rather than Pakistan even there was a reduction in spending in some moment adjusted with the percentage of GDP. India's economy is strictly eight times bigger than

Pakistan's and has been expanding at a faster rate over the previous two decades. For instance, India's economy bolstered into nine percent annually compared to Pakistan's six percent since 1995 (Mason, 2016: 36). In the south Asia region existed the two nuclear weapon Countries with many critical points, and should give significant militarizing efforts. However, South Asia Region calculated as a whole only less than 2 percent of the world's military spending (SIPRI, 2014).

Diagram 2. India's Relative Advantages over Pakistan



Source: *Military Budget in India and Pakistan, Trajectories, Priorities, and Risks*

Diagram 5 showed the actual defense spending comparison in twenty-five years. India's defense spending advantage is significant and expanding. Between 1991 until 2015, India outspent Pakistan by an average ratio of 5:1 each year. In 2009, the balance was 7:1. Additionally, the advantage in Pakistan's history in defense expenditure per capita is trending in India's favor. Pakistan's relative advantage in

defense spending per capita was 1.1:1 in 2015, while it was 2.4:1 in 1975. In the last five years, India has possessed a relative advantage in spending on nuclear weapons between 2.5:1 and 3.3:1. While the quantitative balance may not reflect India's favorable position due to its hardship in administering the defense budget but the potential resource advantage of India become a severe long-term focus of military leaders and planners in Pakistan (Mason, 2016: 36) .

India and Pakistan is the two important actors that hold the Strategic Balance in the South Asia Region. Both States posses Nuclear Deterrence which are Nuclear Weapon, Nuclear Doctrines, and Missile developments capability and also the present of Great Powers Countries too. In the post nuclearization era, Major Country that actively involved in holding strategic stability in South Asia is the US. They also either supported Pakistan with majority of their defense armaments or by giving financial and political supports, despite Pakistan's reliance on China too. The US support to India in the last decade possibly bring some impacts on Pakistan's towards India can put Pakistan's security interests. Their shifting to India will automatically change the direction of US policy in India's preference rather than Pakistan on politics, economics and international front. So, this condition made Pakistan worried first on when they lose their main source of its military equipment and also the political assistance in the international stage vis-à-vis India (Bukhari, 2011: 17).

One of the primary instinct of Great Power Countries is to leverage their occasions to achieve superiority more than their rivals to get or preserve the hegemonic status eventually. The series in the defense cooperation between India and the US are reflecting the representation of power politics. It possibly gave direct implications on Pakistan's security and power equilibrium between India and Pakistan. On the other side, also impacts towards the balance of power between two Great Power, China and the US. Consequently, a connection does occur between India- US partnership and Pakistan's security

assurances. In essence, the US wants to preserve the Unipolar system and its hegemony in the world. So, the close cooperation in defense between India and the US is a notice of Pre-emption in the US policy for its Superpower status. but, the US grand strategy to Counter China through close connection with India, shall have the side effect that impacts on Pakistan's security (Bukhari, 2011: 18).

In the recent conflicts, especially in a sequence of battles happened on the Line of Control in Kashmir that caused mortality on more than 30 people in the second semester of 2014, made thousands of citizens left their home and switch on again regarding the possibility of war of two nuclear power States in the South Asia region (Daniel, 2015) Although the world knew that India and Pakistan possess Nuclear Capability, the actual point that created sustainable conflict or called as 'ugly stability' of both Countries is the conventional deterrence capability. Some experts said that the continuing modernization in India military in recent years, threaten the balance of conventional military in South Asia territory. If it is right, this possibly will create worried for the strategic stability become, while at least one expert stated that Pakistan strategic deterrent, 95 percent depend upon their rapid conventional military capability (Lavoy, 2008).

Narendra Modi after elected as the Indian Prime Minister decided to increase the military budget of 2015–2016 to \$39.8 billion or calculated as 11 percent of rising. Furthermore, India is one of the most significant global importers of conventional armaments, with possibly more than \$100 billion of the defense budget for military modernization for the following decade (Bedi, 2012). In result, many experts and scholars have commented that this effort is endangering the conventional deterrence of Pakistan. In response, enforce them to add the modern nuclear weapons, especially the low-yield warheads and delivery systems for the combat purposes in the battleground, categorized as tactical nuclear weapons. Other experts have commented that the India Forces still relied upon the old platforms and did not possess enough force integration

that substantial to embrace transformation in military technology. Another debatable argument that appears to others is that Pakistan has a relatively better approach in its shifting to the conventional military balance (Ladwig, 2015:730).

India and Pakistan possess some dynamics regarding the relations with China. For Pakistan, China still stood as a reliable ally even when China experienced Chinese isolation period from 1960 to 1970. Majority of experts in Pakistan trusted that the strengthening relations between Pakistan and China happened due to some reasons. For example, War between India-China on the border of 1962 US-India Defense ties; a Sino-Russian rift in relations, Chinese Conflict with Japan over Island issue; Indian develop of Blue Navy in the Indian Ocean, Indian engagement with South East Asian countries and Indian encirclement through the US, and Japan. So, in order to adjust towards security scenario in the region, China and Pakistan engaged closely together diplomatically, militarily, and economically (Mahesar, 2016: 14).

Pakistan possessed some major geopolitical significance in the region, therefore acknowledged as a "Pivot of Asia." (Ghulam: 1947-1966: 54) They are located at the cross-roads of South, Central and East Asia, in consequences grab the concern for some Countries on them. In this significance, the Geopolitical advantages of Pakistan cannot be neglected in such a grand equation. The close relations between Pakistan and China is unique and worthy in some different perspectives. First, is the status of China as Pakistan neighbour, and it has always in favor with Pakistan in some difficult period. China have constantly given substantial assistance for Pakistan in some multiple sectors for example economic, defence, political and social. They actually agreed together on the Border agreement (1963) and the Free Trade Agreement (FTA). So the good relations between Pakistan and China can be categorized as remarkable, unparalleled, exemplary and dynamic. Since 1980's, China has been assisting Pakistan diplomatically, technologically, economically and militarily. Three factors which are

considered significant for the culmination into strengthening the Pak-China relations which are India-China war in 1962, Indo- USSR relations, India-US ties etc (Bir, 2006: 38)

With India's rising position in the global hierarchy and the US try to build up a strong partnership with India, there are expanding in China's intention to be close with Pakistan. When the Mumbai attack happened in November 2008 created tensions between India and Pakistan, Pakistan's Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff visited China in order to gain support from them and approved. In that visit, bearing a new agreement on military cooperation signed by the two states, in return Beijing approving to speed up the sending off of F-22 frigates to Pakistan's Navy (Pant, 2012: 91). On the whole, the observation towards China's policy to Pakistan is "an object lesson in how to attain long-term national goals by calm calculation, forbearance, and diplomatic skill"(Pant, 2012: 92).

Unlike China, many other significant global powers, for instance, Britain, France, Germany, and Russia gave support towards the U.S.—India nuclear deal since they were brave to trade nuclear fuel, reactors, and equipment to India. Otherwise, China made unpleasant action to ask India to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and remove its nuclear weapons. The Xinhua news agency of China officially commented that the U.S.—India nuclear agreement would set a bad example for other countries". The US-India deal in many circumstances indicates the acknowledgment of India's profile rising in the global stage, in consequences created unhappiness for China and in the result made them willing to trade the nuclear reactors with Pakistan. In other words, China sent a clear message to the US that they would play for their path (Pant, 2012: 91).

A researcher from Australian university, Louise Merrington stated in his article, "the India-US-China-Pakistan Strategic Quadrilateral", on 11th April, 2012. He wrote some factors that have formed the Pak-China defence cooperation which are India as a regional policeman; end of the Cold War

and realignments in the region; Indian rising influence in South Asia and South East Asia with the assistance and encouragement of America and Japan; the policy of containment or encirclement of China through America. Masood Khan, The former ambassador of Pakistan while speaking to a delegation of training officers of Pakistan Air Force War College, on 29th April, 2012, was giving his opinion that Pakistan and China are possessing defence cooperation on four dimensions (Mahesar, 2016: 20).

These dimensions array from security, region, exchange of officers to military exchanges and exercises with the visits to each other's country. But, the US considered that military and technological exchange between them is as a violation to the rules of MTCR (Missile Technology Control Regime) and NSG (Nuclear Supplier Group). For example, the expanding in Missiles such as M-II and M-9 development that become the concern for India and the US. Nonetheless, Pakistan and China are in the side that Pakistan the development of its nuclear comply to the existence of NSG and have no violation to the rules and regulation. After the Indo-US nuclear deal in 2008. America plans to contain the rise of China through India, whereas, China does the same thing through Pakistan. There are overlapping and intersection of interest between USA-India-China in South Asia and South East Asia. And the competition among these Countries will bolster the strong cooperation between Pakistan and China (Mahesar, 2016: 20).

The assistance from China and other Countries have influenced the development of Pakistan missile capability. Through the joint collaboration, China has successfully assisted Pakistan in producing JF-17 Thunder Aircraft, K8-Trainer Aircraft, Al-Khalid Tank, F-22 Naval Frigates, HRF (Heavy Rebuild Factory) in Taxila, PAC (Pakistan Aeronautic Complex at Kamra) KKH (Karakoram Highway) and also Gawadar port. Both Countries are proven to have enjoyed in such cooperation and working for the betterment in the later development. However, some suspicion existed in the mind of China since Pakistan still in the adherence to the Western and

become the obstacles in their relations. Besides, China still conducting a relatively good relations with India in the field of economy.(Mahesar, 2016: 21).

In the field of Arms modernization, Both Countries Air Forces, the IAF and the PAF are in the efforts to bolster their complement of modern aircraft in the following decade. The Indian Ministry of Defence (MoD) have agreed on buying the Medium Range Multi-Role Combat Aircraft with the French manufacturer *Dassault* for 36 *Rafale* fighter jets. Besides India is one of the few countries to have designed and produced a fourth-plus-generation fighter aircraft, nuclear submarine, main battle tank and intercontinental ballistic missile with a range of more than 5000 km. Across the border, the Pakistan Air Force has an additional 150 JF-17s on order, which will be equipped with even more advanced radars, weapons systems and avionics than its current versions of the Aircraft (Ladwig, 2015: 753).

There is also deal of arms provided from the US in 2013-17 for patrol aircraft, strategic transport aircraft, and combat helicopters. The IAF have bought over \$10 billion worth of U.S. weapons. In 2014, India was the second largest importer of U.S. arms, accounting for more than 11 percent of all U.S. arms sales worldwide, trailing only Saudi Arabia. The largest deals have included India's acquisition of U.S.-made Apache (attack helicopters), Chinook (heavy-lift helicopters), C-130 Hercules (transport aircraft), and Boeing P-8I (long-range maritime surveillance and anti-submarine aircraft), including deals for 145 M777 lightweight Howitzers as well as several other weapons systems. This surge in U.S. arms sales helped boost bilateral trade in 2015 to more than \$100 billion and U.S. investment in India that year to \$35 billion (Weitz, 2017: 7).

The India military through its forces has always been ready for a limited conflict with Pakistan, and indeed they get stronger through the arms modernization. But some analysts still considered that India's ability to make strategic surprise against Pakistan or carry out highly-effective air strikes with

little escalatory risk is still questionable, therefore still early to judge the capability of Indian Military for its deterrence capability with Pakistan. On the other side, Pakistan has already developed tactical nuclear weapons and delivery systems on security grounds with some risks. And this certainly has given a little more value on the Pakistan's force posture, and should become concern for Indian Military officials. Of course there are many kind of reasons on why Pakistan has bolstering and diversifying its nuclear arsenal, could be as the respond to Indian military modernization or for something else (Ladwig, 2015: 766).

Regarding to Nuclear cooperation impacts for the on regional stability, a Pakistani analyst Adil Sultan gave his caution that "the Indo-US civil nuclear cooperation agreement if implemented without checking India's potential to increase its fissile stocks and eliminating any possibility by India of improving its nuclear weapons could lead to arms competition in the region involving Pakistan, India and China, thus destabilizing the entire region." This is became the way for India since the nuclear enhancement acts in 2008 to increase the vast occasions with the US in this field, and make the US stands in favor to India rather than Pakistan if both Countries engaged in some disputes. Further, the US foreign policy preferences shift to India due to some rapid defense cooperation. Pakistan change only as a tactical partner of US, while India raise as strategic partner. Adil Sultan stated again that "the deal could force major stakeholders to re-evaluate their security interests in the face of emerging Indo-US strategic partnership thus triggering transformation of regional alliance structures, where India is seen decisively shifting towards the United States and Pakistan being compelled to explore options that could best serve its security interests independent of the United States." (Bukhari, 2011: 20).

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) cannot prevent the ToT given for civil purposes against weapon development because according to trustworthy sources that "a significant proportion of India's nuclear complex would

remain outside IAEA safeguards and continue to have a strategic function.” The assistance in technological development from the US will eventually make Pakistan to grab the similar deal with other States, which possibly could initiate arms-race between the two rivals and redeem instability in the region. Momin Iftikhar, a Pakistani analyst commented that “India’s utilizes 11% of various available energy sources including oil, gas, coal, wind and nuclear power for producing electricity. Out of this only 2-3% is produced through nuclear power. The civil nuclear cooperation agreement, once materialized in its true essence by 2025 could increase this production to a maximum of 6.5 - 8% only. Therefore it is not clear how this increase of 4.5 - 6% in nuclear electricity could make any substantial difference in global climatic conditions or in the Indian economy. Therefore it is more likely that India will continue to divert nuclear expertise and materials, provided for producing “cheap, efficient and clean’ energy, towards accelerating her ambitious nuclear weapons program.” (Iftikhar, 2006)

Russia is only the party that has managed to sell India foreign nuclear reactors. An achieved agreement when Obama’s came to New Delhi on January 2015 formed a state-backed insurance scheme to overcome Western companies concerns about India’s unlimited liability law. The agreement also included clause for IAEA fallacy of U.S.-provided nuclear materials to India. In the time when Modi’s came to Washington on June 2016, the two leaders stated India’s ratification of the Convention on Supplementary Compensation for Nuclear Damage gives the framework necessary for a long-term partnership between the US and Indian enterprises to build nuclear power plants in India (Weitz, 2017: 32).

The leaders were in favor for the project by US Nuclear Company, Westinghouse and the Nuclear Power Enterprises of India Ltd. to build six reactors with the financial assistance of the Indian Government and the US Export-Import Bank (Weitz, 2017: 33). The new US treatment has promoted other

nations to also chase civil nuclear collaboration with India. For example Japan and India have agreed on a Nuclear Cooperation Agreement allowing Japan to transfer civilian nuclear technology to India, which will involve large elements for the Westinghouse AP1000 reactors that the US is building in South India (BBC, 2016).

The disposal of the U.S. nuclear sanctions on India seems to have proved enough towards both countries expanding collaboration in the field of terrorism, regional security, defense industrial relations, and other matters. At the same time, the United States supported India's membership in the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), completed in June 2016, and in favor for India's bid to join the member of the NSG, which China is disagree (Weitz, 2017: 33). The series of strategic partnership and agreement is purposed at supporting India not only in nuclear technology but it also opportunity to equip a huge sophisticated conventional arms trades to India which contained supersonic fighter jets, highly sophisticated missiles and other major military equipments. This arms trade gave opportunities for broadening the the gap of conventional arms between between the two rivals for the advantages in India's side. Pakistan's minimum credible deterrence strategy will need a new vision in responding the improvement of evolving high-tech warfare structures including nuclear weapon development capacity, delivery system in Indian defense arrangements (Bukhari, 2011: 21).

At last, the Security ties between India and the US create serious concern for Pakistan in terms that this possibly could worsen deterrence capabilities vis a vis India and be able to 'shake' balance of power into India advantages. Moreover, the extensive cooperation, especially in Counterterrorism, could provoke Pakistan to be closer and set to form new cooperation with China. China also needs to respond properly towards extensive collaboration between India and the US in the field of defense. In consequences, it may not be dangerous for Pakistan, but also be able to change the strategic balance in Asia which shall impact the entire of international politics or

the possibilities of a 'New Cold War' between Beijing and Washington. Rapid expanding in the awakening of India and the US relations in their comprehensive strategic partnership can alter with the security structure in South Asia in the journey and course of time (Bukhari, 2011: 2).