

**PAKISTAN-INDIA MILITARY BALANCE (2015-2020):  
A CRITICAL ANALYSIS**

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**NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES  
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PAKISTAN-INDIA MILITARY BALANCE (2015-2020):  
A CRITICAL ANALYSIS**

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## **Abstract**

*Since the division of sub-continent, Kashmir has been the bone of contention between Pakistan and India who hold substantial geostrategic importance in the South Asia. These rival states went beyond the United Nation's charter and waged wars against each other every now and then. Both states experimented with settling this dispute with table talks, but they proved to be futile and abortive. However, their rigorous inclination towards military enhancement has increased apprehension and suspicion in the region. The world's superpowers have also kept an eagle eye on South Asia to attain their respective strategic objectives that evermore paved the way to change the strategic and political dynamics of the region. Kashmir and Sino-Indian border conflict with two neighboring yet rival countries, Pakistan and China have concerned India on one hand whereas Pakistan's participation in the proxy war between USA and USSR and tensions against India on the other hand, have put pressure on these nuclear states to bring advancement to their military hardware. Between the two, the former state is superior to the later in terms of quantity and specification but it's also a notable fact that Pakistan has surprised India on many occasions. Furthermore, the RSS ideology adopted by the new Indian government of BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) has set ablaze the already fiery conflict between these two states. Despite several attempts to negotiate on Kashmir issue by India and Pakistan with the cooperation of international organizations it remained unsettled. In such scenario, strengthening the military armaments and ammunition for their defense and personal security creates an atmosphere of uncertainty and insecurity in the region. Conclusively, with the changing dynamics of international and regional politics, the strain and stress in this South Asian region appears to be reflective of a global threat. Kashmir Issue is no more a bilateral conflict but has become a global issue that needs to be resolved in the better interest of not only the south Asian region but the entire political realm.*

## LIST OF CONTENTS

S. No	List of Contents	Page No
1	Abstract	1
2	Candidate Declaration Form	2
3	Dedication	4
4	Acknowledgement	5
5	Introduction	6
6	Statement of the Problem	8
7	Significance of the Study	9
8	Research Methodology & Theoretical Framework	9
9	Objectives of the Study	10
10	Research Questions	10
11	Organization of the Study	11
12	Research Gap	11
13	Delimitations	11
14	Literature Review	12
	<b>CHAPTER 1: South Asia: Geo-Strategic Importance</b>	16
	Brief History of South Asia	18
	Area Profile of South Asia	24
	Brief Historical Background of Pakistan	36
	<b>CHAPTER 2: Force Posture Between India and Pakistan</b>	55
	Indian Threat Perception	57
	Pakistan's Threat Perception and Arms Race in the Region	59
	The Causes of Enmity	60
	Defence Spending of India and Pakistan from 2015-2020	68
	Personnel Strength	69

Weapon Systems	70
Navy & Air Force	71
Placement of Armed Forces	72
Defence Production of India and Pakistan	77
Nuclear Force Abilities of India and Pakistan	83
<b>CHAPTER 3:Super Powers Involvement in South Asia</b>	87
Effect of Super Power Rivalry on South Asia:	88
United States and the South Asia:	88
Russia and the South Asia	94
China and the South Asia	100
<b>CHAPTER 4: Military Balance between Pakistan and India: 2015-2020</b>	109
Military Balance:1947-1955	111
Military Balance:1956-1965	113
Military Balance:1966-1971	119
Military Balance: 1972-1979	122
Military Balance: 1980-1989	129
Military Balance: 1990-1998	133
Nuclearization of India and Pakistan	136
Military Balance: 1999-2008	138
Military Balance: 2009-2014	141

	Military Balance: 2015-2016	143
	Military Balance: 2017-2019	146
	Military Balance: 2020	148
	<b>CONCLUSION</b>	152
	<b>Suggested CBM Confidence-Building Measures</b>	156
	<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	158
	<b>WEBLIOGRAPHY</b>	165

## CANDIDATE DECLARATION FORM

(Declaration Form to be filled in by Candidate at the time of Submission of Thesis to the Supervisor for Internal and External Evaluation. Follow this pattern strictly, and also let the dotted lines appear on the page)

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Candidate of **M.Phil Pakistan Studies** at the National University of Modern Languages do hereby declare that the thesis (Title): **PAKISTAN-INDIA MILITARY BALANCE (2015-2020): A CRITICAL ANALYSIS** Submitted by me in partial fulfillment of M.Phil./ PhD degree, is my original work, and has not been submitted or published earlier. I also solemnly declare that it shall not, in future, be submitted by me for obtaining any other degree from this or any other university or institution.

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Name of Candidate



بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

**IN THE NAME OF ALLAH  
THE MOST BENEFICENT  
THE MOST MERCIFUL**

# **Dedicated**

*With profound love & deep respect this*

*Dissertation is dedicated to*

*My parents*

*My sisters*

*And*

*My dearest nephews*

*(Arham and Arish)*

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I am grateful to my creator the one who is most beneficent and the most merciful shower his blessing upon me to complete my thesis. I am also thankful and my best Salutation upon the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H) who served his life to develop the concept of humanity among mankind.

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M.Phil (Pakistan Studies)

## **INTRODUCTION**

South Asia is the southern area of Asia, which is characterized in both topographical and ethno-social terms. South Asia encompassed by the Middle East, Afghanistan, China, and Burma has the prominent place in the world politics. Geographically it incorporates the domains of Pakistan, India, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and the Maldives Islands. South Asia is significant of the Indian Ocean is a large Gulf encircled by the mainland of Africa, Asia and Australia. It is a significant shipping lane and waterway; especially taking into account the reliance of numerous profoundly industrialized societies on the oil assets of the Persian Gulf. The South Asia comprises of three nuclear power states Pakistan, India, and China. All these three states have their concern positive or the other regarding each other. However, among them, India and Pakistan are considered most important for regional security and stability.

Peace in South Asia is connected to the security view of the states of the region in general and between Pakistan and India, in particular. In order to reflect strong standings, both states are in pursuit to advance their military technology to present an effective outlook of their armed forces in the region. Pakistan is mainly concerned with India in term of 'Force Posture' whereas India's threat perception is concerned with two of its neighboring nuclear states i.e., Pakistan and China. Both countries are spending billions of dollars to maintain their armed forces to address any possible threat. India on one hand, has old rivalry with Pakistan dating back to Kashmir issue, while on other hand, it has its conflict with China regarding border management on which both countries have fought war and is still the talk of the town, even today.

In the 21st century, China is emerging as a potential state to whom USA perceive as a potential threat. China holds an important position in the South Asia while the involvement of USA in South Asia is observed from the start of the Cold War. Both China and USA are trying to hold a dominant position in the region due to its geographic importance. Pakistan from the very first day, showed its soft corner for USA and supported it even during Cold War against the communist block but at the same time, it managed to keep friendly attitude with China. Being the part of SEATO and CENTO, Pakistan showed its support to USA during the Cold War. Pakistan helped USA on many occasions such as Afghan War (1979) and after 9/11 tragedy (2001).

India, tried to adopt neutral approach during the cold war between USSR and USA though the later was always interested in keeping good ties with India to meet its strategic objectives. India purchased its maximum weapons from USSR which was the rival of USA. However, the relations between India and USA never got heated up in Cold war. On the contrary, the ongoing border dispute between China and India also flamed the security threats of the region. When USA found Pakistan as the ally of China, it tilted towards India to compete China by increasing defence budget and advancement of the technology. India seemed an ideal state to USA that can help it to achieve its strategic objectives in the South Asia.

Since partition, India and Pakistan share bitter relationship mainly because of the Kashmir issue that resulted in several wars. After First Indo-Pak war in May 1948, Kashmir issue was taken to United Nations, one of the biggest and considerably effective IGO (Intergovernmental Organization) that tried to resolve the conflict between Pakistan and India. Also, the Resolution suggested a three-advance procedure for the goal of the contest. The initial hearing of The United Nations Security Council Resolution 47, received on 21 April 1948, concerns the goal of the Kashmir struggle. In the wake of hearing contentions from India and Pakistan, the Council expanded the size of the Commission set up by United Nations Security Council Resolution 39 to five individuals (with delegates of Argentina, Belgium, Colombia, Czechoslovakia and the United States), taught the Commission to go to the subcontinent and help the administrations of India and Pakistan to re-establish harmony and request to the locale and suggest for a plebiscite to choose the destiny of Kashmir.

Initially, Pakistan was approached to pull back the entirety of its nationals that entered Kashmir for battling. In the subsequent advance, India was asked to dynamically diminish its powers to the base level required for peace. In the third step, India was approached to delegate a plebiscite executive named by the United Nations who might lead a free and unprejudiced plebiscite. The goal was received section by passage; no decision on the goal all in all was taken. The two India and Pakistan mentioned criticisms regarding the Resolution. Be that as it may, they invited intercession by the UN Commission. Through its intervention, the Commission intensified and changed the Security Council Resolution, embracing two goals of its own, which were acknowledged by India and Pakistan, unanimously. In this way, a ceasefire was accomplished by the Commission toward the start of 1949. In any case, it did not proved to be effective because of differences over the procedure of disarmament. After extensive endeavors, the Commission

pronounced its failure in December 1949. Seeing no considerable solutions both states focused on gaining more and more military strength threatening the regional security and stability of the region. On initial stages, Pakistan usually got weapons from United States of America as being an ally of the Capitalist block while India purchased weapons from different countries mainly from USSR. Despite of several wars, agreements, and negotiations the conflict between India and Pakistan remained there. Both states are indulged in arms race reflecting serious danger for South Asia.

### **STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

The present research would highlights **geo-strategic importance of South Asia along with explaining how the region has a potential to affect whole balance of power of the world.** The present study aims to look deeper into how **Force Posture between the India and Pakistan** is reflecting serious threats for the region. The research focuses on the cause and the effect of Force Posture by India and Pakistan in the region.

It is significant to explore threat possibilities because of border dispute between China and India that reflect threats to the regional security and stability. The study will highlight **Super Powers involvement in South Asia** and why they want to dominate the region or want to hold a dominating position in South Asia along with explaining the changing dynamic of the region over different period of time.

This study will critically explain the above-described areas and produces a clear picture. It also elaborates and concludes the **Military Balance between India and Pakistan from 2015 to 2020** since the change of the government. After Narendra Modi, coming to power India accelerated its military enhancement in order to counter any possible treat on other side Pakistan is also focusing on how to compete its rival India.

## **SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

The present study explains the different dynamic and importance of Geo-Strategic location of South Asia, the challenges faced by the region over different period of time along with the factors that always kept the region in focus of the superpowers, its economic and political significance, and the tensions in the region. The present research clearly reflects the Force Posture by the India and Pakistan in South Asia and how these states are trying to maintain and expand their armed forces and are enhancing their capabilities to give an outlook of a powerful state for dominating the region and to encounter any possible threats.

The following research also brings into account the arm procurement by India in the context of Sino-India border disputes along with increasing threats with its neighboring states. It explains how India is trying to reflect a stable military ground so that it can achieve a stable and dominating position to address all possible threats with its territorial disputes with China and Pakistan. It gives a clear picture of power tussle between the nuclear states and their strategy to remain dominant in the region. With the changing dynamic of the region and threats to the states, the political, economic and military dynamics of the region also changes. USA involvement and its strategic objectives for the new dynamic of the region are unequivocally explained in the present research.

The present research also gives a detailed account of the military balance between India and Pakistan from 2015 to 2020 therefore, explains and concludes the focus of both states on maximizing and advancing the military hardware. The research extensively explains the factors and the strategy of both states for accelerating the military enhancement. In this way, the research will prove to be an asset for the future researcher reflecting in-depth knowledge. This research effort is intended to undertake a detailed, thorough, objective and impartial study in the best possible and authentic manner.

## **METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES OF RESEARCH**

For the completion of this research study, the scientific and the latest qualitative and quantitative research methodology has been applied. It is based on library and archival research. For the comparison of military hardware of the India and Pakistan, Comparative Analysis Theory is used and for comparison data is taken from different Military Balance published by International Institute of Strategic Study(IISS).A lot of material is available

but only those will be consulted and relied on which are authentic, well known and reachable. The conclusion will be based on the unbiased judgments of all these sources.

- **Primary sources** Military Balance published by International Institute of Strategic Study (IISS), SIPRI, Ministry of External Affairs(Government of India), The Department of Defence Production (DDP) Government of India,
- **Secondary sources** include books, newspaper articles, websites have been used.

### **OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The objective of this research is:

- i. To explain geographical importance of South Asia
- ii. To highlight how India and Pakistan are reflecting Force Posture in South Asia.
- iii. To critically analyze and evaluate Superpowers involvement in South Asia.
- iv. To critically analyze and evaluate military balance between India and Pakistan from 2015-2020.

### **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

- i. What is the Geo-Strategic importance of South Asia?
- ii. How India and Pakistan reflects Force Posture in South Asia?
- iii. How we can perceive Superpowers involvement in South Asia?
- iv. How can we evaluate and analyze Military Balance between India and Pakistan: 2015-2020?

### **ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY**

The research study is divided into 4 chapters, including *introduction* as preface and *conclusion*. The introductory preface introduces the topic. The analysis begins with the chapter entitled “**South Asia: Geo-Strategic Importance**” to highlight the



significance of the region i.e., South Asia, taken for research. The next chapter comprises the “**Force Posture between India and Pakistan**” that is followed by the third chapter i.e., “**Superpowers Involvement in South Asia**”. The fourth and last chapter entitled “**Military Balance between Pakistan and India: 2015-2020**” brings into light the military balance between two neighboring yet rival countries i.e., Pakistan and India over five years. The research is concluded in the conclusion section.

## **RESEARCH GAP**

There has been a lot of work available on military balance between India and Pakistan but none of those carries the development from the years 2015-2020. This research will give clear glimpse of the dynamic of indo-Pak relationship which will be helpful for the reader who wants to understand the changing dynamic of the South Asia and Indo-Pak relationship. The research will be carried out with the strong critical analysis based on strong logic and evidence that will clear all the ambiguities of the reader. It will also help the future researchers to get the authentic data/ statistics and facts and figures of the military hardware between Pakistan and India.

## **DELIMITATIONS**

This study is delimited to:

1. Geostrategic importance of South Asian regions i.e., Pakistan and India
2. Involvement of superpowers in the South -East Asia (in relation to Pakistan and India)
3. Military balance between Pakistan and India from 2015-2020.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The present research is based on the literature that is helpful in understanding geographical importance of South Asia, Reflection of Force Posture by India and Pakistan in the region, Superpowers involvement in South Asia. The literature will also help in analyzing and concluding military balance between India and Pakistan from 2015-2020.

**Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal** in their book **Modern South Asia: history, culture, political economy** (2004) gives us a deep view of South Asia’s geographical

importance. Exploring many facts of this dynamic region, the book explains historical civilizations of South Asia. The book gives us very dynamic knowledge about political, cultural, and social structure of South Asia in historical perspective. The books also explain the factors which make South Asia the focus of the world politics. The book also reveals that the region remained focus of many great historical leaders and a land where some of the most influential religion were originated. The book also uncovers the invasion in South Asia from time to time and how power shifted from one dynasty to another. The book further elaborates colonial and post-colonial era in South Asia eventually leading to the formation of two independent states India and Pakistan.

Another book **A Short History of the Mughal Empire by Michael H. Fisher** unravels information about one of the greatest empire in the history of South Asia The Mughal Empire. The writing very beautifully explains about the rise and fall of the empire and how art flourished during the rule of the Mughals. The book explains how Britishers successfully implemented their Divide and Rule policy in the region and gained power.

The book **MODERN WORLD CULTURES SOUTH ASIA** (2006) by **John S Benhart and George M. Pomeroy** very beautifully gives in-depth information about culture, climate, food, transportation, society, politics, economy, governance and administration of India and Pakistan in very detailed manner. The diversity in the region in relations to social, political and economic aspect shows the variety in the region that further increases its significance and influence.

**The History of Pakistan** (2008) by **Iftikhar Haider Malik** investigates the rich and many-sided past of an exceptionally different country still during the time spent deciding its own personality. Linked to the old Indus Valley Civilization, formed by the way of life of both the Middle and Far East, and presently transcendently gave to Islam, Pakistan has arisen as an extraordinary Indo-Muslim people group, seen with alert and interest by the remainder of the world. In this most recent volume of Greenwood's History of Modern Nations series, peruses to find the establishments of present day

Pakistan, from its soonest domains and imparted history to India to the happening to Islam and its fruitful battle for freedom in 1947. This exceptionally useful supporter additionally analyzes the central questions and perspectives directing Pakistan today: their unstable quarrel with India over the locale of Kashmir and the right to atomic turn of events, interior

discussions over the work of Islam in Pakistani society, and the rugged strength of the military in political undertakings. Ready between a fundamentally changing India and the politically unsteady Middle East, Pakistan is a significant country to comprehend as it decides its course in a quickly evolving world.

**James Wynbrandt** book **A brief history of Pakistan** (2009) explains how throughout a couple of years, Pakistan has expected vital significance on the world stage. How did this helpless nation come to involve such a situation in minimal the greater part a hundred years of presence? What are the authentic points of reference for its current course? Furthermore, what would we be able to gain from its past that can assist us with assessing the possibilities for its future?

**Pakistan's Security under Zia 1977-1988**(1991) written by **Robert G.** is a master piece that explains around 10 years of General Zia rule. During the 1980s, Pakistan faced ethnic conflicts internally. It was by then exceptionally clear at the time that Pakistan's security was defying more important than nominal pressures both from inside the country and from outside and, furthermore, that Pakistani policymakers would be troubled to the most limit to adjust to these loads. What was moreover clear, and a particular overhaul for this book, was that wise assessment of Pakistan's security issues and perspectives was shockingly insufficient. The need was to some degree one of sum: for a country of Pakistan's size and importance, there had been by and large insignificant proceeded and real examination concerning its part in unfamiliar relations. Pakistani specialists, to the extent it is important for them, regularly found permission to fundamental thing source materials impeded by government specialists stressed obviously more with camouflage than with assessment of their activities. Additionally, the task of noticing Pakistan's liberal and distinctive overall activities was simply unreasonably enormous for the little band of Western specialists gave to the examination of Pakistani administrative issues and worldwide relations.

A book **Pakistan and the Geostrategic Environment** by **Hasan Askari Rizvi** investigates Pakistan's international strategy with an emphasis on Geo Strategic importance, attempts a basic review of Pakistan's collaboration at the respective, local and worldwide levels. Primarily focusing on the period from 1972 to the present, the book

looks at Pakistan's upset relations with India, collaboration with the more modest territories of South Asia and the Muslim world. Pakistan's relations with the U.S., the Soviet Union, and China, including the effect of the atomic issue and the Afghanistan emergency on the Pakistan-U.S. ties seek a detailed treatment.

Writing by **Robert G. Wirsing** named **Pakistan's Security under Zia 1977-1988** (1991) gives in depth information about security dynamic of Pakistan during the rule of General Zia. The book Investigates the effect of occasions subject to the authority of General Zia on Pakistan's outside security strategy. These improvements radically reshaped the local security climate. The book depends generally on field visits and meetings with key people. The complexity in the regional dynamic created many challenges for Pakistan.

**PAKISTAN AND THE GREAT POWERS** by **Mohammed Ahsen Chaudhry** gives an exact record about, the effect of incredible States on the international strategy of the more modest states. It involves on four sections in which Pakistan's job is characterized by her relations with the amazing states. As per Ahsen Chaudhry, Pakistan's international strategy has been the subject of truly changing conditions and the different elements of her relations with the super powers. Pakistan experiences an extraordinary arrangement at the consistent danger to her power as a recently conceived state.. As per the author, World pioneers might declare to one side of individual freedom, non-intercession and equivalent privileges yet by and by they follow the Machiavellian decree of "might is correct". He likewise highlighted the progressions required in the international strategy of Pakistan.

The **Military Balance** by **International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS)** is a key reference to the capacities of military across the globe. It will bear some significance with anybody inspired by security and military issues and is routinely counseled by the scholarly community, media, military, the private area and government. For the present research it is taken as a primary date sources for the comparison of the military hardware between India and Pakistan specifically from the years **2015-2020**.

# Chapter # 1 South Asia: Geo-Strategic Importance

South Asia is a sub-region of Asia comprising of the Indo-Gangetic Plain and peninsular India. It includes the states of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Pakistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan and the Maldives. These states are frequently viewed as a component of South Asia. The term is frequently utilized equivalently with "Indian subcontinent" however subcontinent mostly refers to Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan. The area is limited toward the north by a progression of mountain runs: the Hindu Kush toward the northwest, the Karakoram Reach in the focal north, and the Himalayas toward the upper east. South of the mountains is the IndoGangetic Plain shaped from the consolidated mud fields of the Indus, Ganges (Ganga) and Brahmaputra rivers. It is a region of subsidence into which thick collections of prior marine residue and later mainland stores have washed down from the rising mountains.

South Asia is home to one of the world's earliest civilization today it is one of the most thickly populated area on earth. Regardless of a background marked by ethnic, semantic, and political discontinuity the individuals of the sub-continent are brought together by a typical social and moral outlook. A plenty of old literature is available in Sanskrit, Prākṛit, and provincial dialects is a significant binding together factor. Music, ceremonial traditions and scholarly standards are comparative all through South Asia despite the fact that the area has been isolated into multicolored political examples as the centuries progressed. <sup>1</sup>

South Asian has a great amount of diversity but it also reflects great amount of unity. It is suitable to describe South Asia and its people as reflecting different images in solidarity. The geological limits drawn by the most elevated mountain ranges on the planet and circling oceans along with seas set makes the entire the subcontinent unique from the other world. However inside these limits there is incredible variety in nature—mountains, rich green waterway fields, deserts and plateaus. People groups possessing a particularly characterized, yet different, area have developed

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<sup>1</sup> Yury Konstantinovich Yefremov et al, "South Asia" (Encyclopædia Britannica Inc, September 01, 2020) [www.britannica.com/place/South-Asia](http://www.britannica.com/place/South-Asia).

a shared social ambience but at the same time are deeply attached to distinctive cultural beliefs and practices.<sup>2</sup>G.W.F. Hegel, the famous German philosopher described India as an object of desire.<sup>3</sup>

South Asia has made huge commitments to world writing from old to current times. It has significant achievements in expressions of the human experience and keeps up recognized melodic traditions. Followers to each significant world religions are to be found in the subcontinent. The two of the world's incredible religions originated here and it is the home to a greater number of scholars than either the Middle East or Southeast Asia. Hinduism with its old roots and numerous understandings has an imperative impact in the way of life and governmental issues of the subcontinent. Most of the numbers of inhabitants in India are Hindus; in any case, they are recognized along lines of language and rank. While the formal disciples to Buddhism may have dwindled in the place that is known for its introduction to the world, it keeps on prospering in Sri Lanka and the Himalayas just as in East and Southeast Asia. Probably the best social and political accomplishments of Islam have occurred in the subcontinent where in excess of 400 million of the world's 1.3 billion Muslims live today. Every one of the three most crowded nations in South Asia – India, Bangladesh and Pakistan – has almost 140 million Muslims, next just to Indonesia as the biggest Muslim nations on the planet. South Asia likewise has huge Jain, Zoroastrian, Christian and Sikh minorities. South Asia today is deliberately an essential piece of the world with the testing of atomic capabilities by India and Pakistan in 1998 and the proceeding with strife in Kashmir, the subcontinent has been the focal point. The area of one of the most complicated global issues that could trigger an atomic war, South Asia requires a depth of verifiable understanding. Since the mid-1990s, South Asia, particularly India has seen significant movements in financial arrangement, making it essential to survey the area's linkages to the worldwide economy, alongside an assessment of its industrious issues of destitution and imbalance. Authentic possibilities of harmony, majority rules system and agreeable advancement strive with debates, particularly over Kashmir, putting South Asia at a conclusive intersection in its set of experiences. Prospering Democracy coincides in the area with profound strains of dictatorship, regularly inside a similar

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<sup>2</sup> Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal, *Modern South Asia: history, culture, political economy* (Second Edition, Routledge, 2004), 3-4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*,1.

nation. Despite very solid and confined, customs, the thought of unchanged traditions in South Asia was a fantasy.<sup>4</sup>

### **Brief History of South Asia**

It was in the 20th century in 1922 that the period of Indian history was unexpectedly stretched out after thousand years. Archeological unearthing's uncovered the remains of a very dazzling human advancement in the Indus valley district with two key metropolitan communities at Harappa and Mohenjodaro. Its area in present-day Pakistan has set the grave obligation of saving the remaining parts of a legacy dated to 3000 BC. Later unearthing's at Mehrgarh reflected civilization that might be as old as 6000 BC. Drawing resource from the rich agricultural parcels of the Indus River, the individuals of Harappa and Mohenjodaro had accomplished an exceptionally modern degree of metropolitan culture. The faultlessness of their metropolitan arranging of roads and waste may put a portion of the current urban communities of South Asia to disgrace. Ancient rarities found at the uncovering locales demonstrate the presence of significant distance exchange with that other incredible old progress – Mesopotamia. The Indus valley had a proficient culture. Yet, researchers are as yet attempting to decode the content that was utilized. Pictures recovered propose that individuals may have worshiped the mother goddess and worshiped the bull or both.<sup>5</sup>

Aryans started to come around 1500 BC in the region. Pieces of information about the general public, economy and legislative issues of these Indo-Aryan pilgrims are to be found in the Vedas. The first and generally significant of the Vedas – the Rig Veda – was created before 1000 BC. The extraordinary sagas – the Ramayana and the Mahabharata – may contain a few references to recorded occasions that happened somewhere in the range of 1000 and 700 BC, yet since the variants accessible to us are dated to the Gupta age (the fourth and fifth hundreds of years of the common period) they should be cross-checked against other, particularly archeological proof. It was during the Vedic period that the Indo-Aryans appear to have made the change from nomad to settle agricultural in the Gangetic plain, despite the fact that settled agribusiness was polished in various areas of the subcontinent. The political association of the early Indo-Aryans seems to have

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 4. <sup>5</sup>  
Ibid., 9.

had a solid vote based component with mainstream group known as sabha and more select social events known as samiti. Even after the Vedic age, conservative types of government appear to have been more inescapable than realms.<sup>5</sup>

The Indo-Aryan social classification was led by the Brahman caste. The two most persuasive social and strict developments of this period were dispatched by Gautama Buddha and Mahavira, originator of the Jain confidence. Both had a place with the Kshatriya caste and came from republics on the outskirts of the Gangetic plain. Buddhism and Jainism addressed station, particularly Brahmanical social conventionality, and evaded expand Vedic ceremonies. Buddhism, which later spread all over from India to different parts of Asia, required another moral origination of human issues. Buddha sees human existence was loaded with misery.<sup>6</sup>

The political history of the hundreds of years following the ascent of Buddhism and Jainism saw the development and solidification of ground-breaking local states in northern India.

Among the most grounded of these was the realm of Magadha, with its capital at Pataliputra (close to the advanced city of Patna). The Magadhan realm extended under the Maurya administration in the fourth and third hundreds of years BC to turn into a realm which grasped nearly the entire of the subcontinent. The administration was established by Chandragupta Maurya in 322 BC, only a couple a very long times after Alexander the Great's invaded into northwestern India. The Maurya domain arrived at its apogee under the rule of Ashoka (268–31 BC). In his rule, Ashoka made distant triumphs. Legend has it that after a wicked battle against Kalinga – present-day Orissa – Ashoka heart changed and if Buddhist sources are to be accepted, turned into a vigorous Buddhist.<sup>8</sup>

The Satavahana administration, presumably of native ancestral beginning, merged its hang on the north-western part of the Deccan. During the second century BC a politically different India seems to have delighted in a decent arrangement of monetary flourishing and social wonder.. The cycle of domain working from the Magadhan base was reestablished by the Gupta tradition, which sustained from 320 AD to the early years of the 6th century. The early rulers, Chandragupta I and Samudragupta got victories while the union of the realm and the major social accomplishments

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.,10.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 11-12. <sup>8</sup>Ibid., 12.



occurred during the rule of Chandragupta II. The structure of the Gupta realm was looser than that of Maurya. The Guptas didn't endeavor to force concentrated control over the inaccessible pieces of their areas, despite the fact that a marriage partnership between the Guptas and the Vakatakas provided a north-south linkage. The legitimating wonder at the middle phase of the Gupta domain, which was the image of their capacity, was verifiably Brahmanical in character. Vedic customs were restored and the sacrificing the horse turned into a basic supreme exhibition. Rank chains of importance again got inflexible and a number of social traditions put restored emphasis on the second rate status of women.<sup>7</sup>

The extremely cultural impacts radiating from a progression of fresh arrivals – Aryans, Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, Shakas and Huns before the eighth century, just as the Arabs, Persians, Turks, Afghans and Mongols between the 700 AD and 1200 AD – was a fundamental and dynamic measure. Native ancestral gatherings additionally assumed an innovative part in cycles of state development. Strategically, periods of royal union were followed by times of decentralization. For significant period of time the subcontinent remained a focal part of Indian Ocean because of the trade and culture. After Buddhism in the eighth century, Islam spread to a limited extent.<sup>8</sup>

Islam arrived in the region when Muhammad Qasim entered Sindh in 712 AD. So the Islamic concept of one God and Muhammad as the last prophet struck early roots in northwestern India. From the eighth century onwards, Arab merchants likewise choose the western shore of India but they were more interested in trade rather than spreading Islam.<sup>11</sup>

Mahmud (born in 971 AD—passed in 1030, Ghazna [Afghanistan]), ruler of the realm of Ghazna (998–1030), initially containing what are presently Afghanistan and northeastern Iran however, through his successes, in the end including northwestern India and the greater part of Iran. He changed his capital, Ghazna (current Ghazni, Afghanistan), into a social community matching Baghdad (presently in Iraq). Mahmud was the child of Sebuktigin, a Turkish slave, who in 977 became leader of Ghazna and set up the Ghaznavid tradition. At the point when Mahmud climbed the seat in 998 at 27 years old, he previously indicated noteworthy authoritative capacity and

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.,13-14.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 16. <sup>11</sup>

Ibid.,17.

diplomacy. The youthful Mahmud sought to be an extraordinary ruler and had 20 fruitful campaigns. His glorious rule at last incorporated the Kashmir, Punjab locales and a huge piece of Iran.

During the initial two years of his rule, Mahmud strengthened his position in Ghazna. Despite the fact that he was an autonomous ruler, for political reasons Mahmud gave his loyalty to the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad. The caliph perceived Mahmud as the real leader of the terrains and helped him in his victories. Mahmud is said to have pledged to attack India once per year and, truth be told, driven around 17 such campaigns. His first attack on India was in 1001 AD and the last finished in 1026 AD. He targeted Punjab and northeastern India, though in his last mission Mahmud arrived at Somnath on the southern bank of what is currently Gujarat state. His main opponent in northern India was Jaipal, the leader of the Punjab. When, in 1001, Mahmud walked on India with 15,000 troops on horses, Jaipal met him with 12,000 troops on horses, 30,000 infantrymen, and 300 elephants. In a fight close to Peshawar (presently in Pakistan) the Indians, however more in numbers and gear, fell back under the assault of the Muslim horsemen, abandoning 15,000 dead marking Mahmud as winner. Mahmud's victory of northern India encouraged the trading of exchange and thoughts between the Indian subcontinent and the Muslim world. It dulled Indian culture in unfamiliar lands. Essentially, Muslim culture, which by then had absorbed and built up the way of life of old civilizations such as the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Syrians discovered its way into India, and numerous Muslim researchers, scholars, history specialists, and writers started to settle there.<sup>9</sup>

The financial and political objectives drove Muhammad Ghuri a Turk, to attack India. In 1192 his thrashing of Prithviraj Chauhan, a Rajput tribal leader in the vital skirmish of Tarain in northern India laid foundation of the primary Muslim sultanate with its capital in Delhi by Qutubuddin Aibak. The Delhi Sultanate kept going from 1206 to 1526 under the administration of four significant traditions – the Mamluks, Khaljis, Tughlaqs and Lodis. These Turkish and Afghan rulers practiced their influence fundamentally over northern India, yet the more impressive kings,

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<sup>9</sup> Mohammad Ali, "Maḥmūd" (*Encyclopædia Britannica Inc*, 1 Apr. 2020) <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mahmud-king-of-Ghazna>.

as Alauddin Khalji (1296–1316) and Muhammad bin Tughlaq (1325–51) made invasions into the Deccan.<sup>10</sup>

Mughal Empire which was established in 1526 enjoyed expansion and consolidation until about 1707 and survived even in most critical circumstances until 1857.<sup>11</sup> The founder of the Mughal Empire Zahiruddin Babur was at first more keen on overcoming Samarkand. After a few worthless endeavors to extend a northerly way Babur settled down to govern the environs of Kabul nowadays Afghanistan. From that point he made a strike into the Punjab, and afterward in 1526 defeated Ibrahim Lodi the last ruler of the Delhi sultanate in the main clash of Panipat. Babur's utilization of Turkish gun in this fight drove a few students of history to incorporate the domain he established in the class of 'gun powder realms'. The Mughals regardless were more dependent on mounted force in making their victories, despite the fact that cannons was additionally utilized in a creative route for particular purposes. Babur was descendent of Timur (the Great Turkish leader in Central Asia) on his dad's side and Genghis Khan (the Mongol leader) on his mom's side. Peers refer the rule he established as the Timurid Empire.<sup>15</sup>

The recently established Mughals authority over north India remained shaky and weak under Babur's child Humayun. Humayun was challenged by an Afghan Sher Shah Suri due to which he escaped from India in 1540 and take asylum in the court of Safavid Iran. Sher Shah (1540– 45) achieved a majestic unification of quite a bit of northern India and set up an authoritative structure which was additionally evolved by Akbar later in the century. After Sher Shah's demise empowered Humayun to return in 1555 after few months in Delhi he fell from stairs in library and died. After his death his child Akbar (1556–1605) confronted a prompt test from an Afghan and Rajput Hindu military alliance which he crushed at the second battle of Panipat. Akbar without a doubt proved himself as the best of the Mughal heads who was a capable head of military missions, an active administrator and a supporter of culture. In 1572 he dispatched a significant mission against Gujarat, and the same year made a victorious entry into the Gujarati port city of Surat. In 1574 Akbar's military got control of Bengal. During Akbar's rule other prominent military victories were of Kabul in 1581, Kashmir in 1586, Orissa in 1592 and Baluchistan in 1595.

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<sup>10</sup> Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal, *Modern South Asia: history, culture, political economy* (Second Edition, Routledge, 2004), 21.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 27. <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

The regional scope of the Mughal domain developed during the rules of Akbar's successors Jahangir (1605–27), Shah Jahan (1627–58) and Aurangzeb (1658–1707).<sup>12</sup>

The 1857 Mutiny against British by Muslims and Hindus led to the imposition of British Raj in order to avoid any such aggressive activity again 'Divide and rule' approach was adopted. These British approaches developed with the rise of Indian patriotism.<sup>13</sup>

British rule in India can be followed from the seventeenth century, when Mughal Emperor Jahangir gave the British East India Company permission to exchange goods India in 1617. Despite the fact that the organization confronted beginning obstruction it gradually started to combine its monetary and political force in the nation. What reinforced the organization's position was the way that India was separated into various sub-rules that governed various pieces of the subcontinent including the incredible Mughals and Marathas. This helped East India Company to exploit neighborhood breaks and strains and utilize a 'divide and rule' policy that gave them responsibility for a large portion of India by 1850.

In 1857 Indian some freedom fighters revolted as once huge mob against the British which is known as the Indian Mutiny of 1857 (or 'the First War of Independence'). The crackdown by the British gave them control of India and powers were transferred to the British Crown. The British government, under Queen Victoria assumed responsibility for the British East India Company's property.

During the early nineteenth century and the principal half of the twentieth century, Britain assumed responsibility for India's assets. At the time of the Mughal Empire in the late seventeenth century India was the biggest monetary force on the planet. At the point when India recovered its autonomy in 1947 it was altogether less fortunate than it had been before British .During a tragedy at the Jallianwala Bagh a park in Amritsar, British soldiers obstructed all ways out and started shooting resulting slaughter in excess of 1,000 individuals.

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.,29.

<sup>13</sup> Michael H. Fisher, A Short History of the Mughal Empire (I.B.Tauris & Co. Ltd, London • New York, 2016), 234.

By the mid-20th century while Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi's calm improvement of non-cooperation and resistance is possibly most famous worldwide various figures for instance Bhagat Singh and Subhas Chandra Bose rebelled against the British. World War II (1939–45) was a critical turning point for creating the self-rule advancement. The Indian National Congress started the Quit India Movement in 1942 declining to assist the British during the war. After the war Indians uprising for freedom increased. A revelation was made in mid-1947 that India would be yielded its opportunity yet how this new nation would look was still to be decided. Gandhi transformed into the top of the fight for independence in 1921. The Jallianwala Bagh event led him to take a greater part in the open door fight and in several years he was well known all over the country.

Gandhi put confidence in tranquility or ahimsa and started the non-cooperation movement in which he requested that Indians boycott British items. He also drove countless Indians in the Salt March against a British law that restricted Indians to make salt. Not long after when Winston Churchill mentioned that India join World War II Gandhi responded by the start of the Quit India Movement which created tension in India. Eventually it was decided to divide British India into two nations – India and Pakistan. Gandhi had confidence in united India but couldn't stop the division of the country into India and Pakistan.<sup>14</sup>

## ***Area Profile of South Asia***

### **LANDSCAPE:**

According to World Bank surface area of south Asia is 5,135,333.062 sq km (South Asia 2018)<sup>15</sup>. South Asia's Himalaya Mountains are the most noteworthy on the planet with the height of more than 8,800 meters (29,000 feet). Mount Everest situated in the Himalaya Mountain range on the fringe of Nepal and China, is the most noteworthy mountain on the planet. Since the India

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<sup>14</sup> Elen Turner, “A Brief History of India and Pakistan” (The Culture Trip, 14 Aug, 2018) <https://theculturetrip.com/asia/india/articles/a-brief-history-of-india-and-pakistan/>.

<sup>15</sup> “Surface Area (Sq. Km) - South Asia”Data, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/AG.SRF.TOTL.K2?locations=8S>. (Accessed Date 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2021).

Plate keeps on crashing into the Eurasian Plate this mountain range is still structurally dynamic and is increasing at a pace of 5 mm every year.

The Himalaya Mountains are notable for having the most noteworthy the Karakoram Mountain range, going through Pakistan, India, China, and Afghanistan, has the most elevated centralization of tops over 8,000 meters (26,000 feet). Its most elevated peak K2 is the secondmost elevated mountain on the planet and far less individuals have effectively made it to the top compared with Everest. One out of four individuals passes on while endeavoring to climb it.

The whole Indian landmass was covered in a few thousand feet of basalt a sort of thick and volcanic stone. South Asia's rivers including the Indus, Ganges, and Brahmaputra were considered important by few old human civilizations. Today, these waterways accommodate the water needs of the area along with farming lands and for fishing purposes. The greater part of the territory along the Ganges River for instance, has been changed over into metropolitan or agricultural land and the wild species like elephants and tigers that used to be available along the stream are presently gone. Due to disposal of waste and sewage into the waterway it is assessed that around 80% of all sicknesses in India result from polluted water. The World Bank has lent India over \$1 billion to tidy up the waterway.

The main climatic element of South Asia is a sensational climate cycle known as the rainstorm. The rainstorm alludes to occasional movements in wind that bring about changes in precipitation. From October to April, twists regularly come from the upper east in South Asia making dry conditions. Starting in April in any case twists move toward the southwest, getting dampness over the Arabian Sea, Indian Ocean, and Bay of Bengal. A decent monsoon year will renew the area's water supplies and increment crop yields, driving down food costs. Abundant precipitation additionally adds to the locale's hydroelectricity potential. Notwithstanding, the heavy rains of the monsoon can likewise cause far and wide flooding, wrecking farming lands and can add to water-borne and insects borne diseases because of standing water.<sup>16</sup>

### **Population:**

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<sup>16</sup> Caitlin Finlayson, "South Asia" (Go to the Cover Page of World Regional Geography, 14 June 2019) <https://worldgeo.pressbooks.com/chapter/south-asia/>.

Population of South Asia has reached about 1.8 Billion (World Bank)<sup>17</sup> whereas according to another report the current population of Southern Asia is 1,951,288,923 as of

Wednesday, December 30, 2020, in view of the most recent United Nations estimates Southern Asia population is identical to 24.89% of the absolute world population. Southern Asia positions number 1 in Asia among sub areas in term of Population. The population thickness in Southern Asia is 303 for each Km<sup>2</sup> (785 individuals for every mi<sup>2</sup>). The absolute land zone is 6,400,127

Km<sup>2</sup> (2,471,102 sq. miles) 36.6 % of the populace is metropolitan (709,387,963 individuals in 2019).

Country	Population
Pakistan	220,892,340
Iran	83,992,949
India	1,380,004,385
Bangladesh	164,689,383
Nepal	29,136,808
Bhutan	771,608
Maldives	540,544
Sri Lanka	21,413,249

(Southern Asia Population (LIVE) 30 Dec 2020)<sup>18</sup>

### **Languages:**

Of the almost 7,099 living languages, South Asia is one of the most linguistically diverse areas in the world with four language families comprising more than 650 individual languages

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<sup>17</sup> “South Asia&nbsp;.” Data, <https://data.worldbank.org/country/8S>. (Accessed Date 6th January 2021)

<sup>18</sup> “Southern Asia Population (LIVE)” (Worldometer) [https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/southernasia-population/#:~:text=Southern%20Asia%20ranks%20number%201,785%20people%20per%20mi2\).&text=36.6%20%25%20of%20the%20population%20is,\(709%2C387%2C963%20people%20in%202019\).](https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/southernasia-population/#:~:text=Southern%20Asia%20ranks%20number%201,785%20people%20per%20mi2).&text=36.6%20%25%20of%20the%20population%20is,(709%2C387%2C963%20people%20in%202019).) (Accessed Date 30 December 2020).

according to organizers of the 13th International Conference of South Asian Languages and Literatures in Mysuru.<sup>19</sup>

In South Asia (the conventional 'Indian subcontinent') four language families meet Indo-European dialects all the more explicitly dialects of the Indo-Aryan part of Indo-European rule in the north while the south is the area of the Dravidian dialects (albeit some Dravidian dialects are spoken further north, specifically Brahui spoken in Pakistan). The northern edge of the subcontinent is involved by Sino-Tibetan dialects while the fourth family is Austro-Asiatic (or Munda-Mon-Khmer), whose dialects are dispersed from focal India eastwards into Vietnam. In India itself, the Austro-Asiatic language with the most speakers is Santali, however the significant dialects of this family, Vietnamese and Khmer (Cambodian) are spoken in South-East Asia while the major Sino-Tibetan dialects are spoken in East and South-East Asia (for example Chinese, Burmese). Notwithstanding these four families there is one language disconnect Burushaski, spoken in northern Pakistan.<sup>20</sup>

Various other Indo-Aryan dialects are followed by large number of speakers for example Marathi, Rajasthani, Panjabi, Gujarati but unmistakably the most popular languages are HindiUrdu and Bengali.<sup>25</sup>

### **Religions:**

Major religions of South Asia are Sikhism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam and Hinduism. Most of the individuals in South Asia practice Hinduism. Hindus have numerous portrayals of God from which they decide to venerate. They likewise have numerous heavenly sacred writings and prophets. There is no single way to salvation for Hindus. Hindus accept that one's spirit may be renewed a few times prior to picking up illumination at which time one's spirit is converged with the inestimable powers and is wiped out.

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<sup>19</sup> *Special Correspondent*, "South Asia Most Diverse with 650 Languages" (*The Hindu*, 8 Jan. 2018) <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/karnataka/south-asia-most-diverse-with-650languages/article22399276.ece>.

<sup>20</sup> Bernard Comrie, *The Major Languages of South Asia, the Middle East and Africa* (Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor Francis Group, This edition published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005), 9. <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.



The second most rehearsed religion in South Asia is Islam. Islam shows a confidence in just a single god- Allah. Individuals who practice the Islamic confidence are Muslims. Muslims have Holy book the Quran which was uncovered to God's last prophet Mohammed. Muslims accept that individuals have one possibility - one life- - to accomplish salvation. Islam focuses on the profound correspondence and fraternity of all humankind.

Sikhism emerged out of Hinduism as a change development in the sixteenth century. It focuses on that individuals can get away from resurrection by thinking about God's name. Sikhs have confidence in the undefined idea of God and recommend that the most ideal approach to salvation is carrying on with a decent day to day life dependent on the standards of work, love, and noble cause. Sikhs have their own unmistakable arrangement of sacred writings and strict conventions that set them apart from Hindus.

Buddhism is a religion that emerged as a change development in Hinduism in the fifth century BCE. Its originator was Siddhartha Gautama while Christianity is a religion that emerged around 2,000 years prior in Palestine among Jews who accepted that Jesus Christ was the child of God. Christianity was polished by Orthodox, Roman Catholic. All Christians see the Bible as sacred writing.<sup>21</sup>

### **Climate:**

Climate is a component of temperature, precipitation, and irregularity while vegetation is probably the best pointer of climate. Deserts, for instance, have high temperatures and low precipitation all year. Desert vegetation, in this manner is made out of xerophytic (dry spell safe) plants that have adjusted to dry conditions. Tropical jungles are another model they have high temperatures and high precipitation lasting through the year along with lavish green, quickly developing plants. Due to the Indian subcontinent's enormous size its climate differs greatly and incorporates both desert and tropical downpour woods. The majority of India is either tropical savanna or sticky subtropical. The southeastern United States is sticky subtropical. This climate type has blistering, moist summers and gentle, damp winters. Savanna climates have an

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<sup>21</sup> *South Asia,*

<http://www.cotf.edu/earthinfo/sasia/sapeo.html#:~:text=The%20major%20religions%20in%20the,in%20South%20Asia%20practice%20Hinduism.>

exceptionally dry however warm winter season and a sweltering wet summer season. Along the seaside side of the Western Ghats is equatorial jungle. In the downpour shadow (the dry, leeward side of mountains), it is dry. Another region of tropical stormy climate is Bangladesh and India's far upper east territories.<sup>22</sup>

### **Flora & Fauna:**

South Asia's has large number of mountains, dry regions and plateaus, beaches etc. It contains 18.6 percent of land which is forest which is 2.73 percent of the world total forest. The climate, altitude, latitude and geography have a large amount of diversity. Different plants grow in the region with a lot of variety.<sup>23</sup>

Deserts are found in Pakistan located on the western side of India. Meadows are area where downpour is sufficient for grass to grow but not sufficient for the trees. On the High mountain area the climate is very cold for the vegetation to grow as a result less vegetation is seen on these mountain areas on other hand the lower areas reflects evergreen vegetation.<sup>24</sup>

### **Culture and Society:**

South Asia is a diverse region. There are many dialects and hundreds of tongues spoken in India. Though Pakistan, Bangladesh, and other little South Asian nations are fairly homogeneous regarding culture, India is the embodiment of social variety. This variety is wrapped into the traditions of country life that have been set up over centuries and have prompted the advancement of various unmistakable social practices, most remarkably the rank framework.

For the majority of the previous 5,000 years, individuals of South Asia have lived as rustic individuals and turners of the dirt. During this long time interval, numerous traditions advanced

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<sup>22</sup> John S Benhart and George M. Pomeroy, *MODERN WORLD CULTURES SOUTH ASIA* (Chelsea House Publishers a subsidiary of Haight Cross Communications, 2006), 17.

<sup>23</sup> South Asia's Biodiversity: Status, Trend and Challenges (South Asia Co-operative Environment Programme, December 2016) <http://www.sacep.org/pdf/new-publication/South-Asia-Biodiversity-Status-Trend-andChallenges.pdf> , 1.

<sup>24</sup> John S Benhart and George M. Pomeroy, *MODERN WORLD CULTURES SOUTH ASIA* (Chelsea House Publishers a subsidiary of Haight Cross Communications, 2006), 17.

and turned out to be profoundly established. To see South Asia, accordingly, one should know the main customs that have created during this 5,000-year history.

The essential social unit in customary society is the agrarian village. Inside this fundamental social unit, individuals involve a few jobs in various social connections. Even today villages have rank status decided by an individual's occupation.

In a traditional bound society one can never get away from one's rank. For some individuals, a family name means that rank. Occupation was quite often represented by caste. For instance, a Dhobi is a washer man and a Chamar a laborer in leather craft both are lower-rank professions. Since leatherwork includes dead creatures, including dairy animals, it is marked among the most reduced standings.

The common custom is that most village land is possessed by upper-standing elites and is leased to bring down rank tenant farmers (helpless inhabitants). At times, these elite landowners are brutal and abuse the inhabitants by purchasing their excess harvests at an extremely low cost and charging high leases. The occupant falls into obligation to the landowner, cash banks or even the landowners credit the occupant cash at excruciating loan fees. Such obligations extend from age to age.

Rustic life isn't exclusively rural most individuals live in or close to a town. Public activity in a town is traditional bound, with family, caste, and the panchayat (town chamber) as the most significant social components. Enrollment on the panchayat was inherited also in light of caste. Commonly there were five individuals or (panches signifies "five"). Since India got freedom endeavors to make the panchayat fairer.

South Asia is overwhelmed by the position framework. The standing framework is intently attached to the Hindu confidence yet it infests all perspectives of society, particularly in India and Nepal. This framework is relegated by birth and innate. It isolates individuals into five general classes, or then again Varna which signifies "shading." Social collaboration is represented by position. An individual is restricted to wedding inside their position, and social jobs, including occupation, are restricted and characterized by caste. As another model, the clerics responsible for a sanctuary must be Brahmins, the most noteworthy caste.

Alongside the five general classifications, there are thousands of subcategories of caste called "jati." Some castes are regularly restricted to specific locales. Customarily, there were even subcastes for leatherworkers (Chamar) the individuals who wash garments (Dhobi) and even haircutters (Nai).

The people without caste are frequently labeled as "untouchables" on the grounds that those of higher status accept that their touch is dirtying. Cleaning latrines and sewers, discarding the dead, and leatherworking (with dead creatures, including the untouchable relic) are among the occupations most firmly connected with them.

The mass social changes that happen with urbanization advancement also modernized the caste framework. Moreover the ethical authority of significant pioneers, most eminently Mahatma Gandhi, has attempted to dispose of the most oppressive practices. Gandhi challenged untouchables not being permitted into sanctuaries. To get away from caste individuals sometimes change names that reflects a specific lower caste. A few people convert from Hinduism to different beliefs, however frequently the shame of caste remains. Still others basically move to a city with an end goal to begin life again.<sup>25</sup>

### **Politics:**

Administratively and socially two wide divisions existed inside the British colony. To begin with, there were the zones straightforwardly controlled by the British and second there were many huge, medium-sized, and little realms that depended on the pioneer rulers for authenticity. There were about 596 princely states in India. A portion of these sovereign states were Muslim others Hindu. Now and again, Hindus managed over Muslims or the other way around. Strict contrasts prompted weights to make a few nations, with some outrageous gatherings requesting autonomous states for Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, or Sikh people groups. Language and other social contrasts likewise prompted individuals needing nations or if nothing else states inside nations that depended on language. The most grounded pressure was among Muslims and Hindus the Mobs and fights were common. Some Hindu patriots were annoyed with Gandhi's message of convenience and harmony. In January 1948, one such radical shot and murdered the Mahatma, starting one more round of requital. The individuals who needed South Asia to be one nation were to be baffled. Raising viciousness implied that it is ideal to split the majority of South Asia into two nations—India, which would be generally be Hindu, and Pakistan, which would be dominantly Muslim. To flame the situation Muslim Pakistan would have two sections, East Pakistan (which is currently Bangladesh) and West Pakistan (the present Pakistan), isolated by 900 miles (1,450 kilometers).. Many had to leave property and assets the individuals who moved suffered burglary, plundering, assault, and murder.

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 41-48.

Seven nations presently create South Asia. Five of those—India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, and Bhutan—could be tallied right away after the British withdrawal. Bangladesh, earlier East Pakistan, split from Pakistan in 1971. India is presently a common state, or nation not administered by strict pioneers even in spite of the fact that most of its kin are Hindu. Pakistan is formally an Islamic state, and Bangladesh has a Muslim lion's share. Sri Lanka is essentially Buddhist and has an enormous minority of Hindus. Nepal is the world's just Hindu realm, and little Bhutan is a segregated and far off Buddhist realm. Each state has its own story to recount the postcolonial period.<sup>26</sup>

### **Economy:**

Most people in Indian subcontinent live in villages and make their living either by farming or raising animals. Agriculture in South Asia changed minimal during the British rule but after that change has come quickly. The major change in agriculture sector was developing of cash crops. Rather than developing food crops for one's own utilization (means cultivating), a rancher could grow a yield like cotton available to be purchased. Money acquired in the deal could be utilized to buy food or whatever else the rancher wanted. Cotton remains a significant money crop today. Jute a high-fiber plant utilized for making rope additionally has been verifiably significant as a cash crop. Other cash crops that can some of the time be devoured locally incorporate peanuts, sugar stick, oil seeds, and tea. A few territories in the area are more qualified than others for every one of these yields. Today water system that all things considered utilizes enormous scope waterway activities or draws on nearby wells helps water quite a bit of South Asia's developed land. Harvest yields have expanded significantly since the availability of water. Water system projects were begun during the 1800s under frontier heading and have extended significantly. Water system has a few drawbacks Contingent upon neighborhood conditions it can prompt loss of groundwater and waterlogging. A few lands at this point are not agriculturally beneficial because of these issues. In South Asia, the "Green Revolution" has created a huge bounce in farming sector. The Green Revolution has permitted world food creation to develop a lot quicker than population development. Since generally one-fourth of the total populace dwells in South Asia and relies overwhelmingly upon these food crops the advantage to this district is great.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid.,64-66.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.,79-83.

Regarding GDP the financial structures of Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan is very like that of India. Generally 50% of every nation's GDP comes from administrations and around 20 to 30 percent from the primary and optional sectors. In Nepal, Afghanistan, and Bhutan, farming not just providing employment but it is also important for economy. As far according to capita GDP purchasing power parity (PPP), Bangladesh (\$1,550) and Pakistan (\$1,950) both less fortunate than India (\$3,000), as are Nepal (\$1,330) and Bhutan (\$1,120). At \$3,230 per capita, just Sri Lanka outclasses India inside the subcontinent.<sup>28</sup>

### **GOVERNANCE AND ADMINISTRATION:**

During the colonial period the greater part of South Asia was administered under the British model. One may expect, thus that numerous likenesses would exist in the manner these nations are administered today. After freedom from British each nations in South Asia has its own type of government.

#### **India:**

India is the world's biggest democratic government. It invests wholeheartedly in having a solid record of free and reasonable decisions at both the public and neighborhood levels since getting free. It additionally is a government republic a nation in which the federal government is a definitive authority and administration is by public representatives. India is additionally a parliamentary democratic government in which the national leaders are chosen by the public. The public assembly is known as the Lok Sabha and looks like the Canadian or British House of Commons. There is additionally a president however this post is restricted in power and generally stately. The leader is the most remarkable lawmaker. India highly esteems having a common government in which individuals of all religions are dealt equally despite the fact that the nation is overwhelmingly Hindu.

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 90-91.

### **Pakistan:**

Pakistan is authoritatively an Islamic republic. This implies the public authority depends on delegate rule and embraces Islam as the public religion. Pakistan has regularly has experienced martial law. The last martial law was imposed by President Pervez Musharraf who took power in 1999 and declared his expectation to get rid of debasement, restore common request, and reestablish free and reasonable decisions. His undertaking is presently convoluted by the War on Terror. His union with the United States to search out and wreck psychological oppression is disagreeable in his own nation. Pakistan is separated into five enormous regions, each of which has more modest regions. Apparently, every territory is regulated from a focal commonplace government; nonetheless, in the Northwest Frontier Province (now KPK) it is said that neighborhood clans hold the force and that not even Pakistani military powers control the zone.

### **Bangladesh:**

Bangladesh (which signifies "nation of the Bengalis") likewise is a government popularity based republic. Once more, this implies that agents of individuals are fairly chosen and the federal Government is a definitive position. As noted already, Bangladesh's administration has accomplished steadiness just since 1991. Bangladesh is made out of 22 regions. Each area is further separated into tehsil's. There are 481 tehsil's.

### **Sri Lanka:**

Sri Lanka, as well is a government popularity based republic. Command over its region is restricted, in any case. Tamil revolutionaries control a large part of the northern piece of the island and have put forth attempts to set up their own request. In 2005, the dangerous and ridiculous clash took place however recent compromises have brought hope of harmony.

### **Nepal, Bhutan, and the Maldives:**

Nepal is an innate sacred government controlled by a Hindu lord, and Bhutan is a Buddhist realm. Nepal's chosen assembly holds some restricted force; Bhutan's hold practically nothing. The Maldives is a creating vote based system with a chosen government.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 74-77.



### **TRANSPORTATION:**

Of the relative multitude of methods of transport that help to join individuals together in South Asia, railways are the most significant. The Indian railroads are controlled by a solitary government employing more than 2 million people, it is has the biggest labor force of any nonmilitary employer. Railways were first settled in the district by the British. They expected to send crude materials, for example, cotton to Great Britain in this way railway was expected to connect agrarian zones to seaports. Since railways were a generally new innovation during the 1800s a considerable lot of them were constructed with various distances between tracks. The distance between the tracks, called the check, is regularly restricted in mountain regions also, more extensive in different zones.

### **COMMUNICATIONS:**

Quality of correspondences shifts broadly in South Asia. A few zones are blocked off, with little, assuming any phone, Internet, or different communication sources. Mobile phones are found all over the place. Huge programming organizations are presently putting resources into India because of need of quality communication many organizations are spending great amount of money to achieve global network for communication purposes. Many English speaking graduates are produced each year and the region potential is emerging as an economic power house.<sup>30</sup>

### **FOOD AND DIET:**

Indian food brings a kaleidoscope of sensations! Conventional cooking in South Asia differs with the environment of a zone and its social practices. In regions where rice is abundance in quantity is used for basic meals. Where wheat is regularly grown, a wide assortment of delicious breads is accessible. With such countless Muslims who despise pork, and Hindus who won't devour meat, numerous regions are almost or totally vegan. The south particularly is vegan. Chicken is the lone meat burned-through all through India, in spite of the fact that sheep and fish are famous in certain zones. Readiness of dinners may include moderate cooking and utilization of two dozen

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 77-78.

or more various flavors. Curry is anything but a specific flavor; it is really a blend of whatever flavors a specific chef uses. A masala is a blend of flavors in a specific mix. The word even signifies "blend." The utilization of different peppers at times makes the food zesty hot. For less fortunate individuals, the assortment of food is restricted. A straightforward and basic feast is rice with dhal (cooked beans or different lentils). Tea or "chai" is a famous drink. It is generally presented with much milk and sugar. Food is eaten with fingers ordinarily those of the right hand. As a supplement to a dinner one may have pan.<sup>31</sup>

## **Brief Historical Background of Pakistan**

### **1947-1950:**

Indian Subcontinent division of 1947 has a significant place in history. It changed dynamic of the region where most of the Muslims reside in the world. The area consists of three states of Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh which was previously ruled by the British for many years. The Muslims in India were in poor condition and were looking for political changes. Many Muslim scholars and activists gave solutions according to their thinking but it was decided in 1940s what their future direction will be and many Muslims started to demand for Pakistan (A Muslim State) for Pakistan.<sup>32</sup>

Pakistan was initially divided into two wings which were at the distance of 1,100 miles from each other. Both India and Pakistan faced a large amount of migration most of the people migrated by using land routes and faced enormous problems like violent attacks, massive killing, rapes, abduction and robbery. In Punjab people suffered the most the situation was so worse that even children's and elderly people were not spared. Karachi became the capital of Pakistan and Quaid-i-Azam took oath as the first governor general of Pakistan along with Liaquat Ali Khan as first prime minister of the new born state. The first assembly of Pakistan consisted of 69 members who were elected in 1946 and Indian Act of 1935 was adopted until the state will frame its own

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 57-58.

<sup>32</sup> Iftikhar Haider Malik, The history of Pakistan (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2008), 111. <sup>38</sup> Ibid., 130-131.

constitution. Karachi became over populated because large number of refugees settled there but it was not so well equipped to accommodate immigrants in best possible way. This problem was compensated by steps of the government and the help of the natives who showed hospitality towards refugees. The people with professional training and good academic background were given better opportunities to serve the nation and got authoritative posts. Many Punjabis were inducted in armed forces and Police.<sup>38</sup>

Kashmir was a royal state with an area of 86,000 square miles known for its beauty. Kashmir population consisted of Muslims majority the state was lies in between India, China and Pakistan. When the ruler of Kashmir affiliated the state with India the Muslims rebelled against him they were backed by the tribes of northern Pakistan. This conflict eventually led to a war over Kashmir and was temporarily settled by the United Nations but later once again got flamed up many times. Other issue that created tension between two states was because of state of Hyderabad which lies in south of India. The majority of people of Hyderabad were Hindus but the ruler was Muslim and he decided to stay independent but was forcefully occupied by India later on many Muslims seek refuge in Pakistan. Another princely state of Junagargh which had Hindu majority population but the ruler was Muslim who wanted to join Pakistan was also occupied by India. From the start the tensions between Pakistan and India were clearly visible conflict over different issue created tensions between two states the Pakistan leader carried thinking that many Indian leaders are not happy with the birth of Muslim state and wanted to create obstacles for it another issue that created tussle between the two states was related to the issue of funds and water dispute .The funds were later issues on the persuasion of Gandhi.<sup>33</sup>

Pakistan was divided into two wings with five provinces. Bengal that was located in the east of Pakistan was smaller in size but was bit more populated than West Pakistan. The province of Punjab became significant because of the presence of important civil and military sectors that enhanced its value and standing compared to other provinces while other provinces wanted equal share. Urdu was marked as the national language in 1947 it was accepted in West Pakistan but had serious reservations in East Pakistan.

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 131-132.

In Muslim League Punjabi Politicians held a significant position which created fear of Punjabi supremacy for other ethnicities within the country. Most of the civil services were occupied by Urdu or Punjabi ethnic groups due to which people from other ethnic group carried serious reservations. In Military most of the in seats were occupied by Punjabis. With reference to the area Balochistan is the largest province in Pakistan in early times after the birth of Pakistan Balochistan was not the province. Under the British rule in India small area of Balochistan was under the rule of British rest was shared by several royal states under the influence of Khan of

Kalat. At the time partition some princely states wanted to join Pakistan but the brothers of Khan of Kalat along with few others desired complete autonomy in their areas.. Talks were held between the Khan and Pakistani Leaders eventually Balochistan joined Pakistan in 1948. After a decade Pakistan bought Gawadar from Oman. The princely states situated in north of Pakistan also joined Pakistan some of them were Gilgit, Hunza and Chilas. The political parties of Pakistan like Muslim league started to weaken as many leader started to form their own parties on other hand some parties emerged on ethnic grounds like Awami League. The parties emphasizing on Islamic form of government to be adopted in country also started to raise their voice like Jamaat-i-Islami. Muhammad Ali Jinnah was a secular person and believed in rights of every citizen he always opposed extremist approach promoting factors leading to unity of nation.

The major setback that Pakistani people suffered was death of Muhammad Ali Jinnah on Sep 11, 1948 resulting tensions in country.

After death of Jinnah, Pakistan with two parts (Western and Eastern) comprising of five provinces and unicameral parliament was desired to make the constitution and laws for the smooth running of the country, also to promote unity but the Imbalances between the provinces and reservations over the distribution of assets, employment opportunities and political share made governance difficult. When Jinnah was live he somehow sougheed way out to these problems and managed to unify leaders but when he died situation got complicated. The Assembly passed different resolution including Objective Resolution (1949) and One-Unit Scheme but the first constitution was adopted in 1956.

### **1950-1960:**

The main reason due to which tensions existed between West Pakistan and East Pakistan was due ethnic and financial differences also because of not following proper framework on other side in West Pakistan the provinces faced unbalanced mechanism many politicians blamed Punjab for keeping much of the power. The authority of bureaucrats increased they started to play vital role in state affairs a mainstream role in the national affairs. The conflicts between elected leaders

got flamed up Ghulam Muhammad the governor-general dismissed government of Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din on grounds that he is not capable to fulfill his responsibility. The political instability resided in the country. In provincial elections which were held in 1954 Muslim League was left behind by area and ethnic based parties. To compete against Muslim

League (Dominated by Punjabi leaders) regional parties gathered at common front for elections called the United Front. The Bureaucrats held vital positions and possessed authority to deal with major issues like Kashmir given the discord with India over Kashmir. Due to Security threats military was given a large amount of share in budget.<sup>34</sup>

Iskander Mirza became governor-general of Pakistan after Ghulam Muhammad in 1955 he was an ex civil servant who had served in northern Pakistan he was backed by General Ayub Khan (commander in chief at that times). Pakistan's second assembly was formed in 1956 which managed to frame first constitution of Pakistan defining Pakistan as an Islamic Republic. The first constitution was abrogated when General Ayub Khan imposed martial law on Oct 7, 1958 on explanation that political leaders failed to handle state properly. Iskander Mirza became president of Pakistan and restricted any political measures and asked Ayub Khan to run cases of accused criminals in military courts. The political direction changed when on Oct 28, 1958 General Ayub Khan took complete charge of state administration sidelining Iskander Mirza and becoming founder of military dictatorship in Pakistan. Pakistan had a vital location in South Asia. During Cold War the security concerns developed for Pakistan from India as disputes were going on between the two states over various issues particularly over Kashmir. These security concerns for Pakistan brought close ties with USA and some European countries mindset of its civil and military elite allowed it to develop closer relationships with the United States and other Western powers.

Pakistan faced enormous challenges from the start from the issue of canal water to unjustified division of assets among many the issue of Kashmir was most complicated. Afghanistan the Muslim majority state and neighbor state of Pakistan opposed United Nations membership for Pakistan. When Maharaja of Kashmir signed Instrument of Accession with India the situation became worse the revolt by Muslims in Kashmir and tussle between forces of Pakistan and India flamed the situation in Kashmir. The rift between India and Pakistan over

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid.,132-135.

Kashmir led to first Indo-Pak war which ended after the involvement of the United Nations (UN). UN observed the LOC (Line of Control) dividing two parts of KASHMIR one under Pakistani administration and other under Indian administration.

In the north of Pakistan lies Republic of China which most of the times showed its support to Pakistan on other hand Afghanistan had its own reservations with Pakistan .From 1950s and onwards Pakistan assisted land locked states with transit route for goods along with financial aid for their development projects to keep healthy relation with them. Pakistan developed good relations with Nepal and Sri Lanka though the Indo-Pak tussle limited the cooperation within the region. Pakistan shared close ties with United States of America and some North Atlantic states and received economic and defence aid from them. USA supported newly independent Muslim state and provided financial assistance demanded by Pakistan. The first prime minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan visited USA in 1950 along with his wife he explained the ideology of Pakistan along with how they want to flourish democracy in new Muslim state. During Cold War USA was in search of allies after the end of Korean War and revolution in China states like Turkey ,Iraq ,Iran and Pakistan made alliance with USA .In 1954 Pakistan became member of SEATO(South-East Asian Treaty Organization) due to which

Pakistan established relationship with many other countries. In 1955 Pakistan signed Baghdad Pact (Later known as CENTO) which was the brainchild of John Foster and Allan Dulles who believed that communist expansion can be controlled by the use of military and by having strong alliances among states. Pakistan shared close ties with USA and its allies and received tremendous military and economic assistance. The repute of Pakistan at international level also increased. Pakistan also developed close ties with some Muslim countries situated in Asia and Africa. The common religion (Islam) brought Pakistan close to Muslim world but some of leader of Muslim states had their reservation over Pakistan close ties with USA like the president of Egypt Gamal Nasser who expressed his concern over close bound of Pakistan and USA.

However, being a Muslim state Pakistan managed to have prestigious position among the Muslim World.<sup>35</sup>

Ayub Khan was the son of junior official from the British military he was born in Rehana a village in NWFP (Now KPK). His father gave him excellent education and he was sent to Aligarh for higher education where he excelled in his studies he got selected in British Military.

He got his military training in India as well as in Sandhurst. During World War II he served in Burma .After partition of India Ayub Khan served in East Pakistan during his service in East

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., .135-139.

Pakistan he learned about politics and political leader. In 1950 Ayub Khan returned to Rawalpindi and served on various important military posts.<sup>36</sup>

During the summer of 1958 Ayub Khan was serving as head of Army for second time though he had good relations with Iskander Mirza the president of Pakistan at that time he was keen to continue his service President Iskander Mirza gave him another extension of two year in June asking Ayub Khan to make sure that military support any political stance taken by the president. At that time Iskander Mirza started to lose his popularity among the public and the politicians according to whom the president keeps his self-interest above national interest. The insecurities of Iskander Mirza led to Martial Law which was imposed by him on Oct 7, 1958 and asked General Ayub Khan to arrest politicians and to carry trials in military courts. After three weeks Ayub Khan took complete charge of the country sidelining Iskander Mirza.<sup>43</sup>

### **1960-1970:**

Ayub Khan started to introduce different reforms in the country he formed commissions and committees so that process of reforms can speed up. Among many reforms introduced by Ayub Khan his Land Reforms carry significant place along with Press Commission which got public attention. He provided security to peasants who didn't have their own land, He also took measure to stop forced labor and combined land for small landlords under new planning. In the land reforms introduced by Ayub Khan the bigger landlords were given permission to keep land up to 500 acres of irrigated land and 1000 acres were fixed for arid land remaining land was to be distributed among peasants however these reforms were not fully implemented due to certain political reasons.

The political reforms of Ayub Khan reflected his perspective regarding politicians he adopted very strict policy towards politicians including detentions and removal but in 1962 he needed political support when he decided to lift martial law and implement constitution of 1962 which was drafted according to his own choice. The constitution of 1962 came with indirect form of government according to which the voters would choose councilors who would run local government along with forming Electoral College. The Electoral College would elect president.

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 146-147. <sup>43</sup>  
Ibid., 146-148.



At the start the number of basic democrats were 80,000 later on it was increased to 120,000. Two elected assemblies would run East Pakistan and West Pakistan while the main power will reside with the president. The constitution of 1962 didn't solve the root problem of Pakistan which was the distribution of power between the federal government and provinces instead it reflected strong centralized government.<sup>37</sup>

Pakistan realized that USA assistance to Pakistan is not sufficient to put enough pressure on India to resolve Kashmir Issue but Pakistan gave full support and cooperation to USA however on some grounds the relationship between Pakistan and USA were shaky like when the government of Pakistan decided to shut down Budaber Air Base which Americans to fly U-2 spy planes over USSR territory for which even Pakistan was given threats by USSR. During SinoIndia war of 1962 in which China and India went for war over boundary conflict many Pakistanis believed it was the right time to negotiate with Delhi over Kashmir. In 1959 Pakistan and China started to have talks on boundary settlement and demarcation was finalized at times when tensions were high between India and China. USA didn't liked Pakistan growing ties with China with already so much tensions on borders Ayub Khan focused to have stable relationship with China. In 1965 Ayub Khan visited China after the presidential elections he met with Prime Minister Chou En-lai who showed him different Chinese cities and different agreements were signed.<sup>38</sup>

The war of September 1965 mainly started because of Kashmir issue after the defeat of India in Sino-India war of 1962 and battle of Kuchch boasted opinion of Pakistani leaders to get Kashmir by force on other hand UN involvement also seemed helpless to reach some solution. The situation in Kashmir was continuously unstable with demand of freedom by Kashmiri Muslims all these factors made situation very complicated. India started the war of 1965 by its forces attacking Punjab and Sindh Pakistan responded and war continued for 17 days and India faced strong resistance. United Nations managed to agree both states for cease fire on Sep 23, 1965. USSR offered its assistance to Ayub Khan as well as to Lal Bahadur Shastri which led to peace treaty known as Tashkent pact of 1966.<sup>39</sup>

In June 1967 Third Arab-Israel War was fought in which Israel emerged as victorious,

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 148-149.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 151-152.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 153.

Israel was backed by America the war was fought over the dispute of territories of places like Gaza Strip, Sinai Peninsula and Old City of Jerusalem.<sup>40</sup>In the 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israel wars Pakistan air force took part under cover with bravery Pakistani pilots worth mentioning Air Commodore Sattar Alvi who shot down Israeli aircraft and fought with valor.<sup>41</sup>

## **1970-1980:**

Ayub Khan started to face public protest against him which caused many problems for him on other hand General Yahya Khan started to expand his authority in 1968–1969 which eventually led to resignation of Ayub Khan and General Yahya coming to power. General Yahya Khan carried out first general elections in Pakistan in Oct 1970 through Legal Framework Order (LFO).The national assembly proposed by the government will consist of 313 members. General Yahya Khan dissolved one unit once again Pakistan consisted of five provinces. After elections national assembly will frame constitution within 180 days when Yahya Khan assumed power he abrogated Ayub Khan's Constitution.<sup>42</sup>

After the general elections of 1970 Awami League of Sheikh Mujeeb Ur Rahman stood at top by securing 167 seats out of 169 in East Pakistan on second was PPP which secured 81 seats. After the elections the disputes occurred between Bhutto and Rahman over distribution of power. Talks were held between both leaders but eventually proved useless leading to arrest of Rahman and his fellows. Military operations were carried out on Awami league leader which led to chaos and civil war. India offered assistance to rebels and back groups like Mukti Bahini. The USA supported Pakistan over India because of its close ties with Moscow. After the situation got extremely heated Indian troops entered East Pakistan and Pakistani army responded but was demoralized. Operations were carried out by Pakistani Army but they didn't prove much fruitful the Pakistani army headed by General Abdullah Khan Niazi surrendered later on ceasefire was

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<sup>40</sup> "Six-Day War" (Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc) Accessed January 14, 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Six-Day-War>.

<sup>41</sup> Reporter, The Newspaper's Staff. "Tribute Paid to PAF Pilot Who Downed Israeli Jet in 1974(DAWN.COM) January 21, 2018, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1384301>.

<sup>42</sup> Iftikhar Haider Malik, The history of Pakistan (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2008), 154.

signed on 16 December 1971. New State emerged on world map named Bangladesh (previously known as East Pakistan).<sup>43</sup>

After war General Yahya Khan resigned. Zulfikar Bhutto went to United Nations he returned to Pakistan on 18<sup>th</sup> of December 1971 and on 20<sup>th</sup> December he became as president along with chief martial law administrator.<sup>44</sup>

After 1971 war India had 93,000 Pakistani prisoners of war for their release, Bhutto met Indira Gandhi at Simla in 1972 and signed Simla agreement. In Simla agreement both countries agreed to withdraw their troops from occupied area of one another territory India released of about 5,000 square miles of Pakistani area while Pakistan released about 70 square miles of Indian. The agreement also reflected that both countries will improve their relationship and will continue diplomatic relationship. Pakistan formally recognized Bangladesh on Feb 22, 1974 two years later at Islamic Conference which was held in Lahore. In 1973 third constitution of Pakistan was enforced it contained many changes like addition of Islamic advisory council and many steps were taken to promote Islamic ideology. The teaching of Quran was made compulsory in schools. The Government took steps to make sure collection of Zakat. The constitution also carried strict punishments for criminals. The constitution was enforced on Aug 14, 1973.<sup>52</sup>

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto introduced nationalization in 1972 the state administration brought more than 31 companies under their control. The process of nationalization was carried on to reduce the influence of the 22 richest families in Pakistan who had monopoly over industries and carried influence on state economy and politics. Later on banks were also nationalized along with the nationalization of insurance companies. The government granted loans to farmers and small businesses on easy terms and conditions. The government also reduced the area of land that can be owned by single person to 500 to 150 irrigated acres and from about 1,000 to 300 unirrigated acres.

Bhutto managed to develop good relationship with Muslim world. When in 1974 India did atomic test Bhutto started to develop keen interest in achieving nuclear capacity for Pakistan.

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 154-156.

<sup>44</sup> James Wynbrandt, A brief history of Pakistan (Infobase Publishing, 2009), 202. <sup>52</sup> Ibid., 207.

Despite of immense pressure from western powers Pakistan continued its efforts to achieve nuclear technology and in this regard Muslim countries stood by Pakistan and provided funds to help Pakistan in achieving its nuclear capacity. Bhutto became active started to build foreign relations to seek benefits he focused on establishing strong ties with China, his decision to leave common wealth in order to pursue nuclear technology is was not well taken by America and Western powers. Bhutto also carried good relations with Iran and tried to create friendly terms with Afghanistan. In 1977 after elections protests started against Bhutto accusing him of rigging the elections Bhutto suspected as Kissinger was not happy with Pakistan's nuclear program he might be backing the protests against him. Bhutto used to deliver long speeches he often used to switch languages during his speeches his speeches were mixture of English, Sindhi and Urdu. He was a blunt speaker with good sense of humor.<sup>45</sup>

Bhutto introduced many changes in educational sector the made education free till high school and allocated funds for graduates without jobs. Quota was granted to students from rural areas to pursue higher on other side some Bhutto face some serious problem the prices of oil got higher and natural disasters troubled the economy of the country. Due to floods the prices of the crops got higher creating problem for citizens. Higher oil prices following along with natural disasters including floods and an earthquake, also impacted the economy during Bhutto's rule. The government faced serious budget deficits and more currency was printed resulting inflation in state. In some sectors in which investment was made during Bhutto period didn't pay off until Zia period came like Cement and Fertilizer production industry.<sup>46</sup>

As Bhutto period continued he tried to keep political opposition crushed due to which public started to accuse Bhutto for some serious crisis he was accused of corruption, mismanagement and he was also blamed for the loss of East Pakistan. The economy also faced serious crisis and inflation ruled the country. The elections were to be held in 1977. To get support of public in elections Bhutto introduced new land reforms on other side nine parties joined hands against Bhutto and formed an alliance known as Pakistan national Alliance. PNA (Pakistan National Alliance) started to campaign against Bhutto and they earned a lot of popular support. In elections of 1977 held on March 7 Bhutto emerged as victorious, Bhutto PPP secured majority of

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<sup>45</sup> Iftikhar Haider Malik, *The history of Pakistan* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2008), 165.

<sup>46</sup> James Wynbrandt, *A brief history of Pakistan* (Infobase Publishing, 2009), 209-211.

seats while PNA secured only 36 seats it was not expected as the rallies and visible support from public reflected something else. The PNA started to demonstrate protests all over country accusing Bhutto administration for fraud and rigging the elections and demanded to held elections once again under the supervision of the Army. Pakistan National Alliance boycotted provincial elections. Bhutto clearly turned down the demand of reelections and in reaction PNA went for strikes all over the country along with the support of religious groups and business sector.

PNA leaders were arrested across the country and martial law was imposed in major cities (Lahore, Karachi and Hyderabad).The clashes between PNA workers and government forces became violent and situation got unstable. The worsening situation forced Bhutto to carry negotiations with PNA leaders eventually Bhutto agreed to all demands of PNA before confirming the agreement he left for tour to Iran, Kuwait, UAE, Libya and Saudi Arabia.

The PNA perceived Bhutto tour as a delaying tactics and military was called to restore peace in all major cities as the political situation was threatening General Zia ul Haq imposed martial law on July 5, 1977 and arrested Bhutto and his cabinet members and disbanded all law making bodies. The state was under third martial law.<sup>47</sup>

### **1980-1990:**

Bhutto was trailed in court and was given death sentence, he was hanged on April 4, 1979. In Dec 1979 Soviet Union (USSR) invaded Afghanistan and Pakistan became an active state during this critical phase of Cold War. The western countries and Arab countries viewed Zia as important ally who could counter Soviet Union activities in Afghanistan. The USA needed Pakistan assistance to counter expansion of communism the Carter Administration asked for help from Pakistan and offered \$400 million as assistance Zia rejected the amount calling it

“peanuts ” President Reagan offered more assistance to Pakistan and CIA began to train Afghani Mujahideens and used Islam to motivate fighters. At time when USA involvement in region

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 211-213.

disappeared after revolution in Iran in Feb 1979. The American CIA and ISI carried out big covert operation. Hospitality was shown to four million refugees from Afghanistan; people of Pakistan welcomed them with open hearts. The cities such as Quetta and Peshawar became over populated. With 4 million refugees the economy of Pakistan was in problem. The war expanded

Zia's international status due to which he managed to get funds and reputation as well. The America gave all type of defence and political support to Pakistan in war against "the evil empire" (USSA).

During this time most of the leaders of PPP were in jail or were exiled so it was good opportunity for Zia to give democratic touch to the government he named elected assembly as Majlis-i-Shoora (Advisory Council) which contained most of the members nominated by him and was continuously challenged by some civic groups. Several Anti Zia parties were formed in 1981 like MRD (Movement for Restoration of Democracy) which was badly crushed by Zia. During 1983 MRD demanded for restoration of democracy and constitution of 1973 both demands were turned down by Zia. He used intelligence to deal with any political threat but eventually he was forced to announce elections in 1984. The rigged referendum was held by him earlier after which he nominated himself president for five years. After elections of 1985 assemblies were formed Zia asked assemblies to carry on all laws and ordinances which he has issued for eight years and gave warning to dissolve assemblies otherwise.

Eighth Amendment was passed by the assemblies which gave more power to Zia including power to dismiss Prime Minister and dissolve assemblies. Muhammad Khan Junejo the prime minister of Pakistan was completely dependent on Zia and when he tried to practice his authority he was dismissed by Zia in June 1988 after Zia's return from official visit. Zia died in plane crash on Aug 17, 1988.<sup>48</sup>

General Rahimuddin the martial law administrator of Balochistan in 1980 introduced reforms for the stability of the province following Iraq-Iran war. Saddam Hussein with the cooperation of Baloch rebels tried to divert Iran's attention to Pakistan but he failed. 40,000 of Pakistani military personnel were present in Saudi Arabia to deal with any security threat. The circumstances were not so good within Pakistan with its population under threat from Iran and

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<sup>48</sup> Iftikhar Haider Malik, *The history of Pakistan* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2008), 170-171.

its own Shia population viewing the possible security concerns Zia increased internal security of the country. The Generals of Armed forces condemned the killing of Shia who went for Hajj in Saudi Arabia. Zia didn't issue any instructions to fight with any country Army. The high-ranking members of Pakistan Armed Forces objected to the killing of Shiite pilgrims in Saudi Arabia. Zia did not issue any orders to Pakistan Armed Forces-Arab Contingent Forces, to engage any country militarily. Several missiles sent for Afghan Mujahideen were sold to Iran.<sup>49</sup>

After death of General Zia in plane crash Ghulam Ishaq Khan become president of Pakistan as directed by the constitution. After getting charge of president he conducted elections and Pakistan People's Party (PPP) stood victorious in elections. Next were the presidential elections with the backing of Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and Islamic Democratic Alliance Ghulam Ishaq Khan won the presidential elections on Dec 13, 1988. As everyone was expecting Ghulam Ishaq Khan choose Benazir Bhutto leader of PPP as new prime minister of Pakistan.<sup>50</sup>

After the end of Afghan war in the last days of Zia rule the Geneva Accords was signed which ended the war it was signed in April 1988 afterwards soviet union started to windup its forces from Afghanistan. With the end of war Pakistan lost its strategic value in Cold War. Benazir Bhutto started to visit different sates to develop diplomatic relationships she visited America in June 1989 she tried to convince administration and to remove their reservations related to nuclear technology. She also declared that Pakistan is ready to sign pact with India for declaring subcontinent a nuclear-free-zone. Benazir Bhutto also tried to carry good relation with India and to resolve Kashmir issue peacefully. Rajiv Gandhi the India prime minister at that time visited Pakistan in 1989 talks were held between the two prime ministers Gandhi refused to Bhutto proposal for nuclear-free zone. In 1989 Pakistan succeeded in getting reentry in Commonwealth enabling Pakistan to have certain trade benefits.<sup>59</sup>

Bhutto wanted to restore 1973 constitution in its original form excluding Zia amendments which gave power to president to dismiss government and dissolve assemblies in order to secure herself

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<sup>49</sup> "Iraq–Pakistan Relations" (Wikiwand, Accessed January 15, 2021) [https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Iraq%E2%80%93Pakistan\\_relations](https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Iraq%E2%80%93Pakistan_relations).

<sup>50</sup> James Wynbrandt, A brief history of Pakistan (Infobase Publishing, 2009), 225-227. <sup>59</sup> Ibid., 228-229.

but she failed to get sufficient support. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan on Aug 6, 1990 by using article 58 2(b) of the constitution dismissed Benazir Bhutto Government on allegation of corruption and poor administration and declared emergency.<sup>51</sup>

### **1990-2000:**

Nawaz Sharif the former finance minister and chief minister Punjab became prime minister on Nov 1, 1990. He belonged to one of the most prominent families of Pakistan.<sup>52</sup> The situation in Kashmir got worse in 1990 Indian army adopted aggressive policy and killed about 100 protestors at Gawakadal Bridge. Many Hindus left Kashmir due to critical situation India imposed AFSPA (Armed Forces Special Powers Act) in Jammu Kashmir. Pakistan trained Kashmiri Muslims fighting against Indian forces. India deployed large number of army in Jammu Kashmir and situation got violent.<sup>53</sup>

Nawaz Sharif strengthened relations with Central Asia's Muslim states formed after Soviet Union was collapsed. Pakistan joined global unification to drive Iraq out of Kuwait in Gulf War. Afghanistan faced political instability after war. Nawaz Sharif government faced poor law and order situation within country he tried to negotiate with fighting groups but violence continued. The main cause of chaos during Nawaz Sharif government was based on political and ethnic differences. The easy availability of weapons promoted crimes and the criminal outbreaks was titled as "the Kalashnikov culture".<sup>54</sup>

Due to difference of opinion over different issues President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dismissed Nawaz Sharif as prime minister and dissolved assembly on April 19, 1993 on allegation of corruption using 58 2(b). Balakh Sher Khan Mazari became temporary Prime Minister. Nawaz Sharif challenged Ghulam Ishaq Khan decision in Supreme Court and court gave decision in Nawaz Sharif favor and he was restored as Prime Minister however tension existed between the President and the Prime Minister. Both Nawaz Sharif and Ghulam Ishaq Khan resigned after

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 232.

<sup>52</sup> Iftikhar Haider Malik, *The history of Pakistan* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2008), 234.

<sup>53</sup> "Kashmir Profile - Timeline" (BBC News, August 6, 2019) <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia16069078>.

<sup>54</sup> James Wynbrandt, *A brief history of Pakistan* (Infobase Publishing, 2009), 237.



negotiations and Moeenuddin Ahmad Qureshi became caretaker Prime Minister and Wasim Sajjad became caretaker President<sup>55</sup>

In elections held on Oct 6–8, 1993 PPP stood victorious and Benazir Bhutto for second time became Prime Minister of Pakistan. After becoming Prime Minister she had many challenges ahead to deal with from economy to restoration of smooth democracy. She convinced Clinton Administration to assist Pakistan in Defence and technology. She advocated Pakistan stance on Kashmir but at the same time wanted stable relation with New Delhi. The murder of Rajiv Gandhi in 1991 brought political instability in India and Muslims suffered badly in anti-Muslims riots.<sup>65</sup>

Political resistance in Punjab and Karachi created tension between Benazir Bhutto and President Leghari. The president was also not happy with the interference of Asif Ali Zardari in politics especially when his repute was not so good. The Prime Minister Bhutto and the president Leghari had reservations with each other over appointment of judges. They also accused one another for corruption and nepotism. The conflicts over many issues flamed so much that eventually President Leghari dissolved assemblies on Nov 5, 1996. Khalid (1916–2003).<sup>66</sup>

Within ten years third time elections held in Pakistan. Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) stood victorious in it with securing 135 seats in National Assembly. Nawaz Sharif became president for second time in 1997. He was aware of crisis and struggling economy of state. The situation became more critical when bomb blasts took place in Karachi and Lahore along with ethnic killing. The tension also existed within judiciary and government making situation more complicated. President Leghari left office on Dec 2, 1997 due to conflicting relations with Nawaz Sharif. Thirteen Amendment was passed by legislative assembly of Pakistan after which the president power to dissolve assembly was removed.

Differences took place between General Jahangir Karamat and Nawaz Sharif in Oct 1997 forcing General Karamat to retire. General Pervez Musharraf became next Chief of Army Staff. The Indo-Pak relation took turn in Feb 1998 when general public contact and informal meeting

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<sup>55</sup> Iftikhar Haider Malik, *The history of Pakistan* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2008), 239-241.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 185-186. <sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 188.

were carried out by retired diplomats of India and Pakistan. The Prime Minister of India at that time A. B. Vajpayee visited Lahore on special tour he went to Iqbal Park and delivered a speech with a promise to carry cooperation with Pakistan and will respect its sovereignty.

The efforts for peace proved useless when both states demonstrated nuclear test in May 1998 and fought war in Kargil (Area of Kashmir) in 1999. During Kargil war both states forces fought aggressively the Indian Air Force targeted Pakistani front position eventually the war ended with the interference of Clinton who pressured Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to withdraw his forces. After withdrawal of forces by Pakistan the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and Chief of Army Staff General Pervez Musharraf accused each other for wrong decisions over Kargil War.<sup>56</sup>

## **2000-2010:**

Nawaz Sharif tried to remove General Pervez Musharraf from the post of Chief of Army Staff on Oct 12, 1999 by not allowing his flight to land in Pakistan the military responded and martial law was enforced in country. Military arrested Nawaz Sharif and His brother Shabaz Sharif on charges of hijacking and murder attempt. The international community criticized military coup and demanded restoration of democracy in country. Many prominent figures of PML-N were arrested among many were Kulsoom Nawaz (Wife of Nawaz Sharif), Rana Sanaulah Khan and Shah Mohammad Shah. In some cases the political prisoners were also tortured. The Nawaz Sharif case was trialed in anti-terrorism court and he was found guilty for hijacking and terrorism thus he was given sentence for life imprisonment. In 2000 he was given exile to Saudi Arabia for about \$ 8 million (500 million rupees). After the deportation of Nawaz Sharif the U.S secretary Christina Rocca came to Pakistan and showed her concern about the crackdown on PML-N and affirmed U.S support for General Pervez Musharraf Government.

Supreme Court announced that Musharraf military action against Sharif was valid On May 12, 2000. The Supreme Court pointed that military action was necessary keeping in view the condition within country. The court added it was the only possible solution to control economy

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 189-191.

and to stop corruption for the wellbeing of state. The court ordered Musharraf to conduct elections by Oct 2002.<sup>57</sup>

Musharraf supported Kashmiri up rising and Taliban (Before 9/11). Musharraf met Atal Behari Vajpayee (Indian Prime Minister) in 2001 at Agra, India, to discuss Kashmir but the talks didn't lead to some fruitful results. The Indo-Pak relations took worse turn when terrorists attacked Indian parliament on Dec 13, 2001 and blame was put on Pakistan. The government of Pakistan denied any such involvement but India moved its forces on border and Indian navy moved to point where Karachi was in their target .Pakistan threatened for Nuclear War and U.S stated to put efforts to ease situation between India and Pakistan. The U.S started to build pressure on Indian government to withdraw its forces in order to stabilize the situation between two states<sup>69</sup>

When Musharraf takeover the government he faced international pressure to restore democracy but the situation change after Sep11,2001 attacks in USA the attacks were masterminded by Osama bin laden who was given protection by Taliban's in Afghanistan's demanded Pakistan cooperation in war against terrorism in return of defence and economic assistance. Musharraf faced a lot of criticism within Pakistan because public didn't wanted neighbouring Muslim country to be labeled as their enemy. The Sectarian violence (Shia-Sunni) also increased in country within Muslim community. Despite of all these challenges there were some positive developments too the Indo-Pak relation got better and bit progress was made on Kashmir issue.

After eight years in power General Pervez Musharraf announced in 2007 that elections will be held .He gave permission for the return of Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto both were in exile. Benazir Bhutto the former Prime Minister of Pakistan was assassinated shortly after her return. In Feb 2008 elections were conducted and PPP stood victorious in elections.<sup>58</sup>

After elections Asif Ali Zardari became the president of Pakistan Chief Justice Abdual Hammed Dogar took oath from him. The Army started operation in Swat in Sep 2008 against

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<sup>57</sup> James Wynbrandt, A brief history of Pakistan (Infobase Publishing, 2009), 254-255. <sup>69</sup> Ibid., 257-258.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 253.

Taliban's. Kerry-Lugar bill had some serious reservations for Pakistani Military leadership. The Generals of Pakistan Army expressed their concern over it. The bill was aimed at giving 1.5 billion dollar to Pakistan as non-military aid. 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment was passed by the National Assembly on April 8, 2010. NWFP (North West Frontier Province) was renamed to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Senate passed it on April 15, 2010 and was signed by the president the same month.

### **2010-2013**

US forces carried an operation on May 2, 2011 in Abbottabad a city in Pakistan and killed the commander of Al Qaeda named Osama bin Laden who was accused for 9/11 attacks. In Nov 2011 twenty five Pakistani army personnel was killed in air strike by NATO due to which tensions prevailed between Pakistan and US. Pakistan closed supply routes for forces in Afghanistan. After an apology from Hillary Clinton routes were reopened.

The prime minister of Pakistan Yousuf Raza Gilani was disqualified by the Supreme Court on June 19; 2012. He was accused for disrespecting the court. The government of Pakistan gave China the contract for the operation and construction of Gawadar Port on Feb 18, 2013. It was expected that the development of Port will bring development in Balochistan as well. The president Asif Ali Zardari met with Iranian President on May 11, 2013 who inaugurated \$7.5 billion gas pipeline project from between Pakistan and Iran.<sup>59</sup>

### **2013-2020**

After becoming prime minister for third time Nawaz Sharif focused on economic stability and to control inflation his government faced different challenges like energy crisis which led to electricity shortage in the country. On international level he focused on expanding trade. He focused on establishing healthy relations with Afghanistan and India. The government of Nawaz Sharif also tried to negotiate with TTP (Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan) to establish peace in the region. During Nawaz Sharif third government Pakistan received lot of investment from China for BRI

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<sup>59</sup> Dawn.com. "Timeline: Major Political Events from 2008-2013" (DAWN.COM), March 16, 2013. <https://www.dawn.com/news/795825/timeline-of-major-events-during-govts-tenure>.

(Belt and Road Initiative). Pakistan received 10 Billion Dollars from China for domestic development and CPEC that will assist China for less expensive trade routes.

After Panama Issue was highlighted in 2015 the government faced lot of hardships and later on Nawaz Sharif was disqualified by Supreme Court in 2017 he was replaced by Shaid Khaqan Abbasi .In 2018 elections PTI stood victorious bringing Imran Khan to power. Few weeks after Imran Khan became Prime Minster United States stopped 300 Million Dollar military aid by giving an argument that Pakistan is not doing enough to stop terrorism however aid was given later on. Efforts were made by the government to carry peace talk with Taliban's in Afghanistan. The Central Government appreciated Pakistan effort but soon relations got unstable when Imran Khan declared lack of authority of Central Government in Afghanistan.

The relation between Pakistan and India got sour in 2019 after suicide attack in which 40 Indian soldiers were killed and Pakistan's Government was alleged to support attacker in response Indian Air Force conducted air strike in Pakistan. After air strikes India claimed it has bombed and crashed militant camp in Pakistan however Pakistan refused existence of any such a militant camp and said Indian Air force dropped bomb on empty land. Pakistan shot down two fighting jets of India very next day and captured pilot who was later returned to Indian Government. Both Pakistan and India avoided flaming up the situation. Imran Khan faced severe financial challenges due to debts taken by Pakistan which forced Imran Khan to take financial assistance from IMF (International Monetary Fund).Imran Khan put effort to obtain foreign aid from allies and managed to secure investment arrangement with UAE, China and Saudi Arabia.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> "The Third Administration of Nawaz Sharif," Encyclopædia Britannica (Encyclopædia Britannica, inc.), accessed July 22, 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Pakistan/The-third-administration-of-Nawaz-Sharif>

## **Chapter# 2 Force Posture Between India and Pakistan**

The term "force posture" refers to the position and readiness of the armed forces of a country in light of threat perceived, can operate in two ways i.e. defensive or aggressive. In view of security concerns and threat perception of any country, the conventional approach which is more likely to be adopted is "to examine the political and security environment of the region in which it is located, the nature of its relations with its neighbors and vice versa, the size of the armed forces and weapons deployment of countries in the region, and over and above all, the interplay of defence and foreign policy objectives of countries in the area. Concepts governing this approach are: first; political and military threat perception, secondly; deterrence of such threats, and thirdly; defence against such threats if such a need arises".<sup>61</sup>

Some of the elements of force posture are tangible while some are intangible. Consequently it is difficult to take into account all the elements of force posture in general and the intangibles in particular as they seem more elusive in nature which makes them difficult to estimate/tabulate. However this chapter will bring into light the threats perceived by the states of India and Pakistan, the structure and deployment of their armed forces, command structure and their constitutional status, defense expenditure and along with their indigenous defence production. Moreover the nuclear status of the both countries will also be discussed.

### **Security Perception in South Asia**

Security is a deep-seated concept in the psychological orientation of the general public and the decision makers of a state due to the historical evidences and the current situations. It is generated as a result of fear pertaining to internal or external conditions. It is assumed to be the upshot of a country's weakness which is propagated by its incapacity to control the threatening environment. Such countries seemed to be more concerned about security than the ones who are

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<sup>61</sup> JN.Dixit, "India's Security Concerns and their Impact on Foreign Policy" Indian Foreign Policy: Agenda for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, Vol.1, (New Delhi: Foreign Service Institute, 1997), 143.

well prepared to face any unfortunate incident Consequently, these countries whose incapacity outdo their capabilities become helpless to safeguard their national interests.

Another major factor that better explains the concept of insecurity is Perception which is regarded as psychological concept that defines the behavior of people and nations in international interaction. Perception depends upon circumstances, specific observations, historical experiences, and time period. ".<sup>62</sup> It, in general, is the outcome of conscious or unconscious fear of a rival, but particularly, it is the product of wars and threats that make it real.

For analyzing the security perception in weak countries, some variables can be used. These variables are threats, wars and defense related budgetary allocations. Comparatively, the perception of security accepts quick transformation than the real threats. In such situation, mutually agreed alliances tend to provide security to the signatories but in doing so may augment the insecurity of the countries that are not the part of alliance.

Wars, one of the variables, stand for acts of aggression that clearly threaten the security of a country. There are various objectives of wars; some of them are as under

- (i) To establish control.
- (ii) To destabilize the growing capabilities of the rival.
- (iii) To show power
- (iv) To protect national interests.

Peace in South Asia is generally conditioned to the security perceptions of the regional countries of the region and in particular India and Pakistan. Undoubtedly, the security perceptions of a country depend upon the nature of threats facing that country that springs from internal and external sources. In the context of Pakistan and India, the security perceptions are believed to be more inward than outward are closely inter-linked to each other.

The relation between Pakistan and India is of significance in the matters concerned with the Security and stability in South Asia This region was first made tensed towards the end of the

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<sup>62</sup> Robert G. Wirsing, Pakistan's Security under Zia 1977-1988(New York: The Macmillan Press, 1991), 84.

colonial rule in India. During this era, the fight between the two nations raised because of the Muslim's demand of a separate homeland that was opposed by the Hindus of the sub-continent.

This issue was persisted till their independence in August 1947. It has been years that the IndoPak relations are harshly stressed with some short, sporadic phases of normal relations. However, the Kashmir dispute added fuel the hostility between the two states. Consequently, India aspires to elevate its stature globally by ameliorating its military capabilities in order to combine its position in Kashmir as well as attain its strategic aims. India tends to be influential enough to contribute actively in the world matters and does not want to be considered a client state by the foremost powers, in general and its neighbors in South Asia in particular. Thus, it desires to be recognized for its largest size (in terms of area and armed forces) round the world.<sup>63</sup>

The evolution of the military capabilities of India has caused unevenness in the conventional military balance of the regional states i.e., Pakistan and India. Moreover, the danger of this imbalance has been intensified with the nuclear capabilities of both the countries, India and Pakistan. In this way, the development programs of India have further destabilized IndiaPakistan relations.

This chapter deals with the causes of the bitter relationship between the two countries i.e., Pakistan and India. It further talks over the nature and implications of the conventional military inequity between these countries that can truly threatened the security perception of Pakistan that may lead to arms race in the region.

## **Indian Threat Perception**

India's security perceptions reflect its perceived and actual threat which includes global, regional and internal dimensions. Therefore, strict security policy measures are adopted to prevent such threats. In the initial phase of division of the British India in August 1947, Indian's military consisted of an army of 300,000, a navy of four sloops, two frigates, and some harbordefence craft

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<sup>63</sup> I.K. Gujral, "Aspects of India's Foreign Policy" Speech delivered at the Bandaranaike Center For International Studies in Colombo, Sri Lanka, January 20,1997, available online at <https://www.stimson.org/1997/the-gujraldoctrine/>.



and an air force of two fighter and one transport squadrons. These defense resources were adequate to fulfill its security requirements at that time.

After the war between Pakistan and India in 1948, over Kashmir, India thought that Pakistan would remain inferior in terms of military resources and she could take Kashmir easily. Keeping this in mind, she went for nonalignment to go against the strategy of Pakistan's alignment with the United States and its membership of regional pacts i.e., South East- Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO).

Furthermore, the Panchsheel Accord and the friendly relations between India and China in the early 1950s thinned the India's fear of invasion by China. However, this illusion got cleared by the Sino-Indian war in 1962. This war not only exposed Indian defense armor but also harmed Indian reputation round the world.

India's damage in the Sino-Indian War gave rise to substantial changes in her defence policy. The basic emphasis was on ameliorating the defence capabilities that led to create a hike in the country's defence expenditure. In addition to it, in 1964 a five-year plan was made public for defence and implemented accordingly.<sup>64</sup> It was designed to provide a boost to India's defence capabilities by acquiring suave weapons and defence technology from abroad in general and Soviet Union in particular as Pakistan was procuring weapons from the US and China. After the Indo-Pakistan War in 1971, India and the Soviet Union had joined hands by signing the IndoSoviet Treaty of Peace and Friendship in August 1971. The USSR remained the key defence provider to India till 1991. Furthermore, the newly emerged Russia, as the successor state of the USSR previously, has also begun to counterfeit close defence ties with India.

Though India shares long land borders with China, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Myanmar and Bhutan however, her threat perceptions are mainly related to China and Pakistan, excluding the rest of the neighboring countries.

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<sup>64</sup> Lorne J Kavic, *India's quest for Security: Defense Policies 1947-1965* (Berkley University of California Press, 1967), 27.

Sino-Indian conflict deteriorated the relations between Beijing and New Delhi as China had occupied a substantial portion of Indian Territory and claimed as its own. This border issue became the main irritant between the two countries. Nevertheless, the process of Sino-Indian reconciliation that started in the post-Cold War period has somehow downgraded the antagonistic sentiments between them in which both the countries have agreed upon constituting a joint working group to mend the border issue. However this phase of "friendly" relations between China and India did not contribute to dilute her threat perceptions about China as it had been supporting Pakistan in its missile and nuclear Programme. Thus, China remained security threat for India.

Similarly, Pakistan is also considered a security threat by India as it faced each other in four successive wars since partition. Despite sharing a long land borders with Pakistan, India's relations with it are antagonistic in nature. There are a number of other reasons that threatens Indian defence mechanism including the Kashmir issue at the core. Similarly, since the beginning of hostility between these neighboring countries, Pakistan has also been trying to upgrade its defence capabilities against India and to seek this objective, sought the membership of the regional military alliances i.e., SEATO and CENTO, sponsored by America during the zenith of the Cold War. Consequently, after the nuclear explosion by India in May 1974, Pakistan felt a threat to its security and as a defence mechanism started a nuclear armaments programme silently. Thus, when India steered nuclear tests in May 1998 and avowed herself as a nuclear state, its neighbor Pakistan also jumped on the bandwagon. That is why; Pakistan is a substantial factor in India's security consideration.

### **Pakistan's Threat Perception and Arms Race in the Region**

Since their emergence, Pakistan and India consider each other a security threat to themselves. Each country has been facing and leading actual threats to the other. These intimidations have been instilled in argumentation that further led to the deep-seated psychological apprehension of Pakistan about its insecurity. Subsequently, the people belonging to this region started questioning the fissure that lies in the security strategies of Pakistan and India. The breach of security is linked up to the seizure of Kashmir which has been the core factor in the conflict that led to many wars between India and Pakistan since 1947. It is an unresolved issue and root cause of other conflicts i.e., firing across the border, intrusion of militants and periodic artillery duels

have become norm of the day. Some other factors behind the estranged relations between Pakistan and India include the Indo-Pak wars of 1965, 1971 and the Kargil conflict of 1999.

In the aftermath of the abolition of British rule in Indian sub-continent, the territories of Pakistan and India emerged as two sovereign states in August 1947. As it was formerly the demand of the Muslims so that's why the Hindu leadership accepted the British decision of partition with a heavy heart that afterwards resulted in many communal riots including bloodshed at the time of the independence. Thus, the relationship between these two regional states began on a sour note.

Pakistan and India, since the beginning of their emergence as two independent states, became the chief concern of each other's foreign and safety policies. The two-sided diplomacy between the two is also categorized by a hostile relationship and mutual distrust. Although, there have been some impermanent periods of relative cordiality to defuse tension and disseminate harmony in the area. However, the relationship between Pakistan and India seemed more antagonistic in nature than convivial.

## **THE CAUSES OF ENMITY**

### **Historical Background**

There are many reasons due to which India and Pakistan have conflicting relationship. The main argument for the conflict takes us back to the period when

Islam arrived in the region and challenged monopoly of Hinduism's. Islam's build its foundation and afterwards rises to power which severely damaged Hinduism. This framed attitude of Hindu towards Muslims and Islam in South Asia. Hinduism was also considered as Islam's main competitor by the Muslims. The enmity became more noticeable after the establishment of the British Rule in India Both Muslims and Hindus tried to dominate one another to access power and to gain benefits.

The conflicts were carried to the post-independence period and even after the independence. Different political analysts saw ideological incompatibility between secular India and Islamic Pakistan as main cause of conflict.

## **(1) Biased Attitude**

The bases of mistrust and clash between Pakistan and India also can be linked with self-perceptions and biased attitude. These perceptions were nourished by the elite at the time of partition of 1947. Each one considered itself as peaceful and cooperative while labeling other for evil intentions and for creating problems.

### **(ii) Conflicts Created by the Geographical Division of India**

Some political analyst blames British decision of partitioning British India as a main cause of conflict between Pakistan and India. Two views are out forward to support their argument first, the British left India in a hurry ignoring proper division and completion of division process. Many problems were left unsolved which resulted into rivalry between India and Pakistan. Marking of international boundaries caused sourness in relationship between India and Pakistan. Disputes over the princely states like Manavadar, Kashmir and Junagarh created rift between India and Pakistan. Other issues like water dispute over distribution of water and killing of immigrants further flamed the situation. The second logic that is mostly put forward by the Indian analyst is the partition of sub-continent destroyed economic unity of the region, and resulted formation of 'inorganic and illogical' entity Pakistani, which laid brick of conflict in sub-continent.<sup>65</sup>

### **(iii) Minority Problem**

With the partition of sub-continent two states emerged on world map one with Muslim majority Pakistan and other with Hindu majority India. The Muslims and Hindus were so much mixed in sub-continent that it was not possible to completely separate two communities from one another due to which many Hindus were left in Pakistan and even more Muslims in India. The minorities in both states suffered a lot and their sincerity was questioned. The minorities in Pakistan and minorities in India were in doubts due to conflicts between India and Pakistan. Minorities were concerned about their security and future in both India and Pakistan.<sup>78</sup>

India and Pakistan both carried the view that minorities are suffering and are oppressed by one another. The minorities always feared of being attacked by the opposite extremist religious

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<sup>65</sup> Hasan Askari Rizvi, *Pakistan and the Geostrategic Environment* (New York: ST.Martin's Press, 1993), 19, 20.

<sup>78</sup> Siser Gupta, *India's Relations with Pakistan 1954-57* (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications, 1958), 48. <sup>79</sup> S.S. Bindra, *DR. India and Her Neighbours: A study Of Political, Economic and Cultural Relations and Interactions* (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications, 1989), 41, 42.

groups. Several riots took place in India and Pakistan after partition and both states blamed each other for riots.<sup>79</sup> The minorities issue created doubts and hatred in the hearts of the people of both states.

#### **iv) The Water Dispute**

After partition of sub-continent water dispute arose between India and Pakistan due to Radcliffe's Award. The Ravi, the Indus, the Jhelum, the Beas, the Sutlej and the Chenab are the six rivers of Indus-Water system. Canals connect water of these rivers with each other, when water level gets low in one river main link canal is used to transfer water in it from another river. Before the division of sub-continent the water system was managed as a whole. When line was drawn which divide the former Punjab it cut across water system and India got control on the headwork of the canals.

After the division of sub-continent India wished that Pakistan should divert the supplies which Pakistan was getting from the eastern rivers through link canals. Pakistan refused India's suggestion and water dispute occurred between both states.

India closed the canals passing the borders between Pakistan and India in April 1948 which created a severe trouble for Pakistan. The President of World Bank Eugene R. Black gave his view on water crises between two states that "the relations between the two countries were thus thrown into a crisis which was to continue along the border intermittently throughout the decade that followed. Five long years after partition India and Pakistani troops were still facing each other behind sand bags and barbed wire at irrigation headwork's along the frontier....this was most likely to lead to all-out war".<sup>66</sup>

The president of Pakistan and Prime Minister of India finally met on 19 September 1960 in Rawalpindi to sign a pact. The pact was signed and the crux of the pact was that "India should for irrigation purposes use the three easterly streams in the basin-Sutlej, Beas and Ravi and Pakistan the three westerly streams, Chenab, Jhelum and Indus".<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>67</sup> G. W. Chaudhury, Pakistan's Relation with India (Meerut. 1971), 128-133.

Another water issue connected straightforwardly with Kashmir is the Wuller Lake Project. The Project is carried on the River Jhelum including a barrage with a width of 439 feet is being built to improve water route throughout the winter between Waller Lake and Baramullah. For Pakistan this project reflects various threats as India could store water and cutting the supply could badly affect acres of agriculture land in Pakistan. On the successful implementation of the Wuller lake project India will become capable to release or store water anytime. Also India will become capable to flood areas of Pakistan and use this large reserve of water as a weapon in case of war. Mangla Dam gets most of the water supply from river Jhelum in case India stops flow of water it can lead to electricity shortage for Pakistan.

Pakistan rejected to the proposed barrage on the basis on Indus Waters Treaty according to which India can't store water or could construct any storage works more than 10,000 acre-feet (this was written in Article- III of the Indus Waters Treaty) while the proposed barrage could store 300,000 acre-feet of water. Pakistan condemned the project labeling it a clear violation of the Indus waters treaty.

Permanent Indus Commission coordinated between the two governments over the water issue since April 1986 but didn't achieve any significant success. In spring 1987 the last meeting was held in which the two commissioners met to discuss the water issue and it was decided to involve government of India and Pakistan to resolve this issue. In October 1987 representatives of India and Pakistan met and India showed its willingness to stop all construction work. After this five further meetings were held without any visible results. India not following its conventional obligations created mistrust and suspicions between the two states. Another water issue over Baghliar Dam has also emerged recently both India and Pakistan has started debate over it.<sup>68</sup>

### **(v) Kashmir Issue**

The Kashmir issue rose due to flaws in the division plan of Sub-continent and is still looking for some reasonable solution since 1947 that will be acceptable for both India and Pakistan. India and Pakistan have fought wars in 1947, 1965, and 1971 but the situation remained unchanged.

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<sup>68</sup> Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, "Assessing the Role of Confidence Building Measures in the India Pakistan Tangle", IPRI Journal, IV: : 1, ed. Imtiaz H. Bukhari, (Islamabad: IPRI, winter 2004), 8, 9.

Most of the times the policies of India and Pakistan room around the Kashmir issue and the involvement of the Superpowers enmity has made situation even worse.

Pakistan doesn't consider Kashmir just a piece of land but something more valuable i.e. fight for her ideology. For India Kashmir problem is associated with its principle or respect while on other hand for Pakistan it seems like do or die situation.

Any threatening activity in Kashmir can easily reflect danger for Pakistan's military and can pose serious threats to important roads and railway communications. If India wishes she can easily get control of waters of Jhelum and Chenab on which Pakistan's economy depends. Lacking economic and strategic grounds, the Government of Pakistan is requesting her case and will not permit any unfriendly state to control the administration of Kashmir.<sup>69</sup>

According to Pakistan only the people of Kashmir have the right to choose the future of their land. Another debate Pakistan put forward is that India agreed to hold plebiscite in Kashmir when the issue was discussed in Security Council in 1948. Both countries agreed to the UNCIP resolutions of 13 Aug 1948 and 3 Jan 1949 promising to the world to carry plebiscite in Kashmir as agreed in these resolutions.

India claimed that she agreed to hold plebiscite long ago before the Kashmir issue was put in to the Security Council and also argued that it was a promise to the Jammu and Kashmir people not to the United Nations or Pakistan. Though Still India agreed to fulfill her promise to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir was obstructed when Pakistan refused to withdraw her forces from parts of the Kashmir which were controlled by her illegally. India left with no choice other than to allow the people of Kashmir to choose their future through a "duly elected representative body", the constituent Assembly. The constituent Assembly on 17 Nov 1956 confirmed the State's accession permanently to India. India giving the agreement it's the verdict of the people of Kashmir that they wanted to ascend Kashmir with India.<sup>70</sup> Pakistan rejected India's claim and her point of view was generally carried out by most members of United Nations.

The government of India and Pakistan stood completely opposite to one another on

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<sup>69</sup> G. W. Chaudhury, *Pakistan's Relation with India*, 54.

<sup>70</sup> Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, *IPRI Journal*, 4, 5.

Kashmir issue. India didn't accept Two Nation Theory on which the division of the subcontinent was based. To India the principle of self-rule was not the cause behind the division of sub-continent. In United Nations Security Council many times Kashmir issue has been debated but didn't produce any fruitful outcome. Pakistan and India also made some other efforts to resolve Kashmir problem through mutual negotiations but all in vain. The solution almost seems impossible because of the stiff attitude of both India and Pakistan.

After the incident of 9/11 both India and Pakistan cooperated with international community to eliminate terrorism. India killed many Kashmiris falsely labeling them terrorist. The main concern of the Indian forces was to suppress freedom movements in Kashmir.

India is depending on military solution for Kashmir issue while history is evident that political issues can be resolved in best possible way only through political means. Unable to receive a lesson from past India is continuously using force to reach solution. Such approach of India damages its claim of being a peaceful nation in fact it highlights its true objectives. It also uncovers dominating intension of India along with its inability to cover the intensity of response generated due to its broken promises.<sup>71</sup>

#### **(vi) Exterior components Shaping Pak-Indo Relations**

The decision making theory says that the foreign policy of a country towards other country is not only set on that how nation's decision makers define their aims and objectives and how they perceive about the other countries but also by the exterior and Interior factors that run upon them.<sup>72</sup> This is evident in Indo-Pak relations.

Main exterior components shaping Indo-Pak relations are given below:

- a. Military assistance to Pakistan from western countries since 1954 and the successive USSR support to India.
- b. Devoted relationship between China and Pakistan especially since 60s.
- c. Better relations between China and USA especially since 1970-71.
- d. Progress in relations between Pakistan and USSR especially from April 1965.

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 6-7.

<sup>72</sup> Richard C. Snyder, H. W. Bruck and Burtor Sapin., Decision Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics (London: Princeton Press, 1954), 38.



- e. Defence treaty signed by India and USSR and its impact on 1971 Indo-Pak war.
- f. USSR invasion in Afghanistan and USA assistance to Pakistan.
- g. US combat against terrorism from 2002 and role of Pakistan.

### **(vii) Fight for Power and Dominance**

These components explain the cause of antagonism between Pakistan and India. Over the years they have developed new perspective in South Asia regarding regional power structure.

India's population, technology, size, defense production, industry and military power earned her an important place in the region. Such significant place in India is viewed as the achievement of India's historical mission as Jawaharlal Nehru visualized main role for India internationally. His vision is sometimes tagged "as the Nehruvian model of foreign policy"<sup>73</sup> its main focus was on developing and collaborating economy, advancing technology and cultural cooperation, and nonalignment as its main piece. Soon India advanced her military and her followers agreed that India should have a strong army to keep significant place in the region.

India's leadership model reflected that India with strong military could project its power in the region as well for outside it will bring stability in South Asia.<sup>88</sup> India's military advancement poses no threat to any country of South Asia because it has no harmful plans for them. Instead it's military and defense industry could be used to counter any possible threat from the outside. Therefore they must coordinate their policies with India so that it could guarantee Peace and harmony in the region in most effective way.

The exemption of external involvement in South Asia and advancement of India's military are two major components of India's dominance model. The India also emphasized that all issues should be discussed with her and other South Asian states without involvement of any other country and international organizations.

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<sup>73</sup> Hasan Askari Rizvi, Pakistan and the Geostrategic Environment, 20. <sup>88</sup> Ibid., 20.

India's efforts to dominate the region were resisted by other states in South Asia but eventually they gave up because of the Indian pressure. Pakistan evolved as the world largest Muslim country and resisted India's dominance in the region. Pakistan focused on preserving the rights of the Muslims around the world. Muslim state of the time and dedicated itself to serving and fighting for Muslim interests everywhere. Despite of difference in size Pakistan talked of equality with India.

India viewed Pakistan as a hurdle in its march to greatness. Until Pakistan will not accept India as a strong power others were likely to follow the same path. Hence India decided to eliminate Pakistan from its path to glory. As a result both countries fought with one another over and over again and are likely to continue as India retains its efforts to dominate over South Asia and to earn a significant place in the world.<sup>74</sup>

Apart from the factors mentioned above, "the most serious issue is the conflict between India and Pakistan is unacceptance and to be accepted. Psychologically, it has gone deep into the socio-political systems, and unless it is minimized, the chances of war will remain. This has given birth to arms race in the area. Each act of aggression is widening the gap and the insecurity is increasing in the area, and perceptions are changing into realities".<sup>75</sup>

Security has always been an important concern for Pakistan's foreign policy all leaders gave it primary importance. The military rivalry is the symbol of India-Pakistan relations since division of states from 1947. India and Pakistan focused on military advancement and arms acquisitions in light of possible wars with each other. Force is deployed on borders in abundance by both states and conflict on Kashmir border often occurs. India and Pakistan accused each other for violation and aggressiveness on border. The enmity between India and Pakistan remained persistent throughout the history.

Defence allotment and security are closely interlinked with one another. It is usually considered that the "country with more defense allocations 'feels more insecure or the country with

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<sup>74</sup> Stephen P. Cohen(ed), "The Security of South Asia" Security and Stability in South Asia, Lt. General A. I. Akram, (New Delhi: Vistaar Publications, 1987), 166-167.

<sup>75</sup> Syed Farooq Hasnat and Anton Pelinka (ed), Security For The Weak Nations: A \_Multiple Perspective (Lahore: Izharsons Publications, 1986), 87.

lesser defense allocation present comparatively secure position. The allocation is to be taken in proportion to the total expenditure. It is to be assumed that if the allocations are less than one third of the total expenditure the country is less insecure, and if it is between 30 to 50% the country is

<b>Defence Spending in US\$m and % of GDP</b>				
Year	INDIA	PAKISTAN	INDIA	PAKISTAN
2015	44,843	8,805	2.15	3.25
2016	51,453	9,188	2.27	3.29 <sup>92</sup>
2017	58,026	9,746	2.19	3.28 <sup>93</sup>
2018	57,830	11,357	2.13	3.63
2019	60,794	10,175	2.12	3.71
2020	64,138	10,774	2.47	3.55 <sup>94</sup>

**Source:** Data collected from the **Military Balance**, IISS, London; 2015 - 2020. having security problems, and if it exceeds 50%, the country is highly insecure".<sup>76</sup>

Because of the existing enmity India and Pakistan both are spending large amount of their budget on military expenditure. (See Table Below)

### **Defence Spending of India and Pakistan from 2015-2020**

As the above table reflects that there is a huge difference on defence spending between India and Pakistan.

According to India arm race started because of Pakistan refusal of territorial status quo originated from division of sub-continent and its efforts to counter India by matching its military force. While on other hand Pakistan differs from India. According to the policy makers of Pakistan

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 87.

India is responsible for the arm race in the region. Arm race started due to threats imposed by India to Pakistan's independence and territorial integrity.

From the view of foreign observers, "India and Pakistan seemed equally responsible for the arms race. Both were said to be the captives of historically rooted distrust and misperception;

<sup>92</sup> International Institute of strategic Studies, The Military Balance (Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, London, 2018), 504.

<sup>93</sup> International Institute of strategic Studies, The Military Balance (Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, London, 2020), 531.

<sup>94</sup> International Institute of strategic Studies, The Military Balance (Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, London, 2021), 519.

and both were accused of wasting resources on arms that would be better spent on the uplift of their impoverished societies".<sup>77</sup>

As India clearly dominates defence spending, It is important to examine defence forces of India and Pakistan on three grounds i.e. personnel strength, Weapon systems and force posture.

## 1. Personnel Strength

The comparison of personnel strength between India and Pakistan is given below:

**Personnel strength of India and Pakistan.**

<b>Country</b>	<b>India</b>	<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>Ratio</b>
<b>Total Active Force</b>	1,458,500	651,800	2.23:1
<b><u>Army</u></b>			
<b>Active Duty Troops</b>	1,237,000	560,000	2.2:1

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<sup>77</sup> Robert G. Wirsing, Pakistan's Security under Zia 1977-1988 (New York: The Macmillan Press, 1991), 83. <sup>96</sup> International Institute of strategic Studies, The Military Balance (Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, London, 2021), 259. <sup>97</sup> Ibid, 290.

<u><b>Navy</b></u>			
<b>Total Personnel</b>	69,050	21,800	3.1:1
<b>Naval Avn</b>	7,000	-	-
<b>Marine Command Force</b>	1,200	3200	1:2.6
<u><b>Air Force</b></u>			
<b>Total Personnel</b>	139,850	70,000	2:1

**Source:** Data collected from the Military Balance 2021 published by Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group for IISS, London.

From the above table we can see that India has 1237000 active troops in army<sup>96</sup> while Pakistan has 560,000 active troops in army<sup>97</sup>, a ratio of 2.2:1 of the two armies. These numbers do not include reserve troops and second line forces of either side. The Indian Navy has 69,050 personnel including 7,000 of Naval Avn and 1200 marines<sup>78</sup>. On other side Pakistan has 21,800 personnel in navy including 3200 marines<sup>99</sup>. This brings to the ratio of 3.1:1 of the two navies.

Indian Air Force is world fourth largest air force in world.<sup>100</sup>The Indian Air Force consists of 139,850 personnel<sup>79</sup> while Pakistan has small air force as compared to India consisting of 70,000 personnel<sup>80</sup>. Thus the ratio of the India and Pakistan Air Force is 2:1. Here the facts and figures given above clearly reflect that India has more active personnel in Army, Navy and Air force as compared to Pakistan.

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid, 261. <sup>99</sup> Ibid, 291. <sup>100</sup> “Indian Air Force Day 2020: Here Are 5 Interesting Facts You Didn't Know about IAF,” Latest News India: Breaking News Headlines Today, Business, Cricket, Videos, Photos, accessed April 25, 2021, <https://www.timesnownews.com/mirror-now/in-focus/article/indian-air-force-day-2020-here-are-5-interesting-facts-you-didnt-know-aboutiaf/663902#:~:text=IAF%20is%20the%20fourth%20largest,initiated%20by%20the%20United%20Nations>

<sup>79</sup> International Institute of strategic Studies, The Military Balance (Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, London, 2021), 259.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, 292.

## **2. Weapon Systems**

We can see clear advantage for India's armor in comparison with Pakistan with ratio of 1.47:1. India consists of 3,640 MBT (Main Battle Tank)<sup>81</sup> almost half composed of T-90 and T72 tanks. While on other side Pakistan has 2,467 MBT (Main Battle Tank)<sup>82</sup>.

The Indian artillery also outnumbers Pakistan with ratio of around 2.1:1. India has 9,809 plus artillery including SP 120mm, 122mm, 160mm, 105mm Indian Field Gun, Multi Rocket Launcher (MRL) etc<sup>83</sup>. On other side Pakistan has 4,595 plus artillery consisting of SP (selfpropelled artillery gun), 155mm, M109A2 etc.<sup>106</sup>

India has wide range of missiles. It has 9 operational missiles among which Agni-3 is also included that has a range of 3000 km to 5000 km. China assisted Pakistan in its missile program according to CSIS(Center for Strategic and International Studies) in Washington Pakistan missiles can reach any part of India. The Shaheen 2 has the largest range of 2000 Km.<sup>84</sup>

**Navy** India has a clear advantage over Pakistan when it comes to navy. India has invested huge amount to create blue water navy, by which it aims to dominate the, Arabian Sea, The Arabian Gulf and the Indian Ocean from the Strait of Malacca to Hormuz.<sup>85</sup> Pakistan Navy currently lead by Admiral Amjad Khan Niazi is operating with budget of Rs140 billion has crossed a long way towards professionalism and progress since 1947. At the time of division of sub-continent in 1947 Pakistan navy got disappointing share in division of assets. Colonel (R) Udaya Chandar's in his book has written that at the time of partition the Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee headed by British Field Marshall Sir Claude Auchinleck divided Royal Indian navy between India and Pakistan with ratio of 2:1.

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid, 260.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid, 290.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid, 261. <sup>106</sup>

Ibid, 290.

<sup>84</sup> Al Jazeera, "India vs Pakistan: Military Strength and Arsenal," India News | Al Jazeera (Al Jazeera, February 26, 2019), <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/2/26/india-vs-pakistan-military-strength-and-arsenal>

<sup>85</sup> Syed Adnan Ali Shah. "Russo-India Military-Technical Cooperation." Strategic Studies 21, no. 4 (2001).71. <sup>109</sup> Sabir Shah, "An Overview of Pakistan's Naval Prowess," thenews (The News International, February 15, 2021), <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/790270-an-overview-of-pakistan-s-naval-prowess>

The "Global Firepower Index 2021," reflects that India has 285 warships including corvettes, support vessels, aircraft carriers, helicopter carriers, frigates, while Pakistan has 100 of these. It is noteworthy that according to the "Global Firepower Index 2021," Pakistan earned 10<sup>th</sup> place in most powerful countries in world last year it was at 15<sup>th</sup> place.<sup>109</sup>

## **Air Force**

Even after more than seventy years of independence the enmity between India and Pakistan didn't vanished. Both nations have been involved in clashes with each other several times. Air Force of India and Pakistan played important role at time of war, keeping the current situation in view both countries are trying to modernize their air force to reflect superiority over other. India has edge over Pakistan in terms on quantity as it is the fourth largest air force in world. India recently inducted French origin Rafale fighter jets but according to Angad Singh and Harsh V. Pant (linked with Observer Research Foundation) deal of 36 Rafale fighter jets won't make much difference. Apart from Rafale Indian Air Force has MiG-21s, Su-30MKI and MiG-29 air defence aircraft which gives Indian Air Force due advantage over Pakistan Air Force. On other side Pakistan has F-16, F-7 jets, Mirage III, JF-17 and Mirage V. China assisted Pakistan in developing JF-17 which Pakistan used against India in Balakot Strike.

The Pakistan Air Force managed to shoot down MiG-21 of Indian Air Force on 27 February, 2019 and captured Indian pilot Abhinandan Varthaman who was later returned to India on 1 March, 2019. BS Dhanoa former Indian Chief of Air Staff stated in context to Balakot Strike that "Pakistan would not have responded on February 27 last year to the Balakot air strikes if India had the French-manufactured jets then, "however capabilities of Pakistan Air Force was questioned back in 2011 when US forces flew to Abbottabad and killed Osama Bin Laden without being detected by Pakistan Air Force.

Both India and Pakistan claim sovereignty over Kashmir and as India cancelled Article 370 situation got flamed up. Despite Indian Air Force exceeds in quantity and quality, Pakistan Air Force has proved its worth from time to time.<sup>86</sup>

India and Pakistan have different military aims, India view itself as a growing regional power and see military as an important component for its growth. On other hand Pakistan is focusing to maintain an army that can counter threats originated from India. In terms of man force India has clear advantage over Pakistan therefore Pakistan is trying to modernize its military technology to address possible threats from India. Beside the visible elements Pakistan should also focus on intangible elements like patriotism, motivation, professionalism and leadership, which are vital assets for world-class military.<sup>87</sup>

## **Placement of Armed Forces**

### **INDIA**

For effective control and better accessibility to operational areas India is divided into following commands:

<p><b>NORTHERN COMMAND</b></p> <p>HQ in Udhampur, Jammu &amp; Kashmir</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• XIV {14} Corps - Leh, Ladakh</li> <li>• XV {15} Corps - Srinagar, Kashmir</li> <li>• XVI {16} Corps - Nagrota, Jamm</li> </ul>
<p><b>WESTERN COMMAND</b></p>	

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<sup>86</sup> Smriti Chaduary. "Where Does Indian Air Force Stand Against Pakistan After 55 Years Of Indo-Pak War?"theurasian(The Eur Asian Times, September 7, 2020), <https://eurasianimes.com/where-does-indian-airforce-stand-against-pakistan-after-55-years-of-indo-pak-war/>

<sup>87</sup> Syed Adnan Ali Shah. "Russo-India Military-Technical Cooperation." Strategic Studies 21, no. 4 (2001).73.



<p>HQ in Chandimandir, Chandigarh (Punjab)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• II {2} Corps - Ambala, Haryana (Strike Corps)</li> <li>• X {10} Corps - Bhatinda, Punjab</li> <li>• XI {11} Corps - Jalandhar, Punjab</li> </ul>
<p><b>SOUTH WESTERN COMMAND</b></p> <p>HQ in Jaipur, Rajasthan</p>	<p>□ IX {9} Corps - Mamun (Pathankot), Punjab</p>
<p><b>EASTERN COMMAND</b></p> <p>HQ in Kolkota, West Bengal</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• III {3} Corps - Rangapahar (Dimapur), Nagaland</li> <li>• IV {4} Corps - Tezpur, Assam</li> <li>• XXXIII {33} Corps - Siliguri, West Bengal</li> </ul>
<p><b>SOUTHERN COMMAND</b></p> <p>HQ in Pune, Maharashtra</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• XII {12} Corps - Jodhpur, Rajasthan</li> <li>• XXI {21} Corps - Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh (Strike Corps)</li> </ul>
<p><b>CENTRAL COMMAND</b></p>	

HQ in Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh	□ I { 1 } Corps - Mathura, Uttar Pradesh (Strike Corps)
<b>ARTRAC</b> <b>(ARMY TRAINING</b> <b>COMMAND)</b>  HQ in Shimla, Himachal Pradesh	

Source: <sup>88</sup>

The northern command of India army consists of three corps, the XIV, XV, and XVI. All units are placed in Kashmir near LOC (Line of Control). The western command also consists of three corps, the II, X, and the XI. It is accountable for Punjab and Rajasthan. The head quarter of Southern Command is in Poona. It consists of two corps XII and XXI and it is responsible for Gujarat and Maharashtra. Central Command is accountable for the central sector of western borders with Pakistan. It has one corps, the I. The Eastern Command consists of III, IV and XXXIII Corps. It is responsible for Assam. South Western command operates with

Udhampur based Northern Command and Chandimandir based Western Command. <sup>89</sup>

## **Pakistan**

Pakistan Army is divided into following Corps:

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<sup>88</sup> Super User, "The Meghna Crossing," Organisational Structure, accessed April 26, 2021, <https://www.bharatrankshak.com/ARMY/today/16-org-structure.html>

<sup>89</sup> John Pike, "Military," India - Army, accessed April 26, 2021, <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/india/army.htm>

I Corps , Mangla	<input type="checkbox"/> 6 Armoured Division Kharian <input type="checkbox"/> 17 Mechanized Infantry Division Kharian <input type="checkbox"/> 37 Mechanized Infantry Division Gujranwala	
IV Corps, Lahore	<input type="checkbox"/> 10 Infantry Division Lahore <input type="checkbox"/> 11 Infantry Division Lahore	
XXX Corps, Gujranwala	<input type="checkbox"/> 2 Artillery Division Gujranwala <input type="checkbox"/> 8 Infantry Division Sialkot <input type="checkbox"/> 15 Infantry Division Sialkot	
XXXI Corps, Bahawalpur	<input type="checkbox"/> 26 Mechanized Division Bahawalpur <input type="checkbox"/> 35 Infantry Division Bahawalpur <input type="checkbox"/> 40th Infantry Division Okara	
V Corps, Karachi	16 Infantry Division Hyderabad	

	<p>18 Infantry Division Hyderabad</p> <p>25 Mechanized Infantry Division Malir</p>	
X Corps, Rawalpindi	<p><input type="checkbox"/> 12 Infantry Division Murree</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 19 Infantry Division Jhelum</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 23 Infantry Division Gujrat</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Northern Area Command, Gilgit</p>	
XII Corps, Quetta	<p><input type="checkbox"/> 33 Infantry Division Hyderabad</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 41 Infantry Division Hyderabad</p>	
XI Corps, Peshawar	<p><input type="checkbox"/> 7 Infantry Division Mardan</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 9 Infantry Division Kohat</p>	
II Corps, Multan	<p><input type="checkbox"/> 1 Armoured Division Multan</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 40 Infantry Division Okara</p>	

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Source:<sup>90</sup>

Pakistan Army consists of nine corps; they supervise different Armoured, Infantry, Mechanized Infantry and Artillery divisions and monitor their performance. I Corps headquarter is situated in Mangla and has under his command three divisions. II Corps headquarter is in Multan and it has two divisions under his supervision. IV Corps headquarter is in Lahore and it also has two divisions under his supervision. XXX Corps headquarter is in Gujranwala and it has command over three divisions. XXXI Corps headquarter is in Bahawalpur and it supervises three divisions. V Corps headquarter is in Karachi and it also has command over three divisions. X Corps headquarter is in Rawalpindi and it monitors three divisions and Northern Areas. XII corps headquarter is in Quetta and it has command over two divisions. XI Corps headquarter is in Peshawar and it command two divisions.<sup>115</sup>

## **Defence Production of India and Pakistan**

### **Pakistan**

At the time of independence of Pakistan's military production was almost nil because of very limited resources. With the passage of time Pakistan took some important steps to become independent in some sectors like aircraft modernization, helicopter and tank sales. There was no industrial base in Pakistan at the time of independence. Industrial sector only contributed 5.8% to the GNP in 1949-1950.

In early years of Pakistan military needs were fulfilled through purchases from United Kingdom (UK). In 1951 Pakistan Ordnance Factory was established at Wah. At start it focused on

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<sup>90</sup> John Pike, "Military," Pakistan Army Order of Battle - Corps, accessed April 26, 2021, <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/pakistan/army-orbat.htm> <sup>115</sup> Ibid

manufacturing small arms for British Weapon systems. Pakistan Ordinance progressed with time. In 1965 war it backed up Pakistan Army very effectively. In an effort to achieve self-reliance Ministry of Defence Production was established in 1991. At time when Pakistan's military was depending on US it gave little importance to domestic defence production but after 1965 and 1971 war with the assistance of China, Pakistan focused on its domestic defence production. As an outcome The Heavy Industries Taxila was established in 1971 and Aeronautical Complex Kamra was established in 1973. According to the government of Pakistan annual production was almost US\$ 500 in 1990s with export of US\$ 300 like Mushshaks were supplied to Iran.

The Karachi shipyard has limited production capacity. Pakistan Navy is mostly supported by Karachi shipyard. Submarine Repair and reconstruct facility was developed in 1987. On 29 July 2006 director of DEPO provided with information that Pakistan from last two to three years has sustained \$100 million of exports of armaments, He further added that Pakistan is new in armaments export with 95 percent share of Public sector.

After war of 1971 the government of Pakistan took further steps to achieve greater self-dependency for which Defence Production Division was created in 1972. In 2004 the Division was reformed and it was named as Ministry of Defence Production. MODP (Ministry of Defence Production) over the years achieved remarkable goals and achievements.<sup>91</sup>

#### **Military Industry of Pakistan (Public)**

1.	<b>Advanced Engineering Research Organization,(AERO)</b>
2.	<b>Armament Research &amp; Development Establishment (ARDE)</b>
3.	<b>Duadson</b>
4.	<b>Defence Export Promotion Organization (DEPO)</b>
5.	<b>Directorate General Munitions Productions (DGMP)</b>
6.	<b>Heavy Industries Taxila(HIT)</b>
7.	<b>Heavy Mechanical Complex Ltd (HMC)</b>
8.	<b>Institute of Industrial Control Systems</b>
9.	<b>Institute of Optronics (IOP)</b>

<sup>91</sup> John Pike, "Military," Military Industry, accessed April 28, 2021, <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/pakistan/industry-defense.htm>

10.	<b>Integrated Defence Systems</b>
11.	<b>Karachi Shipyard &amp; Engineering Works Ltd (KSEW)</b>
12.	<b>Military Vehicle Research &amp; Development Establishment (MVRDE)</b>
13.	<b>National Radio Telecommunication Corporation (NRTC)</b>
14.	<b>Pakistan Aeronautical Complex (PAC)</b>
15.	<b>Pakistan Ordnance Factories (POF)</b>
16.	<b>Pakistan Space and Upper Atmosphere Research Commission (SUPARCO)</b>

**Source:<sup>92</sup>**

## **INDIA**

In November 1962 the Department of Defence Production (DDP) was set up in India. The purpose of the department was to make weapons and equipment's that will help the state to boast its defence. With the passage of time DDP flourished by carrying various weapon manufacturing equipment's and produced various arms and ammunition, tanks, missiles, warships, special purpose steels and war aircrafts.

Through Ordnance factories and DPSUs (Defence Public Sector Undertakings) India is trying to achieve maximum self-reliance in defence production.<sup>93</sup>

Over the last five years India has been market as one of the top importer of military equipment to achieve edge over its competitor China and Pakistan. The government of India aims to achieve the defence production target at US\$ 25.00 billion till 2025. Contract was signed between MOD (Ministry of Defence) and BEL (Bharat Electronics Limited) in Feb, 2021 over the procurement SDR-Tac (Software Defined Radio Tactical) worth US\$ 137.50 million.

Indian government with the Initiatives like 'Aatmanirbhar Bharat' and 'Make in India' is promoting domestic defence production. India reflected herself as a submarine manufacturing state with the

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> "About the DDP Department of Defence Production," Department of Defence Production, accessed May 12, 2021, <https://www.ddpmod.gov.in/about-department-defence-production> .

launch of the fifth Scorpene submarine of Project-75 ‘Vagir’ in Mumbai at MDL (Mazagon Dock Shipbuilders Limited) in Nov, 2020. Indian government is focusing on creative solutions to empower the state with Security and defence through iDex (Innovations for Defence Excellence) that provides a stage for beginners to connect with defence establishments and produces some creative and new products and technologies in coming five years (2021-2026). India wants to achieve 70 % self-reliance in weapons production till 2027.<sup>94</sup>

## **Ordinance Factories in India**

<b>1.</b>	<b>Ammunition Factory Kirkee (AFK)</b>
<b>2.</b>	<b>Cordite Factory Aravankadu (CFA)</b>
<b>3.</b>	<b>Engine Factory Avadi (EFA)</b>
<b>4.</b>	<b>Field Gun Factory, Kanpur (FGK)</b>
<b>5.</b>	<b>Gun Carriage Factory Jabalpur (GCF)</b>
<b>6.</b>	<b>Grey Iron Foundry, Jabalpur (GIF)</b>
<b>7.</b>	<b>Gun And Shell Factory, Cossipore (GSF)</b>
<b>8.</b>	<b>Heavy Alloy Penetrator Project, Tiruchirapalli ( HAPP)</b>
<b>9.</b>	<b>High Explosives Factory, Kirkee (HEF)</b>
<b>10.</b>	<b>Heavy Vehicles Factory, Avadi (HVF)</b>
<b>11.</b>	<b>Machine Tool Prototype Factory, Ambarnath (MPF)</b>
<b>12.</b>	<b>Metal &amp; Steel Factory (MSF)</b>
<b>13.</b>	<b>Ordnance Clothing Factory Avadi (OCFAV)</b>
<b>14.</b>	<b>Ordnance Cable Factory Chandigarh (OCFC)</b>
<b>15.</b>	<b>Ordnance Clothing Factory Shahjahanpur (OCFS)</b>
<b>16.</b>	<b>Ordnance Equipment Factory Kanpur (OEFC)</b>
<b>17.</b>	<b>Ordnance Equipment Factory Hazratpur (OEFHZ)</b>
<b>18.</b>	<b>Ordnance Factory Ambarnath (OFA)</b>

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<sup>94</sup> “Brand India,” IBEF, accessed May 12, 2021, <https://www.ibef.org/industry/defence-manufacturing.aspx>



19.	<b>Ordnance Factory Ambajhari (OFAJ)</b>
20.	<b>Ordnance Factory Bhandara (OFBA)</b>
21.	<b>Ordnance Factory Bhusawal (OFBH)</b>
22.	<b>Ordnance Factory Bolangir (OFBOL)</b>
23.	<b>Ordnance Factory Kanpur (OFC)</b>
24.	<b>Ordnance Factory Chanda (OFCH)</b>
25.	<b>Ordnance Factory Dum Dum (OFDC)</b>
26.	<b>Ordnance Factory Dehu Road (OFDR)</b>
27.	<b>Ordnance Factory Dehradun (OFDUN)</b>
28.	<b>Ordnance Factory Itarsi (OFI)</b>
29.	<b>Ordnance Factory Khamaria (OFK)</b>
30.	<b>Ordnance Factory Katni (OFKAT)</b>
31.	<b>Ordnance Factory Muradnagar (OFM)</b>
32.	<b>Ordnance Factory Project Nalanda (OFN)</b>
33.	<b>Ordnance Factory Project Korwa (OFPKR)</b>
34.	<b>Ordnance Factory Project Medak (OFPM)</b>
35.	<b>Ordnance Factory Tiruchirapalli (OFT)</b>
36.	<b>Ordnance Factory Varangaon (OFV)</b>
37.	<b>Opto Electronics Factory, Dehradun (OLF)</b>
38.	<b>Ordnance Parachute Factory (OPF)</b>
39.	<b>Rifle Factory Ishapore (RFI)</b>
40.	<b>Small Arms Factory, Kanpur (SAF)</b>
41.	<b>Vehicle Factory Jabalpur (VFJ)<sup>120</sup></b>

### **Nuclear Programme of India and Pakistan**

In 1960s India began its nuclear programme. Homi bhabha is credited for achieving the nuclear capability for India after India lost 1962 war with china. India successfully conducted underground nuclear experiment on 18 May, 1974 generating serious security threats for

Pakistan. After 1971 defeat, Pakistan was shocked by India's nuclear test. Policy makers of Pakistan could not ignore such a big security concern for Pakistan therefore Pakistan presented a

<sup>120</sup> "Ordnance Factory Board: Government of India," Ordnance Factory Board | Government of India, accessed May , 2021, <https://ofb.gov.in/pages/our-units2> proposal to announce South Asia "as nuclear weapon free zone on 28th October 1974 in UN General Assembly".<sup>95</sup>

The UN General Assembly political committee endorsed Pakistan suggestion with 82 votes. Only two states voted against it they were India and Bhutan. However the suggestion of Pakistan could not be implemented due to the less support of super powers. The next step was to get nuclear security guarantee from US for Pakistan subjected to N-blackmail by India but US failed to provide any such assurance.<sup>96</sup> Same was the outcome of the Bhutto visit to Moscow in 1974.<sup>97</sup>

Disappointed by super powers Pakistan was compelled to achieve nuclear technology to address security threats from India. This was the beginning of the nuclear arm race in South Asia. India conducted 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> nuclear test once again on 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> May respectively in 1998 at Pokhran. Pakistani Prime Minister at that time Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif faced immense political pressure to respond India but he didn't rush to retaliate because of the possible economic threats.<sup>98</sup>

The harsh statements from Indian government forced Pakistan to respond to India's nuclear tests. L.K.Advani Indian Home Minister at that time warned Pakistan that "with the Indian' nuclear tests geo-strategic conditions had decisively changed. He said that India's decisive step to become a nuclear weapon state has brought about new qualitative stage in IndoPak relations particularly in finding out a lasting solution of Kashmir problem. He asked Pakistan to realize the change in geo-strategic situation in region and demanded that Pakistan must join India in common pursuit of

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<sup>95</sup> Zafar Iqbal Cheema, "Nuclear Arms Control in South Asia", U.S. Journal, July-Sep 1993, 362.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 362.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Praful Bidwai and Aachin Vanaik, South Asia on a Short Fuse (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 39. <sup>125</sup> Ibid., 12.

peace and prosperity in the subcontinent, warning that any other course would be fatal and costly for Pakistan".<sup>125</sup>

Indian defence minister also passed threatening remarks against Pakistan and threatened Pakistan of military operation in Kashmir. BJP representatives went one step further and demanded the Indian government to utilize nuclear capability to gain control of Kashmir which Pakistan possess. India's home minister (L.K Advani) started associating India's latest nuclear weapon status with Kashmir.<sup>99</sup>

With the increasing internal political pressure and religious pressure along with harsh statements from India, Nawaz Sharif asked Chief of Army Staff General Jahangir Karamat to evaluate the situation, he told Prime Minister it is important to counter India's nuclear test in order to raise the moral of soldiers.

All of sudden Pakistan announced on May 27, 1998 that it has intelligence report that India is about to attack Pakistan's territory. Pakistan also refused US\$ 5 billion aid on same day. Pakistan conducted 5 nuclear tests on 28 May 1998 to get equal to India and one nuclear test was conducted later on 30<sup>th</sup> May 1998 which was an answer to India's nuclear test of 1974.<sup>100</sup>

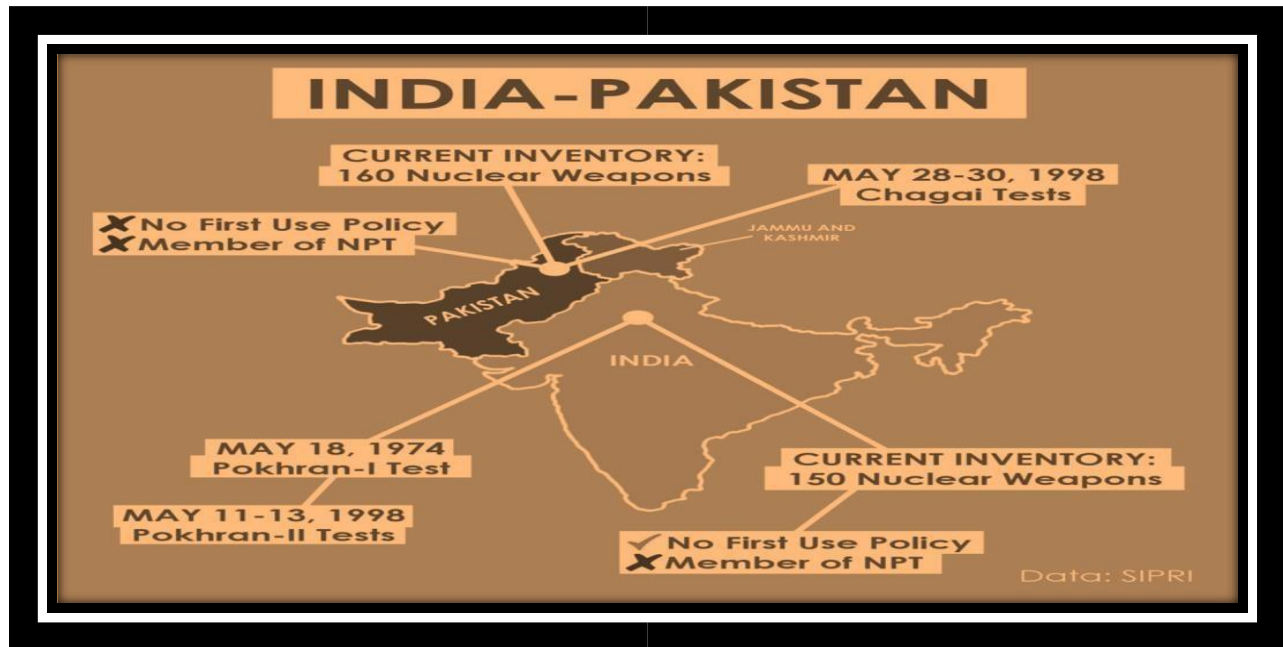
has used nuclear weapons but with ongoing tensions between India and Pakistan threat of nuclear war is always there. India has round about 150 nuclear warheads while on other side Pakistan has

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<sup>99</sup> L. K. Advani, "Pakistan told to Roll Back Proxy War", The Hindu, 19th May, 1998.

<sup>100</sup> Zaglul Haider, "US Policy towards Nuclear South Asia at the Dawn of the 21' Century", Journal of Regional Studies, xx: 2, (Islamabad: Institute of Regional studies, spring2002).84.

## Nuclear Force Abilities of India and Pakistan



Many wars have been fought between India and Pakistan but neither of the states about 160 nuclear warheads. If the growth of nuclear warheads increased like this it is assumed that Pakistan will have about 220 to 250 nuclear warheads till 2025. India has clearly declared its nuclear doctrine No First use Policy however Pakistan has not declared No First Use policy. In august 2019 India indicated that it is review its nuclear doctrine.<sup>101</sup>

### Pakistan's Nuclear and Missile Programme

Pakistan has about 160 nuclear warheads. Pakistan has been working to enhance its nuclear technology. Pakistan successfully checked nuclear-capable submarine-launched cruise missile in January 2017 and later in March 2018. It is believed that F-16 fighter jet can be utilized for both traditional and nuclear strikes. The nuclear air branch of Pakistan has almost 36 warheads. The f-

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<sup>101</sup> "India and Pakistan," Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation, March 15, 2021,

[https://armscontrolcenter.org/countries/india-and](https://armscontrolcenter.org/countries/india-and-pakistan/#:~:text=Neither%20country%20has%20used%20nuclear,and%20air%2Dlaunch%20nuclear%20capabilities.&text=Pakistan%20has%20approximately%20160%20warheads)

[pakistan/#:~:text=Neither%20country%20has%20used%20nuclear,and%20air%2Dlaunch%20nuclear%20capabilities.&text=Pakistan%20has%20approximately%20160%20warheads](https://armscontrolcenter.org/countries/india-and-pakistan/#:~:text=Neither%20country%20has%20used%20nuclear,and%20air%2Dlaunch%20nuclear%20capabilities.&text=Pakistan%20has%20approximately%20160%20warheads)

16 has approximately 24 launchers with having range of 1600 Km and Mirage 3/5 having 12 launchers with range of 2100 Km.

Pakistan tested Babur 3 the sea launched version of Babur 2 in Jan 2017. As the test didn't took place on submarine Pakistan is not yet considered to have a sea based deterrent. Pakistan has stock of short to medium range ballistic missiles. Pakistan almost has 102 land based missiles which includes Abdali, Shaheen 1, Shaheen-2, Ghaznavi, NASR, Ghauri and Shaheen III.<sup>102</sup>

## **Pakistan's Ballistic and Cruise Missiles**

Missile Name	Range
RA 'AD(HATF-8)	350 KM
BABUR(HATF-7)	700 KM
NASR (HATF-9)	600 KM
HATF-1	50-100 KM
ABDALI(HATF-2)	200 KM
GHAZNAVI(HATF-3)	300 KM
SHAHEEN 1(HATF-4)	750 KM
GHAURI(HATF-5)	1,500 KM
SHAHEEN 2(HATF-6)	2,000 KM
SHAHEEN 3	2,750 KM
ABADEEL	2,200 KM <sup>130</sup>

<sup>102</sup> "Fact Sheet: Pakistan's Nuclear Inventory," Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation, March 25, 2021, <https://armscontrolcenter.org/pakistans-nuclear-capabilities/#:~:text=Pakistan%20has%20approximately%2036%20warheads,a%20range%20of%20350%2B%20k>  
[m](https://armscontrolcenter.org/pakistans-nuclear-capabilities/#:~:text=Pakistan%20has%20approximately%2036%20warheads,a%20range%20of%20350%2B%20k)

## India's Nuclear and Missile Programme

In 1974 India tested its first nuclear weapon. India is trying to get membership of NSG (Nuclear Suppliers Group) and is the member of Missile Technology Control Regime. It is estimated that India has about 150 nuclear warheads basically India's nuclear technology aims on deterring its two main enemies China and Pakistan.

India's nuclear doctrine is very clear No First Use Policy. Using Jaguar and Mirage

1. India is capable to deliver 48 nuclear gravity bombs. 36 Rafale aircraft were sold to India by France in 2016. India can use Rafale for nuclear missions as France did. India also has ballistic missiles which are ship based like Dhanush having range of 400 KM. India's missile Agni-1 are
2. <sup>130</sup>“Missiles of Pakistan,” Missile Threat, accessed May 18, 2021, <https://missilethreat.csis.org/country/pakistan/>
3. suspected to be used against Pakistan. Agni-II and Agni-III have 2,000-3,500 km and 3,000-5,000 km ranges respectively.<sup>131</sup>

## India's Ballistic and Cruise Missiles

Missiles Name	Range
BRAHMOS	300 KM
NIRBHAY	1,000 KM
PRAHAAR	150 KM
PRITHVI-II	250 KM
AGNI-I	700 KM
AGNI-II	2,000 KM+
AGNI-III	3,000 KM+
AGNI-IV	3,500 KM+
AGNI-V	5,000 KM+
K-15(Sub-Launched)	700 KM
k-4(Sub-Launched)	3,500 KM <sup>132</sup>

<sup>131</sup> “Fact Sheet: India's Nuclear Inventory,” Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation, March 25, 2021, <https://armscontrolcenter.org/indias-nuclear-capabilities/>

<sup>132</sup> “Missiles of India,” Missile Threat, accessed May 20, 2021, <https://missilethreat.csis.org/country/india/>

## Chapter # 3 Super Powers Involvement in South Asia

Regional cooperation is not much seen in South Asia. Due to the partition of Pakistan in 1971 India's predominance in the region exists. State Security can be analyzed on two steps:

- a.) Awareness of security dynamic at every level.
- b.) Communication of patterns with one another at every level.

Security has four levels of analysis which are as under:

1. Domestic Level
2. Regional Level
3. Super Regional Level
4. Global Level.<sup>103</sup>

At domestic level of security analysis, two main actors in South Asia are India and Pakistan. On domestic stage of security analysis question can be: As a political unit how powerful and consistent they are and what is the impact of their internal characteristic on their outer security problems.<sup>104</sup>

Regional Level security analysis concerns with the relations of the states in the region. If we talk about South Asia its size is average and it is not that much complicated because it has mainly two powerful states India and Pakistan. Regional complexity came into South Asia after the withdrawal of the British forces in 1947. After the withdrawal of the British forces the relation between Pakistan and India mostly remained tensed and complicated. The enmity between two main states created some serious security concerns for both states.<sup>135</sup>

Super regional level includes link among adjacent security complexes. Gulf complex lies to the west, South East Asia complex lies to the east and Sino-Russia complex lies to the north. The communication over the borders specifically in between these complexes has large impact on the regional and sometimes on internal level complex in South Asia.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Barry Buzan and Gowher Rizvi, *South Asian Insecurity and The Great Powers* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1986), 13.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 13. <sup>135</sup>

*Ibid.*, 14

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

Highest level security complex comes in the global level security analysis that concerns with the enmity of the super power states and all types of complexes in the global system.<sup>106</sup>

### **Effect of Super Power Rivalry on South Asia:**

International system was shaped by the enmity between the super powers in the post WWII era. Its significance was so high that other powers shaping world politics reflected secondary. The approaches of small states are often studied from the standpoint of the super powers policies. After end of colonization weak states were not always on taking end in the global system. The small states tried to get attention of international system for their demands and also became active in global politics.<sup>107</sup>

The USSR and U.S fully appeared on the world stage as enemies in 1947 same year when British India was partitioned and two states Pakistan and India came into being. The significance of international complexity on South Asia starts in early 1950s when super powers build on momentum of their own rivalry to already flamed rivalry between Pakistan and India. Pakistan joined hands with U.S. In 1960s Pakistan faced lot of problems when its two supporters disagreed with one another later on situation got better when in early 1970s with efforts of Pakistan situation between China and U.S got better. The complexity in the region shaped out as Sino- Pakistani – American block and Indo-Soviet Block that disturbed strategic balance in South Asia.

### **United States and the South Asia:**

United States always showed its interest in South Asia but its approach remained inconsistent and blur. The U.S policies for South Asia appeared reactive rather than planned. Most of the U.S approaches and attitude is carried out with International considerations still its policies reflected as confused policies. The confusion in the policies is result of regional dynamic, inconsistency in

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>107</sup> Hassan Askari Rizvi, " Pakistan's Defence Policy ", Security for the Weak Nations: A Multiple Perspective, ed. Syed Farooq Hasnat and Anton Pelinka ( Lahore: Izharsons Publications, 1986), 100-102.



the approach is the outcome of internal American factor such as assistance and supporting align the concerned countries.

Threat perception for super powers is not only linked with attack on its region but it includes possible threats and danger.<sup>108</sup> Different threats like:

1. Threat to the sources of precious raw material
2. Supply Lines
3. Threats to allies

South Asia always remained region of concern for U.S but it didn't get many resources from the region which is important for its economy. The investment by U.S and volume of trade both are not enough to make South Asia an important economic partner. The main reason for which America is concerned about the region is because the region is important to pursue global interests. For policy formulation the critical determinants have been the Soviet Union (Now Russia), Japan, Europe, Middle East and China. China has become important factor in U.S strategic Policies since 1970s.

South Asia evolved as a region of strategic importance for the policy maker of America. During the administration of the President Carter nuclear proliferation become an important issues and India because of its first nuclear test generated more possible threats in the region. Pakistan came in spotlight due to USSR invasion in Afghanistan<sup>140</sup>. United States never wanted the expansion of communism in South Asia. The early concern of U.S in South Asia was against expansion of communism. For the U.S it was a matter of fact that as long as another super power will remain active in the region U.S role will be crucial. The USSR invasion in Afghanistan and revolution in Iran generated new threats of cutting off oil supplies to the west. Other majors concerns for U.S were the preventing the spread of nuclear technology, protection of economic interest and keeping regional stability.

Pakistan and India was marked by the policy marker of America to make an alliance and counter communism in the region. Each state in the region had its own concern associated with

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<sup>108</sup> Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, " American Policy in South Asia: Interests and Objectives " *The Security of South Asia*, ed Stephen P. Cohen (New Delhi: Vistaar Publications, 1987), 20. <sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.

America.<sup>109</sup>U.S always wanted to have good relations with India and perceived it as more important to its strategy to restrict China and Russia than Pakistan. India's area and impact of its politicians on developing states gave India an edge. The western leaders didn't properly judged India's role as an Asian power.<sup>110</sup>India refused to join U.S in its efforts to restrain communism in the region and adopted neutral policy. India's refusal diverted U.S attention towards Pakistan.

In May 1954 Mutual Defence Assistance treaty was signed between U.S and Pakistan according to which America agreed to give weapons and training to Pakistan's armed forces. Later on SEATO (South East Asia Treaty Organization) was established. After becoming member of SEATO Pakistan became ally of U.S, Britain, France, New Zealand, Australia, Philippines and Thailand. Treaty was signed in Manila in September 1954.Next year Pakistan joined Bagdad pact in April 1955 connecting her with Turkey, Britain, Iraq and Iran. The Bagdad pact was later known as CENTO (Central Treaty Organization) after withdrawal of Iraq in July 1958.<sup>111</sup>

From the Mutual Defence Agreement, SEATO and CENTO Pakistan approximately received more than \$ 900 million worth of weapons. The weapons included tanks, Transportation equipment, Radars, and aircrafts like C-130, F-86 and F-104. On the other hand U.S obtained alliance of the second largest non-communist state of Asia. U.S perceived Pakistan cooperation very beneficial to restrain communism in South Asia.<sup>144</sup> Pakistan eventually became Americas "most allied ally in Asia "in the end of 1950s.<sup>112</sup>

India was not happy with U.S military assistance to Pakistan and blamed U.S for bringing Cold War to the region. Frustrated India looked towards USSR in order to balance the existence of U.S in the region. However U.S assured India for military assistance if required and always

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<sup>109</sup> T.B. Millar, " Americas Alliances: Asia: "Americas Security in the 1980s, Part II, Adelphi Paper No. 174. (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1982), 28-29.

<sup>110</sup> Rasul Bakhsh Rais, " Indo-US Relations: Implications for Pakistan "Pakistan Journal of American Studies, 15: 1&2, (Islamabad: Area Study Centre, Quaid-e-Azam University, 1997), 2-3.

<sup>111</sup> Hafeez Malik, Soviet- Pakistan Relations and Post Soviet Dynamics 1947-1992(London: The Macmillan Press, 1994), 99. <sup>144</sup> Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, " Pakistan's Security Predicament ", Security for the Weak Nations: A Multiple

Perspective, ed. Syed Farooq Hasnat and Anton Pelinka ( Lahore: Izharsons Publications, 1986), 136-137.

<sup>112</sup> G.W. Choudhury, India, Pakistan Bangladesh and the Major Powers (New York: The Free Press, 1975), 84-90.

reflected to maintain good terms with her.<sup>113</sup> Obviously U.S didn't wanted India to assist Soviet Union and perceived only India had a potential to give tough time to China. For this reason on one hand while giving aid to Pakistan the U.S secretary of state Jon Foster emphasized on the regular aid to India as " if she lost the economic competition to China, it would mean the loss of another 350 million people to communism."<sup>114</sup>

However U.S continued its aid to Pakistan. In May 1960 U-2 incident took place (in which U.S spy aircraft took off from Peshawar base to USSR) Pakistan reflected as loyal ally of U.S. During 1960s India and U.S shared friendly relations. The administration of President Eisenhower managed to establish good relations with both India and Pakistan. But later things became complicated for Pakistan after the reaction of John F. Kennedy in 1962 to the SinoIndian border dispute.<sup>115</sup>

U.S huge military assistance to India during Sino-Indian Conflict in 1962 showed American concern for India over Pakistan on other side U.S kept Pakistan busy in dialogues with India over matter of Kashmir so that it can divert Pakistan from taking any benefit from Sino-Indian war. For the U.S the most satisfying situation was that India no longer had friendly ties with China. U.S always preferred India over Pakistan, In Indo-Pak wars of 1965 and 1971 U.S decided not to take side of any state. U.S stopped military supplies for both countries during wars however America was aware of the fact that cutting off the military supplies will badly affect Pakistan only as India mostly procured weapons from Soviet Union. Soviet Union supported India during 1971 war and Pakistan's expectations from U.S were never fulfilled. America decided to adopt global plan to restrain communism especially in the region instead of adopting hard attitude towards India U.S adopted policy of inaction. After which Pakistan realized that U.S is just using it for its political strategy and it lacks importance in eye of U.S policy makers as compared to India.

After 1965 Arms ban on Pakistan, It started to revise its arms procurement policy. Pakistan Started efforts to decrease its weapons dependency on America and look for substitute options.

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<sup>113</sup> Cheema, *The Security of South Asia*, 122.

<sup>114</sup> S.M. Burke, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1990), 255.

<sup>115</sup> Dennis Kux, *the United States and Pakistan: 1947-2000*(Karachi: The Oxford University Press, 2001), 114.

In 1972 Pakistan lost all its concern in American initiated pacts and later Pakistan withdrew itself from the pacts and adopted policy of non-alignment.<sup>116</sup>

U.S amended foreign assistance act, Like Symington Act 1976 and Glenn Amendment 1977 and applied sanctions to economic and military assistance to Pakistan and India after India did its first nuclear test in 1974 and Pakistan started efforts to attain nuclear technology to compete India. The main purpose behind the imposed sanctions was to stop nuclear arm race in the region.<sup>117</sup>

Nuclear countries who haven't signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) but adopting full safeguard on operations of nuclear plants are likely to receive nuclear fuel from America according to the non-proliferation law (1978). India and Pakistan didn't signed the NonProliferation Treaty as both aimed to develop their nuclear technology. According to India it was not suitable to sign NPT because of conflict with China and it was not an option for Pakistan to sign NPT when India was backing out from it. On other hand U.S was determined to cut nuclear, financial and military assistance to countries refusing to accept IAEA complete safeguard.<sup>151</sup>

Western fear of expansion of communism was flamed after Iranian Revolution and USSR invasion in Afghanistan in December 1979. The U.S condemned USSR invasion in Afghanistan and once again tried to establish new strong bond with Pakistan. Pakistan played a key role in U.S new geo-political plan. U.S assisted Pakistan with open heart in order to restrain spread of communism in the region. Pakistan was given modern weapons and \$ 3.2 Billion of aid. F-16s were also given to Pakistan.<sup>118</sup> On one side America fully extended its support to Pakistan on other side it assured to keep balance relations with India because America was well aware of importance of India in the region. U.S policy completely changed after Soviet Union left Afghanistan in 1989 and later broke in 1991. U.S with no more fear of USSR expansion situation became difficult for Pakistan. U.S had serious reservations about Pakistan's nuclear program. Pressler amendment was imposed on Pakistan in 1990 after American president George H.W Bush disagreed to declare Pakistan nuclear project shielded. Pakistan faced very hard time after

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<sup>116</sup> Cheema, Security for the Weak Nations: A Multiple Perspective, 140.

<sup>117</sup> Farzana Shakoor, " Pakistan-US Relations: An Interpretation "Pakistan Horizon, 54:1, (Karachi: Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, January 2001), 25. <sup>151</sup> Cheema, The Security of South Asia, 126.

<sup>118</sup> Nazir Hussain, "U.S Factors in Pakistan Defence Policy "Pakistan Journal of American Studies, III: 1&2, 55.

that all type of aid and assistance was stopped. Even the military aid for which Pakistan had already paid for was stopped including twenty-eight F-16s. Pakistan was accused of supporting terrorism groups because of its support to Kashmiri Mujahideens in 1992 and was accused of supporting Khalistan movement in Indian Punjab in 1993.<sup>119</sup>

A bit relief was given to Pakistan in shape of Brown Amendment (to Pressler Law) Pakistan received some military and financial aid in 1996. For India things were easy as it didn't face any legal obstacle in fact in January 1995 first security agreement was signed between U.S and India in New Delhi. America didn't succeed to implement its policy of nonproliferation in South Asia. Both India and Pakistan carried out their nuclear programs till 1998. India performed nuclear test on 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> of May in 1998 and later Pakistan did nuclear test on 28<sup>th</sup> May 1998. After the nuclear test by India and Pakistan both officially became nuclear states. Internationally India and Pakistan faced a lot of criticism. Sanctions were imposed on India and Pakistan by fourteen countries including U.S. After the nuclear tests by both states U.S perceived it will create nuclear arm race in the region and it tried to minimize the nuclear arm race between India and Pakistan. America accepted that Kashmir issue is the root cause of the enmity between India and Pakistan due to which both states are indulged in arm race it even tried to bring two states to some reasonable solution to reduce the possible threats in the region. U.S kept close eye on Kargil conflict. President Clinton and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif signed an agreement that ended Kargil conflict. Since then

America stance has been as secretary of state of U.S Madeline Albright explained on 20<sup>th</sup> July 1999, "we hope very much that India and Pakistan will resume their dialogue under the Lahore process".<sup>120</sup>

After attack on Pentagon and World Trade Center on September 11, 2001 America policy completely changed towards Pakistan. United States with an ambition to fight global terrorism started adopting new measures. Pakistan once again played key role in U.S fight against global terrorism. The military operations were carried out by America in Afghanistan, as Pakistan being

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<sup>119</sup> Rais Ahmad Khan, "Fifty Years of Pak-US Relations" *Pakistan Journal of American Studies*, Vol.16, No.1, (Spring 1998): 4-5.

<sup>120</sup> Hussain, "U.S Factor in Pakistan Defence Policy", 45.

a neighbouring state of Afghanistan assisted U.S in most effective manner. The relations between America and Pakistan got so better that U.S gave Pakistan status of Non-NATO ally.

However the situation didn't remain ideal for long when U.S violated sovereignty of Pakistan through drone attacks and marked Pakistan a problem state by mentioning as it didn't do much to eliminate terrorism. After Pakistan joined hands with China in its project of Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) PAK-U.S relation were witnessed at its minimum level.<sup>121</sup>

On the other hand U.S managed to build stable relations with India. With Modi coming to power he visited U.S in September 2014. Different meeting were carried out between president Obama and Prime Minister Modi. Next year in January 2015 Obama visited India and both America and India agreed to share common vision to assist each other and share common vision for Asia. Later several visits were carried out by the heads of both states and different agreements were signed and cooperation was carried out in fields of: Defence Cooperation, Trade and Economics, Energy and Climate Change, Education, Space, Science and Technology, Health, Cultural exchange, Media and fighting together against terrorism.<sup>122</sup>

## **Russia and the South Asia:**

After the World War II USSR emerged as the super power, U.S and USSR were the two super powers in the bipolar global system and both tried to dominate other. It won't be wrong to say that South Asia was the stage where both super powers competed against each other. One of the remarkable successes of Soviet Union in South Asia was building friendly relation with India and the biggest failure was its intervention in Afghanistan in 1979 and withdrawal 10 years later in 1989. USSR managed to play important role in Asia and it succeeded in establishing good ties with many countries Asian states.

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<sup>121</sup> Syed Muhammad Saad Zaidi and Azhar Ahmad, "From Friend TO Foe: Post-9/11 Pakistan–Us RELATIONS; a Realist Perspective - Syed Muhammad Saad Zaidi, Azhar Ahmad, 2021," SAGE Journals, accessed July 27, 2021, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/20578911211007936>

<sup>122</sup> "Brief on India-U.S. Relations ", accessed July 27, 2021, [https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/India\\_US\\_brief.pdf](https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/India_US_brief.pdf)

Soviet Union played active role during Suez conflict in 1956, Vietnam War, Sino-India conflict 1962, and 1965 war between India and Pakistan. Soviet Union kept close ties with its ally states on the foundation of common interest like disarmament, condemning colonization, condemning racism and efforts for global peace. Soviet Union kept friendly relations with most of the Asian countries except Pakistan which was an ally of U.S. According to General Ayub Khan the Soviet Union concern for South Asia goes back to 350 years. The main reason for their concern was they wanted to control warm waters of Mediterranean and Persian Gulf secondly for the discovery of oil.<sup>123</sup>

The early policy of Soviet Union in South Asia was successfully perused by Khrushchev. This was the time when cold war was already started between Soviet Union and U.S. America firmly believed at that time that Soviet Union will try to expand globally by any mean in order to promote ideology of Marxism-Leninism and will use local communist groups to against west. U.S also feared that Soviet Union will try to export revolution to the new formed Asian states Pakistan. However Soviet Union failed to give large financial and military aid to Pakistan which Pakistan desired at that time.

Soviet union in between 1947 to 1953 didn't showed much interest in India or Pakistan .Yet First Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan received an invitation from Moscow which was accepted by him on June 8, 1949.<sup>124</sup>After Soviet Union invited Pakistani Prime Minister the British government advised to consider Pakistan for alliance due to its strategic importance as a result U.S gave invitation to Prime Minister of Pakistan for a visit in Dec 1949 which was immediately accepted which Soviet Union didn't liked. Situation between Pakistan and Soviet Union were further ruined after U-2 incident occurred in 1960(U.S spy aircraft took off from Peshawar air base to Soviet Union territory).After Pakistan was disappointed from U.S when it supported India during Sino-India border conflict in 1962 Pakistan changed direction of its foreign policy and tried to carry stable and friendly relations with America, China and Soviet

Union. After watching Pakistan's disappointment and mistrust from U.S Soviet Union started to efforts to build friendly ties with Pakistan forgetting old conflicts. Pakistan and Soviet Union

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<sup>123</sup> Malik, *Soviet-Pakistan Relations and Post Soviet Dynamics 1947-1992*, 102.

<sup>124</sup> M.R, Azmi, "Pakistan's Soviet Policy: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back "Asian Profile Vol.15, No.2, (April 1987): 167-168.

relations grew further when Ayub Khan visited Moscow in April 1965 and after 1965 Indo-Pak war Soviet Union put an effort to settle issues between Pakistan and India in Tashkent in January 1966 after this Pak-Soviet relation got stronger.

In the second era of Pak-Soviet relations which starts from late 1960s Soviet Union adopted selective approach because of the U.S active involvement and Pakistan's defence alliance with U.S made Soviet leaders to adopt such a policy in which Soviet Union will carefully choose its friends. In simple words Soviet Union aid didn't brought them expected results. Meanwhile South Asia gradually began to become independent unlike old East-West relations.<sup>125</sup> Soviet Union changed its foreign policy as its relations with China got worse.

United States supported China against Soviet Union during Sino-Soviet conflict at the Ussuri in July 1969. Pakistan Government took message of China to Soviet Union and for the first time Pakistan got involved in global board game. In reaction Soviet Union perceived it a plan of China and America trap Soviet-Union. The visit of American official to Beijing backed by Pakistani Government irritated Soviet Union. Thirty days after Henry Kissinger went to Beijing from Chaklala airbase Soviet Union signed Soviet-Indian friendship treaty on August 9, 1971. During 1971 Indo-Pak War Soviet Union reflected Chinese incompetence and shamed America, Pakistan and China (Ally of Pakistan).

Soviet Union fully and openly supported India during 1971 Indo-Pak war and played a crucial role in India's Success in war. This was the time when Soviet Union focused on concept of collective security of Asian States. Yet Soviet Union itself expanded its navel activities to the Indian Ocean reasoning that it is providing security to the countries on shore mainly in South Asia. Thus USSR successfully recognized its interests in relation to the interests of main Asian states.<sup>160</sup>

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto visited Moscow in 1972 in order to cool down situation with India and attain peace settlements as Soviet Union could use its influence to convince Indian government to carry appropriate attitude with Pakistan. Seeing soft attitude of Soviet Union

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<sup>125</sup> Zafar Imam, *Soviet Foreign Policy 1917-1990* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1991), 100-101. <sup>160</sup> Ibid., 102.



towards Pakistan in March India didn't liked it much and informed USSR that this behavior of Premier Kosygin is premature. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto knew that USSR will not provide Pakistan with any military aid to restore some balance with India Yet the relations remained friendly during his era.

In July 1977 when the martial Law was imposed in Pakistan by General Zia ul Haq it didn't ruined the coordinating relationship between two states. The government of Zia ul Haq pursued friendly relations with USSR. The situation got flamed in April 1978 between Pakistan and USSR after Pro-USSR military coup in Kabul.<sup>126</sup>

Soviet Union intervention into Afghanistan in December 1979 damaged its relations with Pakistan badly; the situation of Afghanistan intensified the ties between Soviet Union and Pakistan. Pakistan explained that USSR intervention into neighbouring Islamic State (Afghanistan) cannot be justified in any way and it reflects direct threat for Pakistan as the buffer in the middle of the Soviet Union and Pakistan has been removed. With the distrust and tensions in relations time to time made situation worse. The civil conflict in Afghanistan created threats that it might be transferred to Pakistan in shape of Afghan refugees.

Pakistan demanded that USSR must withdraw its forces as soon as possible from Afghanistan so that sovereignty and free of the state can be restored and the Afghan refugees settled in Pakistan can go back to their homes safely. Pakistan made efforts to attain global support for its stance regarding Afghanistan situation and promoted intervention of USSR as injurious and unacceptable. Pakistan put efforts to develop strong relation and cooperation with U.S and China. On other hand U.S also considered Pakistan very important as it could assist U.S against Soviet expansion into other neighbouring states.

USSR tried to stop Pakistan from opposing its intervention into Afghanistan by putting pressure on it diplomatically and by accusing that Pakistan is providing assistance to Afghan resistance and issues threat that Pakistan will face severe consequences for it. The Soviet press portrayed Pakistan as a toy used by U.S and China for achieving their goals. USSR criticized the visit of National Security Advisor of America (Zbigniew Brzezinski) to Pakistan in Feb 1980.

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<sup>126</sup> Ibid, 121.

USSR described it as an attempt by America to use Pakistan to escalate aggression in the region and that Pakistan was not aware of the outcome of letting its land to be used against Afghanistan.<sup>127</sup>

Pakistan received economic and military aid from America in 1981. USSR accused Pakistan of providing military bases to America later were used for pursuing strategic plans in the region<sup>128</sup>. They proclaimed that Pakistan had become “a major bridge-head for aggregation against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan”.<sup>129</sup> USSR condemned Pakistan’s efforts to get Airborne Early Warning and Control (AEW&C) aircrafts from U.S.

To cool down the situation USSR offered a security pact (a kind of friendly and supporting treaty) to Pakistan under the pact USSR will ensure Pakistan of security in return Pakistan will withdraw itself from United States policy and from resistance in Afghanistan. However Pakistan turned down USSR offer as wanted by U.S and Saudi Arabia. The relations between Pakistan and Soviet Union got worse and Soviet Union threatened Pakistan of dreadful consequences. Air and land attacks by Afghan aircrafts and soldiers increased. Pakistan continuously denied allegations imposed on her explaining that USSR intervention in Afghanistan was the main reason of all problems and it should be resolved first.<sup>130</sup>

A little hope of betterment in relations between Pakistan and USSR was seen in 1985 when Mikhail Gorbachev put effort to change the structure of foreign policy. He gave a clue in February 1986 about his wish to move out Soviet forces from Afghanistan and to maintain stable relations with Asian and Pacific countries by considering their concern regarding security issues in the region. The situation was not ideal for USSR in Afghanistan it was continuously facing different challenges until on 8 February it declared that it will remove its forces from Afghanistan from 15 May 1988. Pakistan and Afghanistan signed peace treaty after announcement. After Geneva accord USSR withdrew its forces in 9 months from May 1988 to February 1989.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid, 124.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Yuri V. Gankovsky et al., “Soviet Relations With Pakistan “, Soviet American Relations with Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan. Ed. Hafeez Malik (London: Macmillan Press,1987), 195.

<sup>130</sup> Rizvi, Pakistan’s Defence Policy, 124.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., 130.

After Soviet Union Left Afghanistan new era of Pak-Soviet relations started. Foreign Minister of Pakistan visited USSR in May 1988 and In August 1988 in order to ensure USSR that Pakistan wanted Geneva Accords to be implemented in Afghanistan in its true nature. They also emphasized on improving relations between Pakistan and USSR. Soviet Union agreed on maintain good relations but also informed Pakistan that it would only be possible if Geneva Accords will be implemented properly. Yet differences once again occurred between Pakistan and Soviet Union, Pakistan supported revolt group while USSR wanted that Najibullah or People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan a prominent government in Kabul.<sup>132</sup>

Benazir after coming to power gave goods aid for earthquake victims in Armenia in December 1988 as a step to improve relations between Pakistan and USSR. After this two Soviet visits were carried out to improve relations between two states.

In 1991 Soviet Union was facing lot of difficulties. Gorbachove's policies didn't fit in ideal and eventually USSR collapsed.<sup>168</sup> The Jihadist in Afghanistan took over the government it was an official defeat to Soviet Union/Russia. Within few hours Nawaz Sharif visited Kabul to congratulate the Mujahideens and both together did press conference and agreed to support one another for the peace of Afghanistan. The strategic thinkers of Pakistan were already seeing benefits of trade to Central Asian States through Afghanistan. With the end of Soviet Union new doors of economic cooperation between Pakistan and Afghanistan were open.

After Soviet Union left Afghanistan both Pakistan and Russia suffered downfall in relations in terms of diplomatic terms. One of the main reason due to which tension existed between Pak-Soviet relations was due to Pakistan ties with U.S and its key role in America strategic objective. However in 2010 relations improved a bit when High Rank officials of Pakistani Government visited Russia. Chief of Army Staff General Qamar Javed Bajwa visited Russia in April 2018. The outcome of his visit was formation of a Joint Military Commission among two countries. When the trumps administration stopped Pakistan's involvement in International Military Education

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<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 124. <sup>168</sup>  
Ibid.

Program Pakistan signed a Security Training Agreement with Russia to train military officers of Pakistan Armed forces.

In the recent years the security situation had further declined. With the fast withdrawal of American forces from Afghanistan and disputes between Taliban and The Afghani Government made situation more complicated. The chances of Civil War in Afghanistan will have negative effects for neighbouring countries. The complex situation in Afghanistan has alerted local militancy especially in KPK and Balochistan.<sup>133</sup>

On other hands Russia and India relations are like roller coaster sometimes up and sometimes down. India-Russia yearly summit which was being carried out for several years was called off for the first time. According to Indian news it was due to serious doubts on India joining Indo-Pacific initiative and Quad. Indian Government denied any such reason and mentioned that due to Covid Pandemic summit didn't take place in 2020 with mutual consent and any other information is false. India and Russia relations didn't face difficulties for the first time situation got heated up when Sergei Lavrov (Foreign Minister of Russia) again and again find faults with Indo-Pacific and the Quad and stated it's to restrain China. The statements by Russian Officials are gradually damaging relationship between both states.<sup>134</sup>

## **CHINA AND THE SOUTH ASIA**

China was founded on October 1948 after army of Chiang-Kai-shek lost. Mao Zedong came into power with communist system and declared the formation of Peoples Republic of China. The government of China was keen to attain complete sovereignty of the state. China asked neighbouring states (The USSR, Pakistan, India and Burma) to reconsider existing boundary agreements. According to china previous boundary agreements were not done on equal ground that's why it demanded reconsideration especially with Pakistan and Burma and small border

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<sup>133</sup> Niha Dagia, "Bilateral Bond Between Pakistan and Russia Deepening," – The Diplomat (for The Diplomat, June 23, 2021), <https://thediplomat.com/2021/06/bilateral-bond-between-pakistan-and-russia-deepening/>.

<sup>134</sup> Rajeswari Pillai Rajagopalan, "India-Russia Relations Face More Trouble," – The Diplomat (for The Diplomat, December 31, 2020), <https://thediplomat.com/2020/12/india-russia-relations-face-more-trouble> .

changes were observed USSR completely rejected China proposal for border adjustment and supported Indian Government refusal to reconsider borders.<sup>135</sup>

The USSR dominating attitude created conflict of China with USSR and India as a result both India and China went for fight in 1962 over border dispute. Due to alliance of India and USSR, China also looked for a support in the region. Pakistan due to its location was the most suitable option for China to form an alliance with. China had cooperating relations with Pakistan since its formation. The first Muslim country that had recognized the People's Republic of China on 4 January 1950 was Pakistan. Pakistan stood on impartial ground when the issue of Chinese soldier's invasion in Tibet in 1950 came before United Nations. Pakistan didn't casted a vote on the resolution labeling China as provoker in Korea in 1953.<sup>136</sup> China didn't opposed Pakistan when it made an alliance with European states in 1954. China openly declared that they dint had any issue with Pakistan's membership in South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and both countries will continue their good relations. China claimed that Pakistan became member of SEATO to strengthen its forces against India.<sup>137</sup>

Pakistan-China relations started with sympathy and later it shaped to ambiguity as Pakistan relations with western countries grew. Pakistani Government ensured China that their alliance with western power was not against China. At Bandung Conference in 1955 the Prime Minister of both countries (Pakistan and China) meet with each other and Pakistan tried to clear all doubts of Chinese Government regarding defence pacts of Pakistan. However later Pakistan's policy reflected Pro-US stance in United Nations it voted in favor of delaying China membership to United Nations. Pakistan exhibited negative approach towards China. In 1957 when Prime Minister of Pakistan visited America it was condemned by China. Pakistan voted for the resolution blaming China for breaking Human Rights in Tibet (1959).<sup>138</sup> The Pak-China relations got better in 60s when in Sino-Indian conflict European states assisted India it was largely opposed within Pakistan.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Malik, *Soviet-Pakistan Relations and Post Soviet Dynamics 1947-1992*, 140-41.

<sup>136</sup> Rizvi, *Pakistan's Defence Policy*, 140.

<sup>137</sup> S.S. Bindra, *India and Her Neighbours: A study of Political, Economic and Cultural Relations and Interactions* (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications, 1989), 51.

<sup>138</sup> Rizvi, *Pakistan's Defence Policy*, 140-41.

<sup>139</sup> S.S. Bindra, *op.cit.*, 53.

Pakistan stated that Sino-Indian war is an excuse for India to acquire weapons from western countries. China also looked for international support in context of its border dispute with India for which Pakistan who was already in conflict with India appeared ideal. In 1963 agreement and cooperation pacts were signed between Pakistan and China as well as boundary agreement. Pak-China relations took new friendly turn after boundary agreement.

Indian perceived agreement between Pakistan and China as an effort to target India by both countries. The common interests and coordination between Pakistan's Government and Chinese Government reflected cooperation and friendly approach for one another. The policies of Pakistan and China at global level showed respect and concern for each other.

Pakistan supported china in United Nations for becoming its member in 1961 when US tried to side line China. On other hand China also started to support Pakistan position against India. It backed Pakistan in April 1965 on Kashmir dispute and on Rann of Katch conflict. China extended its full support to Pakistan in 1965 Indo-Pak war and also gave arms to Pakistan.<sup>140</sup>

Pakistan was backed by China in 1971 for its independence and territorial integrity when it faced difficult situation in East Pakistan (Now Bangladesh). On Diplomatic level it fully supported Pakistan during Indo-Pak war of 1971. When Bangladesh tried to become member of United Nations, Pakistan requested China to delay the move until all soldiers move back to their lands and all Pakistani soldiers (prisoners of war) were returned as mentioned in the United Nations Security Council Resolution of 21 December 1971. China proved its loyalty and friendship with Pakistan and used its first VETO against Bangladesh on request of Pakistan in United Nations security council. India and Bangladesh got clear picture thing won't work smooth for them unless or until they will reach settlement with Pakistan and China that by calling their soldiers back and returning captured troops.<sup>177</sup>

A secret indirect dialogue between China and the United States, facilitated by Pakistan paved a way in normalizing the relations between them in 1971-2. This relation which "really" got begin in the summer of 1969 became more strengthened in 1971 with the Sino-US collaboration

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<sup>140</sup> Rizvi, Pakistan's Defence Policy, 141. <sup>177</sup> Ibid., 144.

in many areas of the world, including Indian sub-continent that has serious implications on the future of the people belonging to that patch of land. In addition to it, there are numerous more factors that brought China-US close to each other i.e., the corrosion in SinoSoviet relationship, the pertaining fear of China of getting isolated in international politics and of encirclement by possible elements, more so adopting Leonie Brezhnev's announcement of an Asian Security Plan in 1969.

On one hand, China needed to have apposite relations with the USA whereas, on the other hand, The United States also wanted to take advantage of the Sins-Soviet rift that revealed to it its real rival which was not China but USSR with respect to changing big power balance in Asia. Consequently, the improvement of Sino-US relations was a way forward to strengthen US position with world powers including Soviet Union. Moreover, America's conformity to collaborate with China was followed by its desire to bolster Pakistan's position. It is also notable that Pakistan at that point possessed a significant importance to US because it was not just its ally but was also a friend to China and therefore was inclined to draw these two great powers closer to each other.<sup>141</sup>

The dawn of 18 May 1974 marked a new security situation in South Asia with the explosion of nuclear device by India. The newly demonstrated nuclear capability of India made the neighboring country, Pakistan felt threatened and it started to seek international guarantee against it. In doing so, Agha Shahi, that time foreign secretary of Pakistan, visited China in the first week of June, the same year for consultation. China, as expected, lent a helping hand in supporting Pakistan's proffer of declaring South Asia a Nuclear Weapon Free Zone (NWFZ). It was reaffirmed by China's Vice Prime Minister, Li Hsiennien on his visit to Pakistan on April, 1975. He made it clear to the world that Chinese would always remain "reliable friends" to Pakistanis and the government of China would stay true to Pakistan in every situation and would help them protect their independence, territorial integrity and state sovereignty against foreign aggression, invasion and mutiny.<sup>142</sup>

Another major factor that captured the attention of China was the establishment of proSoviet Government of PDPA (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan) in Afghanistan which

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<sup>141</sup> Gulab Mishra Prakahar, *Indo-Pakistan Relations: From Tashkent to Simla* (New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House, 1987), 30-31.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid*, 45.

was followed by the Soviet intrusion in the country. Chinese viewed this development as a Soviet expansion strategy by imposing pressure on Pakistan through the gradual absorption of Afghanistan into the Soviet system. Not only this, it highlighted the relevance of Pakistan as an autonomous country to maintain political stability and peace in the region.<sup>143</sup> China expressed disapproval of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and termed it a “hegemonic action” that could be a threat to Afghanistan’s peace and sovereignty. Additionally, China joined hands with Pakistan to deal with this situation as it was seen to pose a threat to the peace of the entire region.

For this, China not only supplied weapons and military equipment’s to Pakistan but also extended humanitarian support to Afghan refugees living in Pakistan. In this way, it played a key role in bolstering Afghan resistance by its diplomatic support. Besides it, China showed an agreement to Pakistan’s demand for a negotiated settlement of the Afghanistan issue.

China’s policy regarding Kashmir issue seemed to be dwindling between neutrality and support to their right of self-determination. During the fifties, Sino-Indian friendship period, China remained neutral while the only role played by it was to call upon India and Pakistan to settle this dispute through table talks in the better interest of China. However, in the later time, this relation got bogged down in a boundary dispute (between China and India) resulting its clear inclination towards Pakistan by supporting its stance on Kashmir. Afterwards, in the seventies, China seemed to put an effort for a peaceful settlement of Kashmir issue. Nevertheless, a subtle shift in China’s policy appeared to be seen in the eighties, when it once again started back footing on the issue and proposed negotiations between Pakistan and India to maintain peace in the world. It is also noteworthy that despite observing a diplomatic stand on Kashmir issue; it did not vacillate in showing their good turn to Pakistan.

When the relation between China and India, began to normalize, the Chinese leaders started avoiding targeting India for Kashmir issue. Moreover, from that day on, I never showed a clear support to Pakistan on the same issue. On the other hand, as a peaceful solution of Kashmir issue was in the better interest of China therefore, it tried to reduce the tension in South Asia by calling upon the states of the region to maintain harmony in their relations. It also proposed them not to

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 146-47.



interfere in each other's internal affairs for their mutual benefits. This progressive attitude of China marked its impartiality towards the inter-state matters of South Asia.

However, Pakistan also adopted a mature response regarding China's silence over the dispute between Pakistan and Indian on the right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir.

Pakistan viewed it as China's tactical change and political strategy and not its withdrawal of support to Pakistan. This acceptance of Chinese strategy by Pakistan can be made known by the remarks of Junejo who on his return from China in November 1985 said, 'there should be no doubt about Chinese support to Pakistan' on the Kashmir issue.

Chinese policy on dropping of tension in South Asia is linked with the policy of Pakistan's of upgrading of relations with India. The enhanced Sino-Indian relationship could condense India's notion of the comprehensive Sino-Pakistan relations, and minimize India's call for upholding a pro-Soviet tilt on foreign policy.<sup>144</sup>

The core and foremost point in the Sino-Pak relation is the security concern of both the countries that dates back to 1965-6. It includes mutual planning regarding security affairs, Arms supply to Pakistan by China, and its assistance in improving the defence production of Pakistan. It was, undoubtedly, China that not only supported but provided Pakistan with arms on minor or interest free loans in the times when America stopped its arm's supply to Pakistan. In this way it had been contributing to enhance Pakistan's defence capability until 1982, when US initiated assistance package. Prior to it, China stood as the sole provider of defence machinery including manpower to Pakistan in order to boost its indigenous production of nuclear weapons. Furthermore, this support got more strength when in September 1990, China agreed to supply the components for M-11 surface-to-surface missiles to Pakistan, which not only seemed a big breakthrough for Pakistan defence mechanism but also posed a threat to the United States.

However, China had to follow the restriction of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) that puts a ban on shipment of more than 500 kilograms and the relocation of missiles within the range of more than 300 kilometers beside the fact that it was not its member.

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<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 153-55.

Conversely, in August 1993, the United States imposed strict trade sanctions on Chinese entities (government ministries and aerospace companies) and Pakistan for two years that includes 11 on the former and one on the later for transferring prohibited missile technology. Furthermore, it was claimed by Washington post in July 1995 that China transferred complete M-11 ballistic missiles to Pakistan. Furthermore, the very next year on February 1996, U.S intelligence alleged Pakistan for purchasing ring magnets from China that could enhance the nuclear power of Pakistan. In the light of these allegations, US imposed two years sanctions on the Pakistan Ministry of Defense and Pakistan's Space and Upper Atmosphere Research

Organization. In addition to it, it imposed ban on Iranian entities as well for Chinese support to Iranian missile programs as well as Pakistan. Likewise, the sanction of two more years was imposed on a PRC company and Pakistan's National Development Complex by the United States. The PRC Company was reported to deliver 12 shipments of components for Pakistan's Shaheen missiles during 2001.

On the other hand, despite all these sanctions, bans and restrictions by the United States, the defence collaboration between Pakistan and China remained well-built and the later continued to be the major diplomatic and arm supplier to Pakistan in order to deal with the Soviet alliance in the region of South Asia. However, the Sino-Indian relationship deteriorated once again in 1962 that made the two states to sign an agreement to maintain peace within the region along borders in 1993. Even though, the dispute on India-China boundary has yet to be cleared up as the former state is still threatened of China might along the border. This diplomatic relation got a set back again when the Indian government official stated publically that the May nuclear tests were carried by India to counter China threat.<sup>145</sup> However, soon India realized its mistake as such statements could bring Pakistan and China closer to each other and therefore in order to prevent it, India took the first step on June 2003, by paying the six days official visit to china. India considered it a big breakthrough for diminishing tension along the China and India border and it termed the visit as “Historic”, “Path Breaking”, a new beginning and “never before have such productive discussions being held” but the dust got cleared when the outcome turned to be exactly the opposite. The major aspect of disconcert became Sikkim and Tibet. Nevertheless, India acknowledged the later as the autonomous region of China. This visit had one positive implication for India that both states

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<sup>145</sup> Barbara Leith Leipor, “Pak-US Relations” (CRS- Issue Brief for Congress Dec 2001) Availability on Crs Website.

agreed on strengthening economic cooperation and bilateral trade among themselves. In addition to it, both the states signed border trade protocol to smooth the progress of trade through the Sikkim-Tibet border.<sup>146</sup>

Pakistan and China mostly shared friendly relations with each other in 2005 both states signed memorandum of understanding on Cooperation in field of Information Technology. Chinese Premier visited Pakistan in 2005. In 2006 China and Pakistan signed free Trade Agreement and in 2013 Chinese Premier visited Pakistan and both states gave mutual statement regarding cooperation with one another. The trade between two states reached to US \$ 16 million .In 2015 almost 50 documents were signed between both Pakistan and China (CPEC was also included in it) same year. Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif participated in BRI (Belt and Road Initiative) forum in 2017 next year Imran Khan Prime Minister of Pakistan visited China for China International Import Expo (CIIE) a step for opening Chinese market for Pakistani Products. Chinese Vice President visited Pakistan in May 2019 same year Prime Minister Imran Khan visited China in October. President Arif Alvi visited China in March 2020 memorandum of understanding was signed between both countries on different projects. Both countries are cooperating with one another especially on CPEC and are enjoy good relationship.<sup>147</sup>

On other hand currently Sino-Indian relations are not on ideal grounds due to boundary dispute between them. After India changed constitutional status of Kashmir its relations with Pakistan and China got flamed up creating tensions in the region. In early 2021 both China and India negotiated to reduce risk of arm confrontation on border from both sides. Complexities like Border Dispute, Kashmir Issue and Economic Competition is shaping complexity in the region.<sup>148</sup>

To conclude, this chapter of the current study brought into light that from United States to Russia and from Russia to China, each state has major stakes in the region of South Asia. Among

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<sup>146</sup> “Indian Defence Review” , (ed) Bharat Verma, VOL 18(2), Apr-June 2003.

<sup>147</sup> Global Times, “China-Pakistan: A Journey of Friendship (1950-2020),” Global Times, accessed August 6, 2021, <https://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1189007.shtml>.

<sup>148</sup> “Preparing for Heightened Tensions Between China and India,” Council on Foreign Relations (Council on Foreign Relations), accessed August 6, 2021, <https://www.cfr.org/report/preparing-heightened-tensions-betweenchina-and-india>

them, the later has a direct geographic connection whereas the former two have certain concerns because of cold war in assorted alignments. These states in general and Russia and the United States in particular tried to have a thorough influence over the sub-continental regions i.e., Pakistan and India in their best interests. They went for different pacts and alliances with the countries belonging to South Asia for their personal benefits whereas Pakistan and India acknowledged each one of them due to their own insecurities and interests. These factors became a core reason for not having a reliable and strong strategic relation between Pakistan and US. On the contrary, Russia and America have long term partnership with India in terms of economic, social, cultural and military spheres. The support and alliance to India by the great powers of the world always contributed in disturbing the strategic relations Pakistan and India. However, the Pak-US dependability on each other creates a suspicion that this relation can keep on going as long as these states need each other so is a necessary yet impermanent corporation. It can further be assumed that these two states can never go for a long term partnership because of the divergence in their goals and national aims. Thus, we can presume from the historical evidence, that Pakistan and United cannot be partners for life and will always have a short term partnership. Moreover, for a long term relation, we expect China whose interests and trust rests with Pakistan, though it goes against the interest of US. The conflicted interests of US and China prove that these states have a strong impact on the South Asian region in general and Pakistan and India in particular.

## **Chapter # 4 Military Balance between Pakistan and India: 2015-2020**

The battle for power has always been one of the magnificent characteristic of world's politics. The participants and at times game rules are different but the game proceeds. When the World War II ended in 1945, many colonies were freed from the hold of the British and got independence including India. In 1947 India and Pakistan came into existence when the long established British control over subcontinent collapsed. Hindu majority who lived in Indian subcontinent intensely opposed the creation of Pakistan since they abominate the idea of cutting larger part of India from the rest. The feeling was preserved that Pakistan was created by ruining territorial unity.<sup>149</sup> Hence, the resistance continued even after the creation of Pakistan.

The fundamental distinction between the two countries emerged out of having different ideologies. Pakistan supports Islamic Ideology and opposes system based on secularism in India. Pakistan and India also have conflict on other issues than just ideological dissimilarities. Pakistan and India have a dispute on Jammu and Kashmir; India deployed its forces over the valley and took it by force.

The various issues of dissimilarities included The Rann of Kuch that was resolved by the then UK Prime Minister's intervention in 1965. In 1971, the intercession and involvement of India in East Pakistan is another matter of dispute. The event resulted in the defeat of the military by the Indians which was fully supported by the irregulars Mukti Bahinis of East Pakistan.<sup>150</sup> This incident led to extreme hostility and rivalry between India and Pakistan. Since then there has never been a stable relationship between India and Pakistan. This phase is set apart by the Indian Nuclear blast in May 1974, Nuclear Free Zone proposition by Pakistan in South Asia and proposal for no war pact, the counter proposition of friendship treaty by India, renewal of USA military assistance to Pakistan, USSR enormous assistance to India. On 31 October 1981, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi got murdered due to internal conflicts of India, emergence of youth leadership in India and

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<sup>149</sup> B. Kulkarni, *Is India a Big Power?* (New Delhi: Ashish Publishers, 1972), 3.

<sup>150</sup> Chandra B. Khanduri, "The Development in Bangladesh", *The Defence Journal VIKRANT*, New Delhi, Vol.XI, No.11. (August 1981), 33.

the reaction of them to the Pakistani leaders, removal of Soviet from Afghanistan, assistance suspension to Pakistan by US, Pakistan and India Nuclear blasts and crises of Kargil in 1999.

While assessing the Military stability in South Asia, it is examined that intervention by supreme powers in particular super powers mainly through transferring weapons has aggravated the disputes in the area by the provision of regional actors and hence motivating them to alter regional stability when it is adverse to them.

India exercises its power in the area in regards to its dimensions of the region, workforce, assets and creation of arms ability. Hence, the balance of Military remained often on the side of India with Pakistan firmly resolute to gain stability and India determined to counterbalance its efforts.<sup>151</sup>The foreign policy of Pakistan hence has been modeled to a scheme of acquiring help and power from abroad in order to offset and counterbalance superiority of power of India in South Asia and also to achieve the irredentist goal in regards to Kashmir.

The viewpoint of Military stability and balance between Pakistan and India will be briefly discussed in the chapter from 1947-2020. Throughout this period, aiming points were experienced by South Asia in the form of 1954 and 1955 association of Pakistan with USA, Sino-Indian war (1962), battle between Pakistan and India and Rann of Kuch (1965), the 1970-1971 crises of East Pakistan, the Pokhran blast done by India in 1974 and, military intervention done by USSR in and its removal from Afghanistan and its attitude towards South Asia, especially in regards to Pakistan, Pakistan and India becoming nuclear countries, the crises of Kargil in the year 1999, the episode of World Trade center on September 11, 2001 and conflicts between Pakistan and India until 2020.

The situation of Military stability was affected in one way or the other by all the above mentioned events. Hence, in this section, the historical viewpoint will be examined within the following phases, set apart by these incidents of 1947-1955, 1956-65, 1966-1971, 1972-1979, 1980-89, 1990-98, 1999-2008, 2009-2014, 2015-2016, 2017-2019 and 2020.

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<sup>151</sup> Zafar Iqbal, "South Asia as a Nuclear Weapon Free Zone" *Journal of Strategic Studies*, IV: 2, (Islamabad, Winter 1981), 33.

## **1947-1955:**

The whole Asia was in turbulence when Pakistan appeared as an independent country on the map of the world. Nationalize government of China and the colonial powers of Europe in Asia were threatened and sabotaged by Japan. Britain was no longer the supreme power in the region. Sea lanes and the India Ocean were no longer controlled by the Royal Navy. Pakistan was responsible for the protection and defense of Khyber passes which was used to conquer subcontinent numerable times in the past. At last, the main interest of the Britain was to maintain the defense structure and peace of the region by including both Pakistan and India in the Commonwealth.

Nevertheless, Pakistan and India shortly after gaining independence started having conflicts over Kashmir and various other affairs created by leaders of India, who after failing in sabotaging the creation of Pakistan, implemented the division plan with a prejudice to make it work in their favor and created various issues for Pakistan which included topographical, monetary and military complications. When Pakistan gained independence, its military was much weaker than the military of India. In 1947, 74:36 was the military ration between Pakistan and India. Pakistan never received the concurred 36% of the military share. Strategically, Pakistan at that period had to encounter the issue of constitution, the complication of equal depiction by both Pakistan`s wings, the topographical distance and dissimilarity between East and West Pakistan., the issues and affairs of refugee, the formation of administrative system and government equipment (The British Administrative institution situated in their region was inherited by India, and moreover Lord Mountbatten remained as its primary constitutional head),<sup>152</sup> and poor economy were the signs of enormous strategic instabilities in support of India, suffered by Pakistan. UK was the main supplier of weapons from 1947-1950`s to both countries India and Pakistan in the military domain.<sup>153</sup>

India refused to settle Kashmir problem according to United Nations charter in beginning

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<sup>152</sup> Latif Ahmad Sherwani, (ed.) Pakistan Resolution to Pakistan (Karachi: 1969), 211.

<sup>153</sup> Noor A. Hussian, "How Pakistanis Defense Industries help Anchor the Country's Future", Journal of Defense and Foreign Affairs (Washington, March 1948), 18.

50s and its increasing forces reflected serious threats for Pakistan. India moved its forces near border against Pakistan in 1950 and in 1951-52. With early death of Muhammad Ali Jinnah and killing of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan circumstances didn't favor Pakistan.<sup>154</sup>

When Pakistan came into existence it was not financially or militarily strong and on other hand it had a serious risk of being attacked by India at any time hence it started to look for an ally who could provide financial and military assistance to her. At that time there were two super power one United States of America and other Soviet Union. Pakistan never preferred communist state as her primary choice of alliance and Soviet Union was a communist state. Geographically Soviet Union was near to Pakistan this was one positive element. Also "Pakistan constitutes the borderland of the free world. She is situated at one of the vital crosses, as she opens up of seals the Southern door of USSR"<sup>155</sup> but ideology of Pakistan made it incompatible with USSR. So in 1954 Pakistan formally aligned herself with America. Baghdad pact (September, 1955) and South East Asia Treaty Organization (September, 1954) was joined by Pakistan. This encouraged further amiable bonding between Soviet and India in 1954-55. Soviet Union was constantly used by India to gain support and allegiance.<sup>156</sup>

During the time, United States proceeded with its promise to provide military assistance to Pakistan and Soviet Union inclined towards India. As self-contradictory as it appears, the United States also pursued India, anticipating that India would set an example of progression for the developing countries. United States provided 10 billion dollars to India for the development of its economy and in addition, it also provided monetary assistance to Pakistan.<sup>157</sup> The enormous economic support by the US empowered India to utilize its resources for buying military equipment and hence, to sustain higher place in the area. Soviet Union showed its reservations regarding Pakistan joining defense pacts, however Pakistan ensured that it was joining defence pact to ensure security and stability of Pakistan.

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<sup>154</sup> Anwar S. Dil (ed). *Towards Developing Pakistan* (Lahore, 1970), 120.

<sup>155</sup> Jessleyn Hennesy, *India, Pakistan in World Politics* (London: Faber and Faber, 1948), 8.

<sup>156</sup> SIPRI, "The Arms Trade\_with\_the Third World", (Penguin Edition, 1975), 469.

<sup>157</sup> Mohammad Ahsen Chaudhri, "Pakistan Security in a changing world" *Pakistan and Regional Security*( Karachi: Dep. Of International Relations, University of Karachi), 14.



Hence, it can be inferred that defence pacts with USA for some time did bring a sense of protection and solace to Pakistan, however on the flipside, it had wide-ranging repercussions. First of all, India prepared its purchases in order to match the balance and competed with Pakistan to achieve its objective, in reality, Pakistan never surpassed India in this matter. Secondly, India used the soviet factor so intensely against Pakistan that it effortlessly overpowered the increasing sense of protection and solace of the defence pacts. Thirdly, Indians effectively estranged Pakistan, and as an outcome Soviet started rendering open political support to India. And lastly, the race of weapons was initiated in the region of sub-continent. Since India felt threatened by the provision of US arms to Pakistan, the government of India was compelled to spent enormous amount of money on weapons and arms. To infer, the strategic balance during the time period of 1947-1955 continued favoring India as compare to Pakistan in the land of subcontinent. This is apparent from the facts discussed above.

- a. India had big land, more financial resources, Large Industries and better machinery in contrast to Pakistan in 1947.
- b. India got financial help from America but Pakistan on other hand didn't get from Soviet Union.
- c. Pakistan completely took side of America while India remained neutral and kept balanced relations with both America and Soviet Union.
- d. India got firm grip on Kashmir which Pakistan desired badly and Soviet Union also supported Indian claim.
- e. Numerous early challenges was faced by Pakistan like early Death of First Governor General (Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah) and First Prime Minister (Liaquat Ali khan) while on other side India benefited from stable leadership.
- f. Pakistan failed to draw its constitution quickly in contrast India achieved its first constitution in 1951.

### **1956-1965**

Because of the defence pacts which Pakistan signed during this period Pakistan military aid from America continued while India got assistance from America and Soviet Union both. On

Defence India nearly invested Rs 2930 Million in 1957 to 1958. This period includes several important events such as:

1. Sino-India Conflict (1962)
2. Assistance received from America and Soviet Union.
3. Fight at Rann of Kuch
4. Indo-Pak war of September 1965.

Both the states got involved in arm race as a result both Pakistan and India tried to achieve modern weapons. When it comes to achieving of modern weapons Pakistan stood ahead of India in the region apart from navy ships. Pakistan got F-86 Sabre in 1956 due to which India acquired Hunter jet and Mystere jet (According to SIPRI). The competition between India and Pakistan air force continued when Pakistan got F-104 jets in year 1962 in reaction India obtained MIG 21 fighter jets from Soviet Union. Pakistan added some important tanks into its forces like Bulldog, Patton Chaffee, and Sherman in the year 1954. India had Tanks like ANIX-13 which it got from France and Centurion tanks on demand from Britain.<sup>158</sup>

Due to Pakistan alliance with America its relations with Soviet Union became bitter. It gave a base to the America at Badaber close by Peshawar for intelligence purposes. U-2 inspection aircraft flew from Peshawar on intelligence purpose in May 1960, most likely without the knowledge of the Pakistani Officials; the Soviet Union warned Pakistan that they will destroy Peshawar. Peshawar. During time of this episode conflict between China and Soviet Union was highlighted globally and Cold war slowed down. America due to its engagement in Vietnam and its failure to come to one page with Peking considered China a communist power.

The situation became more complicated with the visibility of the Chinese element in the region in late 1950s. Sino-India relations were constructed on five Principals from the time when Bandung Conference was held in 1955.<sup>159</sup> Sino-India relations were pleasant before China demanded area from Ladakh to Assam in 1959.<sup>160</sup> Multiple attempts by India to throw out Chinese soldiers resided in advanced positions led to War of 1962 between India and China. This war badly destroyed

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<sup>158</sup> *Figures* condensed from SIPRI, *opcit*, 184-185.

<sup>159</sup> Stanley Wolpert, *Roots of Confrontation in South Asia* (New York: The Free Press, 1982), 143.

<sup>160</sup> Stephen Hugh-Jones, *The Giants of Asia* (London: Faber and Faber, 1967), 109.

image of India and mistakes were considered and future plans were made to strengthen and well equip military. India already asked for support from America and British before the 1962 Sino-Indian Border Conflict.

Immediately after the war between India and china in 1962, US along with western powers agreed to provide military help to India in session held in Nassau. USSR also followed same path and provide weaponry support to India against China. Under the shadow of Military Balance in the region but it was not beneficial for Pakistan.<sup>161</sup>

After Sino-Indian conflict India started to put lot of efforts to gain strength and to stronger its defence in order to combat against both China and Pakistan. With both America and Soviet Union assisting India, only available option for Pakistan was to strengthen its relations with China. It must be kept in mind that border arrangement between China and Pakistan was settled in 1963. While America started to review its policies of providing military assistance to India to counter communism in the region, as Pakistan didn't carried rude attitude with China (America perceived both USSR and China as communist danger).

The government of Pakistan was blamed by the people of Pakistan for not taking benefit of Sino-Indian conflict to get its aim of getting Kashmir in her control. India was clear that in future it has to combat on two fronts one with Pakistan and other with China so it starter to develop its Armed Forces. Ten new Hill divisions were formed to deal with danger evolving from China from the Himalayas.

Ayub khan expressed his grief in 1963 when America provided India with more weapons than Pakistan, according to him "no valid basis for the rush of US military aid to India on a scale that reflected Washington anxiety about a major war with China".<sup>162</sup> The large number of Pakistani people carried a view at that time that India building its force is basically aimed at mainly Pakistan not China. Despite India was getting military assistance from Western powers USSR also extended its help to India in 1963. Agreements were carried out regarding acquirement and making of

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<sup>161</sup> Chaudhri, Pakistan and Regional Security, 15.

<sup>162</sup> Ayub Khan, Friends not Masters (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 135.

Military helicopters. Extra MIG-21s and MI-24 were delivered to India. USSR charged 2 percent interest on these items.

In 1964 with the help of USSR Military Balance largely tilted towards India. As seen

1. Indian army increased from 550,000(1963) to 825,000(1964).
2. From three Mountain Divisions in 1963 it formed 9 Mountain Divisions in 1964.
3. Air Force upgraded from 18000 men in 1963 to 28000 men in 1964.

On other side Pakistan Air Force upgraded with 2000 men and Air jets reduced from 250(1963) to 200(1964).<sup>163</sup>

One of the major problem which Pakistan had to come face was constitutional issue it was resolved when first constitution of Pakistan was implemented in 1956 but later on conflicts and reservations between the statesmen and the Civil servant resulted Martial Law in Pakistan in 1956. During this era relations between Pakistan and USSR turned from indifference to worse after U2 incident whereas India was backed by two super powers.

In comparison to Pakistan, India was financially and governmentally stable than Pakistan, which due to domestic disputes and poor financial circumstances was facing trouble. India evidently took lead from Pakistan in military by 1965. The Table given below clearly reflects India military lead over Pakistan:-

<b>STATES</b>	<b>PAKISTAN</b>	<b>INDIA</b>
Total Troops	253,000	869,000
Entire Army	230,000	825,000
Infantry Divisions	07	10
Armoured Divisions	01	01
Hill Divisions	-	09

<sup>163</sup> International Institute of strategic Studies, The Military Balance (London: Oxford University Press, 1963-64, 1964-65,) see India and Pakistan Armed Forces for more details.

Whole Navy	7,700	16000
Vessels	07	20
Men in Air Force	17,000 to 25000	28,000
Fighter jets	200	550 Plus

**Source:** - International Institute of strategic Studies, The Military Balance (London: Oxford University Press, 196566).

After death of Jawaharlal Nehru (Prime Minister of India) the tensions in the region raised leading armed clash between India and Pakistan first in April 1965 at Rann of Kuch, area of border which was never openly marked lead to conflict. Armed forces of Pakistan entered about 10 miles into Indian land by April 25, General Ayub khan proposed end of hostilities and India agreed to it.<sup>164</sup>

The second conflict between India and Pakistan in 1965 was September Indo-Pak war. It sustained for three weeks. Pakistan aim was to get back Kashmir, Pakistan was afraid of that “Indians were trying to end the dispute by incorporating the Indian part of Kashmir completely in India, and if something is not done now, soon there would be nothing Pakistan can do”.<sup>165</sup>The conflict ended with deadlock, the account of deaths during 1965 Indo- Pak war is given below:

1. India 4000 to 6000 deaths with 300 tanks destroyed.
2. Pakistan 3000 to 5000 deaths with 250 tanks destroyed.

After 1965 Indo-Pak war Pakistan changed its foreign approach Instead of focusing on improving relations with America it focused on building strong ties with China because at the time of war America stopped supply of military equipment to both India and Pakistan. It was a bigger shock for Pakistan in comparison to India because Pakistan was totally relying on American weapons whereas India was buying weapons globally and also producing some of them.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> Wolpert, Roots of Confrontation in South Asia, 147.

<sup>165</sup> Jones, The Giants of Asia, 113.

<sup>166</sup> Mohammad Ahsen Chaudhri, Pakistan and the Great Powers (Karachi: Dep. of International Relations, University of Karachi, 1970), 37-38.

In difficult time of war of 1965 China proved itself a loyal friend of Pakistan, the risk of India attack on East Pakistan was increasing, the china warned India to remove all force from disputed border of face outcome. The Chinese assistance to Pakistan proved very beneficial it stopped India from attacking East Pakistan also it reduced stress on Western Border of Pakistan. China also provided weapons to Pakistan during 1965 war. After 1965 war situation changed in sub-continent, America didn't paid much attention to sub-continent as it was busy in Vietnam on other hand USSR power grew in the region.

After the end of war, USSR offered to settle issues between India and Pakistan through Tashkent Pact. General Ayub Khan and Lal Bahadur Shastri acknowledged USSR proposal and in January 1966 Tashkent Declaration (Peace Agreement) was announced. Due to the efforts of USSR many situation become better between India and Pakistan however Kashmir issue still remained unresolved.

Reviewing the Phase 1956-1965 following are to be kept in focus:

1. Indian forces stayed stronger due to large military assistance from America, USSR and western power in contrast to Pakistan.
2. America gave more arms to India than to Pakistan, who was a partner in defence pact.
3. USSR impact in South Asia extended which was ideal for India; USSR and India relations remained uninterrupted.<sup>167</sup> China reflected as loyal friend of Pakistan but its support was mostly limited to diplomatic level.
4. Despite Pakistan came out of political crisis domestically but didn't enjoyed political stability as India did.
5. Pakistan was greatly disappointed from America due to its approach towards Pakistan in 1965 war, its defence pact with America seemed useless.

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<sup>167</sup> A.J. Wilson and D. Dilton (ed) *The States of South Asia: Problems of National integration*, (Great Britain, 1982), 321.

During these years both India and Pakistan increased their military spending as shown below:

<b>Military Spending in US \$</b>		
YEAR	PAKISTAN	INDIA
1963-1964	240,000,000	1,820,000,000
1964-1965	269,000,000	1,970,000,000
1965-1966	289,000,000	2,100,000,000

**Source:** - International Institute of strategic Studies, The Military Balance (London: Oxford University Press, 1963-64, 1964-65, 1965-66), see India and Pakistan.

## **1966-1971**

During these years India enjoyed lead in Military Balance in comparison with Pakistan. America declined to give weapons to Pakistan on other hand USSR continued its supply of arms to India. Due to less interest of America in the region, USSR increased her actions in the Indian Ocean.<sup>168</sup> Information spread that India assisted USSR by giving her services in VISHAPATNAM and Andaman Island, India and USSR both denied such accusations but do confessed that USSR mechanics were there to assist India in constructing a Submarine base.<sup>169</sup>

Soviet Union assisted India in strengthening its forces; it supplied T-54, T-55 tanks, 100mm, 130mm guns and other military equipment. Medium Tanks (Vijayanta) were made by India domestically within these years. On other hand China provided arms to Pakistan which included T-59 Tanks, MIG-19 and vehicles. France also provided weapons to Pakistan. Yet India took lead in military balance.

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<sup>168</sup> Geoffrey Jukes, The Indian Ocean and the Soviet Naval Policy, Adelphi Paper No.87, (London: May 1972).

<sup>169</sup> Norman Palmer, "The New Order in South Asia" ORBIS (winter, 1972): 17.

Soviet Union tried to restrain China in the region in order to achieve her strategic objectives and in competition to western defence pacts introduced Asian Security plan (Collective security proposal) in June 1969, at the conference held in USSR capital, India declined and Soviet Union turned towards Pakistan as they perceived that Pakistan will oppose China.

It was obvious that Pakistan will not accept proposal due to its ties with China on other hand Pakistan's domestic political situation got disturbed when General Ayub Khan was replaced by General Yahya Khan. Yahya Khan enforced martial law in 1969 afterwards first time in history of Pakistan elections were carried out on adult franchise in 1970.<sup>170</sup> After the elections two big parties won in majority Pakistan People's Party lead by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in West Pakistan and Awami League lead by Sheikh Mujeeb ur Rehman in East Pakistan. The dispute over the distribution of power between Bhutto and Mujeeb lead Pakistan towards crisis.

General Yahya Khan tried to settle issues between two leaders but he didn't succeed.

The Civil disobedience Movement started in East Pakistan after Mujeeb Ur Rehman (Who got over all majority in East and West Pakistan) was denied political power he demanded. Forces were given order to carry military operation in East Pakistan (Now Bangladesh) on order of General Yahya Khan in March 1971. The forces operation in East Pakistan resulted deaths of many civilians, Soviet Union reacted harshly on deaths of civilians and insisted General Yahya Khan to handle situation in an appropriate manner. Soviet Union already had stopped supply of weapons to Pakistan in March 1971 on demand of India.<sup>171</sup> Pakistan was criticized badly by India. India allowed refugees from East Pakistan in her territory and openly opposed Pakistan for its forces operation in East Pakistan.

The International Position changed in 1969. America asked for help from General Yahya Khan to help her forming good ties with China. This increased importance of Pakistan in the region however Soviet Union and India perceived it as a direct threat with fear of formation of new alliance including Pakistan, America and China. Secretary of State of America Henry

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<sup>170</sup> Khalid B. Sayeed, *Politics in Pakistan* (New York: The Macmillan Press, 1980), 151.

<sup>171</sup> Hassan Askari Rizvi, *Internal Strife and External Intervention* (Lahore: Izharsons Publications, 1981), 223-225.



Kissinger visited China through his Pakistan trip and outcome of his trip was reunion between America and China. According to the Media of America the visit of Kissinger was marked very successful. Soviet Union and Indian both were any on Pakistan because it acted as a bridge between China and America for improving their relations. As a reaction Soviet Union and India signed Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation, apart from other support it provided India with guarantee support against attack or any possible threat.<sup>172</sup> Soviet Union gave large amount of weapons to India for it forces. According to one American approximation Soviet Union gave \$ 731 million amount of weapons to India from 1965 to 1971.<sup>173</sup> Pakistan looked at China for assistance which gave some weapons and moral support to Pakistan while America clearly described picture that in case of war with India it won't back Pakistan. When the civil war broke in Pakistan America imposed temporary arms restrictions on Pakistan.<sup>211</sup> The above mention complexity dragged Pakistan into isolation. On 21 November, 1971 When the Indian army entered East Pakistan the military strength between India and Pakistan was as under:

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<sup>172</sup> The World Today, London, September 1971, 389.

<sup>173</sup> US President Nixon's Foreign Policy Report to the Congress. 19 Feb 1972, 50. <sup>211</sup> Rizvi, Internal Strife and External Intervention, 220.

<b>Military Balance between India and Pakistan</b>
<b>1971</b>

<b>Country</b>	<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>India</b>
Total Forces	392,000	980,000
Total Army	365,000	860,000
Infantry Division	12	13
Armoured Division	02	01
Mountain Division	-	10
Tanks	850	1450
Total Navy	10,000	40,000
Vessels	07	24
Submarines	04	04
Total Air Force	17,000	80,000
Combat Aircrafts	285	625

**Source:** - International Institute of strategic Studies, The Military Balance (London: Oxford University Press, 1971-72), 43 & 48.

India attacked on 4 December, 1971 and on 16 December 1971 East Pakistan was disconnected from West Pakistan. During the war Pakistan failed to get any major help, China was busy on her border due to presence of Soviet Soldiers near it so it didn't give any practical support to Pakistan. When Pakistan tried to recall America about defence pact (1959), America denied by mentioning no such compulsory responsibility existed.<sup>174</sup> Yet President Nixon gave instruction to Navy to proceed with ships (Seventh Fleet) towards East Pakistan apparently to bring back American citizens from East Pakistan actually to reflect its support for Pakistan. On other hand Soviet Union assured India that the American Fleet won't be permitted to interfere (as USSR fleets were already present in the Indian Ocean).<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> Henry Kissinger, White House years (Boston, 1979), 892-893.

<sup>175</sup> Bhabani Sen Gupta, The New Balance of Power in South Asia (Pacific Community, July 1972), 709.

USSR fully supported and backed India during 1971 war and warned US and China not to intervene in affairs of sub-continent

During this period situation favored India as:

- a. Supremacy of Indian Military Forces.
- b. Political disputes within Pakistan.
- c. Full support from Soviet Union in form of Indo-Soviet Peace, Friendship and cooperation Treaty of 1971. USSR gave \$ 1 billion amount of weapons to India from 1961 to 1971.<sup>176</sup>
- d. Pakistan was not fully supported by US and China.
- e. Lack of potential headship in Pakistan.

Amount spent by India and Pakistan on defence during this period is given below:

Defence Budget in US \$		
Year	Pakistan	India
1968-69	514,000,000	1,452,000,000
1969-70	542,000,000	1,491,000,000
1970-71	625,000,000	1,466,000,000
1971-72	714,000,000	1,656,000,000

After 1971 war East Pakistan was separated from West Pakistan and India captured 90,000 Pakistani troops as prisoners of war.

## **1972-1979**

During 1970s many changes were observed in South Asia in relations to geography,

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<sup>176</sup> Imroze Sagar, "Indo-Soviet Naval Interests and Collaboration" in Journal of Strategic Studies, II: 4 (Islamabad: Summer 1979). 79-80.

Politics, Military and Economy in contrast to 1960s. East Pakistan after separating from West Pakistan became an independent state with name of Bangladesh. Pakistan itself faced numerous internal problems to restore its belief and stability.

The rivalry between India and Pakistan continued even after Bangladesh got freedom. The dispute between two states over Kashmir persisted and arm race continued in the region. After India's success in 1971 war, Soviet Union continued to give weapons to India. According to US approximation, Soviet Union supplied about \$ 1.3 Billion of weapons to India by 1975<sup>177</sup> whereas Pakistan got weapons from China. Military Balance between India and Pakistan in 1972 was as

<b>Military Balance between India and Pakistan 1972</b>		
<b>Country</b>	<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>India</b>
Total Forces	395,000	960,000
Total Army	278,000	840,000
Infantry Division	10	13
Armoured Division	02	02
Mountain Division	01	10
Tanks	660	1500
Armoured Brigades	01	03
Total Navy	10,000	28,000
Vessels	06	22
Submarines	03	04
Total Air Force	17,000	92,000
Combat Aircrafts	200	650

**Source:** - International Institute of strategic Studies, The Military Balance (London: Oxford University under:-

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<sup>177</sup> Report of Conference on Arms Proliferation in the Indian and Pacific Ocean Area (Strategic & Defence Studies Centre, Australia, 26-28 July, 1977), 19.

Press, 1972-73), See India and Pakistan.

After war of 1971 Pakistan had numerous challenges to deal with from getting its imprisoned soldier back from India to restoring morale of the public it had a lot of work to do. India military strength was increasing and best option visible to Pakistan was to gain help from Islamic Countries. With new constitution and reforms it was hoping to attain stability. Islamic countries were visited by the president of Pakistan and it hosted Islamic Conference in 1974 for creating strong ties with Islamic World.<sup>178</sup> Iran played a key role by backing Pakistan, Iran feared thinkable dangers from India and USSR. With Soviet navy being there in Indian Ocean and it's sometimes presence in Persian Gulf<sup>179</sup> and agreements between India and USSR and between Iraq and USSR generated further concerns for Iran. Iran wanted to see increase in

Pakistan's strength. Iran showed doubts in New Delhi, which was perceived that it is viewing from US lens to change structure of power in sub-continent.<sup>218</sup> In reaction India started to stronger its ties with Iraq as relations between Iran and Iraq were disputed. Several accords were signed between India and Iraq with Soviet Union. It was like a new alliance consisting of India, Iraq and USSR. However when India saw Iran backing Pakistan it started to increase its ties with Iran. In July 1973 Foreign Minister of India visited Iran for three days visit. After few months foreign minister of Iran visited back to India. Trade agreements were signed by Iran and India in 1974. SEATO was left by Pakistan in 1972 but it continued its membership of CENTO until General Zia ul Haq got charge of government. In March of 1979 the relation between Pakistan and America were tensed, Pakistan after considering Iran that was passing through revolutionary phase in 1979 announced that it left CENTO. On footsteps of Pakistan Later Iran and Turkey also left CENTO hence the US organized structure to confront USSR in the region got melted. There were many reasons due to which Pakistan left CENTO it was just a treaty on papers according to General Zia ul Haq it had no physical existence.<sup>180</sup> It was just outcome of Cold War and when dynamic changed between Super Power States it completely vanished on physical grounds.

Entering non-aligned category after quitting CENTO foreign policy of Pakistan changed.

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<sup>178</sup> Chaudhri, Pakistan and the Great Powers, 19.

<sup>179</sup> RouheIlah K. Ramzani, "Iran's Search for Regional Cooperation" Middle Journal, (Spring 1976): 178. <sup>218</sup> Mohammad Ayub, "Indo-Iranian Relations", India Quarterly, (January-March 1977), 9.

<sup>180</sup> Newsweek, September 18, 1978.

It realized that it can't depend on any other power for its defence and security secondly damaging its terms with neighbouring countries is not an option for her. After signing agreement (Simla Agreement) with India on 2 July 1972, Pakistan put lot of efforts to maintain stable relations with India. The trade between India and Pakistan once again started in 1974 and after period of eleven years the train left to Pakistan from Amritsar in 1976. The situation changed when India carried out its first nuclear test in 1974. Though it claimed it was just a test peaceful in nature but for Pakistan it reflected a big danger. Muhammad Ali Jinnah once while describing Gandhi mentioned his actions and words don't match.<sup>181</sup> His description was basically remarks on Indian mentality.

There are several reasons due to which India may have conducted nuclear test, one maybe to lay a strong impact of China secondly to reflect the systematic and high-tech power of India. The nuclear test by India greatly misbalanced power equation between India and Pakistan.

It gave India a supremacy over Pakistan and enhanced her position in the South Asia.<sup>182</sup> Zulfikar Ali Bhutto condemned India's attainment of Nuclear Technology and labeled it as a direct threat to Pakistan. He criticized US and Canada for helping India reach nuclear technology. Pakistan started to put efforts to get global assurance of its security against nuclear threats according to article 51 of United Nations charter.<sup>183</sup> In addition to Pakistan demanding Global Assurance against nuclear threat it backed idea of nuclear free zone in Indian Ocean along with other regions of the world. During thirty fourth session of United Nations General Assembly the suggestion of Nuclear Free Zone by Pakistan was acknowledged by India rejected it by providing a reason, that it was an attempt by Pakistan to let down India.<sup>184</sup>

When Pakistan failed to secure any reliable assurance against nuclear threat it started to develop its own nuclear technology focus was to achieve nuclear technology or at least achieve weapons that can be used as deterrent. When the news spread campaign started against Pakistan by America and Western powers accusing Pakistan is building nuclear bomb. The logics given by Pakistan to defend its nuclear program didn't satisfy America. Covertly, U.S has a partial attitude towards nuclear proliferation. America provided India with nuclear fuel in 1968. 16.8 tons of

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<sup>181</sup> Jamil- ud-Din Ahmad (ed.) Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah 7<sup>th</sup> edition, (Lahore: 1968), 463.

<sup>182</sup> Institute of Strategic Studies, 4: 2, (Islamabad: Winter 1981): 33.

<sup>183</sup> Chaudhri, Pakistan and the Great Powers, 22.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid., 22. <sup>224</sup>  
Ibid., 25.

enhanced uranium was shipped to India in April 1969. Nuclear Petroleum of 38 tons was given to India in 1980 by US. <sup>224</sup>

United States wanted India to have access to atom bomb while it tried to restrain Pakistan from achieving nuclear technology. The American officials were strictly against the Pakistan's efforts to achieve nuclear technology, the Israeli group in U.S also opposed Pakistan nuclear program. The Israeli feared aside from achieving nuclear technology by Pakistan it will also share it with Arab countries who were opponents of Israel.

Instability remained in South Asia Sheikh Mujeeb Ur Rehman was killed in 1974 in Bangladesh (Previously known as East Pakistan), emergency was declared by Indira Gandhi in 1975 in India. Situation didn't remained ideal for Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, he was arrested in 1977 and General Zia ul Haq took government by establishing Martial Law in Pakistan on July 5, 1977. Pakistan always denied dominance of India in the region and encouraged relations on equal grounds. Atal Behari Vajpayee met with general Zia ul Haq during his visit to Pakistan in 1978. Discussions and negotiations were carried out on important issues between India and Pakistan. Vajpayee condemned the idea of prominence of one state in the region during his press conference.<sup>185</sup> This approach of Vajpayee developed positive approach between both states. After couple of months Agha Shahi visited India for discussion regarding Salal Hydroelectric Project. At this event Desai answered media person that things are stable between Pakistan and India now and they want to discuss the issues between them in a peaceful manner. The approach of both states is positive as compared to last three decades. The regional dynamic between India and Pakistan were going towards stability until General Zia ul Haq faced a new difficulty when Indira Gandhi came to power again. She favored partition of Pakistan on other hand Soviet forces entered into Afghanistan.

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<sup>185</sup> Ibid., 30.

## **USSR Invasion of Afghanistan:**

On April 27, 1979 power was taken by the communist in Afghanistan, killing Daoud along with his family and declared Afghanistan a Democratic Republic.<sup>186</sup> Tarakai was made the president later he was killed and power was assumed by Amin and his group. The Soviet Forces entered Afghanistan with 50,000 soldiers claiming they were invited by Amin.<sup>187</sup> Soon Amin was assassinated and Karmal became President. Till January 1980 almost 80,000 troops of USSR forces were there in Afghanistan and people started to take refuge in Pakistan. The migration of Afghan refugees to Pakistan started in 1978 but after the Soviet invasion the number of refugees increased in large amount because of which Pakistan was burdened.

The Global Community urged India and Pakistan to strongly condemn USSR invasion into Afghanistan. Yet Indira Gandhi reasoned why Soviet Forces entered into Afghanistan while giving an interview to America, ABC. Television Vision she said “as a counter to the Sino-US interference in the affair of the region and the Americans were responsible for the present crisis”.<sup>188</sup> There can be many reasons due to which Indira Gandhi gave this statement mentioned above but one main concern for India was that new group including Pakistan, America and China to combat communism in Afghanistan can be alarming for India.

Pakistan was upset because India didn't realized possible security threats that can originate in South Asia because of USSR invasion into Afghanistan. India didn't admired

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<sup>186</sup> Louis Dupree, *Afghanistan* (New York: Princeton University Press, 1980), 770-771.

<sup>187</sup> N.P. Newell and R.S. Newell, *The Struggle for Afghanistan* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1981), 116-118.

<sup>188</sup> Javed Ansari, Aslam Abdullah, "Kabul's Anxious Neighbours", *The Islamic World Review*, (Jan. 1980): 19.



Pakistan's efforts to strengthen its defence she kept her own interest first rather than the interest of the region. Military Balance between India and Pakistan during 1978-1979 is given below:-

<b>Military Balance Between Pakistan and India</b>		
<b>1978-1979</b>		
<b>Country</b>	<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>India</b>
Total Forces	429,000	1096,000
Total Army	400,000	959,000
Infantry Division	16	17
Armoured Division	02	02
Mountain Division	-	10
Tanks	1050	1850
Armoured Brigades	03	05
Total Navy	11,000	46,000
Vessels	07	27
Submarines	09	08
Total Air Force	18,000	100,000
Combat Aircrafts	257	661

**Source:** - International Institute of strategic Studies, The Military Balance (London: Oxford University Press, 1978-79). See India and Pakistan.

In few years from 1971 to 1979 lot of events took place in South Asia, Bangladesh was formed, 1973 Financial Crises were observed due to rise in prices, India did Atomic Blast in 1974, India started developing weapons domestically with the assistance of Soviet Union,<sup>189</sup> USSR invasion into Afghanistan.

<sup>189</sup> Sagar, Journal of Strategic Studies, 81.

During this period India had upper hand over Pakistan due to factors mentioned below:-

1. Pakistan was partitioned (East Pakistan became Bangladesh) in 1971.
2. 93000 Pakistani soldiers were made prisoners by India in 1971 Indo-Pak War.
3. USSR assisted India.
4. India started building indigenous weapons.
5. India did atomic blast in 1974.
6. Political instability in Pakistan in 1977.
7. Warning to Pakistan by Soviet forces present in Afghanistan.
8. India's large army.

The Defence Budget of India and Pakistan from 1971 to 1979 in **US \$ Million** is given below:-

<b>Year</b>	<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>India</b>
1972-73	405.5	1817
1973-74	433	2386
1974-75	575	2443
1975-76	722	2660
1976-77	807	2812
1977-78	819	3.45(Billions)
1978-79	938	3.57(Billions)

**Source:** - International Institute of strategic Studies, The Military Balance (London: Oxford University Press, 1972-73, 1973-74,1974,1975 1975-76, 1976-77&1978-79)..See India and Pakistan.

### **1980-1989:-**

Till 1980 the fears of South Asia turned into reality. Indian Ocean was largely controlled by the USSR and U.S secondly USSR got control of Afghanistan very next to Pakistan North Western border. The era of 80s revolve around the USSR invasion into Afghanistan, America once again alerted and its concern for the region was restored and it assisted Pakistan for its interest in effective way. On other side India and Soviet Union twisted collaboration continued.

The presence of Soviet forces reflected serious threats for Pakistan with almost capturing and getting control of Afghanistan the buffer zone didn't exist between Pakistan and Soviet forces. The situation became very complex for Pakistan. The USSR reflected many threats to Pakistan sovereignty and existence.<sup>190</sup>

Politically South Asia was facing dramatic situation, In India Indira Gandhi came into power again with her anti Pakistan sentiments and approach. On other hand martial law was imposed in Pakistan and it was trying to bring Islamic in the state reflecting threat for India and USSR, Iran was going through the Islamic Revolution in 1979. The cooperation and coordination between India and USSR added fuel to insecurities of Pakistan. With threats existing on two front's situation became risky and threatening for Pakistan. Ups and downs in the assistance of regional states by Super Power create permanent difference in strategic Balance of the region.<sup>191</sup> India position was strengthened with the presence of the USSR force in the region with no surety that the China and U.S will mutually confront Soviet forces, India had an upper edge. In financial terms Pakistan faced biggest challenge in form of Afghan Refugees which were initially less in numbers but increased greatly with time. On other hand India didn't face any such an obstacle.

America strongly reacted and condemned USSR invasion into Afghanistan. President Carter of America marked it as "a callous violation of international law and the United Nation Charter".<sup>192</sup> Pakistan was proposed an aid of 400 US \$ Million to assist U.S but it rejected labeling it as "Peanuts" too less for the assistance against USSR. When India saw that U.S is seeking assistance from Pakistan to confront USSR in Afghanistan she perceived it as a threat. Indira Gandhi mentioned "do not arm Pakistan" it will put India into danger.<sup>193</sup>

The USSR invasion into Afghanistan developed its interest in India on other side India with assistance of Soviet Union reorganized efficiently its armed forces in 80s. Pakistan also enhanced its forces with help of China but it was no way near India advancement of forces. Pakistan and America in 1981 discussed aim relating to the region. Pakistan wanted to ensure its security from

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<sup>190</sup> Rodney V. Jones and Brad Roberts "Pakistan and Regional Security" *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, VI: 3, (Spring 1983): 5.

<sup>191</sup> Cohen, *Asian Affairs*, 25.

<sup>192</sup> Wolpert, *Roots of Confrontation in South Asia*, 185.

<sup>193</sup> Muhammad Ahsen Chaudhri, "Pakistan and Regional Security", *Indian Quarterly*, (May-June 1980), 189.

any possible threats and risks. On other hand U.S wanted to strengthen Pakistan against Soviet Union in order to safeguard the integrity of states and to achieve its interest in the region. An agreement was carried out between U.S and Pakistan in 1981 in which America will provide \$ 3 Billion of financial and weaponry aid to Pakistan to strengthen herself against Soviet Union. America also showed willingness to give F-16 to Pakistan to improve its air defence capabilities. This aid was not too much but it ended restriction imposed by US on Pakistan related to selling of arms. The Indians perceived that with the arrival of F-16 in the South Asia, arm race between states will escalate. The Prime Minister of India Rajiv Gandhi said that “US sale of f-16 to Pakistan will speed up the arms race in South Asia”.<sup>194</sup>

Rajiv Gandhi policies reflect as he wanted to see India as most dominant force in South Asia hence an effort by Pakistan to strengthen its force will be perceived by India as a threat and risk. With the connection between Pakistan and America once again restored, India’s forces affiliation with Soviet Union increased. Military power of India was increased with Soviet supply of arms to it. The supply of arm by USSR to India was much greater than that supplied by U.S to Pakistan in 1981. India from 1980 to 1981 boasted its military power in great speed; it placed orders of 600 T-72 tanks and 4 SSK-1500 submarines from Soviet Union. In addition also placed order for 62 MIG-23 and 13 MIG-23UM. India also ordered 230 artillery guns, 3700 missiles, 8 sea Harrier aircrafts from United Kingdom, France and Other states.

General Zia ul Haq visited India in 1982 and different agreements of economic and cultural exchange were carried out. India to win confidence of her public assured them that Pakistan and U.S cooperation will not bring any harm to India. In 1983 Pakistan got bit disappointed during nonaligned movement conference, when India didn’t opposed USSR invasion into Afghanistan.

With India supporting USSR in non-aligned meeting Soviet Union responded by giving India more arms including MIG-33, MIG-29 and T-80 Tanks. India’s military supremacy in comparison to Pakistan was once again reflected. Rajeev k. Bajaj indicated that India and USSR had a chance to attack from east as well as west with aim to completely tear apart Pakistan. USSR wanted to get sea and control the south of Afghanistan border. India aim would be to reverse partition of British India. When General Zia ul Haq Visited America he said “we must not in my

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<sup>194</sup> Poshpinder Singh, "F-16s for Pakistan: Reaction and Views", Asian Defence (Malaysia: September 1981), 41.

opinion, over project our normalization with India”.<sup>195</sup> India aims are clear from her arms procurement in 1983.

In terms of politics Pakistan observed many changes in 1985, General Zia ul Haq move forwarded after imposing seven years of Army rule towards representative structure of government. After referendum in Pakistan in Feb 1985, Zia became president of Pakistan. To further enhance representative government he made Muhammad Khan Junejo Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Once again situation between Pakistan and India escalated in 1987 when India deployed large amount of his military in desert of Rajasthan near border of Pakistan. India named activity Operation Brasstacks. Pakistan feared that it might be a cover against Pakistan. Tensions rapidly grew between two states and were finally settled through diplomatic talks.

When situation was flamed up between India and Pakistan due to Operation Brasstacks, Abdual Qadir Khan( nuclear scientist of Pakistan) told Indian journalist that Pakistan had achieved nuclear capability, Later General Zia confirmed it during his interview to Times magazine by telling “You can write today that Pakistan can build bomb whenever it wishes”.<sup>196</sup>

The pressure was built on Gorbachev and he announced on Feb 8, 1988 the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan under shade of “Geneva Accord”. Geneva Accord of April 14, 1988 only helped in removal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan. The Soviet forces completely left Afghanistan on Feb 15, 1989.<sup>197</sup>

In Pakistan in May 1988 National Assembly was dissolved after General Zia ul Haq was killed in Plane crush in August 1988. Later elections were carried out in Pakistan and Pakistan’s People Party came into power with New Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto (Daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto).

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<sup>195</sup> Journal of South Asian Studies and Middle Eastern Studies, VI: 3(Spring 1983), 9.

<sup>196</sup> Dennis Kux, The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000 (Karachi: Oxford University Press: 2001), 284-285.

<sup>197</sup> Hafeez Malik, Soviet-Pakistan relations and Post-Soviet dynamic. 1947-92, (London: The Macmillan Press, 1994), 282.

Military Balance between India and Pakistan during 1988-1989 is given below

<b>Country</b>	<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>India</b>
Total Forces	480,600	1362,000
Total Army	450,000	1200,000
Infantry Division	17	20
Armoured Division	02	02
Mountain Division	-	10
Total Navy	16,000	52,000
Submarines	06	14
Total Air Force	17,600	115,000
Combat Aircrafts	338	714

**Source:** - International Institute of strategic Studies, The Military Balance (London: Oxford University Press, 1988-89).See India and Pakistan.

With the support of US aid and economic assistance from different institutions globally Pakistan managed to derive Soviet Union out of Afghanistan in 1989. India continued strengthening her military during 80s. If we conclude 1980s we can say I marked an end to Cold War going on for many decades. After USSR forces left Afghanistan its importance in eyes of U.S fell down and it started to build pressure on Pakistan to restrain for its atomic projects. With increasing tensions between Pakistan and India it was not easy to deal with issues generating due to nuclear project of Pakistan.

### **1990-1998:**

United States emerged as the only power globally after end of Cold After. During the Cold War Pakistan kept itself associated with Western group because of its interest attached with them. The western countries after Cold War focused on financial concerns and promoted Human Rights

and peaceful settlement of issues through negotiations and talks. With the changing directions and dynamic of global politics situation became bit complex for Pakistan. In order to bring her on safe ground it started putting efforts to attain atomic capability. Yet the most difficulties Pakistan faced were due to its Nuclear Program.

Pakistan nuclear policy proved beneficial and reduced chances of Indo-Pak war However America was never comfortable with Pakistan nuclear program and condemned it but the USSR intervention into Afghanistan forced U.S to provide necessary assistance to Pakistan. After withdrawal of Soviet forces U.S interest was served and it once again created obstacles for Pakistan due to its nuclear project.

After the end of Cold War new aims and goals floated into global system like, NPT (Non-Proliferation Treaty), human rights, Drugs smuggling and Terrorism. Unluckily Pakistan was dealing with all these problems. America showed their reservations about Pakistan's nuclear program and asked for inspection, Pakistan rejected it and cleared that its efforts to achieve nuclear capability is for peaceful purpose not for any sort of destruction.

Pakistan tried to remove all reservations of America relating to its nuclear program but U.S cut off all financial and military assistance of Pakistan under the conditions of Pressler Amendment in October 1990. The US president was not satisfied with the clarification of Pakistan and considered its aim was to build nuclear weapon (as needed to impose Pressler Amendment).<sup>198</sup> Pakistan faced difficult situation after Pressler Amendment was imposed on it and the relations between Pakistan and America got stressed. Pakistan labeled Pressler Amendment “discriminatory” as it only aimed Pakistan and ignored India who was enhancing her nuclear capability.

Nuclear program was of great importance for Pakistan, in terms of conventional power India was far head of Pakistan and with no global assurance from western power against nuclear threat Pakistan was left with no option other than to focus on development of its own nuclear program. With time and seeing Pakistan consistent in her nuclear program US reconsidered its

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<sup>198</sup> M. Raziullah Azmi, Pakistan Americans Relations: The Recent Past (Karachi: Royal Book Company1994), 153.

policy towards South Asia. On 2 April 1993 John Mallott (Deputy assistant secretary) of America said before the congressional subcommittee for Asia that “US should adopt an evenhanded approach in dealing with Pakistan and India.” He further mentioned that both states should resolve their issues with talks and cooperation; he also accepted that Kashmir is the main cause of rivalry between India and Pakistan.<sup>199</sup>

In 1994 America and Pakistan tried to increase their defence cooperation, The of issues of F-16 fighter jets for which Pakistan had already paid was major issue to settle, U.S agreed to pay back the amount. In relation to this William Perry’s visited Pakistan in January 1995 to increase military cooperation between two states. Pakistan was greatly motivated by this visit because its terms with India at that time were at its lowest point due to Kashmir issue.

Situation for Pakistan got bit better when in year 1995, President Bill Clinton accepted during visit of Benazir Bhutto to America, that U.S did wrong by keeping the amount paid for F16 and not delivering them. He ensured that he will try to work with congress for possible changing in Pressler Amendment.<sup>200</sup> Positive turn came in Pak-US relations in shape of Brown Amendment which allowed financial assistance and return of few weapons to Pakistan.

The major reason of enmity between Pakistan and India is Kashmir issue since 1947. After Cold War when Kashmir Movement became active and demanded autonomy, that situation became tensed between India and Pakistan, fear of war was always there. Nuclear element played a vital role form stopping the war. America Insisted both states to reduce stress in South Asia and resolve issues through negotiations and cooperation. Under influence of America both states agreed for negotiations.

In August 1992 six rounds of negotiations were carried out between officials of Pakistan and India, different agreements related to Air Space violation, Military exercises, troop’s movement and some other issues were signed between India and Pakistan. Both states signed declaration for not using chemical weapons and agreed to follow code of conduct for diplomats.

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<sup>199</sup> Tehmina Mehmood, "Pakistan's Foreign Policy: Post cold War Period" Pakistan Horizon, 50:3, (Karachi: The Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, July, 1997), 103.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., 107.



Indian and Pakistan showed their willingness to hold talks on issue like, Sachien Glacier, Sir Creek, smuggling, to control supply of drugs and public poisoners from both sides.

Despite of the efforts mentioned above the relation between India and Pakistan during these years didn't improve due to several reasons mentioned below:-

1. Babri Mosque was destroyed (Muslims sentiments were hurt).
2. Deaths of many civilians in Kashmir.
3. Cordon of Hazratbal Shrine in Srinagar.

Both countries blamed each other for destructing peace and stability.

For Pakistan another serious security threat was Indian developing missile system. India tested its Prithvi and Agani missiles both missile could carry atomic warheads. Prithvi missile reflected serious threat for Pakistan due to its wide range main cities of Pakistan come in its target. In twelve hours India can install these missiles.<sup>201</sup> Pakistan raised point that if India will continue to develop her missile system it will force Pakistan to do so also, Pakistan gave proposal of Zero Missile Zone for South Asia. Yet India didn't showed any reaction to Pakistan's offer making Pakistan believe that it's not interested and wanted to be create its dominance in the region.

Pakistan only hope in terms of military development was China. Thus they both carried cooperation particularly in nuclear field. Several concerns like Taliban Government in Afghanistan (supported by Pakistan), smuggling, trafficking, Pakistan procurement of missiles from North Korea, Kashmir issue and help to extremist groups kept super powers eyes on India and Pakistan.

### **Nuclearization of India and Pakistan**

After 1974 India once again carried out 3 and 2 nuclear test respectively in Pokhran on May 11, 1998, Pakistan reacted with furiously and with reservations. Nawaz Sharif Prime Minister of Pakistan was politically under great pressure to respond to India in a same way as the have acted but he didn't hurried. After India's nuclear test on 11 may, Nawaz Sharif evaluated the consequences they could face if they responded back to India.<sup>202</sup> The provoking sentences from

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<sup>201</sup> Ibid., 115.

<sup>202</sup> Praful Bidwai and Aachin Vanaik, South Asia on a Short Fuse (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 39.

Indian Government forced Pakistani Government to take decision of nuclear test. Home Minister of India L.K Advani on 18<sup>th</sup> May, 1998 warned Pakistan that it must accept new geopolitical change in South Asia. With India's nuclear test the strategic balance has changed between India and Pakistan, and that Pakistan must join India for mutually establishing peace and harmony otherwise Pakistan would face deadly consequences.<sup>203</sup>

India continued to pressurized Pakistan, Defence Minister of India George Fernandez gave bullying statements that India will start military operation in Kashmir and BJP representatives demand that India must take back Pakistan occupied Kashmir. On start of 18<sup>th</sup> May, Home Minister of India L.K Advani started linking nuclear capability with Kashmir.<sup>204</sup> Internal Pressure and External threatening statements increased pressure on Nawaz Sharif, He asked Chief of Army Staff General Jahangir Karamat to evaluate and analyze situation in Kashmir. Jahangir Karamat openly told Nawaz Sharif that in order to raise moral of troops we need to respond.

On 27<sup>th</sup> May Pakistan publicized that it had intelligence information that India is planning for an attack, same day it rejected financial and military aid of US 5 Billion \$ and finalized to respond India. Pakistan carried out five nuclear tests at Chaghi on 28<sup>th</sup> May and one nuclear test on 30<sup>th</sup> May. In total Pakistan conducted six nuclear test, five as a response to India's nuclear test earlier in May and one to respond 1974 nuclear test by India.<sup>205</sup>

A well-known strategic analyst said, "if we (were) to regain our national pride, we had to test. The issue had been brought to a boiling point by India. Now we have redressed the strategic imbalance that India had created."<sup>206</sup>

Military Balance between India and Pakistan in 1998-1999 is as under:-

<b>Country</b>	<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>India</b>
Total Forces	587,000	1,175,000
Total Army	520,000	980,000

<sup>203</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>204</sup> L. K. Advani, "Pakistan told to Roll Back Proxy War", The Hindu, 19<sup>th</sup> May, 1998.

<sup>205</sup> Bidwai and Vanaik, South Asia on a Short Fuse, 56.

<sup>206</sup> P. I. Cheema, "The Armed Forces of Pakistan", India Today International (June 8, 1998), 166.

Infantry Division	19	18
Mountain Division	-	09
Total Navy	22,000	55,000
Submarines	09	19
Total Air Force	45,000	140,000
Combat Aircrafts	410	772

**Source:** - International Institute of strategic Studies, The Military Balance (London: Oxford University Press, 1998-99). See India and Pakistan.

### **International Reaction on Nuclearization of India and Pakistan**

At international level nuclear tests by Pakistan and India were highly condemned.<sup>152</sup> Independent States from the platform of International form strongly opposed nuclear tests performed by India and Pakistan. Fourteen countries adopted strict measures against India and Pakistan. Many sanctions were put on India and Pakistan on June 16 by United States. It was a lawful necessity under the Glenn Amendment to Arms Export Control Act. These contained:

1. Stopping of development Assistance.
2. Restriction on selling and procurement of arms.
3. Help of other countries for financial assistance or Loans.
4. Preventing American banks to give loans to India or Pakistan.<sup>207</sup>

Many countries discontinued their assistance program to India and Pakistan. The solid sanctions were only imposed by America and Japan majority of other states condemned and called tests in appropriate. There was no edge for Pakistan as it did nuclear test after India neither India was put with more restrictions as it initiated nuclear test. With economic conditions imposed on Pakistan, situation became difficult for her with 32 Billion \$ of foreign liability.<sup>248</sup> With sanctions

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<sup>207</sup> Hilary Synnott, "The Causes and Consequences of South Asia's Nuclear Tests" Journal of Strategic Studies, Adelphi paper: 332, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001): 28-29. <sup>248</sup> Ibid.

and conditions situation remained bit difficult for India and Pakistan until in late 1998 America congress assumed Relief Act (Brownback Amendment) according to which some of the actions taken under Glenn Amendment will not be considered for one year. America also stated that it will encourage IMF (International Monetary Funds) negotiations with Pakistan over its loans.

India and Pakistan relations also went low disputes at LOC (Line of Control) and Artillery fires from both sides were observed. However circumstances improved a bit when Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif met with Atal Behari Vajpayee during SAARC (South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation) conference in July 1998(held in Sri Lanka) and second time at United Nations general Assembly in September 1998.

### **1999-2008:**

India and Pakistan after nuclear test both somehow got indulged into arm race. The relations between two states faced much tensed situation leading to nuclear threats. In February 1999 during Lahore Summit Prime Ministers Atal Behari Vajpayee and Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif signed MOU (memorandum of understanding). Both agreed issues like security threat, nuclear doctrine and other concerned aspects should be handled with mutual cooperation. However after two months once again situation became tensed between India and Pakistan when both got involved into fight in Kargil a town in Kashmir on Indian side of LOC. In May 1999 about 2000 Mujahideens crossed LOC. Indian government on 6 May send large number of troops to confront Mujahideens and accused Pakistan for backing them. Troops of India and Pakistan fought at hills and many deaths took place, according to an estimate 1200-2000 men died from both sides.<sup>208</sup>

The fight escalated so much that despite US and other major countries (G-8) were engaged in Kosovo Crises their attention was caught by Kargil conflict. President of America Bill Clinton called Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan asking them to stop fighting. Both G-8 countries and US accepted Indian sight of story and majorly blamed Pakistan for the conflict.<sup>209</sup> On 4<sup>th</sup> July Mian Nawaz Sharif Prime Minister of Pakistan visited U.S and meet will Bill Clinton. President Clinton

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<sup>208</sup> M. V. Ramana and Zia Mian, "The Nuclear Confrontation in South Asia" SIPRI The Year Book (New York; Oxford University Press, 2003), 197.

<sup>209</sup> Zaffar Abbas, "When Pakistan and India Went to War over Kashmir in 1999," Herald Magazine, February 17, 2017, <https://herald.dawn.com/news/1153481>

asked Sharif to withdraw forces from Indian Territory. With increasing global pressure Pakistani forces were called back. With Nawaz calling back forces created dispute between General Pervez Musharraf and Sharif.<sup>210</sup>

In 1999 Nawaz Sharif was arrested and martial law was imposed in Pakistan by General Pervaiz Musharraf. His action of removing democratic government and bringing military government was condemned by many states including United States. Musharraf ensured that his aim was to stabilize Pakistan and bring civil government. After tensions were once again increased between India and Pakistan in 2001 both states were once again on verge of war (due to attack on Kashmir assembly in Srinagar). In July 2001 at Agra Summit General Pervaiz

Musharraf met with Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee but the situation didn't get better between two states.

General Musharraf was facing difficulties to properly shape internal and external policies of Pakistan. Circumstances completely changed after 9/11 (11 September, 2001) attacks in United States. Soon it came to surface that attacks on U.S were organized by AL-QAEEDHA who was operating from Afghanistan with cooperation of Taliban's (States near north western border of Pakistan). America asked for Pakistan's help for combating against Taliban's and ALQAEEDHA. General Musharraf agreed to provide assistance to U.S and its allies. Religious extremist strongly opposed Musharraf decision. As directed by U.S government, Musharraf took strong action against extremist and militant groups.

Fighting on small scale and conflict continued on LOC (Line of Control) by November 2003 when all of sudden Pakistan Government announced single sided ceasefire and looked for negotiations with Indian Government<sup>211</sup>. During 12<sup>th</sup> SAARC conference in 2004 talks were held General Pervaiz Musharraf and Atal Behari Vajpayee. Both countries showed willingness to carry on talks on various issues between them. In 2006 India shifted 5000 troops from Jammu Kashmir resulting improvement in circumstances however both countries didn't agreed on one page in relation to calling back of forces from Sachien Glacier. The Samjhauta Express was bombed in

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<sup>210</sup> Kargil war, accessed August 14, 2021, [https://www.cs.mcgill.ca/~rwest/wikispeedia/wpcd/wp/k/Kargil\\_War.htm](https://www.cs.mcgill.ca/~rwest/wikispeedia/wpcd/wp/k/Kargil_War.htm)

<sup>211</sup> "Reinstated Constitution," Encyclopædia Britannica (Encyclopædia Britannica, inc.), accessed August 14, 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Pakistan/Reinstated-constitution>

Feb 2007 that led to 68 casualties and several injuries. In July 2008 Indian embassy in Kabul was attacked and Indian Government accused Pakistan for the attack.<sup>212</sup>

With the merging domestic pressure from political parties and Judges the pressure was built so high that finally Pervaiz Musharraf resigned on 18 August 2008.<sup>213214</sup>

From the events mentioned above we can see that relations between India and Pakistan were not ideal during these years, for Pakistan assistance was received from U.S but at the same time new challenges also appeared on surface.

Financial and Military Aid received by Pakistan from U.S from 1999-2008 is as under:-

Years	Financial Aid	Military Assistance
1999	102.14	0.22
2000	45.72	0.00
2001	228.02	0.00
2002	937.34	1,739.70
2003	377.93	1,760.23
2004	406.12	891.39
2005	490.42	1,397.06
2006	689.43	1,246.10
2007	688.62	1,079.72
2008	614.48	1,378.32 <sup>255</sup>

Military Balance between India and Pakistan in 2008-2009 is as under:-

Country	Pakistan	India
Total Forces	617,000	1,281,200
Total Army	550,000	1,100,000
Infantry Division	18	18

<sup>212</sup> Asad Hashim, "Timeline: India-Pakistan Ties," India News | Al Jazeera (Al Jazeera, March 1, 2019), <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/3/1/timeline-india-pakistan-relations>

<sup>213</sup> "Reinstated Constitution," Encyclopædia Britannica (Encyclopædia Britannica, inc.), accessed August 14, 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Pakistan/Reinstated-constitution>

<sup>214</sup> "Sixty Years of US Aid to PAKISTAN: Get the Data," The Guardian (Guardian News and Media, July 11, 2011), <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2011/jul/11/us-aid-to-pakistan>

Mountain Division	-	10
Total Navy	22,000	55,000
Submarines(Tactical)	08	16
Total Air Force	45,000	120,000
Combat Aircrafts	383	603

**Source:** - International Institute of strategic Studies, The Military Balance (Taylor and Francis Group, London, 2009), see Pakistan (353-354) and India (345-348).

### **2009-2014:**

After elections, Pakistan People’s party stood victorious and Asif Ali Zardari became president of Pakistan on August 6, 2008. In late November 2008 there was a terrorist attack on Palace & Tower and several other buildings in Mumbai. About one hundred and sixty people were killed in these attacks. Indian forces managed to capture terrorist Ajmal Kasab alive while all other terrorists were killed. Ajmal Kasab admitted that terrorist attack was planned by Lashkar-e-Taiba. After this once again relations between Pakistan and India became tensed. In 2009 Pakistan accepted that attack was sketched inside Pakistan but at the same time denied any involvement of Pakistan’s intelligence agencies in it. Same year Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh met on Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit organized in Egypt and agreed to resolve and discuss issues between two states through negotiations.

In 2010 once again things got flamed up between India and Pakistan, when troops of both sides fired at each other through the LOC (Line of Control). Foreign secretaries of India and Pakistan meet in New Delhi for discussions and negotiations. Another meeting was arranged in Islamabad of Foreign secretaries of both states. In 2012 Ajmal Kasab was given capital punishment.<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> Asad Hashim, “Timeline: India-Pakistan Ties,” India News | Al Jazeera (Al Jazeera, March 1, 2019), <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/3/1/timeline-india-pakistan-relations>

United State started drone strikes in FATA. Drone strikes were started in 2004 on advice of CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) with hidden approval of Pakistani Government. However strikes developed very negative image of U.S among Pakistani citizens. United States forces entered Pakistan in Helicopters on May 2, 2011 and carried operation against al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Ladin who was hiding in a house in Abbottabad and was killed by American forces.

After the operation tensions between Pakistan and U.S were at the peak. Previously Pakistan’s official denied many times the presence of Osama bin Ladin in Pakistan. After action of U.S forces against Osama bin Ladin question was raised that how come the security forces of

Pakistan didn’t knew about presence of Osama bin Ladin. After elections of 2013 Nawaz Sharif stood victorious and became Prime Minister of Pakistan for third time.<sup>216</sup>

In 2013 India and Pakistan once again accused each other for violation of Line of Control. Same year Prime Minster of both states met at New York and agreed to lesser the tensions on Kashmir border. Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif called Kashmir “jugular vein” of Pakistan on May 1<sup>st</sup>, 2014. He also emphasized that Kashmir issue should come to solution according the will of Kashmiris. Narendra Modi talked with Mian Nawaz Sharif on Telephone and both agreed to continue new bilateral relations on peaceful grounds.<sup>217</sup>

Military Balance between India and Pakistan in **2014-2015** is as under:-

<b>Country</b>	<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>India</b>
Total Forces	643,800	1,346,000
Total Army	550,000	1,150,900
Infantry Division	18	15

<sup>216</sup> “Reinstated Constitution,” Encyclopædia Britannica (Encyclopædia Britannica, inc.), accessed August 14, 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Pakistan/Reinstated-constitution>

<sup>217</sup> Asad Hashim, “Timeline: India-Pakistan Ties,” India News | Al Jazeera (Al Jazeera, March 1, 2019), <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/3/1/timeline-india-pakistan-relations>



Mountain Division	-	12
Total Navy	23,800	58,350
Submarines(Tactical)	08	14
Total Air Force	70,000	127,200
Combat Aircrafts	450	881

**Source:** - International Institute of strategic Studies, The Military Balance (Taylor and Francis Group, London, 2015), see Pakistan (276-278) and India (247-251).

## 2015-2016

Prime Minister of India carried a surprise visit to Pakistan and attended wedding ceremony of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif grand-daughter in 2015.<sup>218</sup> Beginning of 2016 was genuinely steady with a moderately low number of incidents and losses. Nonetheless, the South Asia started to see increase in fatalities and incidents. In beginning of May and proceeding all through the summer. This remembered a critical ascent for episodes of uproars and fights in July, including occurrences of violence against radicals. This distress was exploded when in July 8 Burhan Wani was killed by Indian security forces. After his death protests and demonstrations at large scale was observed. Violence in the region increased resulting 85 casualties and many being injured.

On 18<sup>th</sup> September, 2016 militants attacked army brigade headquarters at Uri near Line of Control. India accused Pakistan for assisting the militants and once again situation became tensed. In Uri attack 14 Indian soldiers and four militants were killed. In reaction to Uri attack Indian Government claimed that they had carried out surgical strikes in Pakistan occupied Kashmir. The stress between India and Pakistan further increased after this claim. Pakistan rejected claims of Indian Government. The tensions remained between two states over Kashmir and LOC.

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<sup>218</sup> Asad Hashim, "Timeline: India-Pakistan Ties," India News | Al Jazeera (Al Jazeera, March 1, 2019), <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/3/1/timeline-india-pakistan-relations>

Prime Minister spoke for the rights of Kashmiri people in United Nations general assembly session conducted in 2016 and condemned behavior of Indian forces in Kashmir. As conflict escalated between both states Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi openly favored rebel groups in Balochistan. In conference of Heart of Asia held in Amritsar, Indian accused Pakistan as safest place for terrorists.<sup>219</sup>

After analyzing the events mentioned above we can easily conclude that in these years Indo-Pak relations were tensed and created uncertainty in the region.

Military Balance between India and Pakistan in **2015-2016** is as under:-

<b>Country</b>	<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>India</b>
Total Forces	643,800	1,346,000 RESERVE 1,155,000
Total Army	550,000	1,150,900
Infantry Division	18	15
Mountain Division	-	12
Total Navy	23,800	58,350
Submarines(Tactical)	08	14
Total Air Force	70,000	127,200
Combat Aircrafts	450	881
Aircraft Carrier	-	2
Missiles	Ghauri/Ghauri II Ghaznavi (Hatf-3 – PRC M-	2 msl gp with Agni I/II 2 msl gp with SS-150/250 Prithvi I/II

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<sup>219</sup> Author: Daniela Pollmann Daniela Pollmann is ACLED's Program Coordinator. Ms Pollmann holds a MA in Conflict, Author: and Daniela Pollmann is ACLED's Program Coordinator. Ms Pollmann holds a MA in Conflict, "India-Pakistan Relations," ACLED, February 23, 2020, <https://acleddata.com/2017/02/07/india-pakistan-relations/>

	11)/Shaheen-1 Hatf-4	1 gp with Agni I 1 gp with Agni II 2 gp with SS-150/250 Prithvi I/II
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**Source:** - International Institute of strategic Studies, The Military Balance (Taylor and Francis Group, London, 2016), see Pakistan (279-282) and India (250-255).

Military Balance between India and Pakistan in **2016-2017** is as under:-

Country	Pakistan	India
Total Forces	643,800	1,395,100 RESERVE 1,155,000
Total Army	550,000	1,200,000
Infantry Division	18	15
Mountain Division	-	12
Total Navy	23,800	58,350
Submarines(Tactical)	08	14
Total Air Force	70,000	127,200
Combat Aircrafts	450	803
Aircraft Carrier	-	2
Missiles	Ghauri/Ghauri II  Ghaznavi (Hatf-3 – PRC M-11)/Shaheen-1  Hatf-4	2 msl gp with Agni I/II  2 msl gp with SS-150/250 Prithvi I/II  1 gp with Agni I

		1 gp with Agni II  2 gp with SS-150/250 Prithvi I/II
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**Source:** - International Institute of strategic Studies, The Military Balance (Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group, London, 2017), see Pakistan (279-282) and India (289-294).

### **2017-2019:**

In 2017 Indian armed forces targeted Pakistan’s army check point in Nowshera near Indo-Pak border. According to the spokesperson of Indian army it was done to stop militants entering India occupied Kashmir. In July terrorists attacked holy place of Hindu in Jammu Kashmir leading to 7 deaths and 16 injuries. Special group soldiers of Indian army crossed LOC and shot three Pakistani soldiers. After couple of days four Indian soldiers were killed in Keri sector. India and Pakistan agreed to completely implement ceasefire pact of 2003 in May 2018 after months of fighting (cross border firing) at LOC.

On Feb 14, 2019, 40 troops for Indian force CRPF were killed in Pulwama through suicide attack. After the attack India increased duties on all import from Pakistan. An Indian army major was killed by militants on 18 Feb, 2019 further damaging ties between India and Pakistan. Imran Khan the Prime Minister of Pakistan showed his willingness to cooperate and assist India regarding Pulwama attack. On 25<sup>th</sup> of Feb 2019 once again exchange of fire was observed at LOC. Indian Prime Minister warned Pakistan of dire consequences. India carried out aerial bombing in Balakot situated in KPK, Pakistan on 26<sup>th</sup> Feb, 2019. Pakistan at first denied Indian claim of aerial bombing but later accepted that Indian jets entered in Pakistan. Pakistan destroyed two fighting jets of India on Feb 27<sup>th</sup>, 2019 and captured one Indian pilot. Next day Prime Minister of Pakistan Imran announced that Indian Pilot will be released as a gesture of peace.<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> “Indo-Pak Relations,” EFSAS, accessed August 15, 2021, <https://www.efsas.org/topics/indo-pak-relations.html>

During these years' conflict and disputes between India and Pakistan incased at alarming level generating serious security concerns in the region frequent firing at LOC and aggressive attitude of politicians only added fuel to fire.

Military Balance between India and Pakistan in **2017-2018** is as under:-

<b>Country</b>	<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>India</b>
Total Forces	653,800	1,395,100 RESERVE 1,155,000
Total Army	560,000	1,200,000
Infantry Division	18	15
Mountain Division	-	12
Total Navy	23,800	58,350
Submarines(Tactical)	08	14
Total Air Force	70,000	127,200
Combat Aircrafts	425	849
Aircraft Carrier	-	1

**Source:** - International Institute of strategic Studies, The Military Balance (Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group, London, 2018), see Pakistan (291-293) and India (260-265).

Military Balance between India and Pakistan in **2018-2019** is as under:-

<b>Country</b>	<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>India</b>
Total Forces	653,800	1,444,500  Reserve 1,155,000

Total Army	560,000	1,237,000
Infantry Division	18	15
Mountain Division	-	12
Total Navy	23,800	67,700
Submarines(Tactical)	08	16
Total Air Force	70,000	127,200
Combat Aircrafts	425	849
Aircraft Carrier	-	1

**Source:** - International Institute of strategic Studies, The Military Balance (Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group, London, 2019), see Pakistan (296-299) and India (266-271).

## **2020:**

In 2020 the circumstances didn't favored much in development of Indo-Pak relations. Both states exchanged harsh words blaming each other for causing stress in the region. India asked Pakistan to reduce its diplomatic staff to India and gave reason that Pakistan sponsor and assist terrorist organizations. At international level Pakistan put a lot of efforts to get support against India over Kashmir issue. India cancelled special status of Kashmir in august 2019 by nullifying article 370 of constitution after which relations between both states were badly damaged.

Pakistan reacted on Indian decision to abrogate article 370 by calling Indian diplomats in Pakistan and recorded their protest. India demanded that Pakistan should take serious action against terrorist organizations and their leader like Hafiz Saeed. With the advent of Covid-19 new

challenges appeared. Pakistan faced economical downfall and approached its long term friend China to help her out of economic crisis.<sup>221</sup>

### **Military Balance between India and Pakistan 2020-2021**

<b>Country</b>	<b>India</b>	<b>Pakistan</b>
Total Armed Forces	1,458,500 1,155,000(Reserve)	651,800
Coast Guards	12,600	-

### **ARMY**

<b>Country</b>	<b>India</b>	<b>Pakistan</b>
Active Men	1,237,000	560,000
Infantry Divisions	15	18
Infantry Brigade (Independent)	7	5
Mountain Divisions	12	-
Artillery Divisions	3	1
Artillery Brigade (Independent)	2	14
Armoured Divisions	3	2
Armoured Brigade (Independent)	8	7
Air Defence Brigade	8	-

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<sup>221</sup> “India-Pakistan Relations PLUMB New Depths in 2020,” The Economic Times, accessed August 15, 2021, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/india-pakistan-relations-plumb-new-depths-in2020/articleshow/79917285.cms>.

Engineering Brigade	4	7
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### NAVY

<b>Country</b>	<b>India</b>	<b>Pakistan</b>
Active Men	69,050	21,800
Submarines	16 (1 Strategic and 15 Tactical)	8
Aircraft Carrier	1	-
Destroyers	10	-
Frigates	17	8
Naval Aviation	7000	
Naval Aircraft (Combat capable)	73	9
Marines	1200	3200

### Air Force

<b>Country</b>	<b>India</b>	<b>Pakistan</b>
Active Men	139,850	70,000
Aircraft(Combat Capable)	768	413

### Missiles

<b>India</b>	<b>Pakistan</b>
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<p><b><u>Short Range Ballistic Missiles</u></b></p> <p>1 SRBM gp with <i>Agni I</i></p> <p>2 SRBM gp with SS-250 <i>Prithvi II</i></p> <p>SRBM • Nuclear 42: ε12 <i>Agni</i></p>	<p><b><u>Short Range Ballistic Missiles</u></b></p> <p>SRBM • Nuclear 30+: ε30 Ghaznavi (Hatf-3 – PRC M-11)/Shaheen-1 (Hatf-4); some Abdali (Hatf-2); some Nasr (Hatf-9)</p>
<p><b><u>Medium-Range Ballistic Missile</u></b></p> <p>1 MRBM gp with <i>Agni II</i></p> <p>MRBM • Nuclear ε12 <i>Agni II</i></p>	<p><b><u>Medium-Range Ballistic Missile</u></b></p> <p>MRBM • Nuclear ε30 <i>Ghauri/Ghauri II (Hatf-5)/</i></p>
<p>Missile Launchers 54 (Surface to Surface)</p>	<p>Missile Launchers 60 Plus (Surface to Surface)</p>
	<p><b><u>Ground Launched Cruise Missile</u></b></p> <p>GLCM • Nuclear <i>Babur (Hatf-7); Ra'ad (Hatf-8 – in test)</i></p>

**Source:** - International Institute of strategic Studies, The Military Balance (Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group, London, 2021), see Pakistan (289-292) and India (259-264).

Since the partition of British India, both India and Pakistan got indulged into arms race. According to their needs and requirement they made and break alliance. Though in terms of quantity and success India always had upper hand but in some events Pakistan was seen leading. If we evaluate military balance between India and Pakistan from 1947 to 2020 we can clearly see that India leads in Man power and conventional technology but at the same time Pakistan nuclear Capabilities keeps it fortified from full scale war with India. Economically better India with large size and resources became more aggressive towards Pakistan after BJP came into power while

Pakistan on other hand under leadership of Imran Khan time to time calls Indian attitude radical and extremist.

The security of the South Asia is at risk when peace between India and Pakistan appears like an illusion. Instead of negotiations and talks both states perceive and believe that only military enhancement can secure their position and dominance in the region and worldwide.

## **CONCLUSION**

The South Asia Contain states of India, Pakistan, Maldives, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Afghanistan. Apart from its physical importance it has a significant place in terms of its political interaction of the region with other powers globally. Strategically it has potential to change or shift strategic balance from one group to another. As our research revolves around India and Pakistan, It is evident that India due to its large size, population, large armed forces, economy, technology, investment, resources, Industry, political steadiness and agriculture growth has hegemony over the region. Hegemonic role of India in the region was the dream of early political leaders of India. Their mission was to see India strong and powerful. According to them strong India will reflect its dominance in the region and for the entire South Asia it will spread harmony and equilibrium. India's dream of complete hegemony in the region could not be transformed as other South Asian states didn't accept its dominance however eventually they gave up as they were not so strong to resist India for longtime except Pakistan.

Pakistan throughout rejected India's dominance in the region and talked of equality with India thus India perceived Pakistan as an obstacle towards its mission of becoming greatest power in the region. India tried to damage Pakistan which led to number of conflicts between two states. Both India and Pakistan focused on their economic development which is essential to maintain and develop their armed forces and to pursue strong diplomatic relations. Economic development depends upon internal resources like agriculture, industry, trained human resource, number of educated citizens and natural assets. Another important element is governance and leadership. Leadership having sense of patriotism and credibility leads country towards development. India enjoyed political stability in early years while Pakistan faced lot of problems in terms of quality leadership and political stability.

As our research revolves around India and Pakistan, enmity between two is more than any other country in the region. The relation between Pakistan and India is perceived with doubts, mistrust, conflicts, pressures and reservations. The lack of trust and conflicts between two states are due to complications and incidents in the past related to demarcation of boundaries and maritime boundary, sharing of water and other natural assets, migration and immigrants issues etc. Such issues created stress and uncertainty in bilateral relations between India and Pakistan. Also leaving these issues unanswered reflects a serious threat for the harmony and stability of the region. Arms race in the region also generates alarming concerns in the region directly threatening peace and harmony of South Asia. With continuous fear and doubts both India and Pakistan got indulged into arms race in order to gain power and deal with any possible threat.

In last 70s years, India and Pakistan have three major wars in 1948,1965 and 1971 along with several other disputes like Kargil war fought in 1999. The root of conflict between India and Pakistan is unresolved Kashmir issues. In 1962 Sino-India war was fought in which India received huge military assistance from U.S to combat against China, with the shift of military balance towards India it became aggressive towards Pakistan who according to her was much weaker in terms of military balance. Disputes between India and Pakistan lead them to Indo-Pak war of 1965 after the end of war both states declared themselves winner. But the foreign approach of Pakistan completely changes after 1965 war with India. It started to build strong ties with China while ignoring U.S because U.S put restriction on arms supply to both India and Pakistan during 1965 war. For Pakistan it was a great set back as compared to India because Pakistan was totally dependent on U.S weapons while India was procuring weapons from different states and even was making weapons domestically.

Pakistan lost trust in U.S and started to develop strong ties with much reliable partner China. With assistance of China the Heavy Industries Taxila was formed in 1971 and in 1973 Pakistan Aeronautical complex was formed at Kamra. China also provided lot of military assistance to Pakistan. The Indo-Pak war of 1965 also increased USSR involvement in the region, it brought India and Pakistan to negotiate as a result in 1966 Tashkent declaration was signed.

As a reaction to Pakistan measures to strengthen ties with China and U.S, India signed Indo-Soviet peace treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation in 1971 according to which Soviet Union will fully assist India against any attack or threat. India and Soviet Union got furious on

Pakistan because it served as a bridge between China and U.S and played a key role to improve relations between two states. Both India and Soviet Union were looking for an opportunity to damage Pakistan which they perceived serious threat. U.S once again imposed restriction on arms supply as civil war started in Pakistan in 1971. In 1971 strategic balance greatly favored India, its strong armed forces and effective diplomacy isolated Pakistan. Seeing favoring situation India entered East Pakistan and supported rebel groups fighting against Pakistan Army in East Pakistan. Pakistan suffered a huge loss and was partitioned after 1971 Indo-Pak war. Pakistan realized after war that its defence pacts were of no use so it pulled itself out of SEATO and CENTO thus Pakistan was marked as nonaligned state. On other side Pakistan strengthen its ties with Islamic states and also organized OIC (Organization of Islamic countries). Pakistan also put effort to sustain good relations with China.

In 1974 military balance between India and Pakistan completely shattered when India conducted nuclear test at Pokhran desert. After the nuclear test by India, Pakistan focused on developing nuclear technology to bring strategic balance in the region.

The invasion of Soviet Union into Afghanistan in 1979 forced U.S to seek help of Pakistan against spread of communism. Pakistan due to its geographical position was the key factor for U.S. Pakistan provided assistance to U.S and in return got economic and military aid from it. After USSR left Afghanistan in 1989 the world transformed into unipolar order with U.S emerged as super power.

The period of 90s brought many challenges to Pakistan with restrictions from U.S due to nuclear development by Pakistan to several disputes with India on Kashmir .Internally Pakistan also faced political instability and changing governments. With no assurance against nuclear threat from India by western powers and U.S, Pakistan was left with no choice other than to develop its own nuclear technology. Despite under immense pressure and restriction Pakistan continued its nuclear program.

India once again carried out nuclear test in May 1998 after its first test in 1974. This time eyes were on Pakistan from two side, one from international level who don't want Pakistan to carry nuclear test and second internal pressure from Pakistan on government to carry nuclear test. The statements by Indian politicians provoked Pakistan to carry nuclear test and thus on 28<sup>th</sup> of May

1998 Pakistan responded India by carrying a nuclear test. After conduction of nuclear test numbers of restrictions were imposed on India and Pakistan. Pakistan nuclear test somehow created strategic balance in the region

After the Kargil war ended with the interference of U.S, Pakistan faced challenging situation internally and externally. Difference arose between Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and chief of army staff general Pervaiz Musharraf eventually martial law was imposed in Pakistan in 1999. Musharraf received a large amount of criticism internationally and its relations with India got worse. Despite of several attempts to cool down situation between India and Pakistan like Agra Summit held in July 2001, circumstances didn't improve between India and Pakistan. On other side 9/11 terrorist attack in U.S once again reactivated Pak-US relations. As Taliban's in Afghanistan were providing assistance to Al Qaida who accepted the responsibility of 9/11 attack, U.S needed Pakistan's assistance to carry operations against them. Pakistan provided assistance to U.S and they carried out operations in Afghanistan against Taliban's and Al Qaida. Pakistan also received economic and military assistance from U.S in return of its services but many other factors evolved in Pakistan like extremism. Indo-Pak relations once again stood on verge of chaos after Mumbai attacks in 2008. Pakistan growing ties with China reflected danger for India and U.S.

In 2011 U.S carried an operation in Pakistan and killed Osama bin Ladin. On other hand Pakistan relations with India also started to get worse. Sino-India border conflict one again got heated up after Modi of BJP came into power. On other side Pakistan and China strategic partnership in form of CPEC really worried India and U.S. Pulwama Attack, Uri attack and violation of LOC created stress between India and Pakistan. After current Prime Minister Modi revoked special status of Kashmir in 2019 complexity in the region grew. On one side Pakistan is backed by China and on other side Sino-India border conflict created reservations in Sino-Indo relations. Pakistan close ties with China generated serious concerns for U.S as it perceived that China wants to create its hegemony in the region.

On the basis of study we can extract following facts:

1. From the time of partition India has conventional military superiority over Pakistan in terms of quantity.
2. The main dispute between India and Pakistan is Kashmir issues; despite of interference of international organizations, super powers, negotiations and wars it remains unresolved.

3. India and Pakistan believe in enhancing military power for their security and stability rather than any other approach.
4. Both states are involved in arms race to dominate other leading to stress and uncertainty in the region.
5. Super powers consider South Asia an important region to increase their dominance globally.
6. Pak-US relations are purely interest based both states coordinated and cooperated with each other for their own interests and benefits.
7. India and Pakistan are spending huge amount of their budget on importing and increasing arms.
8. After 1971 war and dismemberment of Pakistan, India didn't achieve any significant success against Pakistan.
9. After the start of CPEC (China Pakistan Economic Corridor) China is fully backing Pakistan and provided military and economic assistance to secure its interest and investment.
10. In terms of strategic weapons especially Nuclear War heads Pakistan is ahead of India due to which chances of full fledged war are at minimum.
11. Diplomatically India proved to be more successful than Pakistan at international level.
12. Domestic manufacturing of weapons and large military procurement is increasing India's arsenal with great speed.
13. Pakistan is utilizing its resources and is focusing on modernization of its military.
14. The Kashmir issue between India and Pakistan, Sino-Indian border conflict, arms race, intolerance and efforts to achieve economic and military superiority by states has created uncertain and complex circumstances in South Asia.
15. Failure of International Organizations to enforce their authority in the region e.g. the oldest unresolved resolution is of Kashmir issue in United Nations despite of some efforts United Nations failed to enforce and generate some reasonable solution.

## **Suggested Confidence-Building Measures:**

In order to improve relations both India and Pakistan can take several measures in best interest of security and stability of South Asia.

1. Regarding terrorism and role of non-state actors both states should deal with mutual cooperation and coordination.
2. To avoid water conflict both states should strictly follow guidelines of Indus water treaty signed in 1960.
3. Cultural and traditional exchange should be promoted to develop friendly feelings between people and government of India and Pakistan.
4. Both states should realize that they are spending large amount of their budget on arms while both of them are facing domestic backwardness and have large number of people living below poverty line.
5. Trade and economic collaboration should be enhanced to develop common interests.
6. Since partition of British India both India and Pakistan have sacrificed large number of men and wealth on conflicts and wars and didn't achieve any significant gain. The leaders of both states must consider that disputes brought nothing other than loss and sacrifices.
7. Both India and Pakistan have nuclear technology instead of focusing on building nuclear weapons both should use nuclear technology for useful and humanitarian purpose in this way the region will develop and tensions will be reduced.
8. Superpowers can play vital role for the betterment of Indo-Pak relations instead of using South Asia for their interests and defence industry, they should try to clear doubts and reservations between India and Pakistan to bring stability and harmony in the region that is crucial for global peace and harmony.
9. Both states must realized that without adequate solution of Kashmir their relations can't be improved hence both states keeping their views and interests aside should take in consideration opinion of Kashmiri people and act accordingly.
10. The last and most important suggested measure is to develop trust between two states, India and Pakistan Clearly mistrust each other and because of which conflicts occur, with trust

and willingness to solve issue every problem and misunderstandings can be settled between both states.

### **Future Research Scope:**

The present study opens new gates for the future researchers. The future researchers can carry research on the comparison of military technology between India and Pakistan. The researchers can also carry comparison of military hardware after 2020 and can explain its consequences and effects on the region.

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