

US POLICY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN:
IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN (1990-2014)

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Abstract

The main purpose of this study is to analyze the United States Policy in the Indian Ocean, during post- cold war period that is from (1990-2014). A comprehensive research has been done to determine the insinuations of US approach on Pakistan's foreign and maritime front. Although qualitative in nature but content analysis method has been adopted for research. Analytical, historical and descriptive approach has been employed to understand strategic moves from different angles. Apart from Relevant primary data i.e. official reports and documents - Interviews from naval officers and experts have been effectuated in order to fathom the expert view and to ample the study vision. It has been concluded that US reframed its policy through offensive realist perspective especially in Iraq and Afghanistan. United States approach was to subjugate Pakistan through coercive diplomacy in post cold war and post 9/11 period. US have revised its Cooperative Security Strategy of 2007 as Cooperative security Strategy for 21 century in 2012: Forward, Engaged, Ready; it has shifted its focus to Asia Pacific after declaration of Asia Pivot policy. Pakistan had no other option except to look towards China in order to counter balance the growing Indo-US synergy in the Indian Ocean. US proneness towards India has turned into a challenge for Pakistan's foreign and maritime policy makers. The need of the hour is to re visit our maritime policy along with unusual administration of our ocean part.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The core objective of this study is to analyze the US Policy in Indian Ocean during post- cold war era that is from 1990-2014. Furthermore, implications of US Policy on regional states have been analyzed. In addition, foreign and maritime policy of Pakistan in light of Pakistan has been critically evaluated in this research. To an extent; The Indian Ocean attained the centre stage of world politics in current century. The regions of Asia Pacific & Atlantic were the main theatres of warfare generally in World Wars and specifically in cold war. Now! Emerging trend of global politics lies in Asian context. Indian Ocean politics has greatly affected the US Policy in the twenty-first century especially under growing Chinese and Indian interests and presence in the region. This triangular relationship between US, China and India has great implications on regional balance of power and especially on Pakistan.

1.1 Geostrategic Importance of the Indian Ocean

In addition to third largest; this ocean is also comprised of 21% of world total sea space. The Indian Ocean is considered as “cradle of civilizations”. Three ancient civilizations i.e. Indus valley civilization, Nile Valley civilization and Mesopotamian civilization emerged in states neighboring this Ocean. Credible religions of the world originated in hinterland and littoral states of Indian Ocean area. It has been used for trade and transportation since ancient times. The Ebla-Hamazi tablet that was found in the north of Iran more than five thousand years ago strengthens above statement. However, it also shows the evidence of proper diplomatic relations among states of Indian Ocean. Indian Ocean is still the buzziest Ocean regarding movements of goods and products from one place of the world to another. There are many strategically important choke points and straits present in this region. The Strait of Hormuz connects Middle-East with West and South Asia, Malacca strait connects South East Asia with the world and the Suez Canal connects Europe with Asia. Other strategic points are Sunda strait, Lombok strait, Bab-el-Mandeb, East of Madagascar, Mozambique Channel and the Cape of Good Hope. Almost fifty four states of the world are present the sphere of Ocean.

1.2 US Naval Supremacy

Pirtle (2000) elucidates US Navy has become the major protector, user and enforcer of Maritime rights after the eradication of soviet war ships from world oceans. It has been using UNCLOS to extend its gun boat diplomacy (Pirtle, 2000). Currently the US possesses unparalleled naval supremacy, but the physical base of this dominance is losing its share. US naval ships were 568 in 1989 but the number was 346 in 1998 which is 40 % less. According to US Department of Defense; in 2001, total battle force was just 313 in form of battle ships (Pirtle, 2000). Military Balance stated in 2014 that the US Navy has listed no battleship in reserves in 2014. The US marine-corps have already accepted that fact the current Naval and missile program cannot provide sufficient air support for an amphibious assault to on-shore operations. All the US fleet used in the cold war has been installed in the military museums for educational purposes.

1.3 United States Policy post cold war

Green and Sherar (2010) investigated and clarified that US keenness in this region is based on its strategic interest in three areas; 1- To secure lines of communication in the sea 2- Strategic advantage in the trade route especially in oil rich creek 3- & for unique financial setup of south Asia. US influence is also subjected to hydrocarbons in this region and unsettling influence in this course would have unfriendly effect on its economy and intrigue. In past, US moved its Pacific summon to manage the difficulties in South-West Asia, for example, Operation Desert Storm held in 1991, Operations Enduring Freedom held in 2001 and Iraqi Freedom of 2003. Chinese, Iranian or other sea control projection abilities are restricted around them. US Naval training has experienced unusual change since the conclusion of cold war. The focal point of worldwide danger of cold war has moved to local challenges and counter strategies. Cold war arrangements of Ocean war that were supposed to counter Soviet maritime power and other atomic powers have now been changed. When we look into post war period; countries with maritime power confined their efforts to affect the maritime policies of littoral states. However, other the other hand, Littoral states are endeavoring to guard and specifically control their Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ). They are associated with the engagement of maritime expeditionary powers and joint operation mission as Roy (1998) has explained clearly. The US policy since post cold war period can be well understood through a white paper published jointly by United States Naval Force and the Marine Corps in September, 1992. Named as "From the

Sea”; the paper presented the idea of a joined vision for unusual administration in the current century along with additional emphasize on maritime powers of US in light of the fact that maritime powers will focus on littoral fighting rather than ocean combats. (From The Ocean, Militaryinfo.com).

The Naval Doctrine Command (NDC) was built up at Norfolk, Virginia in March 1993 to classify and guarantee consistency in naval force in view of incorporated maritime regulations and to facilitate US Navy and Marines joint approach in training. The Objective was also to address maritime and joint conventions for preparations, instructions, operations, activities, reenactments, and war amusements".

US Navy distributed a White Paper in September, 1994 named as, "Forward from the Sea"; The paper focused on modernizing the key ideas articulated in White Paper published earlier as indicated by Roy (1998).

The reason for US maritime power was entirely based on the idea to impact the energy politics and the ability to affect the remote waters and states along the oceans in US interest. Other objectives were related to maritime expeditionary powers in peace-time operations, in reacting to emergencies, and in territorial clashes.

In March 1997, US presented “Navy Operational Concept”- this concept actually set the tone of reaction in case of any resistance against balance of power in oceans and also defined joint mission strategy and coalition plans for the future operation. This concept was the continuation of “Forward From the Sea” with three layer strategy. (Roy, 1998).

Along these lines Joint Vision 2010 provided the format to joint battle operations according to the demands of this century and presented an idea for future joint battle operations. As Diego Garcia that contains a vicinity to the hydrocarbon-rich conditions of the western Indian Ocean has also a noteworthy American army installation. The Installation has also termed extra military and maritime power. Roy (1998) has strategically explained the military and maritime scope of Diego Garcia and the way, it provides support to Navy in Indian Ocean. US Central Command's Fifth Fleet has duty of operations in Red Sea, Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean, Its headquarter is in Florida. Formally, it is known as RDF established in 1983. Roy (1998) considers the withdrawal of US maritime and military power form the eastern part of Indian oceans as the eradication of America sense of local duty. US expected that this considerable vacuum would be filed by the territorial states like China, Japan

ad even India. US is unyielding to keep up its essence in the Western Indian Ocean yet a portion of the GCC states right now facilitating American powers are required to wind up noticeably progressively mindful of their military nearness (Roy,1998).

Since the 90s – US Navy has been led the targeted operations in the Persian peninsula while 14 nations remained engaged with US navy on some sort of collaboration in this regard. The end goal was to authorize United Nations sea sanctions against Iraq (Roy, 1998). In November 1995 Brown amendment recommended the supply of military hardware to Pakistan. The deal included maritime hardware including three P-3C Orion aircrafts. In the aftermath of atomic tests different sort of bans and approvals were imposed on Pakistan and the tests ended all further US military and maritime arms exchanges. The Pentagon's Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) in 2010 set the tone by requiring a more "incorporated way to deal with the region crosswise over military and regular citizen associations" and soliciting the rest from the U. S. government for an appraisal of ' U. S. national interests, goals and power act suggestion. Roy (1998) analysed that US Seventh Fleet is operating in Pacific ocean, Sixth in Europe and fifth fleet as part of US middle east force is present since 1949 to protect US interests in the world. Since Second World War, US has tried to maintain the world order through three fundament objectives; 1- To sustain the control on critical geopolitical regions and to keep the ascent of different dangers to the worldwide 2- To extend the liberal political request universally. 3- To maintain an open monetary administration.

1.4 The new US maritime strategy

Erickson(2008) put the light on six noteworthy missions for ocean control for the ultimate goal to adapt to dangers and protect U.S. interests; The sea control strategy based on these missions; send conclusive ocean control in a forward position in restricted clashes of regional scale; stop war between significant forces; win wars for the country; shield country security from long-separate; advance and keep up agreeable associations with more universal accomplices; and counteract or kill local annihilation before it influences the worldwide framework. To achieve these six missions, U.S. ocean control must have the relating six center abilities, including the capacity to be in a forward position (present global arrangement), discouragement capacity, ocean control ability, constrain projection ability, the ability to defend open request adrift, and compassionate help and catastrophe reaction capacity.

1.5 US Cooperative Strategy for 21st Century

An effort to secure Sea power, the most recent arrangement of the United States, has real updated in US oceanic methodology for as far back as two decades. The Maritime Strategy of 1986 was basically a Cold War period arrangement with war as the concentration, for the most part to create maritime matchless quality. The fundamental target was the worldwide showdown with the Soviet Navy. Following the Soviet Union's breaking down and the Soviet Navy's decay; sea technique wound up noticeably obsolete. Looking with a new worldwide circumstance of counter-psychological oppression following the 9/11 incident, middle east, Afghanistan and fast ascent of creating countries and the arrangement of a multipolar world, [and] because of more than two years of level headed discussion and dialog by the U.S. Naval force's hypothetical circle, the 2007 version of the oceanic technique, which shows the colossal pennant of global collaboration and a sensible new face, was at last issued. (A Cooperative Strategy for 21st Century Sea power).

1.6 Response of Littoral and Hinterland States

Response of littoral state is based on their interest. Interests of major littoral states are as follows:

1.6.1 Chinese Interest in the Indian Ocean

As per Collison (2013) to some degree, China Factor is one clarification behind the current change of US–India relations as both US and India is on edge about Chinese presence in Indian Ocean. Latest talks have concentrated on China's maritime desire in region but through continuous rise of financial and military power; India is probably going to receive more emphatic sea nearness in the Indian Ocean. China sees the district encompassing the Indian Ocean as a crucial vitality and exchange course, not a front line for control battle. Indian legislators and strategists are worried about the Indian Ocean and India's national security. China's economic design particularly the one belt ne road initiative depends on the Indian oceans for its trade strategy. The Chinese sea port being worked on and at Hambantota, Sri Lanka is a bit a kind of cold war like situation has been built. A large portion of the supply to Asia passes through the southern sea range of Sri Lanka. Sri lanka in included in the Chinese strategy to built the chain of ports in the Indian ocean to secure the supplies and exports ranging from middle east to Africa.

1.6.2 Indian Interests and the Indian sea

India needs a clever strategy to secure its interests. In Cold war, Due to its geo-strategic location- India's position and politics has made its position difficult; when its closeness with Soviet Union – pushed the US and China to counter it with the help of Pakistan. However, since the incident of 9/11 – The maritime collaboration between India and the US has helped India to choose America as its close political and strategic partner.

In all this picture, Indian position in the IO zone is the most decisive a reality that will rehearse an inflexibly critical impact on—in truth about choose—India's security condition. Pannikar (1940) pointed towards the significance of IO in Indian politics and its global future and said that for other countries, Indian ocean is nothing more than a solitary while for India, it a basic sea. Indian progress and life depends on this sea and its chances for a global role are liable to its position in the sea. According to Panniker, without secured shores, there would be no political structure, business development and mechanical headway for India. Pannikar's idea also resembles the report of Indian defense ministry's report of 2004-5 in which efficient opinion has been given on India's position in Asia and especially in the Indian Ocean.

If we look into the trade policies and economies, Muslim World and Russia are getting more benefits from India's Ocean than China and US. While according to Prakash (2005) Indians live in vague conditions and brutal neighborhood. According to Mearsheimer (2001), American outside approach all through the nineteenth century influenced them to overreach objectives: fulfilling expert in the Western Hemisphere. US Navy War College report revealed that Indian believe that their maritime boundary extends from Strait of Malacca to Hurmuz and from boundaries of Africa to Australia. Pardesi (2005) believes the idea of rising Indian would not be fulfilled until the influence is not maintained in south Asian sphere along with an an additional strategic edge in Middle East, Persian Gulf and central Asia.

Pardesi also argues that Indian as a progressive nation would try to establish organizations like riding power used to do since Napoleonic conditions. The whole objective of these efforts would be to attain exceptional role as the strong country not only in south Asia but in global world. Collector James Morris who worked as a collector in colonial India, in his writing in 1978 wrote that the world saw India as a power in itself - a kind Empire, dynamic and latent. Aden, Perim, Socotra, Burma, Somaliland were out and out controlled from India. The nature of India, such colossal quantities of strategists thought, alone shielded Russia from spilling through the

Himalayan goes into Southeast Asia, and the diversions of officers in Simla were basic to the whole world. India is putting an extraordinary arrangement in Chabahar port of Iran. It has given billions of dollars to coal production line and school and road interfaces in Chabahar as it joins India with oil and gas rich Central Asia.

1.7 Implications for Pakistan

Pakistan's key outside approach according to Hayvard is basically to keep the relations with US on a stable level, keeping in view the need of developing relations with china and to engage with India on equal terms. Comprehensive and healthy relationship with Afghanistan would be the key to handle to internal fight against extremism especially Taliban. Pakistan's economy is dependent on maritime development. Pakistan is playing important role in anti-piracy. Pakistan has developed its Gwadar port with the help of China. Gwadar will be unmistakable preferred standpoint for entire area. China – Pakistan Economic Corridor will offer opportunities to the two states and landlocked states of Central Asia. US should approach with a particular true objective to modify Chinese proximity and it will have phenomenal consequences for entire area.

1.8 Literature Review

History, economics, politics and the strategic importance of the Indian Ocean have been analyzed by many researchers. There is less work done on US policy in Indian Ocean in the postCold war period (1990-2014) which is the area of this study but little work has been done on implications for Pakistan. Kaplan (2010) inspected important issues impacting the approach of US in the region of Indian Ocean, including Pakistan, China, Iran, Afghanistan, India, Indonesia, Thailand, Myanmar, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam and Sri Lanka. Kaplan also prescribed the region from the Middle East to the creating urban zones of South and East Asia will transform into the nexus of world money related advancement and military conflicts, as states fight to fulfill vote based framework, essentialness independence, and budgetary movement. He highlighted their extending geopolitical importance and the snappy changes in this one of a kind region, especially China and India status as creating sea powers will affect US approach in the Indian Ocean. Mohan (2010) elucidates that the Indian

Ocean is an essential wellspring of unrefined materials, and the home to a part of the world's most shaky zones, the incubator of harsh radicalism, the key assembly room for the duplication of weapons of mass destruction, the territory for a broad number of failed and crashing and burning communicates. In, "Neglected no longer: the Indian Ocean at the forefront of world geopolitics and global geostrategy", Bouchard & Crumplin (2010) have also extensively studied the possible geo political implications in the Indian Ocean have worked on various developmental issues in small island countries and territories. The authors in this article have explained that how the Indian Ocean which was once highly ignored by the world big powers has now become very significant and has appeared as prominent policy issue in the century. The Indian Ocean is often referred as a body of water between three continents; Africa, Asia and Australia and enjoys the status of 3rd largest ocean. Its region comprises 90 of the Indian Ocean itself with all of its tributary water bodies namely the Andaman Sea, the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea and the Malacca Strait. In addition, the Indian Ocean Region consists of thirty-eight coastal states, thirteen landlocked nations. The trade of these nations from sea entirely depends on the port along this ocean. The population that this oceans cover is near to 2.6 billion and relevant area is 102,000,000 sq.km.

The combine purchasing power of nation in its sphere is \$ 10,813 billion which is 15.4 % of world GDP according to the estimates of 2009.

Moreover, an important feature of the Indian Ocean is its diversity and its region is marked with significant diversification and contrasts with regard to culture, environment, population, politics and economy. The resources present in the ocean also vary significantly from one place to another, for instance, the mineral resources are found in an excessive amount in South Africa, Indonesia and India and Australia while 55 percent of the world's total oil and 40 % of the natural gas has its source in the personal gulf.

In addition, India, South Africa and Australia possess large reserves of coal but a vast quantity of affordable uranium resources is credited only to Australia and South Africa. However, despite of the fact that the region possessed a vast area and a diverse population, the ocean has long been neglected throughout the history of geostrategic and world geopolitics. For most of the 20th century the Indian ocean remained less relevant due to the developments that were taking place in the rest of the world which were considered more important and vital for world politics, economy and culture. Nevertheless, the situation changed dramatically at the end of the 1960's as the

significance of the Persian Gulf oil, communication lanes and choke points of the Indian Ocean attracted the attention of world. Moreover, the unstable socio-political environment that includes social and political conflicts, economic challenges and militarization led to USA's military intervention in the ocean while China and India also emerged as strong forces in the ocean with each state struggling to secure its own interest in the region. In addition, lately Russia has also started to gain influence in the Indian Ocean, however, their efforts are still on a lesser level because Russia does not want the oil it itself contains vast energy resources. Nevertheless, it can be expected that Russia might remain involve in the Indian Ocean and related area to maintain its influence in the politics of Middle East and central Asia.

However, the Indian ocean region despite of being an area of key interest to so many far- off states is also regarded as one of the most unstable and vulnerable part on map. In 2009, almost 170 political clashes, 19 high intensity conflicts and seven wars were reported in the region of Indian Ocean. Many observers stated that foreign military intervention and their involvement in local politics is one of the reason behind the instability of Indian ocean region, however, there are several local factors as well that contribute to various political and social tensions in the region which include poverty, environmental degradation, cultural intolerance, radicalism, terrorism, clashes over resources, lack of democratic values and poor state capacity. Nevertheless, regardless of its unstable nature, the region of Indian Ocean has emerged as an area of great significance over the years as both the foreign powers and the states within the vicinity of oceans are trying their best to maintain their national interests in the region. While India commands a strong hold in the ocean, USA and China are the two foreign powers that also have a great influence in this region. As far as USA is concerned it has been involved in this area of oceans for increasing its influence in the oil politics of Persian Gulf.

Moreover, due to growing issues of nuclear proliferation, maritime security and Islamic terrorism, the role of Americans has further increased. On the other hand, Chinese participation has also begun which is growing at a fast pace and has led many to the conclusion that the geopolitics in the 21st century is going to be shaped by this strategic triangle which includes India, USA and China. Hence, according to Bouchard and Crumplin (2010), the region has gained momentum mainly due to the vast energy resources that are present in its region, the shipping routes, Indian economic rise, religious extremism, significant presence of USA and its western allies and the entry of China into the Indian ocean region as another strong player. However,

considering the peace and security situation, the region will continue to be a substantial challenge in the coming few decades for both the regional states and the foreign powers who have a considerable interest in this region. However, it can be said that now the Indian Ocean and the region surrounding it cannot be neglected by the world and holds an important status in the world geopolitics. Berlin(2002) explained that the only region that would draw the maximum attention in the 21st century will be the Indian Oceans because of the oil, Islam and the China-India power tussle.

Kaplan (2009) conveyed a comparable idea and declared that 'the Indian Ocean, the world's third greatest conduit; starting at now shapes the center of everybody's consideration for the troubles of the twenty-first century'. The suggestion that China is building a "pearl accessory" along key sea lines of correspondence in the Indian Ocean has had the estimation of driving open a radical new verbal encounter Mohan (2010) delineates that "the Indian Ocean is a vital wellspring of unrefined materials, and the home to a segment of the world's most flimsy regions, the incubation facility of savage enthusiasm, the standard performance center for the augmentation of weapons of mass obliteration, the zone for a broad number of failed and crashing and burning communicates, the littoral's noteworthiness for the overall economy and mind blowing power relations has never been being referred to. Not in any way like Russia, which tried to develop a choice money related model and purpose of restriction its contacts with the world industrialist system, China and India are getting the opportunity to be discernibly unique people from a financial demand that they once rebuked with some vitality. The first is the possibility of the monetary change in China and India that is on an exceptionally essential level not the same as that of Soviet Russia _ the past challenger To some degree English American power on the planet". Holmes and Yoshihara (2008) elucidate that "the strings of pearl term has ended up being customary discourse, for instance, among Indian sea control specialists. According to John Mearsheimer US is `offshore balancer` in various parts of the world. Scott (1998) focuses on societal forces and institutional plans and structures to track the move from the Nippy War climate to the post-Cold War period and its effect on US outside approach making. The underlying article recognizes fair progressivism and outlines American culture as libertarian, pluralist, and a model to duplicate. Scott also battles that US outside game plan making is a clashing methodology held together by the superseding mission to improve the world. He sees a test between moralism/positive thinking and rationale/genuineness adjacent the

doing combating remote procedure presentation of apathy and internationalism. Scott battles that the American target of a "law based peace," which guided the US through the Crisp War, was considerably more direct than the present climate, in which US approach makers must adjust to more individuals and issues. The result is a partitioned approach process that has made the task of looking for after the American vision more contrasted and less evidently self-evident. These subjects are examined through relevant examinations on US relations with China, past Soviet states, Somalia, NAFTA, and the American experience of progressing prominent government in a multilateral setting. The developments in internal structures and systems are inspected as well. Weimar (2013) battles that since the 50s, the relations between China and India could find a equitable solution first because of 1962 war and second was the cold war era – when China grouped with Pakistan and then with USA to counter India. In the later course, the post cold war era has opened new challenges under the influence of energy politics in the Persian gulf.

Lou (2012) clarifies that the Indian Ocean Territory (IOR) is winding up logically immense on the planet field, with the Gathered States, India and China, the most basic accomplices in the district accepting impressive parts. Since the three countries are struggling for their own agenda of security and they go to battle at a sensible degree while pushing forward with utilitarian coordinated effort. Because of the nearness of a dependent relationship and typical security challenges, the future circumstance will be of the dynamic and sensible competition, as opposed to unpreventable conflict and dispute. Holmes and Yoshihara (2008) battled that a “verifiably sea control objected to China will neither haven latently in shoreline front waters, nor devote itself totally to strategic resistance in the Pacific Ocean. Or, then again perhaps, Beijing would turn it sdevition to the Indian iceans and the south East Asian countries because of the enormous energy recourses which will help it in its economic challenges. China will go for more but sensitive kind of power show to settle the key issues in it ocean part e.g. with Taiwan and to ensure its command on the resources that are not so close to Chinese coats.

Scott (2013) analyzed that India has logically high desires in the Indian Ocean, as verbalized by lawmakers, sea figures and the broader five star. These desires, its indispensable talk, are of pre-qualification and activity. India's Ocean technique for such a self- conceded optional, constabulary and kind part is on a very basic level sea focused; a sixfold system of extending its sea spending, strengthening its establishment, growing its sea limits, dynamic Ocean methodology, rehearsing in the

Indian Ocean and keeping open the smother centers. Through such strategy, and sensitive changing On Pakistan's part/enthusiasm for global route, it is to take note of Pakistan coastline that has a length of 900 km, Gwadar and the elite financial zone of 240,000 have a direct impact for country's economy for which Pakistan has to careful design its maritime policy. The vision of Pak Naval force was shared. It expressed: "An advanced powerful Naval force kept an eye on by spurred experts that contribute adequately to discouragement and national security over the full clash range and fit for transmitting impact region wide with a worldwide standpoint". Pak Naval force's investment in sea activities and commitment towards peace were likewise featured. Pak Naval force took part in a multilateral counterpsychological warfare practice named 'Amman', over the Indian Sea. Volman (2012) has talked about that extraordinary power like China and India are expanding their monetary and military exercises in Africa which are testing the place of Joined States and European nations. As a reaction, the Unified States gives military preparing to African military work force through a wide assortment of preparing and training programs. These incorporate African Seaside and Fringe Security Program (ACBS), Abundance Resistance Articles Program (EDA), Hostile to Fear mongering Help Program (ATA) and Africa Possibility Operations Preparing and Help Program (ACOTA). These policies help in capacity building of African States. Smith (1972) is of the view that the essential enthusiasm of USA in Africa is to contain awesome forces competition and struggle in the landmass. The announcement of Secretary Rodgers has been alluded that the worry is to dodge this landmass from turning into a position of contention. As per the creator Africa is not seen from East-West battle point of view any longer as it was done before. The respective relations with Africa are to be shielded from communists' difficulties. In this way, US intrigue is delineated as positive and clear. Pham (2016) opines that the contemporary circumstances have assumed a crucial part for majority rule government in Africa which will be helpful for its financial and political improvement. US system towards sub-Saharan Africa is to keep up practical security of the universal group. Besides, it has specified as the obligation of Joined Expressed to utilize discretionary strategies and HR keeping in mind the end goal to guarantee straightforwardness and majority rule government in African legislative issues. Greenery (2014) composed that Africa's significance is not restricted to oil or gold but rather Nigeria's \$500 billion economy has 6% yearly development. Alongside this, Ethiopia and Rwanda are likewise blossoming because of which American organizations, for example, General Electric has made interests in power, rail, and flight in Nigeria. What's more, Walmart has likewise contributed to

enter East and West Africa. They additionally clarified that this place has for some time been dismissed. This District is imperative for such a significant number of far away states on the planet, for example, the USA, the European modern states, Japan and China. Amid Napoleonic Wars, the Indian Sea was known as an English lake. The Indian Sea started to draw in the consideration of the two superpowers USA and USSR for key purposes. Toward the finish of the 1970s the circumstance changed definitely. Amid the advancements, for example, the third Indo-Pakistani war (1971), the fourth Israeli-Palestinian war (1973), Islamic unrest in Iran (1979), Soviet control of Afghanistan (1979-1989) or Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988), the Indian Sea was of worry to superpower geo strategists and worldwide security experts. At long last, with the fall of the comrade alliance (1989-1991) and the finish of the Cool War again profoundly changed the Indian Sea geopolitical setting. This time of incredible turbulence proceeded in the wake of the 9/11 fear monger assaults and the American-drove military intercessions in Afghanistan since 2001 and in Iraq since 2003. Malik (2010) enlightened that after the 9/11 incident, Bush coerced Musharraf to join the US initiated global war on terror, threatened Pakistan that if we are not going to join our hands they will take us to the stone age. Since then US is constantly delivering threats to our nation - even after 10 years Pakistan is subjected to severe allegations of mistrust, aiding and abetting anti-US network. He also examines the release of Raymond Davis that how government sealed it lips on his release, on the other hand Dr. Aafia Siddiqui's is sentenced to 86 year imprisonment in US. Due to Pakistan involvement in the global war on terror, country lost thousands of military and civilian lives and the wave of terrorism which hits country badly in the shape of unknown suicide attacks as a result of being an ally of US. Pakistan is now facing a time of turmoil. Iqbal (2011) has examined that Coercive diplomacy is valid and actual mechanism in international politics. The scenario of Raymond Davis is a recent example given where the unjust policy of the US authorities is witnessed. A series of events depicted Raymond's mysterious stay in Pakistan even his identity of being a diplomat was uncertain his purpose of stay in Pakistani boundaries was also unknown before the killings took place. Iqbal has quoted visiting chairman of US foreign policy relations committee John Kerry addressing to a press conference "that diplomats enjoy immunity we cannot let that one incident destroy the relation between two countries", although he wasn't even admitted to the list of diplomats surveying in Pakistan before the incident and right after the next day he was added to that revised list of diplomat. On the other hand Aafia Siddiqui whose identity was known and was living a normal life was given the

title of a terrorist and her interrogation was nothing compared to Raymond Davis. Past experiences prove that economic dependence on foreign countries brings political dependence in its wake. Threats of US aid were given by Americans. 70% of Pakistanis consider US itself as a major threat to its sovereignty. This incident is an eye opener for all the Pakistanis as the US government tried every diplomatic move to secure its national, on the other hand Pakistan lost countless lives in drone attacks and still don't raise voice against the silent invasion of US authorities in government. Controversial debate continues between Pakistan and US in connection to coercive diplomacy. Enemark (2011) criticized US policy of using drones to launch air strikes inside Pakistan while Gardezi (2011) analyzed the ongoing drone attacks in FATA, resulted in anger of the people and on the other hand government of Pakistan is expressing its concern regarding the legality of such attacks. For last years the US has been using these drone attacks to combat terrorist groups under the territory of Pakistan. Under the current era of president Obama the intensity of such attacks increased. Many of the civilians died due to such kind of inhuman attacks. Indeed the drone attacks by US violate not only the UN but also the Geneva Convention. Moreover, US are also violating international Covenant on Civil & Political rights (ICCPR) and which US has ratified. The UN special Reporter has also criticized the drone attacks in Pakistan on the basis that they violate the laws under the mentioned articles. In short, due to drone attacks many innocent civilians including women and children lost their lives, US is not only violating International Agreements but also involved in heartless activities. The good cop and bad team or the administration setup to target terrorist extremist by the mutual collaboration of ISI and CIA is having their own clashes inside. The US officials giving statements in opposing manner towards Pakistani authorities cannot be compromised as a rift was widened between PAK-US relations when after meeting General Kiyani, admiral Mike Mullen said that in the discussion he had pressed Pakistan to break its link with the Haqqani network³⁷ which is waging a 'proxy war' in Afghanistan with assistance of Pakistan ISI. On the other hand the good cop which proves to be Hillary Clinton wants something given to be worked with. This bad cop and good cop administration has affected the transactional and strategic relation between US and PAK. Thus this is pure coercive diplomacy imposed on Pakistan". Zenko (2013) raised an important and under examined set of issues related to U.S. Drone Strike Policies. Zenko analyzed the potentially serious consequences; both at home and abroad, of a lightly overseen drone program and made recommendations for improving its governance. Writer argues that the

United States should end so-called signature strikes, which target unidentified militants based on their behavior patterns and personal networks, and limit targeted killings to a limited number of specific terrorists with transnational ambitions. Greenway (2011) analyzed that the relationship between US and Pakistan became the transactional relationship. Obama administration considered Pakistan as an important strategic partner but on the other hand, delivered constant threat and pressures to Pakistan as their aid is depended on US, and it seems like here is your money, now do whatever we say. Greenway also highlighted the double policy of Obama administration that at the same time they blamed Pakistan and they are involved in the attack done by Haqqani network in Kabul, but on the other side, they have been trying to negotiate with the leaders of Haqqani network. The death of Osama bin Laden under the territory of Pakistan is hypocrisy. He also highlighted the reality of NATO attack that 24 soldiers of Pakistan were killed by US planes and helicopters. Ahmed (2011) analyzed the current situation of Pakistan, Pakistan is saving the US core interests in Afghanistan, according to US Pakistan became an element that can be easily influenced by Washington because of our absolute reliance on IMF and US, and Pakistan is in a position to serve foreign interest better than our own. Even after the death of America's biggest threat Osama, Washington claims to have undeniable confirmation that Osama's companions are allegedly hidden in the territory of Pakistan and this is proved after the death of Osama that United States would not simply let go of Pakistan but subject it to intensifying coercive diplomacy. Sethi (2011) examined that the conventional military is not the answer to the 21st century menace of civilization. Admiral Mike Mullen told the congress that Haqqani Network is a "veritable arm" of Pakistan's ISI. The killing of Pakistani journalist Shahzad Saleem was also blamed on Pakistani authorities. This infuriated the Pakistani nationals and on the other hand the Pakistani leaders are busy to Condemn America for the negligence of ISI .This situation is not going to last long as the Taliban are not going to let the American troops rest. Coercive Diplomacy strongly exists in Pakistan and US relation and America over powers Pakistan every time. Khalid (2011) believes that Pakistan is a strong third world country emerging on the forefront of the world but with a very negative image. America has been using every inch of Pakistan in its Favor since its birth starting with being Pakistan as its non NATO ally. Since 9/11 Pakistan has been facing problems and America instead of helping and clearing the blame has always played a very diplomatic role. Thus coercive diplomacy exists from the starting Instead of blaming Pakistan for the failure of American forces it should be also remembered for its tremendous sacrifices. There

have been a series of incidents and issues recently that has been raising the friction between two countries.

1.9 Justification and Likely Benefits

Lots of work has been done to analyze the US policy in the post-cold war era, but there is hardly any research undertaken to study the implications for Pakistan. Indian, Sri Lanka and Chinese researcher has conducted this type of research in order to study the implications on their state but there is less work done in Pakistan. This study will help and equip policy makers, students and think tanks in order to understand the changing dynamics of geopolitics of the Indian Ocean and US policy and its implications for Pakistan.

1.10 Research Questions

- What was the US policy in the region in the ww2 and especially in cold war?
- What were the major trends of US policy in the Indian Ocean region in the post-cold war period from 1990 to 2001?
- What were the dynamics, factors and actors which shape US policy in the Indian Ocean region in the post 9/11 period from 2001 to 2014?
- What were the implications of US policies on littoral states and what was the role of regional states in the post-cold war era ?
- What are the emerging trends in US Policy in the Indian Ocean Region and what will be its implications for Pakistan?
- Which maritime policy and strategic options are available to Pakistan?

1.11 Research Objectives

- To analyze the US policy in the Indian Ocean in historical perspective and super -power rivalry in the cold war era.
- To identify major trends of US policy in the Indian Ocean region in the post-cold war era (1990-2001)
- To critically elucidate continuity and change in US policy in the Indian Ocean region in the post 9/11 period (2001-2014)
- To analyze implications on littoral states and the role of regional states in the post-cold war era
- To identify the emerging US Policy in the Indian Ocean Region and its implications for Pakistan.

To recommend maritime policy and strategic options available to Pakistan

1.12 Theoretical Framework

1.12.1 Offensive Realist Theory has been employed to analyze the US policy in the Indian Ocean in the post-cold war era. Different strategic events will be analyzed to apply offensive realist policy to comprehend US policy in the Indian Ocean in the post-cold war era.

1.12.2 Coercive Diplomacy Framework will be employed to analyse trends and motives of the US in post-cold war and post 9/11 period with special emphasis on Indian Ocean littoral and hinterland states especially Pakistan.

1.13 Research Methodology

This research has been qualitative in nature. Content analysis has been used as research methodology. Historical, descriptive and analytical approach has been employed in this research. Relevant primary data i.e. official reports and documents have been analyzed. Interviews from naval officers and experts have been carried out in order to remove the gaps in theory. Secondary sources i.e. books, journals, research articles, official monuments, newspaper articles, Military Balance and proceedings of International seminars has been utilized for this study.

1.14 Place of Work and Facilities Available

The data required for the research work was easily available in the libraries of Lahore and Islamabad i.e. University of the Punjab Library, Library of Centre for South Asian Studies, Quaid-e-Azam Library Lahore, Library of Kinnaird College for Women Lahore, Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad. National Library, Islamabad. Research Organizations like the Institute of Strategic Studies (ISS), the Institute of Regional Studies (IRS) Islamabad Policy Research Centre (IPRI) Islamabad and “Foundation for Research on International Environment, National Development and Security” (FRIENDS) Rawalpindi. American Centre based in Lahore and Pakistan Naval War College has been accessed for primary data collection related to US policy in the Indian Ocean in the post-cold war period. Digital library has plenty of journals on International Relations and US policy which are easily accessible in Punjab University Library.

1.15 Plan of Work

First chapter: Introduction of the subject of research.

Second chapter: US Policy in the Indian Ocean in historical perspective and in the cold war era. ?

Third chapter: Examination the major trends in the US Policy in the Indian Ocean in the post-cold war era from 1990-2001 ?

Fourth chapter: Dynamics, factors and actors which shaped US policy in the Indian Ocean in the post 9/11 period. ?

Fifth chapter: Identification of current and emerging US Policy in Indian Ocean Region ?

Sixth Chapter: implications for Pakistan foreign policy and maritime policy. ?

Last chapter: Conclusion and recommendation for foreign policy and maritime security options available for Pakistan.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Indian Ocean is encompassed by the landmass of Asia to its north, Africa to its west and South East Asia and Australia to its East. It is basically a land bolted Ocean. Access to this Ocean is controlled by a few choke points, for example, The Cape of Good Hope, Strait of Hormuz, Suez Canal, Babel-Mandeb, Malacca Strait, Sunda Strait and Lombok Strait. The universal vitality is dependent on transport. The blockage of a chokepoint can prompt considerable increment in all out vitality costs. Indian Ocean's primary essentialness in world topography is because of its populace that is 39.1% of the total populace. As far as economy is concerned, it's worldwide significance is significantly less with a 15.4% of the world GDP and a 14.2% of world global exchange. Be that as it may, its significance to the world economy is critical as it is one of the busiest ocean courses. The critical qualities of this region are that right off the bat, the Indian Peninsula ventures India towards the center of the Ocean, giving it an outstanding position inside the Indian Ocean. Another vital trademark is that ethno-social divisions have energized many clashes. The Islamic world covers an awesome piece of the region. Thirdly, the vitality assets that pull in consideration. As per the World Energy Outlook 2009, 55% of the world's demonstrated oil stores and 40% of the world's petroleum gas saves are found in the Persian Gulf. Australia, India and Southern Africa additionally have vast stores of coal while Australia and South Africa separately have the world's first and fourth biggest reasonable uranium. Fourthly, the differentiation is gigantic between the wealthiest and the poorest nations because of which advancement issues will long stay of basic significance in the district. At long last, it is likewise essential to bring up the more noteworthy relative significance of a few states in the Indian Ocean Region. As indicated by the Geo-Socio-Economic Index a gathering of 12 states together record for 62% of the region's territory, 73% of its populace, 85% of its GDP-PPP and 83% of its worldwide exchange.

2.1 US approach in Indian Ocean from 1778-1945

US approach in Indian Ocean amid the season of Monroe teaching was just to have magnanimous exercises in these regions that are South Asia, Middle East and Africa.

2.2 US arrangement in the Indian Ocean 1945-1990: Cold War period

Amid the season of Cold War; US moved its consideration regarding all conditions of fringe as it was following the approach of Spykman which express that "which state manage the outskirts, govern the world". US set up military partnerships in this area and its monetary guide is additionally coordinated to these districts as its arrangement was to contain previous USSR and spread of socialism. It set up South East Asian Treaty Organization SEATO in 1954 for control of socialism in South East Asia. It created Baghdad settlement for control of socialism in Middle East in 1955, which was renamed as MEDO and afterward CENTO Central bargain Organization when Iraq left this Organization. Amid the season of Cold war, US strategy towards South Asia was given in the command of Under-secretary of the State. US congress constantly favored India and they used to rate Indian parliament significantly higher as they have accomplished autonomy through quiet equitable way. Pakistan wound up plainly critical for US after Pentagon surveyed it as an imperative state in light of its geostrategic area and closeness with equal Soviet Block. In a counter move to Pakistan's participation in SEATO and CENTO, India moved toward becoming pioneer of Non Aligned Movement (NAM). Nehru used to reprimand US for getting to be plainly neo - royal power and he declined to sign all demobilization and Non-atomic multiplication bargain NPT. He pronounced it as most prejudicial settlement which had separated the world into atomic haves and atomic those who lack wealth. In all this era, Iran was considered as a police man of US in this area. Shah of Iran was viewed as close partner and manikin of US before the Iranian revolution of 1979.

2.3 Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace

The Declaration of the "Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace" (IOZP) by the United Nations General Assembly made mandatory to 811 states to consider the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace particularly the two superpowers US and USSR. According to Bouchard (2010), this deceleration expected from great power to abandon their greater part of army bases and logistic support offices and also to boycott warships utilizing the Indian Oceans for any danger or utilization of power against any sway beyond the UN charter. In 1972, the General Assembly settled the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean with an order to think about the ramifications of the Declaration of the IOZP yet its work was truly undermined. United States is blamed for playing the round of misusing neighborhood ethno- social contrasts and energizing nearby question in the quest for its own national advantages. Another explanation behind all emergencies is the absence of majority rules system, destitution, joblessness and the absence of instruction which constitute extremely ripe justification for criminal posses

and vicious radical gathering enlistment. There are a few clashes inside the Islamic world on issues identifying with modernization, for example, Shiites and Sunnites in the Persian Gulf and ethnic or tribal divisions in Afghanistan. Besides, because of the new global jihadist development, the peace and security is tested.

2.4 Strategic Rivalry in Indian Ocean amid Cold War

Main regional organizations are not potent e.g. SAARC and ASEAN. Main confrontation in the Indian Ocean is between India, China and the United States and every one of the three needs to secure access to the Persian Gulf oil and in addition key ocean paths. China is developing maritime powers and setting up military offices in the Indian Ocean Region. While, India is likewise extending its maritime abilities to secure its own national advantages and in addition responding to China's pearl necklace procedure. The immense power, incredible diversion amongst India and China is of developing criticalness. Because of America's incredible enthusiasm for the region, a vital triangle is developing in the area. In this manner, USA-India-China relations will to a great extent shape the eventual fate of Indian Ocean geopolitics in the 21st Century. Furthermore, numerous different states are of some essentialness to the progressing geopolitical adjustment in the Indian Ocean. Russia is required to stay engaged with the area as it remains a fundamental player in the Israeli-Palestinian clash, Iranian Atomic inquiry, and keeps up vital association with India. Other powerful states are South Africa, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Israel, Australia and Pakistan. Persian Gulf oil's significance would increase in coming decades but for now, it has a specific importance for the oil-subordinate expansive economic forces of Japan, the United States, Europe, China, and India. In 1942, US established its based in Asmara, Ethiopia. In agreement with the Australian Govt. US set up an effective low recurrence correspondence station at Learmonth, or Exmouth Gulf, South of North West Cape in 1967. The station can speak with submerged submarines. In 1974 US handed over it to Australia. In an agreement with Bahraini government, US took the control of a maritime base in Jufair near Manama harbor of Bahrain in December 1971. The base was earlier set up by the British government but U.K. decided to abandon the base. The US saw this opportunity as a chance to empower itself in region. The units of Middle eastern force frequently collaborates with different US ships and military installments especially in exercises in the Indian ocean.

Rocque (1974) and Vali (1976) have mentioned number of events when apart from regular trips, US navy visited Indian oceans for global emergencies like 1971 Indo-

Pak War. Aircraft carrier Enterprise, which incorporated the land and/or water capable ambush, transported 800 marines to Tripoli. During 1973 Arab Israel war – warship Hancock under the escort of four destroyers sent to Indian ocean - However, US decided to call back Hancock in later decision. During Iranian revolution and Iran Iraq War US navy Rapid Development Force (RDF) frequently visited north Indian Ocean. Under Carter Doctrine in January 1983, the US Central Command (USCENTCOM) became active in Indian Ocean to have eye on Middle East. (Kaplan 1981) believes that US current maritime power and military installations in the Indian oceans permit it to practice hinderance without the deployment of atomic submarines.

2.4.1 Former USSR Strategic interests in the Indian Ocean

After the dismantling of Soviet Union, the Russian strategy in the Indian Ocean has changes somehow. Before the 70s, the soviet strategy was to influence nations with redesigning the model of security in ocean. Soviet interest to reach warm waters was enunciated by Admiral Sergei Gorehkov in 1945 – According to him; USSR wanted access to oceans to promote communism(Sallance, 1979).

In the Indian Ocean, other than trim the immature littoral states for kinship, the Soviet need was to relieve the American impact, particularly in the Gulf States. The Soviet maritime development in the Indian Ocean, happened amid the stature of détente, seemed to have been inspired much more by its want to upgrade its political impact, to counter China, and to set up political equality with the US in the region, as opposed to key contemplations including the American.

2.5 Rivalry or Coexistence

According to Vali (1976), the exercises by Soviet Union and the US in the Indian Ocean were destructive in nature for each other's goals in the region along with the legality; under international law or from political perspective. A clear range of normal enthusiasm for Moscow and Washington was the interest with the expectation of complimentary route. They required free entry for merchants and naval vessels.

CHAPTER 3

US POLICY IN the INDIAN OCEAN IN POST COLD WAR PERIOD (1990-2001)

3.1 Indian Ocean in Post-Cold War Period

After disintegration of USSR, US emerged as a sole super power. Macfarlane (1999) composed that Russian Navy is in port; its blue water capacity is rusting without end as the Soviet task force has vanished from the world Oceans in post icy war period. Most extraordinary states with sweeping maritime powers, for instance, Australia South Asia and the world past. Pakistan has participated global world to counter the A.Q. Khan arrange and has continually provided data from its own examination, including data got from Dr. Khan to US. States with sweeping maritime powers, for instance, Australia, Italy, Japan and China, are either littoral or hinterland powers without an overall access. To be seen as an overall sea control a state must be able to expand sea control anywhere at any oceans at any time in the name of national security. Some states consider the need for direct action in the name of power rather the indirect moves for resisting the danger. After the collapse of Soviet Union – Russia is nothing more than water from controlling state while US, France and U.K. have their sea power much better than the remaining world. However, Britain and France’s capability for any action individually is much lower than that of U.S.

3.2 US Naval Supremacy

Pirtle (2003) considers that US is the only superpower which has ability to dictate its policies on other states. Colson (1995) considers the convention as the core defender of U.S. Military interested in Oceans worldwide to guarantee its national security or in other language; the treaty guarantees the U.S. interests. According to Schachte (1995), The Convention (UNCLOS) contains various basic rule that are solid and predictable with these interests, however the deal does not guarantee the defense or security of U.S.S interests in world oceans. The international laws hinders the U.S. strategic designs as Convention describes the advancement and operational benefits of seaborne forces will be secured in the new thousand years. According to Pontecorvo (1986) UNCLOS III and its role as a mediator was undermined in conflict between super powers. Military exercises remained unregulated.(Dyke, 1993).

Churchill and Lowe (1998) criticized the UNCLOS III for its inability to address the issues of military operation in sea and the relative standards. It only gives limits of Exclusive Economic Zone.

3.3 Regional politics after the cold war

Under the world wide circumstances and examples set by the powerful states – all remaining states set their sea methodologies without exchanging the national preferences.

As Regional - Monetary viewpoints intrigues ended up being more fundamental than regional so the states in Indian oceans preferred to depend on regional powers.

3.3.1 Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC)

IOR-ARC- formed in March 1997 is basically an association of 19 countries with ocean sedge location- The aim was to put more focus on trade in the regions.

IOR-ARC practices fuse a couple on-going topical exercises and work programs coordinated by part countries of shared premiums, all of which under the umbrella of 3 separate working social events, to be particular the Working Group on Trade and Investment (WGTI), the Indian Ocean Rim Business Forum (IORBF), and the Indian Ocean Rim Academic Group (IORAG). The goals of IOR-ARC are according to the accompanying: a. To progress supportable advancement and balanced change of the region and Member States; b. To focus on those zones of financial cooperation which give most outrageous open entryways make; shared interests and get basic prizes; and c. To propel movement, oust snags and lower limits towards a more freed and enhanced stream of stock, organizations.

CHAPTER 4

US POLICY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN (2001 - 2014)

4.1 US Policy towards South Asia 2001-2014

US objective is to advance solidly and irreversibly on ways to strength, vote based system, control and success in South Asia According to Rocca, Former President Bush came to office in 2001 perceiving the developing significance of South Asia to the United States. He coordinated that the United States constructed more grounded associations with the majority of the nations in the region. Amid his second organization, the President influenced his aim to clear that they expand on these officially solid connections and move to the following level. There are critical difficulties to overcome, however the prizes — for South Asia and the United States — certainly endeavor advantageous”. As respective objectives are purposeful association with every South Asian nation .There is additionally a thought on territorial approach on a few issues, for instance looking to enhance steadiness by urging states to beat their disparities. Since more prominent thriving and financial relationship would brace steadiness and balance, we look for solid monetary development in South Asia through more noteworthy intra-local exchange and collaboration in regions, for example, vitality. Being strong of the endeavors by the SAARC nations to set up the South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA). US is giving help to these endeavors through a USAID subsidized abnormal state group of specialists who are working with partners in the region to create a SAFTA concentrate to help the procedure. More grounded vote based establishments are a focal objective for US in South Asia. Every single South Asian knows about popular government, and most have some level of involvement with it. However, vote based organizations are genuinely tested in parts of the region. The United States is creating vote based devices, for example, the administer of law, autonomous media, grass roots activism, great administration and straightforwardness through which these countries can address the major issues of radicalism, security, and advancement. Accomplishment of regional states will support solidness all through the region. Advance in South Asia will have worldwide outcomes as per US.

4.1.1 India

Since the visit of Secretary Condoleezza Rice to New Delhi - a development of visits by senior authorities from the two nations, including ex Minister of External Affairs Natwar Singh, have underscored the significance of US creating more grounded ties. In reply to PM Singh's visit to Washington, President Bush came to India .US is quickening the change of its association with India, with various new activities. US is taking part in another key discourse on worldwide issues, and on barrier and extended propelled innovation collaboration. US proceeds with exchange on the worldwide issues gathering, which incorporates talk of how it can together address such issues as popular government, human rights, trafficking in people, condition and economical improvement, and science and propelled innovation. India and the United States have started an abnormal state exchange on vitality security, to incorporate atomic wellbeing, and a working gathering to reinforce space participation.. The United States association with India and our sense of duty regarding grow significantly more profound political, financial, business and security ties have never been more grounded. As Secretary Rice once stated, US sees India turning into a politically influential nation in the 21st century, and our exchange with India now addresses wide issues around the district and the world. The United States is strong of India's developing part as a majority rules system that is venturing onto the world stage to go up against worldwide duties. India joined the United States as a contract individual from the center gathering of nations framed to facilitate tidal wave help, and assumed a noticeable part in giving prompt guide to influenced South Asian nations. US is counseling intimately with the Indians on the most proficient method to help the Nepalese purpose their current political emergency, and India has been strong of the peace procedure in Sri Lanka. The U.S.- India Economic Dialog activity is centered around improving participation in four territories: fund, exchange, business and the earth. The April 2005 marking of a point of interest Open Skies common flight understanding demonstrates our mutual sense of duty regarding fortifying our monetary relationship. US is supporting India as it pushes ahead with money related, exchange, vitality, water, and horticulture changes intended to maintain and hoist India's noteworthy rate of development and lessen destitution. Changes in these regions would permit quest for new open doors with the United States in an assortment of innovative fields and would permit Indian purchasers a more noteworthy selection of products and enterprises. Furthermore, Building this more grounded financial and business connection between the U.S. what's more, India

confronts challenges, be that as it may. Our fares have expanded, however critical tax and non-levy boundaries that remain are an issue for U.S. organizations keen on India's market. US will utilize our abnormal state exchanges to address contrasts in exchange and venture issues. In the region of licensed innovation security, India's 2005 sanctioning of another patent law to give patent insurance to pharmaceuticals and biotechnology creations is a promising development for both Indian and U.S. companies. US need to expand on this exertion so India's licensed innovation laws and authorization endeavors against robbery and falsifying wind up plainly world-class, adding to encourage financial advancement and improving purchaser decisions and inventiveness in India. To help finish our common monetary goals for the Indian individuals we likewise need to give our close term thoughtfulness regarding extra exchange debate including particular organizations, for example, U.S. financial specialists in the power part. We additionally need to manage more broad "strategy" issues, for example, Indian government appropriations for compost and LPG and non-straightforward norms (Rocca).

4.1.2 Pakistan

According to Rocca, "In the course of recent years, Pakistan's pioneers have made the strides important to make their nation a key partner in the war on psychological oppression and to show it the way to turning into a present day, prosperous, fair state. Because of ground breaking and acting, Pakistan is presently headed the correct way. Pakistan has upheld U.S. operations in Afghanistan. Pakistan is finding Al-Qaida and its fear monger partners in its tribal territories at the cost of more than 200 of its own warriors. It has executed or caught a few hundred remote psychological oppressors and aggressors. Pakistani law authorization is pursuing a counter-fear mongering effort in different parts of the nation confining a few hundred suspects including Khaled Sheik Mohammad, Abu Zubaydah, and as of late Abu Faraj al-Libbi". US noticed Pakistan's proceeded with collaboration in building a steady and majority rule Afghanistan and countering atomic proliferation. In past , Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan have made strides. Former President Musharraf and former President Karzai were moving in the direction of a more heartfelt individual relationship. Exchange between the two nations keeps on developing significantly, and they could together receive colossal reward by Afghanistan filling in as a land connect amongst Central and South Asia and the world past. Pakistan is participating with the universal group's endeavors to destroy the A.Q. Khan arrange and is imparting to us data from its own examination, including data got from Dr. Khan. US anticipated that this

collaboration will proceed(Rocca). Democratization is another point of convergence of its relationship. US expected Pakistan's 2005 nearby and 2007 general decisions to be free and reasonable all through the whole procedure. This is a message that US will keep on emphasizing, as it trust that vote based system, flexibility and control of law are the best counters to contempt, fanaticism, and psychological warfare. Pakistan's economy has moved from emergency to adjustment and then to huge development. Giving the guarantee of a superior future for Pakistanis will be an essential part in the nation's achievement in defeating radicalism. Extended monetary relations between the United States and Pakistan are vital to our general relationship. US was arranging a two- sided venture arrangement with Pakistan to reinforce our business and monetary relationship. US proceeded with its endeavors to enhance licensed innovation insurance, as a methods for fortifying guideline of law, cultivating monetary advance and pulling in outside interest in Pakistan. Pakistan's sense of duty regarding supporting authorization and finishing indictments against robbery and forging, and also proceeding to modernize its IP administration, is imperative to Pakistan's improvement goals, too US long term monetary relationship. The centerpiece of the U.S. sense of duty regarding a long haul association with Pakistan is the President's vow to work with Congress to give Pakistan \$3 billion in military and monetary help from 2005 through 2009. The security help will reinforce Pakistan's abilities to battle the war on dread — including killing Al-Qaida remainders in the tribal zones — and in addition meet Pakistan's honest to goodness safeguard needs. Our financial help bolsters Pakistan's endeavors to strike at the main drivers of radicalism by changing and extending access to pubic instruction and social insurance and by lightening destitution through advancement. US have reported that we plan to advance with the offer of F-16 warrior air ship to Pakistan.”

4.6 Indo-US Collaboration; Engaging a rising power

Indian position in the 21st is more than any European states. As it have a stable and rising economy, an atomic power capability and its ability to assume more decisive role in Asia’s future politics. Therefore, the US has bit by bit come to view India as a developing force in Asia.

4.6.1.1 India's new emphasizes on the Asian Scene

Following quite a while of halfway arranged financial strategies, India began to grasp free-advertise changes in the mid 1990s. For sure, New Delhi was faced with a noteworthy adjust of installment emergency in June 1991 and had in this way to leave on a remarkable program of financial advancement. From that point forward, maintained 6 %+ growth of GDP has positioned India in the row of fast growing economies.

Position regarding PPP; India fulfills all the requirements that a fast growing economy should have. Apart from its dynamic programming industry that has strengthened its credibility on global level – India also has the world largest programming engineers' force.

“India;s GDP growth in the course of the most recent decade has been joined by another sober mindedness in the lead of its outside arrangement and a broadening of its geopolitical desire” (Ramesh, 1994).

Sandy (1994) argues that after the cold war – New Delhi has re visited it strategy for diplomatic relations and working for new connections for the control.

It has additionally led different maritime activities with other nations of the region. ASEAN countries believe in the peace and stability, India could bring in the Asia pacific region.

ASEAN regional forum invited India to join the organization I 1996. Graver (2001) argues that after the 1962 war and Chinese superiority, Indian decided to engage with Japan. The bilateral relations have been come into a betterment phase. However, India concerns are at their place regarding China's support to Pakistan's atomic program. India want to have two folded engagement with Beijing.

Accordingly, there has been a swarming feeling of contention between these two incredible hopefals to control since the mid 90s” (Singh, 1994). The truth of the matter is that New Delhi turned out to be more secure amid the time of the 90s, Indian objective has been to become an important powers in indina cneans and asian context. New Delhi has tired of a systematic diplomatic puzzle to place it with Pakistan which undermines it's authority as an Asian power.

Its great target all through the 90s progressed toward becoming a individual Asian powers rather than sub territorial modern economy.

The way Indian look towards East depicts its geo political strategy and affirmatively to secure the energy interest in the oceans. Indian diplomatic efforts since the 90 s were to have more sensible tie with the central Asian countries and especially the sates in Persian peninsula. The rise of BJP in 90s further strengthened this vision as a part of patriotic objective.

The May 1998 choice to explode five atomic gadgets starts for the most part from this want to be perceived as a noteworthy player on the mainland” (Subramanyam, 1998). “With regards to this desire, New Delhi referred to the risk from China and the support of peace, strength and adjust in Asia to vindicate its choice. At the end of the day, India looked to extend itself as a noteworthy settling post in the Indian Ocean and in Asia everywhere”(Government of India, 2001). Notwithstanding the universal commotion that took after the atomic testing, India has figured out how to bit by bit force to assert more regional status. Under the mission to become to clear itself from the sub territorial power status; Indian invested heavily in its military to remove the tag of Pakistan and to share the stage with China in the region.

China strive to secure its position in northern Ocean Part has led India to for a difficult relationship with Russia for the necessary Hardware. New Delhi concern is the development of its Navy as the Indian dream to assert it power far from it shores depends on a powerful navy. A compared to Air Force and Army, Indian Navy has more structural funding and a plane carrying warship. In 2002, India completed the trial if its ocean to surface Rocket, Danush. India also has tested Brahmos, a hostile to send journey rocket in June 2001. At long last, in the late 90s, the Indian Navy made another powerful the Far Eastern Command-in the Andaman Islands, which have a basic vital area on account of their vicinity to Indonesia, Burma and Thailand.

The improvement by placing a maritime officer in Andaman and Nocibar islands shows the plans to strengthen the legs near the east Asian area.

4. 6 .1.2 US revisited policy on India

India economic rise course of the most recent decade significantly encouraged another engagement with the US. From one perspective, Indian pioneers recognized that the US was a key accomplice in their take a stab at financial improvement as it is a noteworthy supplier of capital and innovation; then again, the US began to see India as a major developing business sector and it has from that point forward turn into India's biggest remote speculator and exchanging accomplice” (Kux, 2002). Personal

stakes have step by step developed with the private parts of the two nations getting associated with the general advancement of the reciprocal relationship. In addition, the Indian Americans have played a significant role in bringing the two nations closer from people to strategic level. With 1.7 million Populations, Indian community in US has some of the effective positions and it was their campaigns that result in the current level of partnership between two nations. India economic rise was the Turing point that actually reinforced the need to change the policy towards India

Barrier Secretary Perry propelled at that point, a "key exchange" on his visit to India in January 1995. Be that as it may, a few problematic components stayed there amid the 90s, as the Clinton Administration was exceptionally centered around moving back India's atomic and rocket programs, other than its propensity to demand an answer for the Kashmir question. Considerably additionally perturbing for Indian was the US denial to accept Indian as a regional power out from the previous policy of putting India in equation with Pakistan (Limaye, 2001).

4.6 1.3 developing relations and interests

The US has accepted the vitality on Indian cooperation for securing the interests in the oceans and in battling fear mongering lastly in making a deliberately 2stable Asia (White House, 2002). The recognizable proof of these common interests has prompted a rising security organization.

4. 7 Implications of Indo-US Naval Collaboration

US showed its interest with collaboration with India when in February 2001, NUS navy decided to participate in the world wide fleet review by the India Navy. New Delhi has already presented its offices for logistic support in Afghanistan. US warships are already using the Indian ports. In Dec 2001, India jointed the US navy for search and rescue practice. After the atomic tests in May 1998 – This was the time when two forces came so close to each other. In Malabar exercise in 2002; 750 US Navy personals took part in two week long exercise.

From April to October 2002, Indian Navy was sent to Malacca Strait for securing the US shipper vessels. The thought for joint escort obligations was disclosed not long after September 11, as Washington wound up plainly worried about the assurance of the ocean paths of correspondence (SLOC) against transnational dangers, for example, theft or psychological warfare. The security of the crucial sea exchange courses in the Indian Ocean has in this way developed as a typical vital enthusiasm for

the two India and the US. In fact, with regards to the war in Afghanistan, the two nations have been anxious to ensure business sending in the district against potential fear based oppressor assault. In addition, India and The US have to put extra attention to the potential in robbery in northern Indian oceans. Apart from Malacca strait, South China Sea and Bay of Bengal have to be secured under the collaboration. Without tackling these non conventional dangers; any possibility for a significant role would be a dream for India and US. Malacca strait is the busiest sea route in the world. The primary usage of this route is to deliver the extracted oil from Persian Gulf to Asia-pacific states. All these states are concerned about their route security and same is the case for India as It has secure its SLOC for exports and energy import (GOI 2002). Under all these circumstances; US has accepted the importance of India's geo strategically positional as the distance between Indian ports and the energy rich personal gulf is just 600 miles and Andaman and Nicobar islands are close of gulf. This position has motivated US after 9/11 to re change its stance over India as it had to deploy the forces at key position in Afghanistan, west and central Asia.

In this regard, the Indian Navy serves as balancing out power, occupied with another organization with Washington to secure the region. Indo –US Joint exercises in the Indian oceans have also been seen y other states in the region trough their own narrative e.g. Japan that believes that the SLOC have to be secured for the smooth. Japan has already coordinated with Indian in this regard and various kinds of cooperations have been observed in the past years.

Indeed, India and ASEAN have been cooperating in a few territories of maritime collaboration, including Search and Rescue and hostile to robbery. New Delhi has additionally centered on advancing nearer maritime connections Indonesia and Vietnam.

As the Indo-US joint escort mission occurred, the concurrence with Indonesia by one means or another causes the Indian Navy to keep up its essence in the region of the Malacca Strait. Without a doubt, Indian Navy ships have directed a few section practices in the South China Sea and went by many ports in East Asia in the course of the most recent two years. With respect to China, it has watched out for India actions in the zone which it considers critical. Both countries want to enhance their influence in neighborhood. Through this equation, the Indo-US joint exercise and coordination has turned this region as an area of competition. After May 1998 tests - the relations

between China and Indian were also turned volatile due to the India's claim that It has rational security risk from China.

Since 90s Indian China India relations seen a phenomenal abnormal state engagement and have concentrated on financial participation. By the by, there is an imbued doubt and a basic feeling of rivalry between these two incredible Asian forces. India stays exceptionally worried at any Chinese endeavor .

CHAPTER 5

US POLICY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN IN CURRENT AND PROJECTED TIMEFRAME

5.1 US policy Towards China in Indian Ocean

5.1.1 US China relations in post 9/11 period

To the degree that stable Sino-US relations constitute a basic premise to more extensive steadiness in Asia Pacific (Holbrooke, 2002), occasions since 9/11 have positively affected that incredible force nexus, in the wake of the past instability set apart tribulation Taiwan Strait pressure and Gunboat strategy, the May 1999 incidental US besieging of the Chinese international safe haven in Belgrade, and the crash of a US EP-3 observation airplane to Chinese plane warrior on to South China Sea in April 2001. The arrival of a measure of quiet to Sino-US ties took after developing Chinese mindfulness that Washington's worldwide safety interests had moved far from the China danger variable. The way that China has, for the present, turn into a minus basic business for the United States harmonizes with Beijing's enthusiasm for maintaining a strategic distance from outside intricacies during an era when it is both experiencing a residential authority move and trying to increase worldwide acknowledgment as a dependable huge force. Beijing has along these lines been careful about any occurrence that may confound Sino-US relations (Wah, 2003). Both sides had been looking to enhance at any rate the air of their relationship, and 9/11 gave an auspicious chance to the producing of another Sino-US understanding and a premise for some type of constrained security participation as opposed to encounter. For sure, China's backing for the Washington-drove struggle against terrorism (which reverberates with Beijing's battle versus professedly Al Qaeda-linked terrorist exercises by Muslim protesters in its western territory of Xinjiang, particularly since Washington kindly marked the Eastern Turkistan Islamic Movement in Xinjiang as a terrorist association) has inserted knowledge sharing, backing at the United Nations, and mindful yet remarkable backing for US military operations in a third nation, to be specific, the war on terror. "China has likewise vowed recreation help to Afghanistan, adding up to US\$150 million, while quieting its reaction to the new US military vicinity in Central Asia and the arrival of a US military profile to the Philippines. All things considered, keeping in mind that they ought to show up as being too in advance in embracing Washington's arrangements, China's pioneers have

been wary to fence their judgment of the terrorist assaults and backing of the United States with calls for limitation and a multilateral methodology (Pei, 2001; Sanger, 2001). This Chinese position was maintained in the resulting American hurry to war in Iraq” (Wah, 2003).

5.1.2 Sino-US Rivalry

It is nothing unexpected that China's ascent lately has driven the US to attempt activities accordingly (Te and Liu, 2011). For Washington, its union with Beijing persistly ruled by the nervousness about China's succeeding growth. China stands conundrum for the US, as Washington necessitates Beijing's backing and participation on many subjects, for example, North Korea, against terrorism and environmental transformation , yet Washington keeps on being on edge and stays careful over China's goal to build up another world request (Art, 2010). Another world request involves the decay of US political and financial impact on the planet, conceivable changes to the Bretton Woods framework and the offering of energy to in any event another hegemonic body China. As the supposed G-2 proposition missed the mark because of China's hesitance to go into the association, the US has motivations to theorize on Beijing's aims (Lu, 2010). At the end of the day, Sino US relations are maybe the most vital arrangement of relations sooner rather than later and about every single other arrangement of state relations can be considered under the Sino-US structure. Southeast Asia is the primary testing ground of Sino- US relations in the new century as the effect of China's ascent is most significantly shown in the district. Combined with Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEANs) extraordinary force adjusting technique, rivalry in the middle of Beijing and Washington is liable to be unavoidable. 5

5.3 Economic Rivalry

As far as Sino-US financial rivalry in Southeast Asia, improvements can be analyzed through the point of local mix. “As a consequence of the early reap program concurred in the middle of China and ASEAN after the Asian money related emergency, exchange has enormously expanded, with China as of now serving as ASEAN's greatest exchange accomplice barring exchange among ASEAN individuals” (The ASEAN Secretariat, 2011). “Conversely, the US is ASEAN's fourth greatest exchange accomplice behind China,European Union (EU) and Japan and scarcely makes up 10% of ASEAN's aggregate

exchange, which remains in stamped stand out from Washington's driving status in exchange with ASEAN in 2007. Likewise, as per ASEAN figures, ASEAN import from China adds to 17% of aggregate exchange while import from the US adds to 12% of aggregate exchange 2009” (The ASEAN Secretariat, 2011). “As the US keeps on showing itself as a financial force on the planet regardless of household issues, ASEAN nations might fence in the middle of Washington and Continuing so as to Beijing its backing for ASEAN in addition to while going into the TPP in the meantime? (Liu, 2010; Sheng, 2010). “Malaysia, Vietnam and Brunei are at present set to enter the TPP. It is evident that the US expects to build its impact in Southeast Asia through the TPP and test China's extending impact in the region” (Te and Liu, 2011).

5.1.4 Major Rivalry

“Other than endeavors towards the expansion in territorial monetary impact, the US has additionally made moves to the adjusting of China's rising impact in Southeast Asia. Beside lucid financial ramifications, the TPP additionally exemplifies key measurement which relates to customary US center point and-talked procedure in Asia”(Song and Li, 2008). Then again, taking after Clinton's underlying state visits to East Asia, the US and ASEAN came to "Settlement of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) in Southeast Asia" in Thailand in July 2009. “Washington's activity might be taken as reaction to Beijing's enhancing dealings with ASEAN, with China coming to the TAC with ASEAN in 2003. In addition to eight instruments serves as parity of force procedure for these two ASEAN and the US. In particular, for Washington, “ ASEAN in addition to eight gives gathering to open examinations on territorial security with Beijing and an approach to secure China's local aspirations by quadrilateral foundation” (Liao, 2011). Regardless of concurrence on behavior in the South China Sea, mounting strains have grown again as of late because of China's expanding ability. Beijing's enthusiasm for the South China Sea is to subservient region under its impact and has its mastery perceived and acknowledged by the universal group (Vaughn and Morrison, 2006; Ott, 2006; Percival, 2007). “When Beijing holds the South China Sea, China might accomplish less demanding access to the basic Ocean paths promote south and conceivably put Southeast Asia beneath its impact. As a few spectators call attention to, China might be applying its own particular Monroe Doctrine in Southeast Asia, which would try to remove any non- Asian (and Japanese) military vicinity from the district and make a key domain in which nations in the region comprehend that

they were not to settle on any real choices influencing Chinese intrigues or the area without first counseling and getting the endorsement of Beijing” (Ott, 2006). Clinton in the 7th meeting reported that serene determination of contending sway cases toward the South China Sea is a US "civil hobby"and Washington"bolsters a community oriented political procedure by all inquirers for determining the different regional debate without pressure" (Thayer, 2010). US claim serene determination of debate in the South China Sea has produced rehashed challenges and notices from China to hold off the question. As China's bad habit remote clergyman Cui Tiankai brings up, in regards to the part 7of the US in this, the US is not a petitioner state to the debate, so it is better for the US to leave the question to be dealt with between the inquirer states (Wong, 2011).

5.1.5 Extent of Exchange

The extent of exchange directed through sea is likewise noteworthy. Cycle 30% of worldwide exchange is directed into Indian Ocean. There are most critical stifle focuses of this sea. The most vital are Hormuz, Malacca, and Bab el Mandeb. It’ s a result of this exchange and key significance; there is steady vicinity of various additional regional states of Indian Ocean. It’s a result of inordinate monetary action into sea and developing rivalry for assets the Ocean leading group of Sub-Saharan Africa has been additionally getting unmistakable quality. India and China are especially turning into significant competitors in Africa (Ranasinghe, 2011). Close to this real Western super bodies are additionally demonstrating expanding enthusiasm for the area. The area and action occurring in this sea has made it clear purpose of gravity both for local and worldwide performing artists. The riches and the assets of the Indian seas have altogether included the additional local performers in the sea. This inclusion of additional territorial performers and the opposition between the local forces has formed the strategies and outlines of worldwide political settings in regards to Indian Ocean (Khalid, 2013).

5.2 Sources of Conflict in the Indian Ocean

In the Indian Ocean, the threats by the Somali pirates have provided a challenge to the states. In addition to robber, the sea based terrorism have put the security of transportation ships in question.

Van der Putten et al .(2014) analysed that “the other primary wellspring of instability identifies with the ascent of new maritime forces. In any case, the potential impacts of Great Power contention are more essential and achieve more distant than demonstrations of terrorism or theft. As far as this contention, two noteworthy issues emerge. China has so far dispatched seventeen sequential counter- robbery teams to the Gulf of Aden. In the meantime, the relentless ascent of India as a monetary force furnishes it with a developing ability to assume a part in the Oceanic area. India appears to be worried about the likelihood of expanded Chinese maritime vicinity later on adrift and in spots. China has close political and financial ties with a substantial number of littoral states in East Africa, the Middle East, South Asia, and South-East Asia. China has sold arms to a large portion of these countries, and has put resources into port development in nations, for example, Pakistan, Myanmar, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh”(van der Putten et al., 2014). China's scope of sea action develops much 9further west than the Indian Ocean.

5.3 China's Presence and Interests in Indian Ocean

Chinese financial system had witnessed fast ascent. China acknowledged centrality of the Ocean. China is searching for innovative acting ways to more secure its financial system. Because of this association Indian Ocean has been turning into the Frontier Strategy into Chinese outside approach. The opening of Southwest China has railroad new beach front area. This area join in the middle of Myanmar and Yunnan are imperative for China to fortify exchange and take care of vitality issue. These beach front states have possessed noteworthy spot in the methodology of the rising monetary forces of this area (Zheng, 2012). China is enlarging impact to the little island countries specking the Indian Ocean and the impact is endeavored by strategic. The upbringing impact and movement of China is turning into a genuine test to India. The consonant rivalry has been gone ahead amid the countries Southeast Asian lands. There purposes of anxiety are the spots of islands in East and South China Sea. Maldives is coliseum a boiling challenge in the middle of India and China. This state is exceptionally noteworthy as a result of its geopolitical position. This position on the back of vital Ocean margins of correspondence which is a major appreciation for these two, India and China are acting their greatest to win this impact. (Khalid, 2013). Then again the part of China towards Gwadar port in Pakistan is exceptionally critical, which based at the edge of Indian Ocean near the Iranian fringe and near the passage to the Persian Gulf. In spite of the fact that it has gone off camera because of the Bloch revolt and security circumstance yet at the same time it

has parcels here after doing this task in future. China, likewise, has the Karachi port for a successful utility. The critical part of China is going to go ahead the facade with bring off US powers from Afghanistan. China means to launch supply courses interfacing Gwadar to focal Asia and at last to China. This will facilitate China's reliance onto Malacca strait. China is trying to get all around arranged to undertake financial charge because of now constructing streets and railroads in the Central Asia. These kinds of game plans unmistakably exhibit China's expectation of developing its exchange movement in the Middle East, South Asia by Karakoram and to Central Asia via Gwadar port. (Agnihotri, 2010).

5.4 US Interest In The Indian Ocean Region

In this unipolar time of 21st centennial the most hegemonic body belonging an extraordinary arrangement to trouble in every aspect of the round. Indian Ocean has an unmistakable essentialness as a result of its zone and key settings. Indian Ocean would get the chance to be 'the point of convergence of the gathering of people' for the 21st century (Kaplan 2010). Indian Ocean what's more caught the best lion's share of Asian people. Indian Ocean has dependably been in interest of US system however the mass unverifiable figure is the India in the US considering. Insightfully Indian contemporaneous place in the US framework is to recommend that India has an impressive measure to do around there for point of confinement of US assurance assistant. US most prominent notice is war on fear (WOT) at display time; in any case, a smart technique in the IOR is also matter of prudent discourse. There is broad assortment of growing perils there in a significant part of Indian Ocean Region (IOR). There are running from state situated threats to additional states performing specialists (Khalid, 2013). China is a honest to goodness stress in US strategy in the Indian Ocean and in the entire Indo-Pacific. China is not being viewed as a speedy and passing threat, it is, to some degree, being taken as waiting pull and unclear hazard in the US system. In spite of the way that India is blue in view of 'pearl neckband system' of China yet US doesn't pay it incredible conviction and does not adopt a gander at Chinese strategy of setting up its sea focuses over the Indian Ocean with enormous unsettle. China's creating bonds in the region are being viewed as the trap of up and coming powers quality. US is pleasing in this district to the degree its leisure activities into IOR are protected and constant. US is despite to make a think to hack monitor costs and diminishment of qualities into the Indian Ocean.

5.5 Interests of Pakistan in the Indian Ocean

“ Close by this present country's topographical zone has being filling in as fundamental thought at the back these conditions. Pakistan gives waiting edge to India and Afghanistan; it is associated with China and Indian Ocean. On the other hand Pakistan's geographical range offers a couple of open entryways as well. While discussing Pakistan's plan and framework in regards to Indian Ocean area, it is basic to explore bosses of Gwadar Port and Chinese help in its development ”(Ahmed, 2011).

5.5.1 Gawdar Port

The declaration of making a harbor was set apart amidst China and Pakistan in 2002 at the calculating town 'Gwadar'. “That has masterminded at Arabian Sea shoreline of Baluchistan. This town is at the division of 72 km from Iran, cycle 400 km from the Strait of Hurmuz. Strait of Hurmuz is crucial hint for the travel development for a few states of the region” (Yousaf, 2005). Gwadar port can without quite a bit of an extend trade for the travel development of port of Abbas and Chabahar of Iran. Meanwhile it can make many scratches on the money related of United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Oman. The advancement undertaking the port started with the cost of \$1.16 billion and its underlying stage completed in 2005 and China majored offer into making utilization. This port can act Chinese imperativeness trades all the more safely. Starting at now 80% of crude oil, China is gone from the cove arrives by Strait of Malacca and Hurmuz that are for the most part that nearly underneath the US and Indian effect (Yousaf, 2005).

5.5.2 Gwadar Port and China

This port is of criticalness to China for tow -trade and politico- fundamental viewpoint. Pakistan has unmistakably incorporate China into Gwadar reach out from most punctual beginning stage and ubiquity based organization from 2008-13 has made gigantic progress in such way. There was an authentic yell from India on the decision of CPEC.

China has in like manner rejects India's dissensions. India consider China as main threat in the region. Most of Strategists in US also consider that China is following policy of encirclement of India. (Parera, 2013). China following policy of strings of pearl with posrts like Chittagong in Bangladesh, Hambantota in Sri Lanka and Gwadar port in Pakistan to encircle India .(Kaplan, 2013). Administrative issues and methods are constant phenomena. Sino-US seaward adjusting of sea interests is an

example of incredible power governmental issues in the Indo-Pacific region. It depends on the pragmatist point of view to contend that conflict or cover of Sino-US oceanic interests conveys a monstrous effect on Pakistan's security advantages. The contention depends on verifiable relationship holding that incredible forces' contribution has been an affair of convenience, advantage and here and now pick up in South Asia which the solid have forced on the powerless (Riaz, 2015). "Curiously, the 5present Indian Ocean's security design is set apart with association cooperations" (Tellis, 2014). "The Indian Ocean, to the extent concerned, gained off the shore operational ability. The People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) expands its compass the extent that the Gulf of Aden and the shores of Libya with Chinese warships making routine port brings in the Middle East. China5tries to manufacture blue water naval force which is upheld through its operational long haul nearness in the Indian Ocean. At the same time, China has additionally expanded its interest in multilateral establishments. Burki (2015) composed that " China's total national output (GDP) (\$18.96 trillion) has outperformed that of the US (\$18.12 trillion) in 2014, a hole which is probably going to increment to 25.3 percent by 2020" Hanling (2014) examined that "China's neighbors progressively see Beijing's maritime projection as an impressive hostile power. Washington has considered Beijing's maritime modernization as a potential risk to dependability in the Indo-Pacific area. Chinese researchers, be that as it may, safeguard Chinese methodology of maritime development, 'as determining out of China's exchange advantages requiring support of blue water naval force in the High Seas and not because of any mala-fide expectations of competition with the US". On 8 April 2014, Chuck Hagel, the US previous Defense Secretary, while tending to a question and answer session on US-China's guard summit, expelled "Beijing's one-sided foundation of a no- f White House (2014) advised on a public interview with Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe on 24 April, that "the US President Barack Obama repeated American responsibility regarding Japan's security as total. The US president proclaimed that Article V of US-Japan's resistance bargain conferred the US to protect all regions under Tokyo's organization, including the Senkaku islands, rejecting one-sided change. Emphasizing Beijing's 'undeniable power' over the islands, the Chinese remote service representative, Qin Gang, cautioned that the US-Japan organization together ought to be mindful so as not to encroach on China's regional rights. The announcement prompted the US 'to regard realities, talk and act circumspectly, without taking sides on an area and sway issues and assume a useful part in regional peace and strength". "Chinese pioneers have guarded the

Chinese maritime development as being protectively situated, naming it Far Sea Defense holding that the Korean landmass, Japan, Taiwan, Philippines and Vietnam are China's First Island Chain of Defense in the Western Pacific. Beijing's 'Second Island Chain of Defense' contains archipelago augmentation of Guam and Northern Mariana Islands "(Kaplan, 2010). Different issues surfaced from 2009 to 2014 lighting up the Sino-US oceanic power asymmetry (Riaz, 2015). Confined as of now to waterfront fringe, China has fabricated seaward Oceanic ability with blue water naval force being past its regional outskirts (O'Rourke, 2013) China has looked for maritime development in two key ways. To start with, past the 'Main Island Chain'alluded to as Washington's 'Forward Defense Perimeter', for the most part alluded to as the 'US extraordinary divider in turn around'. Begat by Dean Acheson and Douglas MacArthur in the 1950s, the terminfers Japan, Taiwan, Philippines and the islands in the middle. The US forward barrier arrangement along the fringe area has given to conservation of sea authority in the Asia-Pacific. In 2010, "China's projection of energy to the extent Guam has been a horrendous pragmatist drive to shield its own particular lawn. Strikingly, Henry Kissinger has commented on the Chinese hostile oriental methodology called Wei Qi, which begins from the Chinese Confucius belief system (Kissinger, 2011). Directing arrangement decisions since supreme administrations, the system calls for counteractive action of China's key circle. Chinese oceanic technique depicts Mearshiemer's hostile pragmatist procedure i.e. limiting holes for one's own, while expanding holes as for the foe. China's sea system can be seen from neo- basic authenticity that can be deciphered as a characteristic of hostile pragmatist . China's indigenous impulse of picking up vitality security and exogenous impulse of procuring security underlie the Chinese drive for maritime modernization"(Riaz, 2015). "China's maritime modernization expects to accomplish predominance in oceanic vital atomic powers. The advancement of the believable second strike atomic capacity relies upon diminishing the likelihood of location, upgraded maritime ocean preparing and atomic order and control. Jin class JL-2 submarines can sidestep the US rocket protection capture attempt, if propelled from certain watch territories of operation. Equivocalness continues with respect to the quantity of Sub-Surface Ballistic Nuclear (SSBNs) China intends to fabricate, their bastions for organization, order and control if there should arise an occurrence of emergency and precariousness. Nonetheless, the US Office of Naval Intelligence and Quadrennial Defense Review express that China intends to assemble an armada of five Jin class SSBNs to accommodate a close consistent nearness adrift, forestalling reconnaissance of region of operations

through organization at Xiaopingdao, Huludao and Yalong Bay” (O'Rourke, 2013). The US forward safeguard system over the previous years laid effectively on three bearer teams situated in the Western Pacific (O'Rourke, 2013). “China's Naval modernization strains the US to keep up 11 to 12 expansive deck atomic fueled bearers for sea strength. China's improvement of long range supersonic oceanic assault air ship upheld by atomic fueled submarines kills a great part of the US Fleet bearers and expeditionary strike gatherings' maritime capacity. In addition, China's advancement of the Anti-Ship Ballistic Missiles (ASBMs) — named the US Fleet bearers executioner would be a definitive maritime weaponry which would conceivably change the key condition”(Erickson and Yang, 2009). China has depended on Land-Based Strategic Missiles and SLBMs for atomic deterrent. “In any case, the US knowledge sources express that Beijing has 1500 km in addition to extend 4DF-21/CSS-5 strong charge Medium Range Ballistic Missiles (MRBM). China intends to create ASBMs, making it a high need for its military 'Innovative work program' (Erickson and Yang, 2009). ASBMs could hold the US transporter strike bunches in danger in the Western Pacific. It tries to accomplish the slaughter chain of recognition, following, and direction including pinpoint exactness important to hit a quick moving target. This requires an endorsed edge of effect to soften up a bearer's defensive covering or protection. An ASBM with an atomic warhead tackles the precision issue. The US Navy actualizes a procedure of Air and Sea Battle idea to make prevention. The US plane carrying warship striking powers are ever prepared to react to Chinese forceful activities against partners in the area” (Holloway III, 2011). Asia Pivot involves the US maritime support to guard partners by encompassing China along the eastern and southern flanks of the 'Principal Island Chain' outskirts. Moving in Central Command (CENTCOM) from Iraq and Afghanistan notwithstanding the Pacific Command (PACOM) (Woodward, 2010), “the US has positioned battle ships at Singapore, the Bay of Bengal in eastern Indian Ocean, and upper east into the South China Sea. It watches Seventh Fleet to demonstrate flexibility to China in its help of partners in the region” (Kurlantzick, 2011). With a specific end goal to contain China, the US has attempted to construct a key ring to surround China. The US did this through the development of its resistance settlements. The US moves have been a piece of the Indo-Pacific war intend to contain China. Western researchers have referred to authentic confirmation to monitor partners against Beijing's coercive strategies (Kurlantzick, 2011). The US restores barrier bargains

with partners for arrive operations in the area, which Beijing has deciphered as vital ring of circle (Riaz, 2015). Based at Hawaii, the US Pacific Command screens the Indo-Pacific. The US intends to ove 60 extra maritime armadas and six moreplane carrying warships to the district (Scott, 2012). The vital point of the Indo-Pacific nexus — the South China Sea, Strait of Malacca, and the Bay of Bengal, the US anticipates control at Australia's north-western drift. It fortifies the US marine nearness at Darwin, Australia, sending 2,500 extra troops in 2011. It bases US P-8 reconnaissance planes and automatons at Australia's Coco islands. The US has extended its joint maritime activities with Japan and the Vietnamese naval force, the Obama organization has sold arms to the Philippines and manufactured resistance ties with India, Singapore, Indonesia and New Zealand(Khan, 2007). The shapes of Sino-US control rivalry in the Indo-Pacific identify with the South China Sea regional debate and the Sea Lines of communication. Khan (2014) investigated that "Indo-US support to the development of Chabahar, would strain Pakistan's relations with India and Iran". Gwadar would influence the Indo-US strangulation risk. The US fifth armada practices an aggregate geo-political control over China's hydrocarbon life saver in the Persian Gulf. Subsequently, Beijing's basis for maritime nearness in the Arabian Sea is to secure vitality interests in Africa and the Middle East. Pakistan might be enticed to give berthing rights to PLAN warships. Facilitating PLAN bases would be to Islamabad's greatest advantage. Be that as it may, change of business ports into defendable forward maritime bases would require abnormal amounts of specialized, calculated and vital mastery for Beijing — an errand well past Chinese ability for at any rate one more decade for the present. Gwadar has in store various ship prepared choices for China's possible maritime extension. Then again, drive projection, joint operations and reconnaissance have all the earmarks of being a hard squeezed assignment for China similarly as air guard fortress, mine clearing resources or weapons storerooms and so forth. The port would permit China a vital a dependable balance through the arrangement of coordinations, supplies and repairing offices to support long time oceanic operations on the ocean. Be that as it may, China may think that its hard to guard disengaged maritime bases from the US or Indian voyage rocket strikes or airborne assaults amid wartime.

5.6 Analysis and Options for Pakistan

There is no doubt that US has been driven to undertaken action in response due to the rise of China during recent years. For US, its relationship with China to be dominated by the anxiety over future development of China. US policy makers and experts along with the observers across the world, are continuously with its new found power and its status in international system and as well as about counter strategies that Washington should adopt in the light of the development of China is the riddle for US as it wants support and co-operation of Beijing on certain issues such as North Korea, climate change and anti-terrorism. To establish a new world order, US is anxious and remains watchful over the intentions of China. In other words it can be said that the Sino US relations are perhaps the most vital relation in the coming future among all other sets of relations among the states will be consider under the Sino US framework. In the new century, Southeast Asia in the first testing ground of Sino US relationship as the rise of China is most profoundly demonstrated in the territory. China has somber alarm in US system into Indian Ocean. China is not being seen as a prompt and transient danger. It is fairly being taken as extensive haul and vague risk in the US methodology. Despite the fact that India is sad because of 'strings of Pearl system of China however US doesn't pay it a large amount assurance and does not take a gander at Chinese strategy of building up its maritime points over the Indian Ocean with enormous worry. China's developing ties in the district are seen as the matter of outlook infantry quality. US is agreeable in this area to the extent its hobbies in the Indian Ocean Region are sheltered and continuous. US is notwithstanding idea to hack safeguard costs and decrease of strengths in the Indian Ocean. It is by all accounts more slanted to East Asia than in Indian Ocean. These hacks and decreases are principally found in the floor strengths and Air Forces. To the degree that stable Sino-US relations constitute a basic premise to more extensive soundness in Asia Pacific, occasions since 9/11 have positively affected that incredible force nexus, in the wake of the past instability set apart by cross-Taiwan Strait pressure and Gunboat strategy, the May 1999 unplanned US besieging of the Chinese international safe haven in Belgrade, and the crash of a US EP-E3 surveillance air ship with a Chinese plane contender onto South China Sea in April 2001. The arrival of a gauge of quiet to Sino-US union took after the developing Chinese mindfulness that Washington's worldwide security concerns had moved far from the China risk element. The way that China has, for the present, turn into a fewer basic matter for the United States corresponds with Beijing's enthusiasm for maintaining a strategic distance from outside complexities during a period when it is both experiencing a local authority move and looking to increase universal

acknowledgment as a dependable huge force. Beijing has in this manner been careful about any occurrence that may confuse Sino-US relations. The Indo-US collusion of maritime security interests has inflated the role of Indian navy in the Indian Ocean region. The move compels Pakistan's counter balancing response to neutralize Indian preponderance along its coastal belt. It has allowed Pakistan to increase its maritime collaboration with China as a strategic necessity. The Indo-US maritime and strategic collaboration increases the propensity for armed polarization along the long stretch of Indo-Pak coastal periphery(Institute of Regional Studies). Civil military leadership in Pakistan is showing real political will to give full security to Chinese in Gwadar. Recently, they have given Gwadar on Lease to China for 40 years. The country of Pakistan wants friendly ties with all the neighboring countries including India. China-Pak strategic partnership offers joint prospects for dealing with the formidable challenges of hegemony, regional harmony and also the cross-border terrorism in the region. CPEC will prove a game-changer and it would empower 3 million people of the wider hinterland Central Asian and Southwest regions. This partnership also offers the prospects for mutual development, growth and regional prosperity.

5.7 US Policy in Africa in Current Scenario

The status of Africa has risen tremendously after the end of the Cold War and especially during the past decade. This continent was treated as a battlefield in the global rivalry between the United States and Soviet Union as neither of them had a vital interest at stake on the continent. However, this gloomy picture has been altered as it is an important source of energy supplies and raw materials. This has led to an increased US interest in the region along with other great powers such as China, India and Russia. Their political, economic and military involvement has increased. The main reason for this is to have greater access over 13supplies of oil, natural gas, uranium, copper, cobalt, coltan, gold, platinum, diamonds, and other strategic resources.¹³In response, the United States has dramatically increased its military presence in Africa and created a new military command known as the Africa Command or AFRICOM to protect as it has defined as its strategic national interests in Africa. This has ignited what has come to be known as the new scramble for Africa and is transforming the security architecture of Africa “The continent is believed to hold 90% of the world's cobalt, 90% of its platinum, 50% of its gold, 98% of its chromium, 70% of its tantalite, 64% of its manganese and one-third of its uranium” (Hoare, 2002). In recent years, China has built stronger ties with African nations and is largest trading partner. (Mansur, 2012). “Whereas, India is

also expanding its military presence in Africa. It is also strengthening its naval presence as in Indian Ocean through which Indian Oil imports can be carried” (Xavier, 2010). After the end of Cold War, Russia withdrew from Africa. However, it took new initiatives under President Putin and President Medvedev. In 2008, “Russia’s state natural gas company, Gazprom, signed a memorandum of understanding with the state-owned Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation for oil and gas exploration, production, and transportation, processing of gas, and construction of power plants in Nigeria. In doing so, Gazprom expects to spend between \$1 billion and \$2.5 billion on these projects in the coming years (Hellyer, 2015). As a response, to the growing presence of the above mentioned powers, the ninth unified and sixth regional US military command AFRICOM has been justified on the basis of threat to US interest by weak states. It was established after the Second World War with the purpose of bringing peace, security and economic development in Africa. Due to this military partnerships have expanded to assist African armed forces. Nevertheless, it has been criticized for an inversion of the Triple D policy, prioritizing defence before development and diplomacy. American interest has more to do with Africa’s natural resources than containing terrorism. The United States currently gets about 20% of its imported oil from Africa, which is expected to rise to 25% in few years(Meltzer, 2016). In addition to this, West African oil has the advantage of having shorter transport routes to US refineries. According to World Bank’s Global Economic Prospects report, out of the thirteen countries with the highest projected compounded annual growth rate from 2014 through 2017, six are in Africa.

5.8 Chinese Challenge to US in Africa

“The Chinese have expanded their economic activities in Africa due to its abundant resources. Chinese trade with the continent has grown from around three billion dollars annually in 1995 to over 100 billion in 2008”(Ulrichsen, 2011). China provides African countries with aid packages, trade , and assistance to build key infrastructures such as roads and power plants in exchange for energy and raw material supplies . In addition, “China has provided large amounts in developmental loans to African states, which are non-conditional and south-south solidarity is also claimed. In the past five years, Angola received US\$22 billion and Congo received US\$13 billion”(O’Brien, 2014).

5.8.1 Strategic Facilities in Africa

“There are unmatched naval facilities in South Africa. NASA tracking stations and communication stations are present in Madagascar and Kagnew and Ethiopia” (Efferink, 2015) “Liberia has ports and airfield rights in emergency times” (Maina, 2015). It is of strategic importance to US navy that South Africa is astride the Cape of Good Hope and France and Ethiopia are present on the Red Sea. In the Indian Ocean, Mauritius offers port and airport facilities.

5.8.2 US Trade in Africa

“The African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) was signed into law by President Clinton in 2000 to expand trade relations with sub-Saharan Africa. Recently, President Obama welcomed African leaders for U.S.-Africa Leaders Summit. 97In 2013, about 91 percent of U.S. imports from AGOA-eligible countries entered duty-free” (Keck, 2014). Moreover, private equity firms have generated African funds such as, Carlyle and Blackstone. Small US companies are also looking for avenues in West Africa such as Precision Tune Auto Care , for higher returns.

5.8.3 Security imperatives

United States faces threat from cross-border disease and criminal networks. Al-Qaeda and other extremists groups are reported in Somalia and across Sahara desert.

5.8.4 Containmentment of big powers

“Oil is used as an economic weapon and identifying Africa as a source of mineral wealth. China has agreements with Sudan to provide oil through its Block 7 and Block 4 concessions” (Serumaga, 2015).“India and African countries are concerned to strengthen their maritime security being trading nations on sea”. (Harshe, 2014) India Intervened to counter Somalian pirates in Indian Ocean. Russia is not only focusing on economic diplomacy but is reported to construct a nuclear reactor in Tanzania for scientific research and medical purposes. Modi has visited Mozambique and China is investing in Tanzania.

5.9 Strategic Rivalry in Africa

The growing interest of foreign players has provided African governments and private businesses with loans and other financial assistance. It has increased the market for African energy supplies and other resources. It has infuriated internal political conflicts as external powers want to strengthen their position and assist different African political groups accordingly against rival groups. It is of strategic interest to US to employ military force to ensure free flow of oil and have access to its market and natural resource. Many states and regional organizations remain skeptical about the formation of AFRICOM as African Union was not duly consulted during its formation. It is also viewed as an attempt to become the most important decision making body on African security which shall alter the balance of power. US will continue to pursue militarization policy for the furtherance of its interest in Africa. The main purpose for AFRICOM's formation was to protect US oil interests in the continent and contain foreign players especially China. With increased geopolitical competition on the continent, the security architecture of the African continent is transforming. This new scramble for Africa has made this a theatre of the New Great Game. New Actors have emerged on the stage and multipolarity is emerging in contemporary economic relations. The geostrategic position of South Africa entitles it the gateway to sub-Saharan Africa due to which trade liberalization is at the forefront. Moreover, the South-South cooperation strategy is also anchored on the Brics partnership mechanism with China, India, Brazil and Russia.

5.10 Application on offensive Realist Theory on US Policy In Indian Ocean in Post Cold war Period

5.10.1 Middle East

The theory of offensive realism belongs to the "neorealist school of thought" and states that a turbulent global scenario leads to combative state behaviour in the international political system in which the world great powers who have the ability to carry out military offensive and are doubtful of other country's intentions, struggle to survive. Talking about USA's foreign policy during Iraq war, it is said that the invasion of Iraq in 2003, was the first vital military action of US after the cold war and is regarded as the first experience of US as an occupying force in a Middle Eastern state. In realist terms, the occupation of Iraq was a wise decision made by US to demonstrate its potential to its allies as well as its competitors and to restrain Iraq's actual or potential use of weapons of mass destruction and oil reserves that endangered America and to halt Iraq's possible partnership with any anti-America

militant groups. The invasion of Iraq could be credited to the shift that happened in the international world after the end of the cold war from bipolarity to unipolarity. This shift eradicated all the checks on US actions and also compelled US to advocate its military and political supremacy against any symbolic or material challenges. Another reason behind USA's decision to invade Iraq from a realist aspect, could be to strengthen the security of Israel that was an eminent regional partner of USA. America's deputy defense secretary of that time Wolfowitz and some other officials believed that the loss of Iraqi patronage would decrease the power of Palestinian militancy in their dispute with Israel and will lead to a pact between Palestine and Israel on terms acceptable to Israel. The government of US also anticipated that their existence in Iraq would exert pressure on Syria, which was considered an enemy state both by USA and Israel. In addition, the military of US hoped that it could establish its bases in Iraq post war and then along with its existing bases in Afghanistan could pressurize Iran to finish its nuclear program. Hence, according to the US administration, the invasion of Iraq was meant to fulfill their goal of establishing their supremacy in the world and to reinforce their power in Southwest Asia and beyond, thus facilitating to restrain and pressurize unfriendly governments. Moreover, the realists point out that one of the reason behind USA's invasion of Iraq was its geostrategic location, which had an impact on numerous security concerns of US and Iraq's oil reserves also became a reason behind the invasion, which US thought could be used against their interests. Hence according to US administration, military bases in Iraq would help them to exert its influence further into the Middle East, Africa, and Central Asia. However, the reasons mentioned above to support the stance of US for invading Iraq from a realist perspective are often criticized on the ground that US over exaggerated the extent of the threat they claimed that they faced from Iraq. Many argue that the US military had enough capabilities to deter any attack from Iraq and the government warnings about Iraq's potential or motivation to supply anti-America militants with weapons of mass destruction were based largely on suppositions. Nevertheless, it can be said that the administration of US genuinely believed that their security depended on a successful occupation of Iraq, and therefore overemphasized on the magnitude of threat posed by Iraq in order to attain domestic and global assistance. Hence, while this explanation fits the theory of realism, the conclusion that American leaders were convinced by ideological and psychological factors of a forthcoming danger when none existed in reality does not comports with realism.

5.10.2 Offensive Realism of US towards China in the post-war period

Offensive realism theory was brought by the neo-realistic school of thought that basically means that the structure of the world politics; comprising of one superpower leading the world politics, is basically responsible for the aggressive state politics in the international political affairs. Now that offensive realism has been defined, the offensive realism of US (which is the current hegemony state) towards China in the post war period is going to be illustrated. Ever since the cold war, US has successfully managed to keep its rival Russia mellowed down, and attain the power of being recognized as a unipolar state. Furthermore since the war, many small powers did try to rise but they were successfully defeated and suppressed by US, who used its power to its advantage example war against Iraq, Bosnia, Kozovo, Afghanistan. However, the rise of China has appeared to be threatening towards US's hegemony, for it has shown development which has potential to change the international structure of world politics. Hence, in this post war period, US have used offensive realism to deal with China. It has adopted the policy of containing China by sending 100000 troops to East Asia, in order to provide securities to its rivals; Japan and South Korea. Also, it has favored, and due to these additional advantages, the rivals of China are able to form a barrier, in order to restrict it from becoming a regional hegemony. Furthermore, US have tried to alienate China, causing China to be nudged towards Russia. Also, China is lacking behind because of its less impressive military force, so US, while using offensive realism will continue suppressing the military of China. Hence, these are the current steps taken by US, in which future is uncertain that will China continue to rise or not. However, if China does manages to rise in the future, and attempts to dominate US, then US will work hard to contain China, and weaken it to the point where it is no longer a threat. Currently US's military is known to be the strongest in the world. For a nation to become a super power, it has to be economically, socially, and military-wise strong. China is an introvert nation, mostly focusing on its economy, so its military is not up to the mark. In order to truly become successful, China has to focus on its military, if not US will fully use this to their advantage. Also, other offensive realism technique used by US is that it has formed allies with many Asian States such as India, etc. Pakistan, too, is highly indebted to US because of aid they receive from US. So, with many countries in Asia siding with US, at the time of war, they can be easily used to enact as a barrier, when China starts fighting for dominance

5.10.3 US offensive realist policies towards South Asia

Before coming towards the offensive neorealist policies of US towards South Asia, it is very important to discuss the term offensive realism. Basically the term was used as

a part of neo realism, based on structural approach. Presented by John Mearsheimer, this term says that the aggressive behaviour of states are due to anarchic nature of international system. The central assumptions of this theory are following. The international system is anarchic in nature and all the great powers are main actors in this system. Secondly all the states have military capability which shows their offensiveness. All the states have uncertainty regarding the intentions of states. The primary goal of states is survival. Last but not the least is that states are the rational actors and are capable of making new strategies and achieving their goals. It differs from KennethWaltz neorealism in a way that the later focus on the fact that states need power to maintain its security and it devise strategies to maintain certain level of security, while offensive neorealism focuses on the fact that it is basically the competition between the major powers that urge them to attain maximum power to rule as a hegemon. Thus offensive realists hold the view that it is significant for the major powers to ensure their security by achieving the hegemony so that no other state can compete or threaten them. Analysing the offensive neorealist policies of US towards South Asia, it won't be wrong to say that US had always adopted the offensive neo realistic approach. Despite of his claims of practicing the liberal foreign policy, there could be given certain examples which could prove the US claims wrong or questionable. US attack on Afghanistan after 9/11 incident could be quoted as one of the examples. The approach adopted towards Afghanistan was very aggressive which left the country in state of chaos. Instead of making Afghanistan self-sufficient, US made him more dependent on its armed troops as a result of which the Taliban issue had enrooted more deeply in Afghanistan and had repercussions for its neighbouring states as well. Basically in order to achieve its national security, US declared Taliban as a threat to the global security and initiated operations against them in Afghanistan and Iraq with the aim of achieving long term goals. Other than that US have adopted aggressive policies towards Pakistan too. It carried out operation in Pakistan in 2011 to capture Osama Bin Laden without informing the Pakistani government and army thus leaving them in embarrassment. This incident proved to be as one of the major sources of tension between both the countries. Recently president of US, Donald Trump has also commented aggressively against Pakistan and its policy against Taliban but it is yet to be seen that what approach he would adopt against Pakistan. US is trying to keep its influence and dominance in the South Asian region so that he could contain China's progress in the respective region. He had declared India as its ally and had signed a nuclear deal with him as well. Although that nuclear deal is declared to be used for peaceful domestic purposes but in actual

US is supporting India to balance the threat of China. By concluding the debate US had basically four major national security concerns in South Asia which are tensions between India and Pakistan, threat of misuse of nuclear weapons by the non-state actors, re-emergence of terrorist groups in the region and assisting India without aggravating Pakistan and China. In order to fulfil these security interests, US has to adopt a realistic thus rational and balanced approach towards this region.

5.10.4 US Offensive Realist Policy Towards Pakistan in Post-Cold War Era

Realism is always the driving force behind the revolution of US policy towards South Asia. Realists argue that there is no eternal friend or eternal enemy, only eternal national interest. US eternal interest is to preclude a hostile power from dominating Europe or Asia. Though US wanted to have strong relations with India but to the strategic importance of Pakistan, both countries made strong relations with each other but US was looked for India for better diplomatic friendly relations. U.S. established diplomatic relations with Pakistan on October 20, 1947. These relations developed against the backdrop of the Cold War and since then this relationship has been based on economic and military assistance. During the Cold War period Pakistan became a wholehearted ally which undertook real responsibilities and risks by giving the land to US which was of extreme importance to the national security of US. In Post-Cold War, the US policy changed towards Pakistan to a great extent. It was both offensive and defensive at the time of need. During the 1971 war, US turned its back on Pakistan and gave double the number of military alliance to India. Back at that time US never wanted to become very good friends with Pakistan, it was due strategic location of Pakistan that US had to make good ties with it. Even though the relation between US and Pakistan was more like a “Pseudo-Friendship” one, in which US was getting more benefit than the later. But due to US being superpower, Pakistan was under the pressure of US. In U-2 incident, Russia even accused Pakistan of giving land to US and breaking rules, instead of US supporting Pakistan, it left the situation there which led to critical situation between Russia and Pakistan and they could not develop good relation with each other. US relations with Pakistan after 1971 war were characterized as poor communication between both the countries and a state of confusion between both nations. Pakistan even felt betrayed when US was supporting India and did not try to make peace between both countries. But after that diplomatic relations between both the countries were normal. Even when Pakistan was making nuclear bomb, US put sanctions on Pakistan and refused to give any military aid to Pakistan and it was suspended for a long time. Pakistan also realized that US was

helping India more than them, but still Pakistan tried to maintain good stable relations with them. Though, after Cold war period it was considered as Pakistan would be of no use to US. And the Bush Administration before 9/11 had adopted the policy of "India first". But due to the 9/11 terrorist attack in America, US again had to make strong ties with Pakistan because of its strategic importance. Due to the offensive statement and heavy pressure lead by US towards Pakistan, the later had to change its foreign policy just to be safe from America. Before that US and Pakistan were not having very friendly relations with each other. But since than US and Pakistan have good military and economic ties. And US have been using Pakistan strategic location for its own purpose even though US had given offensive realist policy against Pakistan. Even after giving territory to US and fighting the war against terror with them, there were still some times when US policy offended Pakistan's interest. Such as when Pakistan was giving nuclear aid to North Korea and US suspected this activity, they put sanctions and imposed strict rules against the laboratory instead of the government. This gave Pakistan some edge towards continuing relations with US despite of the statement and restrictions imposed on Pakistan. United States interest in Pakistan is only due to its extreme significant strategic location. Other than that they have to interest in making ties with Pakistan instead they wanted to have strong relations with India that is the dominant nation in South Asia. But Obama gave his statement that America will be a strong supporter of Pakistan in providing aids and national security. In the current time frame, President Trump had tried to give his statements against Pakistan and other Muslim countries, he also called Pakistan and some other Muslim countries as terrorist countries which are not only offensive but these policies related to this statement could create a havoc in the World. US-Pakistan relations have been on its up and down since a long time but the fact is US cannot abandon Pakistan just now because of its strategic value in South Asia and because Pakistan have been helping America fighting a 16 years' war in Afghanistan. Despite of the offensive realist policies US had put on Pakistan the diplomatic relation between both the countries will never come to an end.

CHAPTER 6

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN

6.1 US-Pakistan relationship in post 9/11 period

In post 9/11 period US developed anti muslim sentiments and pressurized all muslim states as declaring war on terror as “Crusade against the evil-doers”(Shaukat, 2001). After 9/11 Pakistan became a main ally in the war on terror with the US as Bush called Musharraf and said, “either you are with us or terrorists”. In 2001, US former President George Bush pressured the government of Pakistan to join the war on terror. 9/11 did not only changed the nature of Pak –US relationship but also Pakistan’s security policy completely (Aziz, 2011). Pakistan has suffered a lot since 2001 in fighting against terrorism but could not get the praise for world especially the US. US still does not want consider the role Pakistan in curbing the militancy in Pak – Afghan area. Pakistan media and people have been tired up with US usual demand of DO-MORE.

The US accusation creates troubles when it comes to Pakistan's image in international community. Killing of Osama has further created a tensed situation which brought US-Pakistan relationship under intense consideration. The people of Pakistan have given more sacrifices as comparison to NATO/US troops in Afghanistan. The community of Pakistan is already fed up by the mess created by Afghan war wants US to end this menace. Amidst national, economic, social, religious crisis, unstable political regime, increasing drone attacks, loss of civilian lives and news of Osama's downfall has created trouble, which is scattering like a wild fire. This situation is showing the widening of gap between US and Pakistan's interest.

Pakistan being the most-allied ally of the US in war on terror, has extended political, diplomatic and logistic support to the US; captured Al-Qaeda operatives, launched highly successful military operation in Swat and Waziristan; shared intelligence reports, the most importantly has deployed more troops than ever to the western border of the country. US kept on demanding 'Do More', created mistrust between two states.

6.1.1 Joining of Global War on Terror Threat

To join hands in war on terror otherwise, US will take back us to Stone age. "Every nation in every region now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists". These are the words by George W. Bush as US wants our support in global war against terrorism and without the support of Pakistan it is not possible. Date October 7,2001 Mode of Threat "US Secretary of State Colin Powell on a phonecalled Musharraf. He said "You are either with us or against us". The next day, Powell's then deputy, Richard Armitage, telephoned the chief of Pakistan's top spy agency, and threatened to bomb Pakistan back to the Stone Age."On the pressure abovementioned, Musharraf agreed all the seven points, set before him as demands, by Colin Powell" (War on terror). Political Implications It was purely the decision of Musharraf to join hands in global war on terror, Except Lt. General Mehmood and Lt. Gen. Muzaffar Hussain Usmani Social Implications Soon after joining war against terrorism, Pakistan is facing internal disturbance i.e., terrorism, extremism and sectarianism. Moreover, Pakistan has already faced more than two thousand terrorist attacks and numerous civilians lost their lives in these acts of terrorism. Even in current phase, terrorist attacks continue to take place in Pakistan.

The security condition in Pakistan is worsening day by day. Economic Initially at the start of global war on terror, in Implications the fiscal year 2001-2002, \$2.669 billion estimated its cost to Pakistan and \$13.6 billion in 2009-2010 and rose to \$17.8 billion in the year of 2011. Moreover, Pakistan is continued a pay a heavy price since it had joined war on terror in terms of economy and security terms In prior 10 years of war on terror, the direct and indirect cost of global war on terror is \$63.93 billion (economic survey 2010-2011) US delivered a severe threat to Pakistan to become an important ally of war on terror and if Pakistan would not agree to join global war on terror. US would take Pakistan back to Stone Age. Even in the memorable speech of US former President Bush, delivered an open threat to Pakistan that “you have to decide whether you are with US or with terrorist”. The initial conversation between Richard Armitage (Deputy Secretary of State) and General Mehmood (Director General ISI) was confrontational, while the Former Pakistan President Musharraf 14was on his visit to Washington to convince the US to support Taliban and Pakistan role in capturing Osama. From the above mentioned threat and constant pressure from US, the Former Pakistan president Musharraf was presented a list of seven demands from US to Pakistan to comply with and He consented to all of these demands moreover, agreed to join global war on terror. Except Lt. General Mehmood Ahmed and Lt. Gen. Muzaffar Hussain Usmani, all the corps commanders consented to Musharraf’s decision to side with the US and to renounce the Taliban. These two generals held important position in his government, as these two had played significant role in toppling previous government of Mian Nawaz Sharif. General Mehmood was reportedly sent to Afghanistan to talk to Mullah umer in desertin Osama bin laden and not to resist operation in Afghanistan, but he allegedly asked Mullah Umer to resist the US and assured him with ISI’s support. On his return, both the generals were removed from their positions by former President Musharraf. Finally having consent of all the Lieutenants, Former President Musharraf 14delivered a speech “renouncing the Taliban, and assuring the US Pakistan’s support in the global War on Terror. The main consideration of this decision was US assurances to ensure Pakistan security, long term economic growth, settlement of Kashmir dispute and protection of Pakistan’s nuclear arsenal”. Soon after joining global war on terror, Pakistan is facing internal disturbances, extremism, unstoppable terrorism and problems of sectarianism. The term of suicide bombings was introduced and become very common in Pakistan. A large number of civilians have lost their lives in these

attacks. After joining war on terror Pakistan is paying a heavy price in terms of economy and security. And US keeps on saying do more do more.

6.1.2 Crackdown on Religious Groups

Threat Clear out entire militant Jihadi and sectarian cults which had close linkages with the Taliban and al-Qaeda and other terrorists groups. Date An official ban was imposed on the Jihadi groups on January 12, 2002 Mode of Threat On 19, September 2001, Former President Musharraf stated that, though he opposed military tactics against the Taliban, "Pakistan risked being endangered by an alliance of India and the US if it did not cooperate and support US". In 2006, Musharraf again testified that this stance was pressured by threats from the US, and present in his memoirs that he had "war-gamed" the US as an adversary and a huge challenger, and decided that it would end in a loss for our nation Pakistan. Political Implications The religious political parties in Pakistan started country wide anti US campaigns and protests started criticizing the administration of diminishing its support to the Taliban administration in Afghanistan and became the ally of US led alliance against global terrorism. They were also concerned over the US increasing Influence in Pakistan, which forced the country's capital to transform its policies not only towards the Taliban's, but as well as on the matter of Kashmir, nuclear program and the Madrasahs in the entire country Social In Pakistan, numerous Pakistani Muslims were angry Implications because the Government of Pakistan has joined forces with the US to hunt down Muslims. After joining global war on terror US also demanded diminishing support to the Taliban and started cleaning all the militant Jihadi and sectarian outfits which had close relations with the Taliban and Al-Qaeda. In Pakistan after delivering this threat of US, religious parties and other masses started anti-US campaign and protests. The post 9/11 policies of the government of Pakistan were regarded as a great betrayal on the part of the State by ideological forces. This also results in the rift in alliance between the State, dominated by the religious-political parties and military. The rift forced the religious political parties of Pakistan to get them involved into politics. The religious political parties also unite politically together and they formed (MMA) Muttahida Majlis-e-Aml in January 2002. In 2002, government of under the former Presidency of Musharraf took a firm and rigid stand against all the jihadi organizations and groups that were promoting terrorism extremism, and arrested the following persons;

Maulana Masood Azhar, (head of the Jaish-e-Mohammed)

Hafiz Muhammad Saeed, (chief of the Lashkar-e-Taiba)

Moreover, took dozens of activists into custody - Zayn al-Abidin Muhammed Hasayn Abu Zubaydah was also arrested”

6.1.3 Logistics – bases – intelligence

Threat After 9/11 attacks US made a number of Demands to Pakistan, these were to give logistic support, intelligence and air and naval bases. Date 2001 Threat: Mode of Without any uncertainty, 15Pakistan accepted all these above demands. US Former President George Bush said that “it looks like you got it all.” Pakistan’s support was central for the US in every manner. Pakistan gave its logistics and its air bases to support the attack against in Afghanistan. Bases given Pakistan gave 15its air bases at Jocababad and Pasni to US to US operations in the Afghanistan. Another air base which is being used by Americans is at Dalbandin. Logistics Pakistan has also signed an agreement with the US in given to US which Pakistan have pledged to give America all out support in logistics. More than 75% US and NATO supplies passes through Pakistan borders. Intelligence “Pakistan has also provided US with talented intelligence for Given to US the fulfillment of their operations against the Taliban, because without Pakistan’s support US would have been unable to target the Al-Qaeda and Taliban members”(Defence Journal). The support that Pakistan promised to provide to the US in the global War on Terror included Intelligence sharing, bases right and logistics support and assistance. Pakistan’s geographical location played a vital role in the Global War on Terror as it shares its border with Afghanistan. US had selected Pakistan for logistics, intelligence support, bases for operations in Afghanistan. Pakistan gave all the support to the alliance forces against the Taliban’s organization. Pakistan gave all the required demands of US regarding logistics bases and intelligence to US to attack against Afghanistan. Pakistan gave their bases to us at Jacobababad, Pasni and Dalbandin. All these above three air bases are used for the support and logistics in Afghanistan. Dalbandin base used as a refueling base for US particular Operations helicopters operating in Afghanistan. These bases have been very important for US because of their proximity to Afghanistan. Pakistan has also given logistic to US on the basis of an agreement according to that agreement more than 75% US and NATO supplies passes through Pakistan which consists of gas, food, military equipment and other logistics. Pakistan has been key player in logistic support. Pakistan has also provided talented intelligence to US and the important achievement by the intelligence agencies of Pakistan was the arrest of Ramzi Bin Al Shihb, who was allegedly involved in 9/11 attacks. In 2003 Core suspect of 9/11 Khalid sheikh had

been arrested by the ISI agents. In 2002 Former American President Bush administration announced that more than 2700 militants allegedly associated with Al Qaeda were arrested in 60 countries, Pakistan have captured 500 Al Qaeda linked militants which was more than any other country. In 2004 Amjad Hussein Farooqi who was involved in the killing attempt of Ex-President Musharraf and he had also close linkages with the Mullah Umer and Osama bin Laden, was arrested by the Pakistan police. Pakistan handed over about 369 of the 689 arrested militants to the US". Despite of Pakistan's never-ending efforts, ISI is still being scrutinized by the US(ISPR).

6.1.4 Operation Rah-e-Rast

Threat US and all other western countries claimed that Taliban soon will take over the country as it is just 60 miles, 97 kilometer away from the country's capital i.e., Islamabad. Under the coming threats and pressure from US, the country's administration decided to take back the areas which were being captured by the terrorists and extremists Date It commenced on April, 26 2009 and ended on June, 14 2009 Description Operation Rah-e-Raast is also called operation Back thunderstorm. It commenced on April, 26 2009 and ended on June, 14 2009. Operation Rah-e-raast was the forceful aggressive military operation against the Taliban's conducted by the Pakistan army. Political Implications Current prime Minister of the country, Yousaf Raza Gilani in an address to the nation said, "We will not bow down before terrorists and extremists and force them to lay down arms" and he declared that the scenario reached on critical situation and it is essential to take a decisive step in order to combat Taliban's. therefore it was necessary for the government of Pakistan to take a powerful step with the help of Pakistan's army and the primary aim of this operation was to take back the control of Buner, Lower Dir, and Swat and Shangla districts Results of the One of the major result of this operation is that, Sufi operation Muhammad, Who is the founder of TNSM (tehreek-e- nafaz-e-shariat-e-Mohmmadi), arrested in Amandarra with many other militant leaders. The Pakistan army declared that Muslim Khan and other 4 senior members of TNSM were arrested near Mingora. Operation Rah-e-Rast was conducted because, "the girls were being stopped from going to their educational institutions, private and public properties were occupied and damaged and women of Swat were subjected to harsh and shameless treatments, it is necessary or the government of Pakistan to take a powerful step with the help of Pakistan's army and the primary aim of this operation was to take back the control of Buner, Lower Dir, and Swat and Shangla districts. As there was a constant threat

coming from the US and other western nations that extremists or Taliban's were just 97 kilometer away from the country's capital Islamabad. Pakistan army conducted an aggressive operation against the Taliban's".

6.1.5 Operation Rah-e-Nijat

Hillary Clinton in a statement terrified Pakistan with severe consequence in case of any more attack on the US soil with traceable links to Pakistan. At that time, the Washington almost threatened Pakistan to deploy the maximum numbers of forces in the Pak afghan area that shares its boundary lines 23with Afghanistan, rather than the eastern border where the real threat to our existence lies"(Pak Observer). Date 76Operation Rah-e-Nijat began on June 19, 2009 on the location of South Waziristan Division and Fata and ended on December 12, 2009. Mode of threat An understanding for the completion of the transaction was reached during a visit to Pakistan by Secretary Clinton and the President of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Michael Mullen. At that time, Pakistani leadership decided to launch long awaited operation in the region of North Waziristan in order to get their self cleaned from the allegations that Pakistan knew the position of Bin Laden and deliberately hide it form the outside world. (Critical threats). Description After 9/11 incident, US blamed that Afghanistan is the epicenter of international terrorism and Pakistan was to account for all the afghan refugees on its territory. As Pakistan joined its hands towards global war on terror and facing enormous world pressure and threats, in march 2004 Pakistan started cleansing operation to find out all the wanted Taliban's and various terrorist groups which were hiding on the Pak-Afghan border .In 2004 Initially Pakistan army started operation in the South Waziristan area to capture all the militants in the South Waziristan area. Results of the According to the Pakistan army there were 500-600 operation foreign militants in the South Waziristan area 400 of them have either been killed or arrested and the rest 200 of them moved to North Waziristan Operation Rah-e-Nijat was conducted in South Waziristan and it was also conducted due to US demands and pressure. This is another case where US used once again Coercive Diplomacy. In view of the fact that Faisal Shahzad, the botched Times Square bomber, reported to his investigators that he was actually trained in Waziristan.

As this situation portrays the fact that US continues to say Do more! Do more! to Pakistan". 6.1.6 Kerry-Lugar Berman Act (Enhanced Partnership Act of 2009) Threat Hafiz Saeed, who is regarded as the mastermind behind Mumbai attacks, the head of Lashkar-e-taiba. The reason behind the provisions of Kerry Lugar Bill as the US

believes that although Pakistan has banned all the Jihadi organizations for example Laskar-r-Tiaba and Jaish-e- Mohammad, the 51army still considers them strategic assets that can be used against India. The US through Kerry Lugar bill desires to pressurize the government of Pakistan, to take additional actions regarding such incidents. Kerry Lugar Berman Act includes certain provisions to be met by Pakistan. Date Kerry Lugar Berman Act is also commonly known as Enhanced Partnership Act of 2009 commenced on 6 January, in Washington D.C. It was passed on 15th October, 2009 by the US president before that it was passed by Senate on 4th September and by House of Representatives on 1st October Description Theprovisions of Kerry-Lugar Burmen Act, includes such as denying support and assistance to the terrorist and extremists groups that have performed attacks against US and to dismantle their bases, to exercise efficient and useful control of the Pakistan's military by the civilian government and "oversight and approval of our military budget, the chain of command, the process of promotion for senior military leaders". Furthermore, not to distract US support and assistance towards its nuclear weapon program, clear all the banned Islamist organizations, ban all the madrassa related to Taliban mindset and adequate efforts to sop attacks on neighboring countries.

.Pakistan's On the other hand, Pakistan's army refused the view Army implications of the Government, and the army believed that several clauses of Kerry Lugar Berman Act is a threat to the country's security and sovereignty. Pakistan's army also used media as a tool to aware the masses of the country.. Kerry Lugar Berman act was a bill which includes certain provision to be met with Pakistan. The reason behind drafting Kerry Lugar bill was Hafiz Saeed. " The reason behind the provisions of Kerry Lugar Bill as the US believes that although Pakistan has banned all the Jihadi organizations for example Laskar-r-Tiaba and Jaish-e-Mohammad, the army still considers them strategic assets that can be used against India. The US through Kerry Lugar bill desires to pressurize the government of Pakistan, to take additional actions regarding such incidents. From the Kerry Lugar Berman Act it can realize that the element of trust deficit comes into the relationship between US and Pakistan. US believe that Pakistan army is supporting extremists and Taliban's and therefore this bill included control of army under civilian government. As a reaction Pakistan army claims that Kerry Lugar Berman act is a threat to Pakistan's sovereignty and security".

6.1.7 Drone attacks Mode of Threat:

Under US current President Obama administration, the intensity of drone attacks has been increased and he continued the policies of Former US president Bush. US officials consider drone strikes as a very successful tool to combat al-Qaeda and other terrorist groups. Leon Panetta (director of CIA) signified that the drone strikes will continue. Harold Koh (US State Department Legal Advisor) stated that drone attacks were legal because they have the right to self-defense. On 30 January, 2012 US president Barak Obama admitted that US conducting Drone strikes on Pakistan. He gave extensive explanation regarding Drone strikes on April, 2012 concluding that it was "legal, ethical and wise".

Date	No. of drone strikes under Bush Administration	No. of drone strikes under Obama Administration
18 June, 2004	52	267

Under Bush administration, there was a US drone attacks in Pakistan every 43 days but under Current president of US, Barak Obama there is a drone strike every four days.

Category	Number of
civilians killed	467-815
children killed	178

According to United Nations Charter US violate the UN charter which prohibits willful killing, article 2(4) of the UN charter prohibits "the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state" According to Provisions of these Conventions have accomplishes Geneva Convention of the status of Customary International law and the main goal 1949 and their of these provisions is to resolve the matters of humanitarian Additional Protocols I concerns began from armed conflict whether of international and II or non-international nature. Additional Protocol I was to deal with the issues raised by the changing trends of armed conflict. In January 2006, one of the US indiscriminate drone attack was taken place which launched 10 missiles in the Damdola village located in Bajaur tribal area. This attack was to counter a top Al-Qaeda operative, Aymanal-Zawahiri, who was attending a dinner in the celebration of eid-ul-Azha the outcome of this attack demolished three houses and the death toll was as high as 22. This attack violated Additional protocol I, article 51(5), 52(2), 57(2) (a) (I), 57(4). International US has also violates provisions of ICCPR which the convention on civil and US itself ratified. Article 6(1) state "every individual has the political rights inherent right to life and no one shall be arbitrarily deprived (ICCPR) of his right". Moreover, article 6 (2) declares that penalty of death can only be rendered by a competent court of law. Drone attacks Pakistan has frequently protested the drone attacks as violates the sovereignty they are a violation of its sovereignty and because civilian of Pakistan deaths have also resulted, including a large number women and children, which has further angered the Government of Pakistan and people. The drone attacks

continue, in spite of repeated requests made by former Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari via different channels. US continues US would not stop its drone, another drone attack drone attacks done by US on 30 April, 2012 in Dray nishtar area of Shawal tehsil of North Waziristan. Leon Panetta (US Defense Secretary) said that US continues to launch its drone strikes against militants in Pakistan even if the Government of Pakistan kept on opposing them. Drone attacks is another case of US coercive diplomacy despite of the requests made by Pakistan President Ali Asif Zardari and Pakistan Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani, US continues to violates the sovereignty of Pakistan through drone attacks. Pakistan has lost a large number of civilians which includes women and children in the ongoing drone attacks. According to US they could not stop drone attacks because they have the right to self-defense. Under the US President Barak Obama, the intensity of such attacks has been increased considerably as compare to US former President Bush. The masses of Pakistan continue to protest against US to stop Drone attacks and to stop killing our civilian. The US is not only violating the UN charter but also Geneva Convention and additional Protocol I & II. Furthermore US also violates the provisions of ICCPR which US itself has ratified.

6.1.8 Raymond Davis case

Threat “Pakistan’s ambassador in the US embassy was summoned and intimidated by the National Security Advisor of US that he will be kicked out if Davis is not handed over to the US. Threats of suspension of economic aid and future cooperation and assistance were given amid indications that the strategic alliance between the two countries was also at risk. In a press conference, which was held in February 15, 2001 President Barak Obama described Raymond Davis as being our Diplomat” (Daily mail). Date On 27 January 2011, Raymond Davis killed Zeeshan and Faheem which were civilians of Pakistan in the city of Lahore at a crowded place i.e., Mozang Chowk Mode of The Government of Pakistan was under intense and Threat extreme pressure from the US to release Raymond Davis instantly. Several News reports specify that the Pakistani Embassy in Washington cut off all the communications with the US Department of State over this case. Notes sent by the US to Pakistan's Foreign Office influencing them to grant diplomatic immunity to Raymond Davis. A severe threat was conveyed by the delegation of the US House Committee on Armed Services that the Pakistan-US defense cooperation could be under cloud if they argued persisted on the issue of diplomatic immunity for Davis. According to In a press conference that is held at Lahore, John Kerry US, Raymond Davis has pointed out the

issue of Raymond Davis and said, hold Diplomatic 34“Davis has nothing to do with local courts as diplomats immunity enjoy immunity...we cannot allow that one incident can break the strong relationship between the two countries.” Raymond On 16 march, after having closed-door negotiations, He Davis released was released and flown out of the country, In accordance of a principle of Islamic law Sharia a pledge of \$2.3 million has been given to the victim’s families, blood money allows murder charges to be vanished if blood money (diyyat) is paid to the victim's family (the required condition is if they agreed without any pressure), it is an arrangement which is legal and common. US had used Coercive diplomacy even in Raymond Davis case, despite of the fact that he killed two civilians of Pakistan; he was release because the government of Pakistan is under severe and intense pressure of US. US was delivering constant threat that if Raymond would not realized then US would cut off Pakistan’s economic and military aid. As US defended Raymond Davis and proclaimed that he has diplomatic immunity on the basis of his immunity he must be released. Two Pakistani officials declare that the Pakistani ambassador to the US Husain Haqqani, received threats from the Tom Donilon (US National Security Advisor) of being removed if action was not taken place on the Raymond Davis case. However, Haqqani denied the above allegation. According to the same report “ Tom Donilon also notified of US consulates closing down in Pakistan and the forthcoming visit by President Asif Ali Zardari to Washington being discarded and Obama’s planned visit to Pakistan cancelled. In another daylong meeting, which was held between Pakistan military Officers and senior US officers in Oman, the main goal of the meeting is to solve the Raymond Davis case, soon after that meeting CIA started direct negotiations with the ISI in order to release Raymond Davis. As above mentioned ongoing threats of US, finally Raymond Davis was released after paying Diyat to the families of the victims.

6.1.9 Death of Osama-bin-laden

Date Under the territory of Pakistan, US killed Osama bin laden on May 2, 2012. Description The former head of Al-Qaeda militant group, sama bin laden killed in his compound which was in place of Abbottabad which was conducted by US, without informing Pakistan and its army. This operation was ordered by US President Barak Obama, with the coalition of CIA and US Naval Special Warfare Department Group. After the killing US took the body of Osama bin laden for identification to Afghanistan and within 24 hours buried the body at sea. Death of Death of Obama Bin Laden is entirely a case of coercive Osama bin laden is a diplomacy as US forces

entered into the territory of Pakistan, case of Coercive without informing the Government of Pakistan, Pakistan's Army diplomacy and ISI. Pakistan and According the officials if US Current President Barak US communications Obama administration, they did not share any kind of information regarding the about the operation with Pakistan until it was ended. Michael operation Mullen called Ashaq Pervez Kiyani at 3am to inform about the operation. Allegations The locality and situation of Osama bin laden death of Pakistan after worsen many doubts about Pakistan's commitment to apparently death of OBL shared aims of defeating religious extremism, and brought calls to curtail US assistance to Pakistan. The52news of Osama bin laden leads to immediate questioning of Pakistan's responsibility and potential complicity in his refuge. John Brennan (President Obama's chief counterterrorism advisor), told reporters it was "inconceivable that Osama bin Laden did not have a support system" in Pakistan. Death of Osama bin laden who is the face of global terrorism and behind 9/11 attacks in short the largest threat and enemy of US, under the territory of Pakistan by the US forces even without informing the Government, military and intelligence of Pakistan is another case of Coercive Diplomacy of US. There was no communication regarding this operation between US and Pakistan officials. This operation put Pakistan under several allegations of mistrust and doubts. According to Abbottabad Commission report, it is confirmed that Osama had been killed in the US raid. Death of Osama bin Laden under the territory of Pakistan one again destroyed the image of Pakistan and after that raid.

6.1.10 NATO attack in Pakistan 2011

Date This incident was taken place on 26 November 2011 Description "The 822011 NATO attack in Pakistan occurred during the US led NATO forces engaged the Pakistani security forces at two Pakistani military checkpoints beside the Afghan -Pakistan border. The check-posts were located 200 meters within Pakistan from the border with Afghanistan in the field of Salala subdivision of the Mohmand tribal region Baizai in FATA, Pakistan. The two check- posts were themselves separated by a distance of one kilometer on the top of the mountain Salala." Violates the NATO attack in Pakistan considered as unprovoked and Sovereignty of Indiscriminate firing, irresponsible act and violates the sovereignty Pakistan of country. According to the military officials this attack was pre- planned. Pakistan has rejected all the lame excuses that was given by NATO and declared that no fired was opened from our side, infect the soldiers were resting and sleeping when NATO launched the assault at night. Political "After NATO attack,

Pakistan instantly closed all NATO implications supplies to Afghanistan, leaving the blockaded supply trucks vulnerable to attacks. NATO trucks used supply routes, in Khyber Agency (through the Khyber Pass at Torkham) and Balochistan (near Chaman), to supply US and global forces fighting in Afghanistan. In March 2012, A US military official affirmed that the US would have to use routes through India and the Northern Distribution Network (NDN) for supplies to Afghanistan if Pakistan rejected to revive its supply lines. Though, he agreed the high costs of these routes” (NATO attack). NATO attack on Salala military Check post portrays another case of US Coercive Diplomacy. The attacks have killed twenty-four Pakistani soldiers, which consisted of two officers one is or Mujahid Hussain and another is Captain Usman Ali. Thirteen other soldiers were injured in this attack. Again US violate the sovereignty of Pakistan by attacking under the territory of Pakistan. After this attack Pakistan has rejected all the lame excuses of US and put a ban on the NATO supplies to Afghanistan. In order to revive US-Pakistan relations and in order to repair bilateral relations, the Pakistani parliament agreed to reopen the NATO supply lines over to the government in April 2012. Later the parliament has postponed this decision as due to forthcoming general elections and demanded that US have to positively respond to the demands which were recovery of Shamsi airbase. While addressing a Senate committee, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Hina Rabbani Khar warned that a replicate attack would end Pakistan's support and assistance to the US in its war against terrorists and extremists. "Enough is enough; the government will not tolerate any incident of spilling even a single drop of any civilian or soldier's blood. The role of Pakistan in the War on Terror must not be overlooked." She further said that "the sacrifices rendered by Pakistan in the war on terror are more than any other country. But that does not mean we will compromise on our sovereignty." From the above statement given by Hina Rabbani Khar, it is clear that the US is using Coercive diplomacy with Pakistan, again and again US violates the sovereignty of Pakistan and Pakistan would not anymore tolerates these violations, Pakistan has played a vital role in global war on terror and US must appreciate its concerns with US, despite of asking for do more! Do more!. Pakistan gave a number of sacrifices after joining war on terror but it 18does not mean that we will compromise on our country's sovereignty.

6.1.11 US allegations towards ISI over Haqqani network

Description After the attacks on 13 September at NATO headquarters and US embassy in Kabul (Afghanistan), US started acquiring questions about Haqqani

network to Pakistan. At a NATO conference, Mike Mullen pressurized General Kiyani that Investigations should be done related to Haqqani network and on the other hand in a three hours exhaustive meeting, Hina Rabani khar was pressurized by Hillary Clinton. Mullen said it clearly that ISI is using Haqqani network for its proxy war. Secretary Clinton message was apparent that something had to be done against Haqqani network. Mode of threat Putting pressure on Pakistan, the US has asked ISI, to cut off all the affiliations with the Haqqani network of Taliban and asked for "strong and immediate action" against the group. Allegations Against In September 2011 the Barak Obama's ISI government had warned Pakistan that it has to do more that is to cut off ties with the Haqqani network in order to remove the leaders of Haqqani network. Moreover, adding that "the United States will act unilaterally if Pakistan does not comply." Several US senior officials claim that the ISI supports and directs the Haqqanis. Furthermore (US Secretary of State) said that they do not have any evidence of "Pakistani involvement in attacks on the US embassy in Kabul" After the death of Osama Bin Laden, Haqqani network emerges as a strong threat to US. US continue to impose several allegations regarding the ISI of Pakistan and believed that ISI has close linkages with Haqqani network and ISI supports Haqqani network. This is an additional case of US coercive diplomacy in which US believes, that Haqqani network in collaboration with ISI is behind Kabul attacks at US embassy and NATO headquarters. US demands ISI to cut off all of its communication with Haqqani network otherwise US threatens Pakistan that it would itself take action unilaterally.

6.2 Analysis of US Coercive diplomacy

The diplomacy between US and Pakistan is a genuine case of Coercive diplomacy. Before discussing why the United States successfully executed coercive diplomacy it is necessary to present a theoretical account of coercive diplomacy to distinguish it from deterrence. Alexander George in his famous book Force and Statecraft describes coercive diplomacy as "attempts to reverse actions that are already occurring or have been undertaken by an adversary". He sets it apart from deterrence "which attempts to dissuade an opponent from undertaking action that has yet been initiated". Coercive diplomacy "tries to initiate behavior by fear of consequences" on the other hand while deterrence "tries to inhibit behavior by fear of consequences". From this case it is obvious and clear that the US is trying to initiate a change in the behavior of Pakistan, Moreover US trying to convincing Pakistan to prevent its support to the Taliban and support the US against global war on terror, which is basically against Al-Qaeda and other terrorist groups. George describes

coercive diplomacy which clearly describes that there was a threat of force from US "essentially a diplomatic strategy backed by the threat of force." So there is clearly a case of coercive diplomacy over deterrence. After analyzing the following case studies of coercive diplomacy of US Joining of War on terror, Crackdown on religious groups, Given logistics-bases-intelligence to US, Operation rah-e-Rast, Operation Rah-e-Nijat, Kerry Lugar Berman Act, Ongoing Drone attacks, Raymond Davis incident, Death of Osama bin laden, NATO attack on Salala check post and US allegation towards ISI over Haqqani network. It is clear and obvious that Coercive diplomacy strongly exists between US and Pakistan and US over powers Pakistan every time. US used coercive diplomacy in the pre 9/11 period towards Pakistan to some extent but after the post 9/11 period, US is using Coercive diplomacy towards Pakistan to great extend. Even after 11 years of 9/11, Pakistan is subjected to several severe allegations Pakistan has lost its numerous civilians in the wave of terrorism. After joining war on terror Pakistan continues to face terrible terrorism, problems of sectarianism, extremism, poverty, inflation and so many other ills. The 9/11 incident in the US sent shock waves in the whole world from which Pakistan has still not recovered. Indeed, Pakistan's involvement in what former President George W. Bush called the "global war on terror" has formed overwhelmingly negative consequences and it is proved far more expensive than expected. It created tension within Pakistani society. Moreover, Former President Musharraf allowed his country's airspace to be used for launching attacks on Afghanistan. It made its road network available to US and NATO forces to transport supplies into its landlocked neighbor. The souring affairs with US when American commandos penetrated deep into Pakistan to kill Bin Laden was the culmination of both countries' mutual disappointment. Hence we can conclude that US coercive diplomacy is likely to continue as John Kerry said that Pakistan have to cooperate with us in order to eliminate terrorism otherwise we would take place an action. Otherwise US coercive diplomacy is likely to continue and possibly increase in coming decades, the reason behind strained relationship between US and Pakistan is the breach of Pakistan's sovereignty, allegations against military, ISI for supporting the Taliban, and conjectures that Pakistan's nukes could fall in the hands of terrorists. On the basis of the above case studies, this study concludes that US coercive diplomacy effects Pakistan peace and integrity. Gwadar is the combination of two Baloch words "Guad" and "Dur" which means "Doorway of Wind." A conflict was going ahead between Khan of Kalat and Sultan of Masqat before the parcel of Sub-mainland in light of the fact that the limits of Gwadar were not checked (Historical letters of Gwadar). Before

Pakistan came into being, Gwadar was given to Sultanate of Oman by its ruler Khan of Kalat as blessing to his little girl on her marriage with ruler of Muscat. Thusly the matter of Gwadar was settled (Jafar, 2013). Gwadar port is situated on Arabian Sea drift in Balochistan. It is an angling town 12267 west of Karachi at the mouth of bay of Oman. It is 672 km from the Iranian fringe (Shahid, 2009). The Southern piece of Gwadar port is T-formed segment of land around five miles in length and half to one mile wide anticipating from the fundamental drift in the north in the Arabian Sea and consummation in the south with six to seven hundred feet high reef called "Koh-Batail"(Historical letters of Gwadar). Because of its area and significance India additionally needed to buy this port however all Indian malice plans were fizzled. On 8 September 1958, administration of Pakistan acquired Gwadar once again from Government of Oman for \$3 million, and it formally turned out to be a piece of Pakistan (Jafar, 2013). At the time, Gwadar was a little and undersized angling town having the number of inhabitants in a couple of thousand. On 1 July 1977 Pakistan announced Gwadar as a major aspect of Balochistan. In 1993 Pakistan created Gwadar in a noteworthy port city and associated it with Pakistan's thruways and railroads organize. On March 2007 previous leader of Pakistan General Pervaz Mushraff had introduced the port (Shahid, 2009). Gwadar is the area base camp of Gwadar locale and considered the winter capital of Baluchistan in 2011. It alongside Faisalabad and Islamabad has been created under urban all- inclusive strategy. But Gwadar port Pakistan has just two business ports Karachi port and Bin Qasim port. After 1971 war requirement for another port was felt because of the obliteration of Karachi port. So this Gwadar port can possibly fill in as substitute port in future. Subsequently this port is imagined to end up plainly a provincial center point serving wage and active business movement to Middle East and Gulf nations. Gwadar port is likewise the immediate course to landlocked Central Asian States, Afghanistan and passage to Central China.¹⁶Gwadar port has capacity to produce 2.5 million employments and billions of dollars in benefits. In this manner Pakistan has proclaimed it an obligation free port and free financial zone. Gwadar has finished its initially period of development. A different allotment of one billion rupees was made in the financial plan of 2004 – 05 for development, for trade zone and for Gwadar modern city. This port has enormously profited the hundred percent advancement, assess occasions for a long time, possession prize, adaptable work controls, endowment on utilities, and opportunity of expenses on imported products and accessibility of employments (Shahid, 2009). By making Gwadar a focal point of provincial exchange and through various ventures like banks,

lodgings, storage facilities and production lines Pakistan will rise as an alluring spot for outcasts. Through this Gwadar port arrangement Pakistan will likewise get the consideration of outside contribute guides and utilize their huge speculations into its most immature areas for the development of streets and railroads which interface Pakistan with the locale. Gwadar won't just help in financial lift however will likewise change Pakistan's naval force into a power that can contend local naval forces. It is Gwadars' key geological area, which will help Pakistan Navy not to be get obstructed if there should arise an occurrence of any significant war in future. Like Karachi port Gwadar port is around 450 kilometers far from Indian Border (Shahid, 2009). Gwadar port has finished its initially period of development in 2002-2006. Presently second stage is under development. After the fruition of first stage Gwadar port started its freight dealing with and first ship conveying 60,000 tons wheat securely from this port. This port task is enhancing the expectations for everyday comforts of nearby and giving openings for work to the general population of Balochistan. It will likewise give huge incomes to national economy to address the difficulties looking by the nation. A bill was presented in National Assembly of Pakistan with respect to Gwadar port which is called as Gwadar port specialist act 2010 (Shahid, 2009). The development of Gwadar port is only one component of the Greater Gwadar design. System of streets which interface the Gwadar port with Karachi, Pasni, Ormara and Turbat are additionally part of this arrangement. Expressways connecting Karachi with Gwadar, Pesni to Gwadar, and Ormara to Gwadar and Turbat to Gwadar will be worked in stage two of this more noteworthy Gwadar design. This system of streets will at long last associate with China through Indus Highway (Anwar, 2011). Balochistan which is rich in normal assets yet poor in financial improvement is the biggest area of Pakistan. Gwadar is the primary real universal undertaking of Balochistan territory which picks up the consideration of world and in future will assume imperative part in the advancement of Balochistan. It is the principal super undertaking and center of remote direct speculation (FDI) in Balochistan (Anwar, 2011). Major and Regional forces interests in the Gwadar port Gwadar isn't critical for Pakistan yet additionally holds a vital position globally and uniquely for real powers like US, China, Iran and India. US and Saudi Arab appreciated solid two-sided and conciliatory relations all through the history. Be that as it may, these relations were influenced over a few issues like not long after Arab oil ban in 1973-74. Principle purpose for this ban is Arab-Israeli war of 1973 when Arab individuals from Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries

(OPEC) reported and bar against US support of Israeli military. This stoppage represented an incredible risk to US economy in this way US set up a Strategic Petroleum Reserve (SPR) on the grounds that it's financial flourishing and security for the most part relies upon persistent supply of oil. The September 11 assaults likewise put inquiries on their long-standing kinship. Losing control over Middle Eastern area would likewise mean losing its hold over Middle Eastern oil. Because of this US needs a substitute of Middle Eastern oil, and regular assets consequently Pakistan's Gwadar port was the best decision for US. US and local players are probably going to see China's contribution in Gwadar port venture with doubt (Shahid, 2009). China utilized Strings of Pearl system to improve its oil supply. Under this technique, China's vision is to secure its position at numbers of key points and ports and to create exceptional conciliatory and respective relations with nations of the locale (Ramachandran, 2005). As indicated by Pehrson "String of Pearl, portrays the declaration of

China's rising geopolitical impact through endeavors to expand access to ports and landing strips, create uncommon discretionary connections, and modernize military powers that stretch out from south China sea to Persian gulf. China's strategy and growing military and maritime powers in middle east and Africa provides the greatest risk and test for US oceanic power. Since this "pearl necklace" comprises of various port and maritime offices which will assist China's naval force to contend or counter US obstructions in this district. This system will likewise try to ensure the exchange courses amongst China and Middle East or absolutely Europe. Not only a port but as a Naval Base, Gwadar supports the String of Pearl vision.

As extraordinary powers dependably outline noteworthy plans to counter alternate states interests and impedances so China is likewise utilizing this procedure in Gwadar port. (Ramachandran, 2005). China and Gwadar are related as the expert of Gwadar port has been exchanged to china. China is additionally holding the position of new rising force. It gives specialized and budgetary help to Gwadar port which fortifies relations in this worldwide town. China likewise gets a reward of exchange course to Central Asian republics in light of its assistance. It additionally fills in as a vitality center to give an oil pipeline. Gwadar port is more recipient than Shanghai port because of less separation as Shanghai port is 16000 km and Gwadar is just 2500 km from Chinese modern ranges. Gwadar port additionally empowers Beijing to screen India and US sea collaboration. It likewise empowers China to counter US impedance and dominion of India. Because of this China helps in

development of Gwadar port (Anwar, 2011). Pakistan Iran relations have dependably been great yet now India is impacting Iran to influence Pakistan. Iran is likewise worried about its monetary advantages related with Indian Ocean. There is additionally a view that because of the Iran's new port of Chabahar strains could be made amongst Iran and Pakistan. Afghanistan is an asset center in this locale. Yet at the same time it has few fares i.e. steel, agribusiness, materials and so forth and the nation is as yet subordinate upon the outside guide and on Pakistan. Pakistan gives a protected exchange course through Gwadar. Why Gwadar port is vital for Afghanistan can be comprehended by the accompanying focuses:

- Gwadar gives a most brief course to Indian Ocean and is financially savvy.
- The neighborhood Pashtuns have religious and monetary associations with Pakistan.
- It gives Afghanistan a direct and

Importance of Gwadar port at local, regional and global level

Local ? Located in naturally rich in resources Balochistan

Importance ? Provide jobs for locals of this province ? First mega project and hub of foreign direct investment (FDI) in Balochistan. ? serve as substitute port in future ? Bring socio-economic revival and boost in Pakistan ? Network of roads will connect all cities of Pakistan

Regional ? Strong diplomatic and bilateral relations established

Importance with emerging super power China ? Direct route to landlocked Central Asian States, Afghanistan and gateway to Central China ?

12Regional hub serving income and outgoing commercial traffic to Middle East and Gulf countries ?

12Transform Pakistan's navy into a force that can compete with regional navies.

Global Importance ? Located between Middle East, South Asia and Central Asia ? China's naval base in Gwadar is great threat and challenge for US maritime power. ? Great challenge to Chahbhar port, Dubai port and Bandar Abbas port ? Enables China to monitor India and US maritime cooperation. ? Provide direct access to Central Asia, Russia, Europe, Japan and Korea.

Major Powers' interests in Gwadar Port Table no

4.2: Major Powers' interests in Gwadar port

US interests

Oil embargo of 1974 and 9/11 attacks raised questions Gwadar port on US-Arab long-standing relations and it had negative effect on US continuous supply of oil

Gwadar port is best choice to access Middle Eastern oil

After withdrawal from Afghanistan in 2014 US want to continue its presence in this region

Gwadar give direct access to Middle East which is important for US for his economy, prosperity and security

US showed great resistance because now to capture the resources of Central Asia is the main goal of US foreign policy

China's naval base in Gwadar is great threat and challenge for US maritime power.

US want to counter the emerging super power China China's

Gwadar port connect the Great Asian Dragon (China) interests in with oil rich Arabs. Gwadar port

Strengthen the diplomatic and bilateral relations between Pakistan and China

Compete or counter US interferences in this region

China is establishing its naval bases in Indian Ocean due to Pakistan's Gwadar port.

China's Indian Ocean policy directly linked with India's hegemonic designs to control this region.

Pakistan's Gwadar deep sea port is a pearl of China's Strings of Pearl Strategy

Gwadar is just 2,500 kilometer away from China

Gwadar is on the Central part of the China's Foreign Trade route in future India's

India considered Indian Ocean and its recourses interests in essential for their expansion Gwadar port

India considered Chinese step in Indian Ocean a threat to their strategic encirclement policy

India is the major critic who raised concerns over Gwadars's handover to China

India considered it a threat to India's maritime security

Chahbhar port is considered a strategic alliance between India and Iran

Gwadar port minimized the importance of Iran's Chahbhar port

Both India and US are not satisfied with China's presence in this region

Both countries can make an alliance to counter the China's interests in this region. In this chapter the researcher has discussed the policies of India, China and US regarding Indian Ocean and Gwadar port. A comparison would also be analyzed concerning the policies of India and China for Indian Ocean. Policies adopted by different countries regarding Gwadar port. China's regional position was changed amid the most recent decade in this manner. China is moving towards the improvement of its military quality and economy. Because of its developing financial power, China assumes a critical part not in local governmental issues but rather likewise in universal issues. It is China's definitive objective to end up noticeably the superpower by 2050. So for the achievement of this objective, China is improving its military, financial and exchange. A significant piece of China's advancement is relying upon oil. Because of China's oil expended as assessed 7.8 million barrels for each day, making it the second-biggest oil client on the planet after the United States of America (US). Oil and crude materials which are required for China's development exchange through the Sea Lines of Communications (SLOCs) that go through the Indian Ocean along these lines, it has incredible vital significance for China (Mohan, 2010). India and China are the two nations who don't share any sea limits inside the Indian Ocean. To secure its ponder, intrigue and vitality security in the Indian Ocean district (IOR), Chinese are setting up maritime bases in South China Sea, the Malacca Straits, and Straits of Hormuz through drew in collaboration with Pakistan, Myanmar, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and different states. Then again, India is additionally attempting to secure its oceanic advantages by setting up guard participation with a few nations of the IOR. The two nations are the developing super powers of this district yet both are locked in against each other in Indian Ocean which will bring new pressures up in the regional legislative issues. Sole super energy of world US is likewise supporting the India against China (Mohan, 2010). India's 96 Indian Ocean Policy, China's Indian Ocean Policy, India considered Indian Ocean and its recourses essential for their expansion so India sees every entrance in Indian Ocean with suspicion. On the other hand, China is establishing its naval bases in Indian Ocean due to Pakistan's Gwadar port. India considered Chinese step in Indian Ocean a threat to their strategic encirclement policy. China's Indian Ocean policy is directly linked with India's hegemonic designs to control this region. According to Indian External Affairs Minister Mr. S.M. Krishna, "The Government of India has come to realize that China has been showing more than the normal interest in the Indian Ocean affairs. So we are closely monitoring the Chinese intentions" (Jafar, 2013). According to General Zhao Nanqi "We can no longer accept the Indian Ocean as only

an ocean of the Indians”(Mohanan, 2010). India is the major critic who raised concerns China has political, economic and strategic over Gwadar's handover to China because interests in Indian Ocean. China's interests India considered it a threat to India's in Indian Ocean were started when China felt maritime security. Indian military analysts US presence in Indian Ocean as a threat for are of the opinion that the port's only their safety. For this purpose China used objective for China is to encircle India in the Strings of Pearls strategy. So China took sea through the famously known concept Pakistan's Gwadar deep sea port a pearl of of String of Pearls. their Strings of Pearl Strategy. By this Gwadar port China also keeps a Pakistan is also in process to construct a check on US Gwadar Naval Base (GNB) with Chinese movement in the Persian Gulf, Indian action assistance in Gwadar port which will play in the Arabian Sea and Indo-US maritime significant role in Pakistan's future security cooperation in the Indian Ocean Region programme. (IOR). Gwadar port also minimized the importance Gwadar is considered the main barrier in of Iran's Chahbhar port in this region. Indian, Iran and Russia's strategic Chahbhar port is considered a strategic partnership of establishing multi-model alliance between India and Iran. transport which link Mumbai with St. Petersburg and providing Europe and the former Soviet republics of Central Asia Access to Asia (Mohanan, 2010). Gwadar port handover to China is also criticizes in the same way as Pakistan's motorway project was criticized in 1998. Like motorway Gwadar also provide direct access to Central Asian Republics (CARs) but on the other hand powers of world considers the Central Asia as their sphere of influence therefore they did not accept any effort which threatens their interests in this region. As Gwadar port gives direct access to CARs by other countries so US showed great resistance because now to capture the resources of Central Asia is the main goal of US foreign policy (Jafar, 2013). This Gwadar port would also connect the Great Asian Dragon (China) with oil rich Arabs. In future Gwadar port will attract over twenty countries including Srilanka, Bangladesh, Oman, UAE, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Iraq and Iran. Therefore it is expected that these countries may open their storehouses in Gwadar for import and export purposes. For the fulfillment of China's environmental protection, growth and economic needs China will built an oil Pipeline from Gwadar to China. Because Gwadar is just 2,500 kilometer away from China. It is logically visualized that Gwadar Port will be on Central part of the China's Foreign Trade route in future. Therefore big powers of world like China, US and India are trying to enhance their power and influence by capturing more and more waters. Because Alfred Mahan said “the country who rules the sea rules the world”. Pakistan's Gwadar

port is becoming very much important now days for the world because this port has power and potential to turn into world's biggest trading port. In current scenario the country that possesses more ports will control most of the world's trade. This Gwadar port will prove economy changer not only for Pakistan but for all worlds. Therefore it became a playground for all great powers where they are trying to secure their international interests. Pakistan officially handed over this port to China from Singapore authority. As china is emerging super power so US and India showed suspicions on this handover because both US and India want to curtail the China's power. Both US and India considered China a threat in regional and international perspective. China's controls on Gwadar port will result in lessen the Indian interest in this region. So both India and US are following the strategy of alliances to defeat the Chinese control and interest in this region. In modern times ports are one of the important sources to enhance a states power and influence in international politics. To survive in this world power is the main requisite therefore states trying to capture more and more ports because these ports played important role in world trade so the country that possesses more ports will be more active in shaping or influencing the international politics. Gwadar port has become a play ground where all big powers are playing New Great Game of their interests. The main goal of every state is to secure its own interests like both US and India want to defeat the China's emerging power because they feel China as great threat for their position not in regional perspective but in international politics too. Pakistan provides China oil supply port due to which China can compete with super power US. In 2010 US President Barack Obama visited the four Asian countries of India, Indonesia, South Korea and Japan to attend the G20 summit which was held in Seoul. This visit of Asia was called a part of "Job Strategy" to increase the US exports and its global economy. During this visit Obama did not visited the China but "China Shadow" was prominent in his speeches. The main objective of this was revival of "returning to Asia" policy because US is worried about China's rise in Asia because US foreign policy focus on Middle East and ignored Asia "the most dynamic region of world". This is the main threat face by the US that China is establishing's stronger relations with Asian countries will dominate the Asian region and send away US from this region. China's peaceful rise will prove a open challenge for world's sole super power despite his economic, military and technological advancement. China understands that power can be increased by economy and sea ports therefore China's aim is to secure more and more ports in friendly countries like Pakistan and Burma to import oil from Middle East and Africa. China would face energy crisis if its oil

supply routes were block or disrupted. Due to Indian navy's occupation at the mouth of Strait of Malacca and US naval base presences in Indian Ocean China feels a sense of insecurity therefore China is building strategic relationship along sea lanes from the Middle East through Gwadar port and the Indian Ocean to the South China Sea to protect China's energy interests. Major hindrances in Gwadars's Success Unfortunately Gwadar port of Pakistan which has capability to serve as jewel not only in Pakistan's economy but for whole region has not lived up to its potential. There are several reasons due to which Gwadar port did not achieved its desire status. The various hurdles can be listed as: ? Security ? Lack of infrastructure ? Unreliable transport route ? Emergence of new cold war If these hurdles are analyzed it can be seen that Balochistan is facing serious security issues as there are lot of attacks, kidnappings and threats due to which the foreigners and engineers avoid to work here. This security issue is due to lack of communication with the officials. The main purpose of rebels to create these disturbances is to turn Baloch into minority. There is a new cold war emerging between US, China and India over the benefits of Gwadar port. And they are playing great game in this port to access the power and control on this region. Implications of CPEC on Pakistan Pakistan has seen a new glimmer of hope with the advent of China Pakistan Economic Corridor. After years of having no foreign investors in Pakistan due to power failures and terrorism, CPEC is of utmost importance for Pakistan. This plan was announced by the president of China himself in his visit to Islamabad in April 2015. The magnitude of this project is quite large for Pakistan due to the investment being done of \$46 billion dollars by China. This project is further of more significance due to the fact that it outsells all the U.S aid provided to Pakistan in the period of 2002 till 2015. The project basically aims at making a direct route between the port Gwadar and China's city Kashgar located in China's Xinyang Uyghur autonomous region. China is known to be the rising super power of the world. It has good relations with Pakistan but that is not the only reason of the interest of China in Pakistan. Rather China is developing its terms globally. Other than CPEC being a good investment, there are some geopolitical interests as well. The reason for good relations between China and Pakistan are their mutual differences with India. Both the countries have disputed territories with India. Having a common enemy has future strengthened the relationship between China and Pakistan in all spheres including economy and military and diplomatic relations? When analysing the history of Pakistan, we have seen that whenever U.S has betrayed us or placed sanctions on us, China has been a saviour. It has provided us with weapons and aid in the time of need. China has also helped in development of

Pakistan. It has in past as well helped in developing Karakorum highway and now the Gwadar port both projects are helping in economic development of Pakistan. The term used for China and Pakistan's relationship is "All-weather friendship". However, China is developing itself on a global level with their various projects and technological advancement. On the contrary Pakistan is still a developing country. Pakistan is still facing internal instability and lacks economic development. Pakistan still has issues with India, Kashmir being the main one, but China is globalizing themselves rather than being fixated on land issue with India. The people of Pakistan have somewhat accepted China in their country through vigorous advertising, and media campaigns but China has not yet been so welcoming for Pakistan. China starting CPEC project in Pakistan and making themselves known to the world through their various ventures is an important dimension. This shows that China doesn't only want extend its influence on Pakistan rather it has focus on broader picture. China is not only interested in Pakistan just because there have been cordial relations between the states rather, China has other motives too. Besides increasing trade and providing economic support, CPEC will also help in connecting with the west which will help in creating influence in the west. Due to increased interest of U.S.A, in India, China is supporting its long term instable ally, Pakistan, through economic support. This is to create a balance as China is emerging as a second most economically developed country. Therefore, the project CPEC has been launched in Pakistan. The support of U.S to India is bound to boost the economy of India, to neutralize this, China since shares a common enemy with Pakistan, wants to demonetize the effect of U.S and India. Pakistan is not only getting economic aid from China rather it also has brought eight submarines from China. Since Pakistan is going through energy crisis, CPEC will provide with \$37 billion for energy projects. This will help in starting energy projects and also to cover energy crisis in Pakistan. Furthermore, terrorism is now a global phenomenon, terrorism is evident in China as well as Pakistan. The extremist Muslim group In China is said to have bases in Pakistan. Therefore, China is also of the view that major economic investment may helping in curbing terrorism and providing stability in Pakistan. Another reason for the project CPEC is the fact that China has to trade through routes where U.S has its naval forces present. Mainly, Indian Ocean and South China Sea. China has developed good relations with energy rich states in Central Asia. This increases their dependency on the trade routes where U.S military is present. It is expected that a blockade may be placed on China through these routes by U.S.A so the development of Gwadar port is advantageous for China as it will be exclusively for the trade belonging to China. These trade routes will be

used for energy transfer as well which will further be provided through pipelines. The Karakorum highway is also planned to be promoted. In addition to this China has also offered to pay for the Iran-Pakistan natural gas pipeline. This is also why Pakistan stayed out of the Saudi led coalition in Yemen despite having close military relations in Riyadh. Since this is a globalizing world and the sole super power is U.S.A, China has global ambitions which are not limited to Pakistan, rather Pakistan is just a pawn for China to expand their influence worldwide. Pakistan is a country which is facing terrorism, political instability and lack of economic development, China is not interested in Pakistan just because of their close ties, instead China wants to expand themselves to other areas of the world in particular to Europe. China's geopolitical ambitions are not limited to Pakistan, the matter is only important because of Pakistan's strategic location and trade routes. However, China still views Pakistan as an important ally. The friendship between the two states and their economic ventures are a part of 'flagship project' under 'One belt, One road '. China wants to develop more friendships in Southeast Asia to create its influence in Europe as well. It is also believed that in future the Gwadar port will also be used for China's military force. It is evident that China itself has many incentives for building CPEC in Pakistan. The implications and recommendations evaluates that the investment Chinese plan is about 46 million dollars into the plan CPEC clearly has implications for USA policy makers .As it is seen in the Chinese long term strategic objectives. That is being said, this kind of plan on this scale uncertainly faces significant hurdles, lowest of Pakistan which are own weakening the environment of security and complex domestic political dynamics. Moreover, the evolving regional landscapes promote USA strategists with goals, also as challenges to make it clear that our interest remain protected, of all the displayed investments they face significant hurdles, including weak Pakistani environment. Protests have been sparked against of CPEC project by local and provincial leaders in Baluchistan and Peshawar. Baluchistan region has been site of patriot and rebel rebellions which Pakistan asserts are bolstered by Indian insight administrations, as gave confirmation to the United Nations on claimed Indian covert agent Kulbhushan Yadav got on Pakistan soil of Baluchistan territory on 3 March 2016 Exiled Baloch patriot Hyrbyair Marri in 2016 cautioned the wellbeing of Chinese nationals dealing with the venture couldn't be ensured, however viciousness in the district topped in 2013 preceding pointedly declining. The Pakistani government announced that more than 800 Baloch activists surrendered to security powers in 2016 after the dispatch of a compromise program including more than 200 at a solitary service in November 2016 Balakh Sher Badini, a senior aggressor

authority of the Baluchistan Liberation Army, surrendered to Pakistani powers in January 2017. Another 21 aggressors from another activist gathering, the Baluchistan Republican Army, surrendered presently alongside 3 aggressor administrators. A couple of days after the fact, high positioning activist authority Lal Din Bugti surrendered to Pakistani security powers, alongside 6 different leaders. Dissident inhumanity had diminished in the territory such a great extent by 2017, which such gatherings had turned out to be considerably less of a danger contrasted with Islamist aggressors. CPEC has impressively irritated both USA and India which fears dangerous results of the task over the long pull. USA weakened and minimized its ties with Pakistan more because of the China Pakistan Economic Corridor venture offering China significance in the location than the US murder of Osama Bin Laden. The CPEC in certainty murders Asia Pivot of USA. Thus Americans are irate with Pakistan, calling for cutting military guide bundle. An ascent in viciousness might be the best approach to frighten Beijing away the aspiring arrangement. Furthermore, Islamabad has more than once blamed India and different enemies for CPEC of inciting assaults on account of simply that objective. In 2013, Pakistan fixed operational contract of Gwadar port to China in the core of American strain to search for adoptions. This port is an essential for China's fantasy of OBOR, philanthropic the Maritime Silk Road with a linking to the Arabian Marine. The harbor at the mouth of the Persian Gulf provides China the short-lived course to the lubricant rich Middle East, Africa, and the bulk of the Western half of the globe. Gwadar will have the evaluated capacity to deal through to 19 million lots of untouched petroleum every time, which will be sent to China in the wake of being refined at the port. As the Chinese companies hiring only their people not giving jobs to Pakistani or other people will create only political conflict. As the political chaos is not the only main reason of CPEC project facing issues in its development the ongoing problems in Baluchistan, where the protesters have attacked the Chinese workers in past and also not to forget the Pakistan's consistent battle with Islamic extremists which create challenges to environment of security. Pakistan has appointed more than twelve thousand soldiers force to give protection to Chinese workers. If Chinese are attacked by protestors than diplomatic relations can face issues. In the past no project has started on this level, and also its China's sincerity that they are working hard for Pakistan to make it global influence. This clearly presents trials for the United States problems that are top met by remaining to engage with area partners (India) and allies, while endorsing commitments to boost the USA's. Improving USA relationship with Iran, mainly now that a nuclear unit has been reached, it might be an important part in

endorsing regional strength. As building ties across South Asia subcontinent, it is clearly said by China to sign up and agreement to build a pipeline of natural gas from Iran to Pakistan. And Washington would be clever to engage with Tehran for work in same way expanding energy trading between Iran, Pakistan and India. Creating energy linkages between South and Central Asia can be important step as reducing central reliance on Russia and cines markets by providing other markets for regions exports of energy. Also diplomatic relation would be improved. As the writer gives his opinion he says that the USA policy makers should it accept it as a problems, regarding sharing Us China interests, Chinese interest go far beyond Pakistan's constancy and economic growth , tis does not means that the diplomats and defense officials cannot explore areas of "trilateral" collaboration including in the field of counter terrorism. The United States of America should not see complicit in unjust sidelining and oppression of China and Pakistan's respective Uyghur and Baloch minorities. China has deliberate finance in Pakistan by many features including toughen the useful regional partner and building advantageous trading routes that cross hostile waters. Most important as Pakistan is being utilize in China's growing power ambition for USA policy makers this can be useful way to create balance to Asia pacific and building new partnership also finding ways to build regional relations which supports USA interests.

6.3 Implications for Pakistan Navy

India has effectively fashioned another association with Washington and Indina needs US hand in hiking its positon in the asian region.

Concerning the U.S, they are progressively intrigued by systems administration with a nation that may rise as a settling shaft in a quickly developing Asian key condition. Be that as it may, Washington has figured out how to unite its participation on security with New Delhi, particularly in the Indian Ocean region. Indeed, even in the adjusted territorial situation of post 9-11, an organization with India keeps on fitting admirably into the US bigger geopolitical plans. India is a measure to check the kind o extent China goes to fulfill its geo-political designs. Henceforth, while restricting another US-drove war in the Persian Gulf and supporting the multilateral course, New Delhi has not been as vocal as some US partners in Europe in regards to Washington's anticipates Iraq. Maybe New Delhi has so far attempted to stay away from straightforwardly estranging Washington, in order to maintain its rising key organization with the sole superpower on the planet. All the more as a rule, the

connection between New Delhi and Washington is by all accounts driven by a developing joining of perspectives on worldwide legislative issues that burdens the significance of complete national quality and adjust of energy . Pakistan is a creating nation with restricted assets yet is being constrained to spend a considerable measure of her profit on keeping up a reasonable resistance, inferable from the plans and goals of its vast and forceful neighbor. The strained situation is basically a direct result of India's bellicose state of mind towards her little neighbors. Pakistan only strategic port is Karachi while the other one (Bin Qasim) is also situated at some distance – both are utilizing nearly a similar foundation. As a part of CPEC, the port of Gwadar has gotten the Chinese investment. For Pakistan's national safety, the ports have to be safe and adequate efforts should be done for the minimum presence in the Indian Ocean region especially in reply to the rising sea power of India. Although Pakistan is a land based power but can't remain distant with the ongoing energy politics of the Indian oceans. As a sovereign state – it must put more emphasize on its ocean strategy.

Part of Pakistan Navy ,Armed forces win wars, however during a time in which the auditorium of contention is worldwide inferable from the shrinkage of separation caused by the progression of innovation naval forces and flying corps are more precise markers of national power". 49 Over the previous decade or somewhere in the vicinity, Pakistan Navy (PN) has been a torchbearer in a few global coalitions leading maintained operations in the western Indian Ocean district to guarantee arrange adrift. Since 2004, it has busted a few criminal cartels working in the region and has been in the vanguard of hostile to theft operations off Somalia's harried drift. Its key universal and national activities have included AMANarrangement of biennial multinational activities aligned with International Maritime Conference (IMC), setting up of a Coastal Command and additionally a Joint Maritime Information and CoordinationCenter (JMICC). PN has quickly reacted to a few nearby and regional level normal catastrophes. Pakistan Navy has other than included various surface soldiers, rocket corvettes, privately built F-22 P frigates and power multipliers50 incorporating UAVs in its stock. It has test let go different rockets comprehensive of a land assault variant. To strengthen key discouragement, PN has established the framework of a Naval Strategic Force Command (NSFC) and is developing key capacity adrift. A spearheading exertion is in progress to uncover the first of its kind Maritime Doctrine of Pakistan. The recently characterized Vision of Pakistan Navy in the mean time peruses: "An advanced intense power kept an eye on by roused experts 4that contributes successfully to discouragement and national

security over the full clash range and equipped for transmitting impact area wide with worldwide standpoint" In CTF 150 To dissuade and counter the risk of fear based oppression and other unlawful exercises in the space, Pakistan Navy joined the US drove multi-national Combined Task Force-150 of every 2004. The Task Force named Coalition Maritime Campaign Plan (CMCP) was set up as the sea segment of Operation 'Enduring Freedom'. The mission of TF 150 is to work with local naval forces and lead theater level Maritime Security Operations. Its range of obligation (AOR) covers Gulf of Aden, the Gulf of Oman, the Arabian Sea, and the Red Sea. Pakistan Navy has since been the most profitable regional member" (Pakistan Navy). PN has effectively finished six charge visits. In CTF 151 In January 2009, with the ghost of theft expecting threatening extents, the 10Coalition Maritime Forces Headquarters in Bahrain collected a devoted Task Force (CTF 151) involving boats and flying machine from more than 20 nations. It planned to help global drive against the threat of piracy. Pakistan Navy joined this effort. It has since had five order visits with many PN ships taking part in these operations. Pakistan Navy assumed a focal part in the 2010 terrific discharge and save of MV SUEZ from Somaliprivateers requesting a payment of USD 2.1 million . PN has moreover started number of measures to pre-empt any demonstration of piracy around Pakistan's EEZ. In such manner, a counter Piracy Patrol is set up".

6.4 Implications on Maritime Doctrine

The Pakistan Navy Doctrine is a protected one and has propelled a ton since 1947. At first, it was seen as an instrument for setting up correspondence between the eastern and Western wings. To also ponder how this standard has created starting at as of late, there is have to research the verifiable background of Pakistan maritime power. Up till 1965, it had acquired several destroyers (Example:- PNS Badr) and a cruiser. In this way, it was all around masterminded the 1965 war. Regardless, after noteworthy triumphs in this war, the pace of modernization supported off and the maritime power was neglected by the then president, Ayub Khan. Yahya Khan tried to give the Navy more noteworthy commitment, in any case, it was an occurrence of shy of what was normal, and the maritime power was resoundingly beaten in the 1971 war, paying little mind to having had the high ground in 1965. After this failure, the Navy was also disregarded, as its part was by and by reduced to affirmation of conveyance courses. The maritime power bit by bit made a consistently expanding number of acquisitions anyway it was never a bona fide doing combating power. Regardless, in the 1980's, with extended guide from the US, the Navy furthermore broadened its task force and part, and began encircling a dynamic defensive zone

around Karachi. This was regardless, passed on to an end before the complete of the Cold War and US subsidizing. In 2010, in any case, Admiral Noman Bashir remarked, "The Pakistan maritime power (PN) is adjusted on the unstable edge of a change." "It was here that it was hailed that the piece of the Pakistan maritime power extended from essentially guaranteeing the shores of Pakistan, to an obliged offense with the purpose of destroying key oceanic workplaces of India. That is the educating of the Pakistan Navy, and its point. The acquirement of the PNS Alamgir and the PNS Saif in prior years showed that the Navy was totally serious about these focuses. The rule that has been outlined out above has expected an imperative part in the acquisitions that the Navy has made starting late. Recalling that one of the huge focuses has reliably been refusal of district, the submarine stock has been broadened. Starting at now, Pakistan has two Agosta 70's, three Agosta 90B's and three MG110 little subs. The purpose of these submarines is to give Pakistan an edge and to protect essential area, if there ought to emerge an event of war against India. As drafted as of late, another point is maritime perception and a confined offense against the Indian Navy. Looked in that particular condition, the P-3C Orion is a perfect fit for the Pakistan Navy. Its upgrades outfit it with more noticeable determination, speed, stealth and constancy. Pakistan has moreover been wanting to upgrade the Navy, to the extent Surface Warfare, and remarkable undertakings have been made to get more frigates. To this end, the PNS Zulfiqar, PNS Shamseer and PNS Saif have been exceptionally useful. Maritime Security Imperatives Pakistan has 1001 km long coastline which make it 74th largest out of 142 littoral states in world. It is blessed with 290 145,000 sq. km of Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) which can be considered as fifth province of Pakistan. Lack of strategic maritime vision and land-lock thinking of leadership, policy makers, research analysts, business community and general public is main cause of underdeveloped and ignored maritime sector of Pakistan. Word "Maritime" is missing in the document of Vision 2025. There is not a single party which has incorporated maritime policy in its manifesto. First maritime policy document has been written and presented in 2002, but unfortunately it has not been approved and implemented till date. Private sector should be encouraged to participate in maritime economy by buying new ships for fishing and transportation. Marine pollution, piracy, illegal poaching and fishing in its EEZ is major problem faced Pakistan. Pakistan Navy has very limited role to play that is regarding security but they are involved in Karachi port trust, Karachi shipyard port authority, Gwadar Development Authority and development of infrastructure in coastal areas of Sind and Balochistan. Maritime Security Agency and Coastal Guards are playing effective role but they lack most

sophisticated weapon system and infrastructure to control terrorism. Pakistan needs to develop more economic zones like other states of Indian Ocean. Provision of drinking water and electricity should be primary objective of government for development of coastal areas which can work as engine of growth in Pakistan. Ports in Pakistan should adopt modern concept of multimodal destinations in order to meet future requirements. Pakistan Navy has raised TF-88 for providing security to China Pakistan Economic Corridor and its related infrastructure and personals. Coordination among all stake holders is highly required in projected scenario. There is dire need to establish Maritime Authority or to change the name of Ministry of Ports and Shipping to Ministry of Maritime Affairs.

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION AND REFLECTIONS

7.1 CONCLUSION

Vital US objective is to maintain the economic and military pre-prominence in the world. Its essential foreign policy objectives are to safeguarding continued US hegemony in contemporary geopolitics, using strategy, cooperation, organizations and remote guide to guarantee bolster for its interests and the universal framework as a rule. US want to ensure the security of US interests and resources while preventing "rebel states" from debilitating its interests. Reducing or wiping out the exercises of rebel groups or people and any remote help they may get, especially al-Qaida. It want to safeguard the proceeded with accessibility of, and access to, assets and markets. US Indian Ocean objectives are to safeguarding that US targets are not imperiled by states, for example, China and Iran. It wants to prevent new or set up radical gatherings from hurting the interests of the US or unified Indian Ocean littoral states. It want to ensure the security of sea chokepoints and Sea lines of correspondence (SLOCs). Particular US Foreign Policy Objectives for Key Actors in the Indian Ocean Region are as follows: US is working with China as proper to keep up regional and worldwide strength (however not to the detriment of US interests or vital predominance). It is encouraging Beijing's proceeding with responsibility regarding the worldwide framework which has created China's financial ascent. It is engaging in certainty building measures with the Chinese military, yet additionally acting to contain Chinese military expansionism (real or saw). US want deepening key ties with India and supporting it as a stabilizer to China while encouraging it as regional power. It is encouraging India's "Look East" policy to expand Indian clout in East Asia. US policy towards Afghanistan is to support its endeavors to make the change to a steady, popularity based economically effective state. If fundamental, keeping Afghanistan as "isolated" as conceivable to keep unsteadiness from spreading to neighboring states. US is following the policy of preventing the advancement of an

Iranian atomic ability and containing the spread of its impact. US is encouraging Indonesia as a rampart against Chinese extension in South-East Asia while supporting Indonesia's developing part as a regional pioneer and utilizing it as a conceivable methods for securing impact in South-East Asia and the Muslim world. It want to securing the ocean lines of correspondence through the Indonesian archipelago, especially in help of imperative US partners, for example, Japan, Taiwan and South Korea. US is following policy of maintaining Australia as a key territorial accomplice and partner while working with it to deliver dangers to the global framework. It want to ensure that Australian arrangements are thoughtful to US interests, especially as to China. US policy towards Pakistan is to support mainstream, majority rule governments to guarantee a steady, more prosperous Pakistan with a master US standpoint. US is using coercive diplomacy towards Pakistan as it wants to dismantle extremist bases in it. US want to disrupt, destroy and vanquish al-Qaida. US is increasing the Pakistani Government's capacity to address the issues of its nationals, in this way diminishing the interest of extremists. It want to prevent radicals from accessing Pakistan's atomic ammunitions stockpile while ensuring that radicals can't undermine US endeavors in Afghanistan (and the other way around). The key goals of the United States in the Indian Ocean region mirror a vital national target that is supported by a more extensive outside approach viewpoint. That standpoint is, thus, impacted by various center territorial and nation particular targets, by Washington's view of what may undermine those destinations and how it will try to reduce or dispense with those dangers. As the area, in addition to other things, of a significant part of the world's energy supplies, key exchange courses, the nascent Sino-US and Sino-Indian competitions, a pugnacious Iran focused on an atomic program of dubious reason, Islamist radicals, and various fizzled and coming up short expresses, the Indian Ocean region will, in the coming decade, order the consideration of US policymakers and strategists in a way that will be coordinated by couple of different districts. Now, in any case, exactly what capacities will be apportioned to the district stays vague. The overall US go for the Indian Ocean area is for key pre-prominence, as opposed to strength. The United States points – as Hilary Clinton has noted – to be pushed out of East Asia by no one; that slant will apply similarly to the Indian Ocean area, regardless of the possibility that strategy ways to deal with the district are as yet being worked through and drive levels and spending plans are at present unverifiable. The US may leave Afghanistan, for example, however it won't leave the district since it is excessively essential, making it impossible to the United States' national advantages (and neither do the greater part of states in the area need it to take

off). Then again, making a solitary Indian Ocean arrangement would be gigantically troublesome, especially in perspective of the a wide range of organizations and bureaux that are in charge of different parts of strategy 6in the district. There is a sure level of inactivity to be overcome if an Indian Oceanstrategy in that capacity is to be made. A widely inclusive Indian Ocean arrangement along these lines appears to 6be some way off yet. Other key Indian Ocean targets are to keep up the global request in a way which best suits the US, to internationalize the security of the universal request, and to guarantee the stream of vitality supplies over the area's ocean lines of correspondence and through its chokepoints. There are contrasting schools of thought with regards to pondering the significance to the vital targets of the United States of the Indian Ocean district in the years to 2020. One battles that the district will turn out to be more critical to the US due to its proceeding with reliance 6n oil imports from the Middle East and the related need to keep up key pre-prominence despite expanding Chinese action in the area and endeavors by Iran to extend its impact. In case of a contention with China, the Indian Ocean would unquestionably expect extraordinary centrality, especially as far as supply lines. Another says that the Indian Ocean district will really turn out to be less essential to the United States after the 2014 Afghanistan drawdown, significantly more so if relations with Pakistan are permitted to debilitate. It might thenend up noticeably simpler for different states to challenge the pre- prominence of the US in the Indian Ocean, especially concerning its maritime power; unless, obviously, US sway or security is straightforwardly undermined. As far as what remote association it has, the US will endeavor to move its concentration from the Middle East and the Afghanistan-Pakistan theater to South-East Asia. Anaccentuation will stay on India, which will have proceeding with significance to the US, regardless of the possibility that it isn't totally certain exactly how close India wishes the relationship to be. A third speculation offers an intriguing union of the over two schools of thought. That will be that, while the area will keep on attracting the consideration of policymakers in Washington, the genuine assets apportioned to it won't increment and may even be diminished. In spite of an expanding center around the Indian Ocean district later on, the development of new, significant resources into the region does not appear to be likely. Present day innovation helps such considering, as it is never again important to have vast quantities of bases in the district, in any event with a specific end goal to screen it. More prominent utilize will be made of UAVs to lead oceanic observation, for example, while a sensible utilization of automaton strikes may be

made in help of US partners. The above contemplations aside, it creates the impression that there will be a more prominent utilization of multilateral courses of action by the US, which will see Washington looking to work carefully with those accomplices on specific issues. This likewise mirrors the (present) mindfulness that it isn't possible – or maybe even attractive – for the US to be associated with all issues. So also, the US could be faced sooner rather than later by issues of supportability. Is it moving toward the time when it is not any more ready to manage its key advantages? The situating and nature of US resources and capacities in the Indo-Pacific district is probably going to change and Australia might be in a position to profit by that. The US may yet be compelled to downsize its presence. US remote approach, especially as it identifies with the Indian Ocean region and, particularly India, Pakistan and China, can be compressed in the accompanying order of center destinations. Two essential focuses should now be noted. To begin with, in the US, as in numerous different nations, residential and remote contemplations can be very interlinked and outside approach declarations can now and again be outlined essentially in light of a local group of onlookers. Second, the United States' present monetary conditions will have repercussions for outside and barrier arrangement for quite a while to come. At last, notwithstanding the expanding significance of the Indian Ocean region, no single district wide arrangement exists up 'til now. It is a situation which isn't bound to the United States. As the US Defense Department's 2010 Quadrennial Defense Review Report noticed, 'An evaluation that incorporates US national interests, destinations, and stance suggestions would give a valuable manual for future resistance planning. A move of American remote strategy in the course of the most recent couple of years is unmistakably obvious under President Barack Obama. The walk of Idealism to defeat Realism as the predominant worldview or viewpoint characterizing contemporary U.S. outside approach is gradually arriving at an end. In political talk, it is regularly asserted that the glasnost and perestroika approaches founded by Gorbachev were instrumental in starting the finish of the Cold War. All the more particularly, Reagan's Brandenburg discourse in 1987 imprints the immediate move from an outside approach of angry brinkmanship even under the least favorable conditions, and guarded armistice, best case scenario, to the begin of the absolutist advancement of the talk of "flexibility." It was the start of the widely inclusive thought of liberal majority rules system, all the more particularly Romanticism in remote strategy. Throughout the following two decades, remote arrangement of real Western forces had two diverse directional methodologies, neither

of which can be characterized plainly under Liberalism or Realism. For instance, the quick outcome of the Cold War and the vast majority of the nineties was set apart with hopefulness of amazing magnitude energized by the confidence in the certainty of the Western esteem framework and liberal vote based administration as a definitive route to the future, multilateralism, and the developing idea of helpful intercession. The advantages of globalization were for the general public's viewing pleasure, and the state-based power structures were apparently lessening and on their approach to haziness. The main decade of this century smashed the shallow feeling of good faith with the 9/11 assaults, a standout amongst the most venturesome assaults ever. Multilateralism, as a multilateral coalition or agreement development with UN order, was bit by bit disposed of and customary UN wariness and unilateralism came back to American political idea, as was found in the Iraq war. Multilateralism blurred despite the fact that this time there were significant fractures inside the Western coalition not at all like the quick post-Cold War days. The dim sides of globalization, the ascent of non-state on-screen characters and specialists, campaign gatherings, and the since quite a while ago stifled under a developed amnesia however never completely overlooked hypothesis of the conflict of human advancement progressively began to overwhelm the worldwide story. The confidence in the predominance of the Western esteem framework, free enterprise and liberal majority rule government, and its certainty to get by as a definitive way was shaken, however not disposed of. It was still observed as the legitimate path; not as something unavoidable, but rather something that ought to be battled for, a casualty of the conflict of human advancement. The talk still all things considered continued as before, and the advancement of majority rules system was still observed as a definitive wonderful answer for every single worldwide issue. In any case, the points of confinement of the arrangements were seen consistently, and the obscure and greatly flexibility thought of the worldwide "war on fear" was commandeered by various performers over the globe to advance their own plans. Tremors were felt from 2008 because of some sudden and radical changes over the world. The worldwide monetary emergency, which brought about the huge, uncommon and continuous challenges the world over, the disappointment of the "worldwide war on dread," lastly the Arab Spring developments constrained the west to take a sharp, long look in a mirror. The resulting activities by Western forces show an alternate course and ideological stage. There were less assertions of significant wars with gigantic troop activations, an expansion in "irreverent and pragmatist" ramble strikes and the spread of shadow wars and secret operations, for example, "driving from behind" in Libya. The non-contribution in

Syria up until this point, evading showdown with Russia at any cost, even despite residential and universal incitement, and the pronounced strategy of "Asia Pivot," while empowering Japan, India, Australia and ASEAN countries to "fleeting trend" and "adjust" a rising China, focuses to an alternate level of development. While our general surroundings is ending up more Hobbesian ordinary with the ascent of various performing artists joining the shred, the remote strategy of real powers is reclining on its pragmatist roots. With the coming of professional Islamist parties in both post-upset Tunisia, and Egypt and in addition post-mediation Libya, the Obama organization appeared to understand that expectation of a blossoming Middle Eastern vote based system must be surrendered, and a strategy of cautious efficient association with the new administrations ought to be the objective. The new approach will be founded on objectivity, and not the fare of qualities. Regulation of al Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Yemen, without society and country building, is the second center of a similar approach. The Kissingerian pragmatist in Obama comprehended that nothing spells peace like Russian conveyed SAMs in Syria. U.S. endeavors in connecting with India in Afghanistan, empowering Burma, and pushing Japan, India, Vietnam, Australia, New Zealand and Philippines to temporary fad and standardize relations amongst Japan and South Korea underlines a cautious "seaward adjusting" part. It represents an exemplary come back to Realist propensities, as China confronts a "security problem" in the South and East China Sea. Sentimentalism in workmanship and writing is a development that underscores the unreasonable, enthusiastic, and liberal. It is an unconstrained development that rejects request, adjust, and objectivity. Maybe we can discover these viewpoints in U.S. activities. Unreasonableness is shown in dealings with post-Soviet Russia, treating it more like a vanquished enemy that is uniquely not quite the same as post-Second World War treatment of Japan or Germany. There was a passionate response in Afghanistan in which immense quantities of troops were prepared, and the U.S. initiated battling a blocks and mortar war against a shadowy non-state on-screen character in an uneven fighting. There was additionally the liberal advancement of popular government in Iraq and Libya without understanding the ground substances in either circumstance. The dismissal of request in Egypt offered approach to turmoil, and the dismissal of a feeling of adjust was clear in the exceptionally far from being obviously true NATO extension which weakened the organization together and made ready for Russia to be more revanchist. Obama's win may be viewed as an order and vindication of the continuous hands-off mentality. Albeit, remote approach improvements are regularly startling, and one may contend

that a considerable measure additionally relies upon the real performing artists, for example, Iran and Russia, those in the liquid, unpredictable Middle East, and those in the Asian erupt zones. The romanticized idea about the world, vote based system and country building is gradually biting the dust. The condition of outside undertakings is as yet transforming and liquid, and like any examination there is dependably an extent of mistake with the likelihood of sudden changes. Nonetheless, one can contend that a sweeping thought which was a piece of both liberal and neo-traditionalist talk, named here as Romanticism, is apparently while in transit to be disposed of totally. Just with the advantage of insight into the past will we have the capacity to unmistakably break down the bearings of the transcendent military power on the planet, however one thing is without a doubt, wide adventurism or troop activation and showdown is not any more a reasonable decision for Washington. Despite the fact that the powers of geopolitics are extremely solid to release America back to the neutralist days of the post-First World War, it is similar strengths of geopolitics, the obscure and unfamiliar performers, that prompted the demise of the Romantics, and return of Realists in the United States. "The US at first settled itself in the Middle-east in 1948 through an ocean station in Bahrain. They by then acquired the British ocean base there, which is still under their use to keep up a sensible closeness in the Gulf itself. The US Navy at first showed up in the Indian Ocean in November 1963 with respect to the CENTO Naval Exercise MIDLINK '63 held off Karachi, in which the US transporter Essex taken an excitement near to several submarines and different vessels. It by then tirelessly began joining its position utilizing liberal ports-of-get the region and wound up being all around settled in with the difference in its Bahrain and Diego Garcia bases. USrelationship in Afghanistan and Iraq and all the all the more beginning late its atomic impasse with Iran has obliged it to meander up its drive levels in the territory. The US fifth Fleet, alongside keeping up upwards of ten gatherings for different operations in the region, moreover screens territorial sea advancement through different groupings: Combined Task Force 158 This drive watches the Northern piece of the Persian Gulf till Kuwait. Combined Task Force 152 This drive watches the lower some piece of the Persian Gulf till the Strait of Hormuz. Combined Task Force 150 This drive handles operations identified with sea security endorsement in help of the Coalition Maritime Campaign Plan (CMCP) in the regions outside and bordering the Persian Gulf. Combined Task Force 151 Diego Garcia, one of the Chagos islands having a zone of around 11 sq miles, was leased to the United States in 1966. From the US viewpoint, the zone of their base at Diego Garcia is impeccable as dismissing its remoteness. The US in like way created a

trades site on the island in 1971 and continued to build up an essential ocean port and air base, which moreover plays host to US key planes. Scarcely two months after the British introduction concerning its withdrawal from East of Suez, a Soviet oceanic vessel unintentionally showed up in the Indian Ocean in March 1968, going by different ports earlier coming back to the Pacific three months at some point later. From the spring of 1969 onwards, the Soviet Navy kept up an endless surface vessel closeness in the Indian Ocean, its shot of headway being curtailed to some degree as it just enjoyed base working environments in Ethiopia, Aden and in Somalia till 1977, when it was constrained out by the Somalian President under weight from the US and Saudi Arabia. After its surrender of the bigger piece of its East of Suez having a place, Britain has been depended to the bit of a bit player. Its nearness right now is on a very basic level as for the coalition, NATO or EU affiliations. Most by a long shot of the regional ocean powers like Pakistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, South Africa and Oman are mainly in view of the check of their own buoy and Oceanic interests. It is India alone which, inferable from its size, individuals and key region, had always harbored destinations of changing into a typical Oceanic heavyweight. From each point, US is before long trying to reduce its impression in the Indian Ocean by propping up India as a go between typical power. The interloper of China is utilized by both to legitimize the Indian Navy's effort. Two segments of the Indian Navy's progress designs especially seem to have irritated goes for the region allowed to move around voluntarily: The first is the ballistic rocket submarine program. As far back as the demonstrated quiet atomic trial of 1974, India has been attempting to satisfy a submarine-based key limit. It had as necessities be rented a Soviet Charlie I class atomic submarine INS CHAKRA in 1988 for a long time however another CHAKRA II early this year on a 10 year rent. Russian focused and preparing help has been instrumental in the difference in India's first indigenous atomic submarine INS ARIHANT which is apparently going to be dispatched at some point or another one year from now, with four others of the class to take after. Such submarines as a class are proposed for key incapacitation as a moment strike restraint. For India's situation it will in all probability do with the distinction of being a man from a particular club of countries that keep up an entire atomic get-together of three. The Financial conditions have compelled the US to strip itself of a part of the security obligations that it has passed on since the finish of the Second World War. All together not to lose its effect in the Indian Ocean Region, it has attempted to make associations and coalitions with regional vote based frameworks and states whose objectives are agreed with its own. An essential

potential accessory in the Indian Ocean Region is India which, with its strong and up 'til now making maritime power, could alter China's intrusions into the domain. The US has two critical security stresses in the Indian Ocean and a couple of likewise minor ones. The two critical concerns are the consistent conflicts and strains in the littoral states of the Middle East and China's growing proximity in the ocean. Washington's standard accomplices, for instance, Saudi Arabia are concerned over Iran's nuclear and rocket programs. Of course, while China legitimizes its creating proximity in the Indian Ocean as an imperative attempt to secure its Ocean lines of correspondence, this elucidation does not induce either the US or diverse states, conspicuously India, that periphery the ocean. The US should keep an eye out for the creating contention among China and India in the Indian Ocean Region. Afresh, the US will wish to hold a military closeness in the Indian Ocean to guard its own particular trade and imperativeness SLOCs and, no less altogether, to ensure its energy and to oblige future security essentials in the region. Each of these bases can consider between five hundred and five thousand resources. The territories of these bases frees the US from the need to look for after more determined goals in the region as the potential power inherent in them is sufficient to settle it. There are no enduring armed force establishments in Jordan yet the US conducts many getting ready practices with Jordanian qualities. "Despite these bases, there have been reports of secret bases in Saudi Arabia from where meanders are used to strike "Dread based oppressor social occasions" in Yemen. The US bases in the Persian Gulf are home, everything considered, to immense amounts of warrior and other plane and oceanic pontoons, including workplaces to consider ebb and flow plane conveying warships. As the guide underneath delineates, Iran, which is up 'til now observed as a mighty regional power, nuclear comprehension or not, is enveloped by these bases. Given the possibility of the bases and their incentive in securing the district, it is questionable if they will be closed anytime sooner rather than later, paying little mind to the likelihood that the US military spending continues decreasing. Another armed force establishment is masterminded in the unassuming African region of Djibouti. Camp Lemonnier is the greatest US armed force establishment in Africa, and has around four thousand personnel. The volume of development attracts privateer attacks, generally from Somali privateers, therefore a significant limit of this base lies in countering those strikes in conjunction with French and Japanese work drive who are moreover arranged in Djibouti. All the more starting late, China has begun building its own base there. The US base in Djibouti is ideally organized to keep an eye out for the war in Yemen, which lies somewhat more than thirty kilometers over the strait,

and besides on a fretful Somalia toward the south. The covered up, yet sketchy, armed force establishment at Diego Garcia in the British Indian Ocean Territory, which shapes some bit of the Chagos Archipelago, engages the US to keep a close-by watch on the genuine trade and imperativeness SLOCs from and to China, and moreover ocean action between the base and the east bank of Africa. This base, named Camp Justice, was moreover used to keep watch over South Asia in the midst of the Cold War. There could in like manner be, despite the developed armed force establishments noted above, plans for future bases. One of the more incredulous of these could be masterminded on the Cocos Islands. There have been reports that the islands could be used by the US to dispatch meanders. In November 2011, Defense Minister Stephen Smith articulated, after President Obama had gone to Australia to report with Prime Minister Julia Gillard that up to 2,500 US Marines would be handed over Darwin, that the islands could be used as a joint Australia-US flight based military base. If an armed force establishment is based on these islands, it could supplement the one on Diego Garcia, the lease of which runs out in the not so distant future. While the base on Diego Garcia could track, say, Chinese conveying that goes among it and Sri Lanka on its way to the Strait of Malacca in travel toward the South China/ West Philippine Sea, a similar build organized as for the Cocos Islands could keep watch over transportation that evades the Strait of Malacca to use the more profound channel Sunda Strait or the Lombok Strait. By working up a base on the Cocos Islands, the US would be correspondingly excessively set, making it impossible to end Chinese essentialness and trade SLOCs that endeavor to experience the Sunda or Lombok Straits. India has influenced it to clear that it doesn't wish to be drawn into any collaboration or coalition that way to contain China however thinks about China's extending development in the Indian Ocean, an area that India sees as its zone of effect. Exactly when a Chinese submarine docked in Sri Lanka in September 2014 Indian agents forewarned this could announce closer ties between Sri Lanka and China. Since around seventy for each penny of Sri Lanka's transshipment action starts from India, New Delhi felt it could lose financially and besides stand up to lost effect in its patio. A comparable submarine again docked in Colombo in November 2014, under scoring India's stresses. China had its aides significantly embedded into Sri Lanka, which uses around 33% of its earnings to profit a US\$8 billion Chinese commitment. It realizes that China is bit by bit however plainly extending its impression in the Indian Ocean. Couple these progressions with the way that China purportedly instructed India that it would begin watches in the Indian Ocean using its nuclear powered submarines and the clarifications behind India's swing to the US

twist up recognizably obvious. Clearly, it searches for advancement trades from the US, incorporating military development related to drifts, watched out for plane and plane conveying warships. It is likely that their joining preferences will see India and the US end up being close assistants, paying little heed to the likelihood that not completely accomplices, in the Indian Ocean. This, unmistakably, suits Washington's system of passing a part of the commitment with respect to keeping up security in the Indian Ocean Region to commonplace associates. For India, the affiliation will engage it to get to development that it would find hard to get elsewhere and enable it to moreover develop its own security methods, including setting up an amassing division that could convey weapons structures and stages that utilization these advances, in this way diminishing its dependence upon various countries. Subsequently the Indian Ocean has advanced toward getting to be, starting here of view no not as much as, an extension of the South China Sea. It has acclimated to its changed conditions by making relationship of moving degrees with nearby accomplices to ensure that its preferences in the Indian Ocean, for this circumstance, are not unfavorably impacted. Following Kargil war, US Naval War College, Newport Rhode Island, led a recreated war diversion in view of "restricted war" hypothesis. The two sides in the war amusement spoke to India and Pakistan, the South Asian atomic neighbors. Four unique syndicates achieved a similar decision there remains an unmistakable probability of "constrained war" between the two growing into an atomic trade . Pakistan has enough legitimization for its TNWs as effectively called attention to in your section. We don't have to persuade the world on this any longer. The regularly developing hole in key dependability and growing association amongst India and the US in any case just loans it advance assurance. The Indo - US atomic arrangement has permitted New Delhi an eager shopping of "uranium" from abroad. Work on a "mystery" atomic office at Karnataka, believed to be Asia's biggest once finished additionally proceeds with expediently and India as of late effectively test let go "Ashwin", a supersonic interceptor rocket (some portion of ballistic missile defense shield). That reality aside, maybe the most impressive disintegration of atomic security comes not ashore but rather at Sea-Arihant SSBN now completely operational and outfitted with 3500Km K-4 SLBM, debilitates dependability in IOR as at no other time. Since 1987 Indian Navy has sharpened its aptitudes working rented Russian atomic submarines SSGN/SSN (Chakra and Nepra, another Akula expected in the not so distant future).

7.1.4 Impact on Maritime Security of Pakistan

In October, 1947 while responding to the question of an American journalist about the future Pakistan, Quaid e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah said, "Pakistan is the pivot of

the world, placed in a location around which the future politics of the world will revolve” and today it is proved to be true. CPEC and Gwadar has transformed Pakistan from a terrorism ridden to a progressing country. Robert Kaplan in his article said, “Gwadar has the potential; to be the hub of new Silk Road, Gwadar has the potential to be the Rotterdam of Arabian Sea, Gwadar will link Pakistan with Samarkand, Astana, Ashkbad, Bishkek, Tashkent, Bukhara, Kashgar and Orminch. Gwadar qualifies to be the great place name of the future.” This Potential of Pakistan is to be realized and Gwadar is concentrated for actions to pave way for connectivity among different corridor. Geo-Strategy Importance of Gwadar. Gwadar is the next big thing for Pakistan. It is the vital part of china’s Maritime Silk road projects. It has a potential to generate billions of dollars of revenue also it creates around 40k new job opportunities and provide a sea trade route to Central Asian States. It is Pakistan’s future trading hub and special economic zones are planned. It provides China a shorter access to Middle East, Africa and Central Asia. This strengthens the case for additional ports along Pakistan’s coast.

a) Gwadar – A New Lifeline for Regional Maritime Connectivity China mainly procures oil from Iran, Russia and Saudi Arabia which is transported through the strait of Hormuz, strait of Malacca and reaches eastern side of china after passing through many disputed and geopolitically sensitive territories after covering a distance of 11,000 kms. Distance between Gwadar and Strait of Hormuz is about 600 kms. This can potentially help China to shift all of its oil import requirements that the bypass the Strait of Malacca. Gwadar ideally located near the Strait of Hormuz where 17 mn barrels oil passes each day. ? CPEC will be helpful in reduction in route by at least 5,000 km as well as boost ? Development of western China Region

b) Gwadar – Natural Transshipment Hub of the Region Considering the additional distance ships have to travel to reach Dubai the Indian Ocean. Hence, Gwadar has the prospects to be developed into a full-fledge port in future. Shifting of ship traffic from Dubai to Gwadar could make it among the top 5 transshipment hubs globally. UAE handles over 21mn TEUs (20 foot equivalent units) each year; this signifies the opportunity that lies ahead for Gwadar. Being a tax free port coupled with no port congestion, after full development. Gwadar has leverage over other regional ports china exports ~36 mn TEUs of containerized cargoes annually which open up avenues for tax collection.

c) Gwadar – A Port for Land-Locked Regions & Beyond Apart from serving the needs of China and Pakistan, Gwadar would play an integral part in connecting the region and assisting trade.

d) Prioritizing Maritime Security of CPEC Maritime security should be prioritized to ensure Pakistan can counter any attempt to sabotage CPEC. Pakistan’s 1,005 km

coastline requires round the clock protection for which Pakistan Navy should be required with modern vessels. Pakistan and Chinese Navy are jointly working to secure CPEC from threats. More funds should be allocated for this purpose given sensitive nature of installments. 7.2 LIMITATIONS This study focuses primarily on secondary data as access to sensitive official documents of US navy operating in the Indian Ocean was not possible for the researcher. It was impossible to have access to official naval documents of Pakistan as well. However, interview has been conducted from officials of Pakistan navy who have been involved in writing draft of maritime doctrine of Pakistan for this study. Future research can be done on implementation of Maritime Doctrine of Pakistan keeping in view US policies in Indian Ocean in current and projected scenario.

7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

a. Maritime Security

1. The presence of foreign navies in Indian Ocean is expected to increase in the time to come, therefore, Pakistan needs to develop its Naval Capacity.
2. Pakistan is more concerned about its interest in North Arabian Sea but its efforts to be part of Combined Task Force-150, Counter Piracy Task Force-151 and such overall engagements of Indian Ocean Navies should proceed .
3. CPEC will be power settler in the region in should be open and accessible to all states as it is not advisable to have counterproductive competition. Government of Pakistan should allocate more budget to Naval administration for enhancing the capability of security especially at Gwadar port.
4. Development of full fledge Naval Base at Gwadar is the need of the hour, so that security can be provided to Gwadar Port and shipping plying on Sea Lines of communications in the area.
5. Pakistan should have strong naval muscles. 6
- . Pakistan should expedite Maritime economy as coastal economy could substantiate land based economy.
7. Karachi and Bin Qasim Port should be modernized.

8. Legislation needs to be done for the protection of the rights of the people of Baluchistan.

9. Establishment of ship construction and repair yards through public and private partnership must be encourage in order to boost Maritime activities and to make Gwadar a Maritime hub of the region.

10. A capacity building through education and training of local people and establishment of university of Maritime Education is the need of the hour.

11. Continuous and integrated efforts of all government, private ,military and civil institutions are required to change the landlocked thinking into making Pakistan a true Maritime State.

12. In order to exploit under water resources and minerals of Arabian Sea ,it should be considered as fifth province of Pakistan.

13. Researchers, scientists, politicians, academia and media should play significant role in developing Maritime outlook of Pakistan and to change the landlocked thinking of this nation.

b. Foreign Policy of Pakistan

1. Pakistan should take bold step to counter terrorism.

2. Ownership of CPEC is essential for development of infrastructure within Pakistan and especially in Gwadar.

3. Government and security agencies should take bold steps to fight subversive activities i.e. controlling spin from friends and foes.

4. Pakistan should try to form new alliances in order to have new equilibrium in the world politics.

5. Pakistan should reach Africa and develop good ties with African states as it has limited orientations to Africa.

6. Pakistan should develop good ties with Europe and Russia as it is time to leave unilateral foreign policy and move towards multilateral foreign policy in world politics.

7. In order to become real estate in global politics and to attract multinational companies Pakistan should develop its coastal areas.

8. Pakistan should develop good ties with western neighbors, Afghanistan and Iran, in order to achieve benefits from Chahbahar and Gwadar for regional connectivity.