

INDO-ISRAEL-US NEXUS:

Security Implications for Pakistan

Muhammad Zulfiqar Khan Niazi*

Abstract

South Asia has been subjected to tensions between states ever since it gained independence from British colonial rule in 1947. Asymmetric relations between India and its neighbours are indeed influenced by the feelings of insecurity simmering amongst the smaller countries. Most of these states are locked in disputes with India that is, three times bigger than all of them put together. Being one of the world's ancient civilizations with second most populated country, India has long been questing for attaining matching role in international affairs and powerful enough to be reckoned with in the region. As its strategists review India's national aspirations they blame Pakistan for acting as a roadblock. Once a very loyal client of USSR, India reoriented its foreign policy to accommodate the changing realities of international milieu and find a position in USA -Israeli camp. The most striking commonality is their perception of Islam as their common enemy and their common target is illegal acquisition of wealth and resources of the Muslim World. US-India defence engagement has reached to new limits usually reserved for close US allies and friends, ranging from joint exercises in Alaska to sales of military hardware and sharing nuclear reactors, fuel and expertise. Present dispositions of the American naval armada in and around Gulf, Indian's control on Indian Ocean and Israeli's capability of controlling entrance and exit from and into the Red Sea are pointing towards future of Muslim World of South-Central and West Asia under siege. The emerging scenario depicts most of these variables seem to be realizing their future shape. Socio-culturally USA, India and Israel are discovering a natural affinity, their economic cooperation is proving mutually beneficial, a partnership in the defense and security spheres is developing, and politico-strategically this triad is moving towards each other. Therefore, it is important for policy makers of Pakistan to come out of illusion and acknowledge that the triad is developing a clear common security threat for Muslim World in general and Pakistan in particular. Joint military exercises and other Joint ventures in defense and security have become vital to the Indo-Israeli –US strategic alliance and if continually pursued, would provide further strategic depth for their relationship.

**Mr. Muhammad Zulfiqar Khan Niazi is serving as a Director Finance and Planning in Qurtuba University. He has done his MS in Economic Policy from McGill University Canada and presently a PhD Research Scholar in SZABIST Islamabad.*

INDO-ISRAEL-US NEXUS: Security Implications for Pakistan

South Asia has been subjected to tensions between states ever since it gained independence from British colonial rule in 1947. Asymmetric relations between India and its neighbours are indeed influenced by the feelings of insecurity simmering amongst the smaller countries. Most of these states are locked in disputes with India that is, three times bigger than all of them put together. Indian ambitions to consolidate its hegemony over the entire South Asia have catalyzed confrontation and conflict with Pakistan. The two countries have fought three wars. In the 1971 war Pakistan was dismembered which led to the emergence of Bangladesh as a separate state. In such a fragile security environment, Pakistan was compelled to avail all possible means available to safeguard its independence and ensure its security. Resultantly, it funneled a major chunk of its GDP for its defense, maintaining a large and un-proportionate army, stockpiling huge inventory of arms and ammunition, joining alliances to ensure protection of its sovereignty and to enhance its defense potential. Once the nefarious Indian designs took a step further in 1974 and prompted a nuclear explosion, Pakistan had no other option but to follow suit so as to address its new emerging security threat.

The two countries, which were known to have covertly acquired nuclear weapons technology, went overtly nuclear when India carried out nuclear tests in May 1998. Pakistan has to experience a new tone of Indian leadership just after their detonation threatening its sovereignty and survival. Indian Interior Minister L.K. Advani bluntly warned Pakistan to vacate part of Kashmir under its control otherwise he “*vowed to end the Pakistan menace*” and declared that “a qualitative new stage of India-Pakistan relations has been brought about by the country becoming a nuclear weapon

state."¹ M.L. Khurana, another Indian minister, declared that India is now “*fully prepared to fight a fourth war with Pakistan.*”² These and other similar statements suggesting reunification of the subcontinent under Indian Empire supplemented by the relatively lukewarm international response to the Indian tests compelled Pakistan to go for matching response. In fact Pakistan was left with no option but to conduct nuclear blasts of its own on 28th and 30th May 1998, as potent defensive step. Hence, with the nuclear tests of India and Pakistan, the security paradigm of South Asia underwent a structural change and threat of any new conflict between them carried the risk of turning nuclear since then.

A flourishing Indo-Israeli-US relationship has the potential to make a significant impact on global politics by altering the balance of power, not only in South Asia and the Middle East, but all over the Muslim World, which has been in a state of flux since the end of the cold war or more specifically since 9/11. The emerging nexus and this un-holly alliance call for the seriousness of Muslim World in general and Pakistan in particular so as to understand the gravity of the situation and emerging security constraints to their sovereignty and survival. The emerging Delhi-Jerusalem-Washington strategic alliance poses major challenges to the security of Pakistan and the Middle East and has full potential to become one of the crucial factors to the maintenance of regional and global security, if left unchecked. Therefore, it is imperative for us to conduct an in-depth study of the emerging triad, forces of their convergence, extent and scope of their converging interests and their impact on the security of Pakistan.

Aspiring Imperialism- Triangulation

Being one of the world’s ancient civilizations with second most populated country, India has long been questing for attaining matching role in international affairs and powerful enough to be reckoned with in the region.

To pursue this mindset, Indian policymakers have been seeking a place on the world stage³ from being merely a credible regional player. They have been aspiring for their new assertive role in the Central Asian Republics, Afghanistan, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia. As its strategists review India's national aspirations they blame Pakistan for acting as a road-block. They believed that if the country had not been partitioned, India today would have stretched from the Gulf of Oman to Burma, controlling Indian Ocean all along, well positioned to gain access to Central Asia and encompassing a population that was second to none. Resultantly, Indian leadership had never reconciled to the very existence of Pakistan. It has, therefore, imposed three wars, hundreds of skirmishes, uncountable artillery duels and covertly supported separatist movements and fifth columnists in Pakistan, whenever and wherever possible.

To realize its designs India had always been taking cover of the anti Pakistan power blocks and stock piling its already un-proportionate armada to sky limits so as to maintain a credible threat constantly looming over the security of Pakistan. Once a very loyal client of USSR, India reoriented its foreign policy to accommodate the changing realities of international milieu and find a position in US -Israeli camp. India and Israel are very strange so called democracies of their own kinds. Both have been unleashing most oppressive attitudes towards their minorities, and seas of hostility around their neighbours and both have occupied areas beyond their borders, denouncing number of UNO resolutions ordering vacation of occupied areas since 1948.⁴ Both are pursuing their hegemonic policies aimed on reviving their Biblical time Empires. Both have commonality of interest in weakening the Muslim world. Despite, India's overt anti- Israel stance to counter Pakistan's influence in the Arab World, India covertly succeeded to manage deep rooted relations with Israel. This hidden face is visible once one reads comments from Harsh Pant article that,

*“Israel also never hesitated to come to India’s defense, publicly and vigorously, in most of India’s major conflicts. While India got tacit help and support from Israel during its 1962 war with China and 1965 war with Pakistan, India’s relations with Israel went downhill in the early seventies with the worsening of the Arab-Israeli dispute after the 1967 war”.*⁵

Commonality of Perceptions:

The determined pursuance of their imperialistic approach had resulted into a heavily militarized security environment in their neighborhood. Both nations have forced wars upon their militarily weak neighbors, in connivance with Super Powers like USA and USSR, or both, in nearly every decade of their existence. Both the countries have plans to carve out territories and resources of the Muslim neighbours and to redraw their boundaries at the pattern of their biblical time. Both the countries including USA possess a shame record of disrespecting international law and norms, violation of human rights towards their minorities, excessive and barbaric use of force against struggler of independence in occupied areas.⁶ The most striking commonality is their perception of Islam as their common enemy and their common target is illegal acquisition of wealth and resources of Muslim World. The USA also aspired to join them as having commonality of objective at least in the last one being its national interest.⁷ During the Cold War, the United States pursued many foreign policy goals, but its one overriding national purpose was to contain and defeat communism. If there is no Cold War, the rationale for major programs and initiatives disappears.⁸ As the Cold War wound down in the late 1980s, Gorbachev's adviser Georgiy Arbatov once commented: *“We are doing something really terrible to you—we are depriving you of an enemy.”* Psychologists generally agree that individuals and groups define their identity by differentiating themselves from and placing themselves in opposition to others.⁹

Convergence of Interests

Several strategic imperatives account for India's opening with Israel. India wanted a reliable source of sophisticated weapons in the wake of the meltdown of Soviet Union; USA and Israel were the obvious choices. American conscious response in 90s provided an intended opportunity to Israel to initiate close ties with India. Israel was also interested in a profitable relationship with India not only for a huge market for Israel's defense industry but also a way of containing Pakistan that was avowedly committed to helping the Middle Eastern states against Tel Aviv. Over time, India has also been able to hone its military intelligence agencies with the help of Israel's surveillance technology, including airborne warning and control system. The intense and diverse nature of overt contacts between India and Israel since 1992 was based on covert relations since 1952 when India accepted Israel as a sovereign state. Their mutual concerns and commonality of interests, despite prolonged absence of overt political relations have not prohibited both the countries from seeking security cooperation between the two. The apparent threats confronting both seem dissimilar; but the strategic orientation of their ambitions points towards common goals like:

- They underscore a search for qualitative weapons, modernization, cooperation in naval patrol and anti-terrorism, arms buildup, exports and technological independence as a source of national power and as the tools for furthering national interests.
- Both are pursuing their hegemonic agendas of Greater Israel and *Akhand Bharat*, since their inception as modern state.
- The main rivals or obstacles, impeding realization of their ambitions, are Muslim states and Islamic civilization.

- Notwithstanding Pakistan's present status of non-NATO ally or US partner of war against terrorism and apparently favorable intentions of the current US administration, India and Israel are termed as strategic partners and recipients of US economic, military aid, including access to nuclear and conventional technologies and research.
- Pakistan's hostile relationship with India impinges on both short- and long-term American interests as America has hopes for wider strategic cooperation and stronger economic ties with India.¹⁰
- During the last three years, not only has Israel become the second largest exporter of defense hardware to India, New Delhi has also secured extensive Israeli cooperation in non-defense sectors—such as agriculture as Tel Aviv is a world leader in drip irrigation.¹¹
- Bilateral relations between India and Israel have strengthened significantly. Experiencing a convergence of interests on a range of issues, both nations are focusing on military, identifying Islam as a common foe. Islamic terrorism is also American's center of geopolitical attention, ever since the dissipation of communism international, that is, serving as a complimenting cause for deepening of Indo-Israeli-US ties—the commonality of interest between the trio. US is facilitating India in terms of hi-tech trade and transactions with Indian, covering cutting-edge technology pertaining to civilian nuclear energy, space, missile defense, and hi-tech commerce.¹² In a relatively short span of thirteen years of formal diplomatic relations, India and Israel have established a vibrant partnership, strengthening their defense and security apparatus. The two states are also making concerted attempts to diversify this relationship. The emergence of India and Israel, as

industrialized and technologically-advanced states, makes their cooperation on a range of fields meaningful and mutually beneficial.

- India has become Israel's second-largest trading partner in Asia in non-military goods and services reaching trade to \$1.27 billion in 2002 from just \$202 million in 1992.¹³
- During his visit to India, Ariel Sharon was accompanied by a large delegation of about 30 influential businessmen, eager to forge new contracts and open new markets in India. This bears witness to Israel's commitment to intensify its economic and trade relations with India.¹⁴
- Indian Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, during his September 2004 visit to USA, met top leaders of the American Jewish community and complemented their contribution to the Indo-US, as well as, Indo-Israeli friendships. The Jewish organizations in the US share a very close relationship with the Indian-American community and together they have been instrumental in shaping Indo-Israeli ties.¹⁵
- The range and extent of developing Indo-Israeli relationship can be judged by the six agreements, signed during Sharon's visit to India, covering the fields of environment; health; combating illicit trafficking of drugs; visa waivers for diplomatic, service, and official passport holders; education; and an exchange program for cultural education.¹⁶
- Given India's strong scientific and technological base, Israel is keen on strengthening scientific and technological ties with India.¹⁷ Both nations are planning to double the investment under the

ongoing science and technology collaboration from \$0.5 million in 2003 to about \$1 million by 2005.¹⁸

- During their visit to India in December 2004, Israel's Finance Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu and Minister of Industries, Trade, Employment, and Communications, Ehud Olmert decided to expand trade ties and to set up a joint fund for research and development with the aim of promoting technology-based trade and collaboration in tapping the global market together.
- Since former president Bill Clinton's visit to India in March 2000, the world's two largest democracies have been moving toward creating a strategic partnership. United States and India today are happily confronted by an unprecedented convergence of interests, values, and inter-societal ties in a way never experienced before in the close to sixty-year history of the bilateral relationship.¹⁹ Throughout his five-day stay in India, Clinton repeatedly called India a great nation and welcomed its leadership in the region.²⁰ On the other hand, in his remarks during his five-hour stopover in Pakistan, urged General Musharraf to develop a timetable and a roadmap for restoring democracy at the top as well at the local level.²¹

USA's Look Towards Pakistan

A senior US official pointed out what Pakistan needed: "It needs better governance. It needs to end its dangerous associations with extremist groups in the region. It needs to demonstrate restraint, practically on the ground in Kashmir. It needs to find ways to renew, broaden, and deepen dialogue with India. It needs to stay away from adventures like Kargil. It needs to use its influence with the Taliban in Afghanistan to end that war, to shut down terrorism camps and to bring terrorists to justice. It needs to sign the

Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and demonstrate restraint in developing weapons of mass destruction and the missiles to deliver them.”²²

- Ashley J. Tellis while commenting on the validity as well as perceived productivity of US-Indian relationship, presumes that in the foreseeable future relations between Washington and New Delhi will be quite different, for the first time in recent memory, from its past bound together by common and convergent interests in a diverse set of issues and arenas. These are:²²
 - Preventing Asia from being dominated by any single power that has the capacity to crowd out others and which may use aggressive assertion of national self interest to threaten American presence, American alliances, and American ties with the regional states;
 - Eliminating the threats posed by state sponsors of terrorism who may seek to use violence against innocents to attain various political objectives, and more generally neutralizing the dangers posed by terrorism and religious extremism to free societies;
 - Arresting the further spread of weapons of mass destruction and related technologies to other countries and sub-national entities, including sub-state actors operating independently or in collusion with states;
 - Promoting the spread of democracy not only as an end in itself but also as a strategic mean of preventing illiberal polities from exporting their internal struggles over power abroad;

- Advancing the diffusion of economic development with the intent of spreading peace through prosperity through the expansion of a liberal international economic order that increases trade in goods, services, and technology worldwide;
 - Protecting the global commons, especially the sea lanes of communications, through which flow not only goods and services critical to the global economy but also undesirable commerce such as drug trading, human smuggling, and weapons of mass destruction technologies;
 - Preserving energy security by enabling stable access to existing energy sources through efficient and transparent market mechanisms (both internationally and domestically), while collaborating to develop new sources of energy through innovative approaches that exploit science and technology; and
 - Safeguarding the global environment by promoting the creation and use of innovative technology to achieve sustainable development, devising permanent, self-sustaining, market-based institutions and systems that improve environmental protection, developing coordinated strategies for managing climate change, and assisting in the event of natural disasters.
- In the late 90s the USA began to side India and the nature of their relations turned from estranged democracies of the Cold War to engaged democracies in the post- Cold War era.²³
 - USA has welcomed the growing ties between India and Israel by approving hi-tech military exports from Israel to India as it has a

significant veto over Israel's defense exports and in 2000, vetoed an intended \$2 billion Phalcon sale to China. However, US's disapproval of the possible sale of Israel's Arrow anti-missile system to India, leading to the suspension of talks between India and Israel is apparently being seen to pacify Pakistan so as to keep her engaged in "war against terrorism".²⁴

- USA has also lifted restrictions on hi-technology trade with India, covering cutting-edge technology pertaining to civilian nuclear energy, space, missile defense, and hi-tech commerce.²⁵
- India's has successfully linked Kashmir Independence Movement with radical Islamic terrorist group, such as al Qaeda, hence succeeding to draw support of Israel and USA for this common cause. Resultant Pakistan's withdrawal of support of Kashmiri hardliners like Syed Ali Gilani is another outcome of this unholy alliance.
- India is amongst those very few countries who have enthusiastically endorsed the United States new strategic framework (deployment of his national missile defense system) despite decades of objections to U.S. nuclear policies, at a time when even formal American allies withheld their support. As a reward USA has promised to provide Tactical Missile Defence System to India, a step to upset the nuclear balance between Pakistan and India and even between China and India.
- Offered unqualified support for the U.S. anti-terrorism campaign in Afghanistan to include the use of numerous Indian military bases, an offer that was never made even to the Soviet Union which functioned as New Delhi's patron during the last decades of the Cold War.

- Expressed no opposition whatsoever to the USA's decision to withdraw from the ABM Treaty, despite the widespread international and domestic condemnation of the U.S. action;
- *Signed a ten-year defense cooperation framework agreement with the United States that identifies common strategic goals and the means for achieving them, despite strong domestic opposition to, and regional suspicion about, such forms of collaboration with Washington; and*
- Voted with the United States at the September 2005 IAEA Board of Governors meeting to declare Iran in non-compliance with the Non-Proliferation Treaty, despite strong domestic opposition and international surprise.
- In the views of American policy makers "Pakistan's hostile relationship with India impinges on both short- and long-term American interests as America has hopes for wider strategic cooperation and stronger economic ties with India"²⁶
- US-India defence engagement has reached to new heights usually reserved for close US allies and friends, ranging from joint exercises in Alaska to sales of military hardware. Reversing decades of U.S. policy, ushering India into the world's exclusive nuclear club and sharing nuclear reactors, fuel and expertise²⁷ thus ending India's long isolation as a nuclear maverick that defied world appeals and developed nuclear weapons. According to Teresita C. Schaffer, a growing convergence of Indian and US interests in Asian security is likely to be the most dynamic element in the bilateral relationship in the next decade. Their common interest in Indian Ocean security and in not having Asia dominated

by a single power (such as China) can be the basis for a significant expansion of their security cooperation.²⁸

- The events of September 11, anti-terrorism in Afghanistan and the US re-engagement with Pakistan have complicated US-India relations in the short term and “have introduced a wild card into the US vision of India’s future and of future US and Indian priorities in Asia.”²⁹ Donald Rumsfeld, the US Secretary of Defense, assured New Delhi that US policy towards South Asia, in renewing the relationship with Pakistan, would not overlook India’s interests.³⁰
- Short-term points of Indo-US divergence over Pakistan, terrorism and Kashmir following 9/11, would not prevent long-term convergence based on common commercial interests, security cooperation and democratic values. Further both India and the US share the common view of China as a potential and major future threat; and, have common interests in circumscribing the rise of China. In the long term, there is the possibility of establishing strategic relations with each other to contain China by using the other as a core element for balancing Beijing, especially at a time when each has trouble with China.
- In the words of Ambassador Blackwill: “It is difficult to think easily of countries other than India and the United States that currently face to the same striking degree all three of these intense challenges simultaneously: advancing Asian stability based on democratic values; confronting daily the threat of international terror; and slowing the further proliferation of WMD.”³¹
- Recognizing that a new global partnership would require engaging New Delhi not only on issues important to the United States, the Administration has moved rapidly to expand bilateral collaboration

on a wide range of subjects, including those of greatest importance to India. 10-year agreement signed between both the states in July 2005 has paved the way for joint weapons production, cooperation on missile defense and lifting of US export controls on sensitive military technology.³² Earlier, US had allowed Lockheed Martin and Boeing to offer F-16 and F-18 warplanes.³³ The agreement concluded on 2nd March 2006, during the Bush visit to India, relating to civilian nuclear cooperation is, part of a larger set of initiatives involving space, dual-use high technology, advanced military equipment, and missile defense. Irrespective of the technologies involved in each of these realms, the Administration has approached the issues implicated in their potential release to New Delhi through an entirely new prism. In contrast to the past, USA sees India as part of the solution to proliferation rather than as part of the problem. He views the growth of Indian power as beneficial to the United States and its geopolitical interests in Asia and, hence, worthy of strong American support.³⁴

Strategically Oriented Troika

The people of India, USA and Israel have a long history of civilizational contact and it is natural for this troika to cooperate more closely with each other on issues ranging from defense cooperation and counterterrorism to trade and cultural exchanges. Pakistani Ambassador to the United Nations Munir Akram once rightly commented about the Indo- Israel relations (though excluded USA from this) when remarked, "The states which are suppressing the right of peoples to self-determination in the Middle East and South Asia are now joining together in what is advertised as an alliance against terrorism, but which is more likely to emerge as an axis of oppression."³⁵ These remarks mirror growing worries in Pakistan at the warming ties between India and Israel—one its arch rival and the other a

country that it considers as an illegitimate state. Thus, the emerging situation has once again provided India with some new avenues to explore as it tries to balance its competing national interests. The present strategic regional and global imperatives have created a consensus in Delhi, Jerusalem and Washington that their strategic alliance is mutually beneficial in the short term as well as in the long term. Their special relationship has gone beyond the institutional framework and is gradually becoming stronger as their interaction multiplies. The 'Israeli card' is becoming useful to India in dealing with the Arab states. It has helped India to assume an added importance for the Arabs, and has provided a useful opportunity to carve out a role for herself in the volatile Middle East.

The continuity of this triangle is likely to lead to a common vision towards domestic issues, regional security and the global strategic environment. Present dispositions of the American naval armada in and around Gulf, Indian's control on Indian Ocean and Israeli's capability of controlling entrance and exit from and into the Red Sea are pointing towards future of Muslim World of South-Central and West Asia under siege. This noose around the Muslim's neck may be fully tightened once the European Union also joins this troika and links up -extending this siege into Mediterranean and Black sea. Similarly, America can play a decisive role in legitimizing Indian stance on Kashmir and softening up Pakistan's capabilities to resist or counteract.

The emerging scenario depicts most of these variables seem to be realizing their future shape. Socio-culturally USA, India and Israel are discovering a natural affinity, their economic cooperation is proving mutually beneficial, a partnership in the defense and security spheres is developing, and politico-strategically this triad is moving towards each other. Therefore, it is important for policy makers of Pakistan to come out of illusion and acknowledge that the triad is developing a clear common

security threat for Muslim World in general and Pakistan in particular. Joint military exercises and other Joint ventures in defense and security have become vital to the Indo-Israeli –US strategic alliance and if continually pursued, would provide further strategic depth for their relationship (and concomitant threat for Pakistan).

Pakistan's Security Imperatives

To Pakistani leadership and policy makers, the growing India-Israel relations should come as no surprise, given the convergence of interests between the two countries. This has also been reflected in increasing cooperation between the Jewish community and the Indian diasporas in the United States. It is not in Israel's interest to see the Pakistani bomb which has become an 'Islamic' bomb. The growing military contacts between India and Israel have rekindled speculations of Indo-Israeli nuclear cooperation as well as resurfaced the fears of the past, both countries seeking to attack the Pakistani nuclear installations. Do growing India-Israel relations have an impact on Pakistan and its security? The answer is categorical yes.

Security has been the overriding and foremost concern of Pakistan—both internal and external, that is, from within and without. It goes without saying that Pakistan is a peaceful country: it seeks actively a peaceful international order. It has always sought and upheld peaceful settlement of regional and international disputes. Despite this policy of peace-making, inherent in Pakistan's ideology and geopolitical orientation, the fact is that in the first quarter of its coming into existence the country has been the victim of aggression time and again. After the two decades of its life, the country was subjected to another aggression in connivance with the super power(s) and succeeded in fulfillment of their ill designs of dismembering Pakistan.

India could not remain satisfied, with the creation of Bangladesh, and followed long tested policy of creating and sponsoring the ethnic based

separatist's movements amongst Sindhies, Balouchis, Pakhtoons and Muhagirs. Even Punjabis have been urged to "shed the undesirable burden" (of other provinces) and work for greater Punjab.³⁶ However, intensification of the on going indigenous struggle in Kashmir have caused increasing number of casualties among the Indian security forces. India responded by stepping up its repression by greatly increasing its military and paramilitary forces, indulging and incurring massive human rights violations. Between 1989 and 2000, some 70,000 Kashmiri freedom fighters were martyred and a large numbers were mutilated or incarcerated. Rapes, burning of houses and villages, as well as, desecration of religious places of worship, were resorted to in order to strike terror among the rebellious population.³⁷

Should Pakistan Look toward East or West?

National security is a primer of international politics and the hallmark of states' foreign policies and postures. States are patching up alliances, marshalling hard and soft prowess and harnessing diplomacy and divulging propaganda to accomplish maximum national security. Policies revolve and evolve around security concerns, identifying possible and probable security threats, perceived in ideological, historical, geographical and strategic perspectives. Formation of local, regional, international and now global security systems and eventual deformation of these blocs have dominated intellectual and policy formulation debates. National security is a primary and permanent national interest, taking into consideration as a focal point of 'high politics' or 'politics among nations'. That is why security studies have retained its flair, remaining at the core of research studies, given the circumstances of time and place.

This is particularly true in the case of Pakistan's national security. Setting on the most strategic turf and on the most volatile geopolitical landscape, Pakistan's national security agenda has been in flux, fluctuating with every major and minor international event. Anything anywhere else

affects the security agenda of Pakistan such is the case of ‘the Indo-Israel-US nexus’.

“As the US-India-Israel strategic partnership becomes institutionalized, Pakistan's threat perception regarding India's heightened military proficiency—stemming from military-to-military contacts and joint exercises between India, Israel and US air forces and navies - also heightens, thereby further widening the gap between the armed forces of the two South Asian rivals. It is frustrating for Pakistan that, while it is going all the way in ameliorating America's threat perceptions related to al-Qaeda.”³⁸ It is receiving nothing but a lip service in return. Probably Pakistan would be well advised to turn to the East, that is, China in its quest for security: Pakistan would be better off if it gains full membership of Shanghai Cooperation Organization. We should not forget that our experience with the West has been total let-down; whilst China has always been a friend in need thereby proving itself as a friend indeed.

End Notes

- ¹ The Telegraph, Calcutta, 19 May 1998.
- ² Asian Age, New Delhi, 22 May 1998.
- ³ Pravin Sawhney, "Article Calls for Second Nuclear Test," The Asian Age, transcribed in FBIS-NES-95-246, December 22, 1995, p. 37.
- ⁴ A detailed examination of the Indo-Israeli relations in a historical context can be found in P.R. Kumaraswamy, "India and Israel: Emerging Partnership," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (December 2002), pp. 193-200.
- ⁵ Harsh V. Pant, "India-Israel Partnership: Convergence and Constraints", South Asia Analysis Group. <http://www.saag.org/papers13/paper1279.html>
- ⁶ Plenty of examples may be cited with regards to similarity in pattern of USA towards Muslims and Islam. Firstly President Bush declaration of "Crusade" against Afghanistan and Iraq, continued massacre of Muslims in Afghanistan and Iraq, inhuman treatment with Muslim prisoners in Guantanamo Bay and Abu Ghareeb, etc
- ⁷ A national interest is a public good of concern to all or most Americans; a vital national interest is one, which they are willing to expend blood and treasure to defend. National interests usually combine security and material concerns, on the one hand, and moral and ethical concerns, on the other. See, Samuel Huntington, "The Erosion of American National Interests," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, no. 5 (September-October 1997)
- ⁸ Samuel Huntington, op. cit
- ⁹ Vamik D. Volkan, *The Need to Have Enemies and Allies: From Clinical Practice to International Relationships*, Northvale, NJ: Aronson, 1994, and Jonathan Mercer, "Anarchy and Identity," *International Organization*, Spring 1996, pp. 237-68 as quoted by Samuel Huntington, in the "The Erosion of American National Interests," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, no. 5 (September-October 1997)
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- ¹¹ "Budding Israel India relationship bad for Pakistan", *Daily Times*, June 16, 2003
- ¹² Peter Slevin, "US to Send India Nuclear, Space Technology," *Washington Post*, January 13, 2004.
- ¹³ "We need more Business: Sharon," *Times of India*, September 11, 2003; Also see, "India, Israel aim to increase Bilateral Trade," *Associated Press*, September 9, 2003.
- ¹⁴ Harsh, "India-Israel Partnership: Convergence and Constraints", op.cit.
- ¹⁵ On the close relationship between American-Jewish and American-Indian groups, see Indrani Bagchi, "Canny Friends," *India Today*, April 10, 2004
- ¹⁶ See the bilateral statement on friendship and cooperation signed between India and Israel during Ariel Sharon's visit to India in September 2003, <<http://meaindia.nic.in>>.
- ¹⁷ P. Sunderarajan, "Israel plans thrust on science and technology collaboration," *The Hindu*, December 25, 2003.
- ¹⁸ ibid
- ¹⁹ Ashley J. Tellis, "The U.S.-India 'Global Partnership': How Significant for American Interests?," Testimony before the House Committee on International Relations called by Chairman of the Committee Henry Hyde to examine the implications of the U.S.-India civilian nuclear cooperation.
- ²⁰ Remarks by the President to the Indian Joint Session of Parliament. US Department of State, Washington File, March 22, 2000.

21. Remarks by the President in Greeting the People of Pakistan. US Department of State, Washington File, March 25, 2000.
22. These points taken from the testimony of Mr. Ashley J. Tellis Carnegie Senior Associate. On November 16, 2005, Ashley J. Tellis testified before the House Committee on International Relations. His testimony was part of the hearing on "The US-India 'Global Partnership': How Significant for American Interests?" called by Chairman of the Committee Henry Hyde to examine the implications of the U.S.-India civilian nuclear cooperation.
23. <http://www.idsa-india.org/SAARCHIVES/SA200302/APR-JUN01.htm>. Also See Dennis Kux, *India and the United States: Estranged Democracies 1941-1991* 1992. National Defense University Press, Washington D.C; Kanti Bajpai and Amitabh Mattoo, *Ed.*, *Engaged Democracies: India-US Relations in the 21st Century*. 2000. Har Anand Publications Pvt. Ltd.; New Delhi.
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27. President Bush during his visit to India on 2nd March 2006, signed an agreement with India in this regards. See: http://news.yahoo.com/fc/US/Bush_Administration
28. Schaffer, Teresita C., *Rising India and U.S. Policy Options in Asia*. Report of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), South Asia Program, January 2002.
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