

**THE TROUBLED PAKISTAN-US RELATIONSHIP:
A DIPLOMATIC HISTORY, 1947-2012**

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Abstract

The bilateral relationship between the US and Pakistan has been highly significant for the foreign policies of both countries. Since 1947 Pakistan has sought US support in its quest for regional security and the US repeatedly turned to Pakistan as an irreplaceable strategic ally in its quest for global power and security. Despite this the relationship became fractious and increasingly distrustful. Many accounts describe the relationship and analyse events which have shaped it but fail to satisfactorily understand why it became so difficult, particularly from the Pakistani perspective.

This thesis seeks to bring a fresh perspective by analysing the whole of the relationship as a cumulative process shaped not just by events but by reciprocal behaviour and expectation. It is a diplomatic history examining episodes of the relationship since 1947 through existing primary and secondary sources but also contributing new material from 20 field-work interviews conducted in Pakistan with military, government, media and academic actors.

The study finds an underlying contradiction in the relationship in which fundamental national interests have never converged sufficiently for sustained co-operation. As such relations have relied on transactional opportunism. Co-operation has depended on temporary wilful blindness by the US which cannot be maintained beyond episodes of crisis. Pakistan uses its geostrategic assets as a reverse influence on the US but consistently hedges its strategies against anticipated abandonment when the crisis episode has passed. Through this has evolved a cumulative legacy of mutual negative expectation and mistrust which has become deeply ingrained in the relationship. The study also finds that the strategic utility of the relationship has favoured the US but that Pakistan's reverse influence has grown, making it more difficult for Washington to abandon the relationship it finds so frustrating.

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List of Abbreviations

Af-Pak	Afghanistan and Pakistan
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
Brig.	Brigadier
ADB	Asian Development Bank
CARE	Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CENTCOM	US Central Command
CFR	Council on Foreign Relations
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CNN	Cable News Network
COAS	Chief of Army Staff
Col.	Colonel
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FCR	Frontier Crimes Regulation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
Gen.	General
GHQ	General Head Quarters
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IB	Intelligence Bureau
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IMET	International Military Education and Training
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INC	Indian National Congress
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence
IUAM	Islamic Union of Afghan Mujahidin
JI	Jamaat-e-Islami
JKLF	Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front
JUI	Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam
KPK	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
LoC	Line of Control
MDAA	Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
MTCR	Missile Technology Control Regime
NDN	Northern Distribution Network
NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty
NWFP	North-West Frontier Province
OEF	Operation Enduring Freedom
OIC	Organisation of Islamic Cooperation
OPIC	Overseas Private Investment Corporation
PAEC	Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission
PATA	Provincially Administered Tribal Areas
PDPA	People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan

PIA	Pakistan International Airlines
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
RDF	Rapid Defence Force
SEATO	South East Asian Treaty Organisation.
TDA	Trade and Development Assistance
TTP	Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UBL	Osama bin Laden
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
Unocal	Union Oil Company of California
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
US	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WB	World Bank
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WTC	World Trade Centre

INTRODUCTION

The bilateral relationship between Pakistan and the US has always been full of contradictions. In 1962, Hans J. Morgenthau, a leading American scholar on international politics, approved of the relationship as an “alliance serving complementary interests.”¹ Yet, just two years later, he condemned it as, “useless and counterproductive”, and declared it, “a diplomatic act against nature.”² Fifty years on, Hillary Clinton apologised for the US killing of Pakistani soldiers, but went on to describe the US-Pakistan relationship as “challenging but essential”.³ One interviewee for this thesis dismissed her apology as insufficient. The West says sorry “a hundred times a day”, he said. “Even if they sneeze they say sorry.”⁴ Another interviewee summed up the contradictory nature of the relationship by arguing that neither US friendship nor animosity was “beneficial for Pakistan”.⁵

This research aims to explore the history of US-Pakistan relations to improve understanding of why, over 65 years, it has proved to be so problematic whilst still perceived as essential and compelling by both parties. The research surveys the relationship’s history since Pakistan emerged from independence in 1947 through to 2012 to establish trends and cycles and to examine their causes and legacies. It aims to combine material from the existing literature alongside archival and biographical sources with fresh perspectives from a range of Pakistani sources.

The thesis will seek to demonstrate that the relationship has been poor because, throughout, the interests of the two states have never fully converged and that, instead, it has been based on opportunism, wilful blindness and what is called, “reverse influence”. To set this in context there follows a short summary of the key events and turning points in the relationship.

¹ Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics in the Twentieth Century: The Restoration of American Politics*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 178

² Hans J. Morgenthau, “Senator Fulbright’s New Foreign Policy”, *Commentary*, Vol. 37, No. 5, May 1964, p. 70.

³ Hillary Clinton, cited in P. J. Crowley, “Viewpoint: US and Pakistan Alliance is for Good”, BBC, 10 July 2012, <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-18788452?print=true>> [Accessed 11 July 2012]

⁴ Interview with Hafiz Hamdullah, Quetta, 18 August 2012.

⁵ Interview with Ainullah Shams, Quetta, 25 August 2012.

Historical Summary

Pakistan came into being as an independent state in 1947 in the violence of partition making India its most immediate and powerful threat. This insecurity drove Pakistan's search for allies and a position in world politics which were dominated by the emerging Cold War. These influences compelled Pakistan to abandon its original ideals of neutrality and Muslim solidarity, and to seek security through alignment with the US.

US interest in South Asia came from its strategy of containing the USSR to prevent communist expansion towards the Middle East and, later, to also contain China. After being rejected by India in 1949, which chose a non-aligned policy, it took another five years for the US to turn to Pakistan as its regional partner. Under the 1954 Mutual Defence Pact, Pakistan joined the US alliance system, receiving military aid in return for access to bases and military co-operation. However, the primary aims of the two states did not align. Whilst the US was arming Pakistan against the USSR, Pakistan's prime concern was India and a resolution of the Kashmir issue. This thesis argues that these misaligned aims underlay the relationship from the start and contributed to its brittle and fluctuating quality.

Despite this, the alignment was stable up to the early 1960s. Pakistan joined other US-led regional alliances, SEATO and CENTO, and was recognised as a key US ally. It received large amounts of military aid in return and the US turned a blind eye when the military ousted the elected civilian government in October 1959. Differences surfaced, however, when the US armed India in its 1962 border dispute with China and they came to a head when Pakistan's military aid was withdrawn in the 1965 Indo-Pakistan War. Bitterly disappointed that the US had not supported it against India, Pakistan turned to China for alternative arms supplies, but remained a member of the US-led alliances.

By 1970, Pakistan's connection with Beijing was used by Washington as part of its triangular diplomacy which involved improving relations with China and deliberately worrying the USSR in the process. At the same time, East Pakistan was breaking away from West Pakistan resulting in brutal repression, to which the US again turned a blind eye. However, the US did not intervene to prevent East Pakistan's secession, which was won with Indian military help,

though it did deter India from threatening West Pakistan. Pakistan again felt betrayed and diversified its foreign policy towards Islamic states and China, without again breaking off its relations with Washington.

India's 1974 nuclear test prompted Pakistan to accelerate its own nuclear programme, against the non-proliferation aims of the US. This created severe tension culminating in suspension of aid and Pakistan's withdrawal from CENTO. In contrast to America's response to the earlier military take-over, General Zia's coup in July 1977 and the subsequent repression drew severe human rights criticism from the Carter administration. With US-Pakistan relations at a low ebb, the USSR invaded Afghanistan in 1979 and these concerns were put to one side as the US attempted to regain Pakistan as a close ally. Initially refusing Carter's offer, Zia used his country's geo-strategic value to negotiate a better aid package from the Reagan administration and then helped to arm the Mujahidin in a proxy war against the USSR. In this, the US aim was to weaken and expel the USSR from Afghanistan. Pakistan shared this latter aim, but also wanted a sympathetic successor regime in Kabul which would allow military strategic depth against India and not incite nationalist sentiment in the border regions. The US was not particularly interested in these concerns of Pakistan.

Pakistan's nuclear programme continued throughout this period without noticeably affecting relations with Washington. However, when the USSR withdrew from Afghanistan in 1989 this concern over nuclear proliferation led to the US suspending aid once more, despite Pakistan's reversion to democratic government. Islamic terrorism was another issue between the two countries when the US accused Pakistan of sponsoring terrorists in Kashmir and Bosnia. In the Afghan civil wars, which followed the Soviet collapse, Islamabad sponsored the pro-Pakistan Taliban. Eager for access to new gas fields in Central Asia, and to contain Iranian influence, the US initially joined Saudi Arabia in financing Taliban support. However, deteriorating human rights, drug trafficking and support for al-Qaeda made the US distance itself from the Taliban and criticise Pakistan over its sponsorship of them. In 1998, Pakistan responded to India's nuclear tests with tests of its own, resulting in another US aid embargo. Musharraf's 1999 military coup drew additional sanctions.

It was in this period that the 9/11 incident occurred. Embargos and sanctions were once again lifted and the US gave Pakistan a \$2.64bn aid package

in return for joining Washington in clearing al-Qaeda and the Taliban from Afghanistan. In 2004, Pakistan was declared a major non-NATO ally of the US but, here also, aims were not aligned. The US wanted to destroy al-Qaeda and their Taliban hosts but still did not share Islamabad's hope for a pro-Pakistan regime in their place. Pakistan was pressured by the US to abandon the Taliban, and India-friendly factions took Kabul and became prominent in government.

To escape the US military, the Taliban and other militant groups moved to the Pakistan border areas from where they attacked NATO in Afghanistan and created potential for instability in Pakistan itself. Under US pressure, the Pakistan military attacked those groups and this caused resentment and violence inside the country. Frustrated with the lack of progress, and suspicious of Pakistani collusion, the US also attacked those areas with drones, adding anti-American feeling to the existing resentment of the Pakistan military. Trust had broken down to such an extent that when the US found Osama bin Laden on Pakistani territory in 2011 they mounted a military operation to kill him without even consulting Islamabad. Later the same year, NATO destroyed a military base at Salala killing 24 Pakistani soldiers. In retaliation Pakistan blocked NATO access to Afghanistan which was not reopened until 2012 when Hillary Clinton issued her rather half-hearted apology which was referred to earlier. Despite all these problems, relations never broke down completely and the US continued to give aid to the Pakistan military.

Literature Review

In the literature on the history of Pakistan-US relations there is broad agreement that the relationship has fluctuated. Rahshree Jetley refers to frequent ups and downs, attributable to the changing relevance of Pakistan to US security interests and priorities,⁶ while Rais Ahmed Khan describes relations as both co-operative and conflicting, ranging from intimacy to indifference to hostility.⁷ Bruce Riedel describes the US alliance with Pakistan as having always been

⁶ Rahshree Jetley, *Pakistan in Regional and Global Politics* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2009).

⁷ Rais Ahmed Khan, "Pakistan-US Relations: Divergences and Convergences of Perceptions", in Leo E. Rose and Noor A. Hussain, (eds.), *United States-Pakistan Forum: Relations with the Major Powers*, (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1987), p. 34.

turbulent and destructive.⁸ This thesis is a contribution to the study of the reasons for these fluctuations and explores why relations between the two states have not just fluctuated but have generally been so poor.

National interests are a major factor in forming and maintaining inter-state relationships so most writers examine these to understand the bilateral relationship between the US and Pakistan. There are no claims that there has been any consistent unity of interest, in the way that there has been in NATO or between the US and Japan, for example, but there is a range of opinion about the extent to which the national interests of the two states have converged or diverged.

Despite the fluctuations in the relationship, Jetley, for example, argues that relations have been generally marked by a broad strategic convergence on regional and global security issues: Pakistan sought close relations with the United States as a countervailing power to Indian pre-eminence in South Asia; the United States, for its part, found Pakistan a valuable ally in its wider regional and global security agenda. It is not clear, however, that the strategic issues he describes necessarily converged as national interests or that Pakistan shared the US's overriding concern about containing communism.⁹

Examining the formation of Pakistan after independence, Hassan Abbas supports the shared interests argument by citing the anti-communist bias of the Pakistani leadership as an important factor in the initial formation of the Cold War alliances with the US.¹⁰ Syed Hussain Soherwardi also suggests that both Pakistan and the US formed SEATO and CENTO as a result of their common clash of interests with the USSR and that they were staunch allies during the Cold War as a result.¹¹ These claims are brought into question, though, by Pakistan's accommodating relationship with China which suggests that concerns over India were more important to Islamabad than concerns about communism.

Qadar Baksh Baloch argues that mutual relations between the two countries were based on a convergence of common interests from time to time. When the US required U2 surveillance flight facilities and an intelligence base

⁸ Bruce O. Riedel, *Deadly Embrace: Pakistan, American and the Future of the Global Jihad* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 2011), pp. 117-118.

⁹ Jetley, *Pakistan in Regional and Global Politics*, p. xvi.

¹⁰ Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror*, (New York: East Gate Book, 2005), p. 25.

¹¹ Syed Hussain Shaheed Soherwardi, "Pakistan's Foreign Policy Interaction with the US Foreign Policy Making Bodies (1947-2010): An Analysis", *IPRI Journal*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 2010, p. 24.

against the Soviets (1959-1968), backdoor diplomacy with the Chinese (1970-72), covert operations against the Soviet Army in Afghanistan (1980-89) and recently the war against terrorism (2001), it extended its best hand forward in terms of military and economic aid as well as support for military dictators. US-Pakistan relations flourished in the periods of international tension, such as in the fifties, again in the eighties, and post 9/11, but deteriorated in conditions of détente, as in the sixties and seventies and again in the nineties. Thus, their spells of close ties have been single-issue engagements of limited or uncertain duration.¹² Richard Post supports this view and adds that when there has been a convergence of interests, the relationship has amounted to an alliance but, when there has been a divergence of interests, the very closeness of the previous ties has intensified the resultant estrangement, causing exaggerated peaks and troughs in the relationship.¹³ Marvin Weinbaum describes the relationship as a limited engagement. He also goes further in arguing that, despite all the agreements on military equipment, training, and personnel exchanges, and economic assistance, neither party has been restrained from pursuing an independent foreign policy, not necessarily to the liking of the other partner. He adds that objectives of the two countries have been at times dissimilar and that, even while offering mutual benefits, the relationship has been asymmetrical and not usually equally advantageous.¹⁴ Dennis Kux appears to go further, noting that ties have lacked a solid base of shared national interests and that the US never shared Pakistan's perception of India as an enemy, but he confuses this by also claiming that interests and security policies have been in phase almost as often as they have been at odds.¹⁵ Devin Hagerty concludes that the two countries have been closest when faced with mutual threats, which he sees as a negative, reactive incentive for cooperation. He argues there is little that links Pakistan and the US in any positive, proactive way since post-industrial, liberal Western democracies have

¹² Qadar Baksh Baloch, "Engagement and Estrangement in US-Pakistan Relations", *The Dialogue*, Volume 1, Number 4, 2006, pp. 28-55, <http://www.qurtuba.edu.pk/thedialogue/The%20Dialogue/1_4/2_US%20Pak_Major.pdf> [Accessed 2 August 2012].

¹³ Richard St. F. Post, "US Investment in Pakistan", in Leo E. Rose and Noor A. Hussain (eds.), *United States-Pakistan Forum: Relations with the Major Powers* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1987), p. 70.

¹⁴ Marvin Weinbaum, "Pakistan and the United States: A Partnership of Necessity", in Daniel Benjamin (ed.), *America and the World in the Age of Terror: A New Landscape in International Relations*, (Washington: Centre for Strategic and International Studies, 2005), p. 106.

¹⁵ Dennis Kux, *Disenchanted Allies: The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 360.

little in common with pre-industrial Islamic “militocracies”. In his view, without a third party threat such as the Soviet Union or al-Qaeda, the best that such disparate countries can expect over the long term is to have a number of shared interests and generally warm, but unremarkable, relations.¹⁶ Aazar Tamana finds there is an inherent contradiction between the global reach of US interests, on the one hand, and Pakistan’s more limited regional concerns on the other.¹⁷ Howard Schaffer and Teresita Schaffer observe that the gap between the strategic objectives of the two sides is the most significant theme in bilateral ties.¹⁸

These analyses suggest a more limited role for the idea of converging national interests in explaining the dynamics of US-Pakistan relations and that other factors have been at play. Rais Ahmed Khan cites geo-political realities and strategic compulsions as the factors which bring the two countries together.¹⁹ More specifically, Peter Blood argues that it is the strategic utility of Pakistan which always affected its status and eminence in Washington and that what drove this dependant relationship was the US view of its own strategic needs together with Pakistan’s ability to adjust and adapt to it. His study demonstrates that the Cold War was the main factor which developed the relationship and that its strategic location made Pakistan the most important partner of the western alliance against the spread of communism in the region.²⁰ Daniel Markey agrees there is some truth in Pakistan’s claims that America has used the country when it suited the superpower’s agenda and then tossed it away when inconvenient. He argues that Washington has viewed the country as a means to other ends, whether that meant fighting communism or terrorism. When Pakistan was helpful, it enjoyed generous US assistance and attention, but when it was not helpful the spigot was turned off.²¹

These analyses suggest a more instrumental view of the relationship in which the driving force is intermittent US need for access to Pakistan’s geo-

¹⁶ Devin T. Hagerty, “The United States-Pakistan Entente: Third Time’s Charm?” in Craig Baxter, *Pakistan on the Brink: Politics, Economics, and Society* (Oxford: Lexington Books, 2004), p. 1-2.

¹⁷ Aazar Tamana, *United States-Pakistan Relations in the Post-Cold War Era: The Pressler Amendment and Pakistan’s National Security Concerns*, (Perth: Curtin, 2004).

¹⁸ Howard B. Schaffer and Teresita C. Schaffer, *How Pakistan Negotiates with the United States: Riding the Roller Coaster*, (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2011), p. 3.

¹⁹ Khan “Pakistan-US Relations: Divergences and Convergences of Perceptions”, p. 34.

²⁰ Peter R. Blood, *Pakistan: A Country Study* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1995), p. 250.

²¹ Daniel S. Markey, *No Exit from Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 2.

political location, in relation to its own security interests, rather than converging national interests between the two states. Rajshree Jetley acknowledges that frequent ups and downs in relations between the two countries became a function of Pakistan's relevance in the United States' security interests and priorities.²² Aazar Tamana supports this view and concludes that the relationship is only formed when US national interests allow it.²³ This thesis will examine these issues in detail and explore the extent to which the relationship is more the result of opportunism than of converging interests.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is presented as an occasion when interests genuinely did converge. Leon Hadar argues that, at this time, both Pakistan and the US had the same common interest: they were aware of the danger that the Soviet occupation posed to neighbouring countries and of Soviet strategy to take advantage of an unstable Iran to gain access to the Arabian Sea in order to control oil resources of the Middle East. Thus the US and Pakistan co-operated to stop the menace of communism in South Asia and the Middle East. This included covert cooperation between the American CIA and Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI).²⁴ Muhammad Amir Rana examines this alliance between the CIA and ISI through which a US and Saudi-funded jihad infrastructure was created in Pakistan to fight Soviet forces. He explains that after the Soviet withdrawal some of these jihadi militants adopted a new agenda to free Muslims from their perceived American, Israeli and Indian oppressors elsewhere in the world and argues that the Taliban was created by the ISI.²⁵

That these outcomes resulted in a fundamental security threat to the US suggests that national interests may not have converged as closely as is often assumed, and this question will also be explored in this thesis.

There is a range of opinion about the convergence of interests in the post-9/11 era. Sohail Mahmood claims Pakistan and the US had a convergence of interests to rid the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) of al-Qaeda and Taliban elements since Pakistan was threatened from within by the Islamic radicals.²⁶

²² Jetley, *Pakistan in Regional and Global Politics*, p. xvi.

²³ Tamana, *United States-Pakistan Relations in the Post-Cold War Era*

²⁴ Leon T. Hadar, "Pakistan in America's War against Terrorism: Strategic Ally or Unreliable Client?", *Policy Analysis*, No. 436, 8 May 2002, p. 9.

²⁵ Muhammad Amir Rana, *The Seeds of Terrorism*, (India: Minerva Press, 2005).

²⁶ Sohail Mahmood, *Good Governance Reform Agenda in Pakistan: Current Challenges*, (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2007), p. 1.

According to Syed Husain Soherwardi, however, the CIA and US policymakers clashed with the ISI over their main concerns towards Afghanistan and Pakistan's tribal belt and that this divergence, along with the US's casual response to Pakistan's security in relation to India, aggravated tension between the US and the Pakistan Army.²⁷ On the other hand, Marvin Weinbaum argues that important areas of convergence exist between the West and Pakistan in their perceptions of the dangers presented by extremist groups. He claims that Pakistani officials have become acutely conscious that attacks on Western soil traceable to Pakistan could present a security threat in the form of possible retaliation from targeted states. He also explains that, despite disagreements over targeting groups which Islamabad sees as helpful to its cause, the Pakistani and American intelligence services do co-operate on dealing with other groups and that this has weakened al-Qaeda and disrupted those elements of the Pakistani Taliban which attack the Pakistan State. One of the worst-kept secrets was the tacit approval from Pakistani officials for the launching of American drone missiles against these groups.²⁸

In order to understand the post-9/11 era and the extent to which national interests converge here, this thesis will examine the period between the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and the US led invasion as well as the circumstances of Musharraf's decision to side with the West and participate in the War on Terror.

The idea of misperceptions features in the literature. Richard Post claims the US-Pakistan relationship has been dominated by misperceptions in each country concerning the extent to which the national interests of the two countries converged or diverged.²⁹ Rais Ahmed Khan argues that it is divergences of perceptions and policies over a number of bilateral and international issues that tend to pull the states apart. He points out that Pakistan sees a lack of durability and credibility in Washington's policies and that the Americans, for their part, have found the relationship exasperating.³⁰

²⁷ Syed Husain Shaheed Soherwardi, "An Estranged Client and an Annoyed Patron: Shift in the Pakistan-US Relations during the War on Terror", *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol. 18, Issue 2, 2011, pp. 55-76.

²⁸ Marvin Weinbaum, "Militancy and Extremism in Pakistan: A US Perspective", in Moeed Yusuf (ed.), *Pakistan's Counterterrorism Challenge* (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2014), p. 52.

²⁹ Richard F. Post, "US Investment in Pakistan", p. 70.

³⁰ Khan, "Pakistan-US Relations", p. 34.

Daniel Markey argues that Pakistanis and Americans tell conflicting versions of their shared history. His assessment is that the US has been the more fickle partner, with its approach to Pakistan shifting dramatically across the decades, but Pakistan has been guilty of greater misrepresentation, claiming support for US aims while turning the partnership to other ends.³¹ Bruce Riedel also concludes that Pakistanis and Americans have entirely different narratives about their bilateral relationship: Pakistan speaks of America's continual betrayal and of promising much but delivering little; while America finds Pakistan duplicitous, saying one thing and doing another.³²

However, it is not clear that conflicting narratives and distrust are the result of misperceptions. For example, Raziullah Azmi points out that the nuclear issue was a major irritant in the relationship before 1979 but after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, US relations with Pakistan took a U-turn. The US put the nuclear issue aside and provided two long-term aid packages for Pakistan. Despite Congressional concerns and often sensational revelations about Pakistan's nuclear drive, these were not allowed to disrupt the alliance at this particular time. Pakistan was elevated to the status of a "frontline state" and became the recipient of American military and economic largesse.³³

In addition, despite promoting liberal democratic values, the US has endorsed or had some link with every Pakistani military dictator, though they started wars with India and supported jihadist militants,³⁴ and the Pakistan army has been the major recipient of US financial aid.³⁵ This behaviour suggests that the idea of wilful blindness, or turning a blind eye, may be more of a feature in understanding the relationship than misperception. This thesis will examine and assess this issue in relation to other incidents and developments in the history of the relationship. In particular it will examine the extent to which wilful blindness and opportunism have contributed to the on-off nature of the relationship and, in turn, how this has been responsible for the lack of trust which Butt and Schofield note as a fundamental flaw in the relationship.³⁶

³¹ Markey, *No Exit from Pakistan*, p. 3.

³² Riedel, *Deadly Embrace*, p. 123.

³³ M. Raziullah Azmi, *Pakistan American Relations*, (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1994) p. 8.

³⁴ Ahmed Rashid, *Decent into Chaos*, (London: Penguin Books, 2008).

³⁵ Abbas, *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism*, p. 9.

³⁶ Usama Butt and Julian Schofield, *Pakistan: The US Geopolitics and Grand Strategies*, (London: Pluto Press, 2012).

There is also a suggestion that, despite the asymmetric power relationship, Pakistani client regimes have exerted influence over their US patron to meet objectives of their own which may be at odds with US interests. Tom Roger refers to this as “reverse influence” and claims it was exerted by Pakistan on the US during and after the Cold War. He explains that whilst it is generally assumed that small states are weak, there are situations in which such a state can influence a greater power’s actions and policies to serve its immediate interests. While the greater power’s status relies upon its military and economic base, the small state tends to derive influence from its critical geo-strategic position, which may either be a permanent characteristic or a temporary phase reflecting global politics of the time. Thus, reverse influence means influence exerted by a weaker state over the policies and actions of a superpower to the extent that the superpower foregoes some of its interests in favour of the weaker power.³⁷ This is a theme which is missing in many accounts. Dennis Kux, for example, notes the sometime inability of the US to influence Pakistan but fails to note how and why Pakistan effectively influences US policy.³⁸ Most writers such as, Annapurna Nautiyal and Kanishkan Satsivam identify strategic location as an important reason for the US to co-opt Pakistan to its cause³⁹ but other factors appear to have contributed to reverse influence. A. Z. Hilali notes that the US was dependant on Pakistan’s intelligence and logistical support against both the USSR and the Taliban,⁴⁰ and both Malik and Schaffer and Schaffer point out that once Pakistan had its nuclear bomb the US needed to remain engaged to ensure the safety of those weapons.⁴¹ This thesis will examine how far reverse influence remains a feature of the bilateral relationship between Pakistan and the US and how it developed beyond Roger’s original concept related to geo-strategic location.

³⁷ Tom Roger, “A Study of Reverse Influence”, in Azmi, M. R. (ed.), *Pakistan-American Relations* (Karachi, Royal Book Company, 1994), pp. 98-102.

³⁸ Kux, *Disenchanted Allies*, pp. 362-363.

³⁹ Annapurna Nautiyal, *Challenges to India’s Foreign Policy in the New Era* (New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 2006); Kanishkan Satsivam, *Uneasy Neighbours: India, Pakistan and US Foreign Policy*, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), p. 95.

⁴⁰ A.Z. Hilali, *US-Pakistan Relationship: Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), p. 247.

⁴¹ Hafeez Mailk, *US Relations with Afghanistan and Pakistan: The Imperial Dimension*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 36; Schaffer and Schaffer, *How Pakistan Negotiates with the United States*, p. 3.

Another feature of the literature is that it tends to be West-centric.⁴² This thesis attempts to help address this imbalance by bringing to the debate new material from primary political, military and academic sources in Pakistan.

The Central Argument

Thus, this thesis argues that the history of US-Pakistan relations is one of opportunism in which interests did not converge sufficiently for sustained co-operation on the basis of shared aims. Instead, periods of co-operation depended on short-term wilful blindness by the US and on Pakistan's ability to use its geo-strategic location as reverse influence in the otherwise unequal relationship between the two countries. The legacy of this is a mutual mistrust, but neither side has seen any advantage in breaking off the relationship altogether.

Research Design and Methodology

The methodology and design for this research are based on historical enquiry into the circumstances, events and decisions which have shaped the evolution of US-Pakistan relations. Evidence and data has been collected from both secondary and primary sources. A survey of the literature on the topic has been augmented by additional sources from the media, speeches, autobiographies and official archives. The main focus has been on obtaining Pakistani sources in order to redress the predominantly Western and US perspective on the subject.

Primary data was collected from political, military and academic figures in Pakistan. Fieldwork consisted of 20 semi-structured interviews with former Pakistani diplomats, army officials, scholars, politicians, journalists, and academics with expertise and insight into Pakistan-US relations. The list of interviewees together with brief biographies is available in the appendix 1. Fieldwork was conducted over a seven month period in Pakistan in 2012. Because of the security situation and environment of suspicion in the country, it was more difficult than expected to conduct the interviews. Perseverance was needed to make effective contact with interviewees and to gain their confidence. There were

⁴² Usama Butt and Julian Schofield (eds.), *Pakistan: The US Geopolitics and Grand Strategies* (London: Pluto Press, 2012), p. 1.

also surveillance and personal security challenges for the author. Each interview lasted between one and two hours and was recorded on location in English, Pashtu or Urdu depending on the interviewee. Those in languages other than English have been translated by the author.

Structure of the Thesis

The thesis traces and analyses the evolution of the relationship through five fluctuating stages and concludes with an assessment of the factors and decisions which shaped it.

Introduction

Chapter 1: Forging the Cold War Partnership, 1947-1961

This chapter describes the formation of the relationship in the early Cold War era. It explores Pakistan's security needs at the time in relation to America's emerging containment strategy and analyses the reasons for forming an alliance. The U2 incident in May 1960 was a high-point of co-operation but mismatched aims and interests underlay the relationship from the start and the US was already turning a blind eye to military dictatorship in Pakistan.

Chapter 2: Decline and Disappointment: India, China, Islam and the Bomb, 1962-1979

This chapter describes a period of steady decline in the relationship from the Sino-India border dispute to the mob attack on the US embassy in Islamabad. It explores Pakistan's disappointments with the US regarding its wars with India and the secession of East Pakistan, and this can explain Bhutto's subsequent diversification of foreign policy and the commencement of a nuclear programme. It also contrasts Nixon's rapprochement with China and US sanctions on Pakistan because of its nuclear programme and poor human rights record. The question of US involvement with the death of Bhutto is given special attention. Divergent interests are exposed and the legacy of mistrust from this period is examined.

Chapter 3: Afghanistan: Cold War Partners Again, 1979-1989

The sudden revival of relations brought on by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is examined through to the Soviet withdrawal ten years later. The

chapter assesses the extent to which this was as a result of shared interests and strategic goals or of US opportunism and Pakistani reverse influence. It also examines how the mistrust and expectation of abandonment established from past encounters shaped behaviour in this period. The legacy of this period is also assessed in terms of approaches to future relations and trust.

Chapter 4: Embargos and Sanctions: The Bomb, the Taliban and Human Rights, 1989-2001

The period from the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan to the eve of 9/11 saw another deterioration in US-Pakistan relations. The power vacuum in Afghanistan, Central Asian pipeline politics, nuclear proliferation and rising terrorism are explored in relation to the decisions taken by Pakistan and the US to protect their diverse interests. The chapter will suggest that, in the absence of an overriding regional crisis, the US could afford to revert to concerns over human rights and nuclear proliferation in Pakistan and *not* be wilfully blind to them. It will also suggest that, at the same time, the US colluded with Pakistan in support of the emerging Taliban

Chapter 5: Afghanistan Re-Makes and Re-Breaks the Relationship, 2001-2011

As in 1979, relations were suddenly transformed with the 9/11 incident and the US-led invasion of Afghanistan, but they deteriorated again as the war against the Taliban moved into Pakistan and divergent interests once again became apparent. This chapter examines the process of decline and the mutually exclusive goals this created for the two states. It contrasts Musharraf's decision to join the US in an alliance on this occasion with that of General Zia in 1979. It also explores how mutual frustration and suspicion led to US operations in Pakistan itself including the bin Laden killing and the Salala attack.

Conclusions

The thesis ends with conclusions about the extent to which the data and evidence collected supports the argument that there was never any real coincidence of interests between Pakistan and the US and that the poor relationship between them is based instead on opportunism, wilful blindness and reverse influence.

CHAPTER 1: FORGING THE COLD WAR PARTNERSHIP, 1947 -1961

1.1 Introduction

Pakistan came into being on 14 August 1947 in two non-contiguous parts, East Pakistan and West Pakistan, separated by 1,000 miles of Indian territory. Geographical separation was then less important than the common bond of Islam which united the new nation in opposition to Hindu-dominated India. With 70 million people, Pakistan became the fifth most populous country in the world and the most populous country in the Muslim world. Muhammad Ali Jinnah was the first Governor-General of Pakistan, who was given the title of Quaid-i-Azam (Great Leader), and Liaquat Ali Khan became the country's first Prime Minister.¹

Relations with India dominated Pakistan's foreign policy from the outset, in large part, because of the violence between the Muslim and Hindu communities which accompanied independence and partition. America's foreign policy priority at that time, however, was the Soviet Union and the communist threat. In 1946, George Kennan drafted his "long telegram" which led to Washington embarking on its post-war policy of the containment of the Soviet Union.² After Mao's victory in China in 1949, American containment policy extended to Communist China too. Therefore, it was as a result of independence and partition on the one hand, and the containment of communism, on the other, that the Pakistan-US relationship was first forged. Ambassador Tariq Fatemi, a seasoned diplomat and current adviser to Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, observed that the reasons for the formation of the relationship were also a source of mutual recrimination and claimed that, "the very basis on which the two countries came together contain[ed] within it the seeds of future turmoil that envelop[ed] this relationship".³

This chapter examines this claim of Ambassador Tariq Fatemi and explores the notion that misaligned aims underlay the relationship from the start

¹ Yasmeen Niaz Mohiuddin, *Pakistan: A Global Studies Handbook* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2007), p. 73

² See George F. Kennan, "The Long Telegram (1946), <<http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/coldwar/documents/episode-1/kennan.htm>> [accessed 1 November 2014]

³ Interview with Ambassaador Tariq Fatemi, Islamabad, 20 July, 2012.

and contributed to its brittle and fluctuating quality. It describes the new country's foreign policy ideals which were soon abandoned because of Pakistan's immediate regional security needs and the impending Cold War. It also examines Pakistan's search for allies and the process through which US-Pakistan alliances were formed to reveal the extent of mismatched aims and how opportunism, reverse influence and wilful blindness were already at work.

1.2 The Security Challenges of Independence and Partition

At independence, Pakistan's Governor-General Jinnah wanted to pursue a policy of non-alignment in the Cold War and friendship with Muslim countries which, he thought, would bring flexibility to the otherwise rigid bipolar international order and would also help to assert the independent identities of the new post-colonial states.⁴ On only the fourth day after Pakistan's creation, Prime Minister Liaquat confirmed to the *New York Times* that Pakistan would not take sides with either of the two world blocs that were forming at the time.⁵ Liaquat continued with this non-aligned policy when he increased his power and influence after Jinnah's death in 1948.⁶ However, Pakistan was unable to remain outside the inter-bloc struggle for much longer in the face of unresolved issues stemming from partition and the global geo-political strategies of the Cold War. The most immediate of these were the problems caused by partition.

India and Pakistan held very different views about the permanence of partition. Pakistan saw it as permanent and Jinnah summed up this view with his proclamation that "Pakistan has come to stay".⁷ To him it was an enduring solution through which "... inter-communal strife would subside and Hindustan and Pakistan would be able to come together and work out the details of joint defence".⁸ Indian leaders, however, saw partition as a temporary solution. The Congress Party was divided on the issue of partition, it ultimately agreed to it

⁴ Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, *Pakistan's Defence Policy, 1947-1958* (London: Macmillan Press, 1990), p. 233.

⁵ Shahid M. Amin, "The foreign policy of Liaquat Ali Khan", *Dawn*, 17 October 2010, <<http://dawn.com/2010/10/17/the-foreign-policy-of-liaquat-ali-khan-2/>> [Accessed 21 November 2012]

⁶ K. Sarwar Hasan, "The Foreign Policy of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan", *Pakistan Horizon*, Vol. 4, No. 4, December 1951.

⁷ Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Pakistan*, (Hurmat Publications, Islamabad, 1989), p. 112.

⁸ Muhammad Ali Jinnah, cited in Latif Ahmed Sherwani, *Pakistan, China and America* (Karachi: Council for Pakistan Studies, 1980), p.10.

when it became clear the only alternative would be civil war.⁹ Indians expected the newly-born state of Pakistan to be short-lived and that it would soon have to re-join a united India. Therefore, on 15 June 1947, in accepting partition, Congress cautioned that: “economic circumstances and the insistent demands of international affairs make the unity of India still more necessary. The picture of India we have learnt to cherish will remain in our minds and hearts”.¹⁰

Indian Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Patel, was convinced that the new State of Pakistan was not viable and its imminent collapse would teach the Muslim League a bitter lesson.¹¹ Acharya Kripalani, President of the Indian National Congress, claimed that “neither the Congress nor the nation has given up its claim of a united India”.¹² Gandhi believed that Pakistan would wish to return to India. “We Muslim and Hindus are interdependent on one another; we cannot get along without each other. The Muslim League will ask to come back to Hindustan. They will ask Jawaharlal Nehru to come back, and he will take them back”.¹³ From the outset, therefore, Pakistan had cause to look anxiously at India in regard to its security and territorial integrity.

These anxieties quickly became realities as partition led to Pakistan facing a daunting catalogue of crises. Independence quickly turned to bloodshed in reciprocal mass killings and resulted in the movement of millions of refugees across borders. Agreement on dividing the assets of the former Raj collapsed. Water supplies to millions of acres of Pakistan’s prime agricultural land were cut off and conflicting claims to Kashmir escalated into war. Partition also led to Pakistan being militarily far weaker than India which accounted for Pakistan always seeking external aid and security guarantees. These security issues are examined in more detail later in the chapter.

Partition was intended to be a solution to the potential for civil strife that existed between the religious communities on the sub-continent, but the policy failed from the outset. Once the Boundary Commission demarcated the borders

⁹ Hameed Ali Khan Rai, *Readings in Pakistan’s Foreign Policy*, Volume 1, (Lahore: Aziz Publishers, 1981), p. 311.

¹⁰ M.G. Chitkara, *Converts Do Not Make a Nation*, (New Delhi: A.P.H. Publishing Corporation, 1998), p. 37.

¹¹ Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1959), p. 225

¹² Jayati Chaturvedi, *Indian National Movement: A Critical Study of Five Schools*, (Agra: M.G. Publishers, 1990), p. 182.

¹³ *New York Herald Tribune*, 5 June 1947.

splitting Punjab and Bengal, inter-religious violence erupted on a large scale and quickly escalated into reciprocal mass murder and migration throughout 1947-8. There is evidence to suggest that the atrocities were planned by the Hindus and Sikhs to systematically drive out the Muslims from their areas.¹⁴ The Muslims responded with atrocities of their own. Estimates of the slaughter and upheaval vary greatly. Iftikhar Malik estimates that around eight million Muslims left India to become refugees in Pakistan,¹⁵ and Golam Wahed Choudhury argues that 500,000 were killed in the carnage.¹⁶ Therefore, the new Pakistani government was faced with the immediate and difficult problem of resettling all these refugees as well as trying to deal with the long-term legacy of resentment amongst them.

In addition to these humanitarian problems, the process of partition yielded further economic and military disputes leaving Pakistan significantly and disproportionately weaker than India at a time when armed confrontation between the two new states looked highly likely. In the lead-up to independence, Congress and the Muslim League negotiated the division of assets of the former British Administration.¹⁷ The division of the military assets proved to be a particular problem. India was initially slow to implement the agreement and then refused to implement it in full.¹⁸ The British tried to enforce the agreement, but, in the words of the writer John Connell, became the subject of “deceitful and underhand interference which amounted in the end, to complete sabotage” by India.¹⁹ Field Marshal Auchinleck reported to the British Prime Minister on 28 September 1947 that “The Indian Cabinet are implacably determined to do all in their power to prevent the establishment of the Dominion of Pakistan on a firm basis.”²⁰

Pakistan’s share of the military stores should have been 163,000 tons but only 4,703 tons were delivered by 31 March 1948, amounting to only 3% of the

¹⁴ For this view, see: Golam Wahed Choudhury, *Pakistan’s Relations with India, 1947-66*, (London: Pall Mall Press, 1968), p. 42.

¹⁵ Iftikhar H. Malik, *The History of Pakistan*, (London: Greenwood Press, 2008), p. 130.

¹⁶ Choudhury, *Pakistan’s Relations with India*, p. 42.

¹⁷ Samuel Martin Burke, *Pakistan’s Foreign Policy: A Historical Analysis* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 8.

¹⁸ Yasmeen Niaz Muhiddin, *Pakistan: A Global Studies Handbook* (California: ABC-CLIO, 2007), p. 73.

¹⁹ John Connell, *Auchinleck: A Biography of Field-Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck* (London: Cassell, 1959), p. 912.

²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 920.

agreed allocation.²¹ The Pakistan newspaper, *Dawn*, reported that out of 249 tanks allotted to Pakistan, not one was delivered, and out of 40-60,000 tons of ammunitions allocated, nothing at all was delivered.²² The newspaper went on to report that even the military equipment which was delivered by India was often damaged or unusable. Such was the inadequacy of Pakistan's military capability at the time that General Muhammad Ayub Khan, the future Chief of Army Staff and later President of the country, said, "we could hardly allow our soldiers even five rounds for their general practice to keep their weapons in order."²³ Brigadier Agha Ahmed Gul recalled that Pakistan inherited just one squadron of propeller aircraft and one squadron of petrol-engine boats and the country had barely 50,000 troops. Summing up the spirit of that time he said in an interview that "the only strength we had was a conviction that we will not stay as subjects of the Indians".²⁴

Water was also the subject of another dispute with India. The Indus Basin is the source for irrigating agricultural land in the region and for West Pakistan in particular. The vast majority of the Indus Basin was located in Pakistan with 74.8 million acres of the Basin in Pakistan and only 7.6 million in India.²⁵ Of thirteen canal systems, ten were in Pakistan, two in India and one was divided between them. The Boundary Commission recommended joint control of the Basin, but as tensions increased between the two countries, this compromise was rejected by both Jinnah and Nehru. A temporary Standstill Agreement maintained pre-partition arrangements until 31 March 1948.²⁶ But after its expiry, India stopped the flow of water into two canals which irrigated about 1.7 million acres in Pakistan. This had serious consequences for Pakistan's economy which was highly dependent on agriculture. A leading water expert and the former chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority in the US, David Lilienthal, said, "No army with bombs and shellfire could devastate a land as thoroughly as [West] Pakistan

²¹ "Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan's Speech at the Security Council", *Official Records*, Third year, No. S.1-10 15, 1948, p. 97.

²² *Dawn*, 9 August, 1951.

²³ General Mohammad Ayub Khan's Speech, *Dawn*, 30 January 1957.

²⁴ Interview with Brig. Agha Ahmed Gul, Quetta, 25 April 2012.

²⁵ *The Agricultural Development of Pakistan Handbook* (Islamabad: Film and Publication Broadcasting, 1980), p.9.

²⁶ Permanent Court of Arbitration. International Bureau, *Resolution of International Water disputes: Papers Emanating from the Sixth PCA International Law Seminar, November 8, 2002* (The Hague: Kulwer Law International, 2003), p. 185.

could be devastated by the simple expedient of India's permanently shutting off the sources of water that keep the fields and the people of [West] Pakistan alive."²⁷

This loss of water was just one of many problems to affect Pakistan's economy as a result of partition. Pakistan produced grain and other agricultural products, such as sugarcane, cotton, and hides and skins which, before partition, were shipped to India for processing. After partition, this trade was lost and the industries badly hit as Pakistan did not have its own processing facilities.

As stated earlier, the economy of Pakistan was mainly agricultural and the majority of the population was made up of poor farmers. Many of the Hindus who migrated from Pakistan to India were professional traders and skilled workers, while most of the refugees who migrated to Pakistan were unskilled rural labourers. As a result, Pakistan faced a lack of skilled and professional personnel and a business class more specifically.²⁸ All the major cities, Delhi, Madras (Chennai), Bombay (Mumbai) and Calcutta (Kolkata), which had been developed by the British as principal economic and administrative centres, were located in India. Over 90% of industry was based in India, and Lahore was the only city in Pakistan which was of economic and cultural significance.²⁹

Pakistan's comparative weakness was particularly important in the context of the ongoing crisis in Kashmir. Before partition, there were 562 Princely States, all of which enjoyed autonomy under British rule, but at independence each had to decide whether to join India or Pakistan. The rulers were advised that, in deciding, they should consider the majority religious belief of their population and their geographical proximity to India and Pakistan.³⁰ In Kashmir, which bordered both countries, the ruler, Maharaja Hari Singh, was Hindu, but the population over which he ruled was 77% Muslim.³¹ Singh postponed making a decision because he neither wanted to be a part of India because he feared the democratisation

²⁷ David E. Lilienthal, "Another 'Korea' in the Making?" *Collier's Magazine*, 4 August 1951, p. 58.

²⁸ See Stephen Nutt and Jean Bottaro, *History of the IB Diploma: Nationalist and Independence Movements* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 93; Karl J. Schmidt, *An Atlas and Survey of South Asian History*, (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1995), p. 52.

²⁹ Manoranjan Dutta, *The Asian Economy and Asian Money* (UK: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2009), p. 70.

³⁰ William J. Barnds, *India, Pakistan and the Great Powers* (New York: Praeger Publishing, 1972), p. 36.

³¹ Owen Bennett Jones, *Pakistan: Eye of the Storm* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 59-60.

process taking place there, nor did he want to join Muslim Pakistan.³² Despite pressure from Ghandi and Mountbatten, he remained undecided and a tribal rebellion erupted against Singh's rule in the Poonch region of Kashmir which demanded accession to Pakistan.³³ Singh sent in the troops to quell the rebellion and thousands of Muslims were killed. In response, some 2,000 tribesmen from Pakistan's North West Frontier Province joined the rebels and took control of the western and northern regions of Kashmir on 2 October 1947, naming them Azad Kashmir (Free Kashmir).³⁴ Two days later, the Maharaja signed an instrument of accession to India and asked for the urgent dispatch of Indian troops, which defeated the rebels and took control of two thirds of the state of Kashmir.³⁵ Pakistan refused to accept the Kashmiri accession, and a military conflict started with India which only ended in January 1949 when the UN Security Council mediated a ceasefire. The UN, with agreement from Pakistan and India, directed that a plebiscite should be held to establish the wishes of the Kashmiri people, but it was never held because of India's later opposition. The ceasefire line, called the Line of Control (LOC), is a *de facto* border between Azad Kashmir under the control of Pakistan and the Jammu Kashmir under the control of India. It is not officially recognised by either country and is the root cause of running problems and subsequent wars between Pakistan and India.³⁶

In addition to these crises and disputes, independence was the catalyst for security threats to the internal integrity of Pakistan. Beneath the apparent unity of Islam, ethnic division created conditions for secessionist claims and resentments in the Pashtun regions, most notably in Balochistan and in East Pakistan. Pashtun tribes have lived for centuries in an area straddling the current Afghan-Pakistan border. In creating Afghanistan as a buffer state, the frontier drawn by the British (the Durand Line) intentionally divided the Pashtun tribes living there to reduce their disruptive capacity. The majority were mostly incorporated into the border

³² W. Norman Brown, *The United States, India and Pakistan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), p. 162.

³³ Prem Nath Bazaz, *The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir* (New Delhi: Kashmir Publishing Co., 1954), p. 138.

³⁴ Paul Bower, "Kashmir", *Research Paper 4/28*, International Affairs and Defence, House of Commons Library, London, United Kingdom, 2004, <<http://www.parliament.uk/documents/commons/lib/research/rp2004/rp04-028.pdf>> [accessed 14 July/2013]

³⁵ Rizwanul Islam, *Economic Integration in South Asia: Charting a Legal Roadmap*, (The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2012), p. 131.

³⁶ Anis Chowdhury and Wahiduddin Mahmud, *Handbook on South Asian Economies* (UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2008), p. 63.

states of the Raj, in what would become Balochistan and NWFP (North West Frontier Province, now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), while the remainder were in Afghanistan. In a complex of issues, the British-administered Pashtun community was uncertain about Muslim separatism and, when partition looked inevitable, its leader, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, demanded the creation of an independent Pashtunistan. Afghanistan then claimed the treaties with Britain, including the Durand Line, were no longer valid and demanded the creation of an independent Pashtun state to reunite tribes on both sides of the border. These demands were rejected, but Afghanistan voted against Pakistan's admission to the UN on account of this dispute. This left Pakistan's leaders concerned about the security of their Western border and its vulnerability to both Afghan and Indian agitation, particularly if co-ordinated with activity in Kashmir.³⁷

The Balochi are another ethnic group with their own language on the borders of Afghanistan and Iran and along a large section of the Pakistani coast. On the day after Pakistan's independence from India, the leader of the Balochi State of Kalat declared independence from Pakistan. This defiance only lasted until March 1948 but created a cycle of agitation and suppression which resulted in a low level guerrilla campaign. Fears for the security of these areas were heightened by the fact that their loss would mean the rest of Pakistan could only access the sea through Sindh Province. This would become more critical once the deep sea port of Gwadar was bought from the Sultan of Oman in 1957 and incorporated into Balochistan Province.³⁸

The Bengalis formed the majority of the population in East Pakistan and their main exports were cotton and jute. However, they began to feel marginalised as the government was dominated by the political elite in West Pakistan. This perception was greatly exacerbated when Urdu was adopted as the official language throughout Pakistan. This became the catalyst for the Awami League which sought to cultivate Bengali sentiment and resentment towards West Pakistan.³⁹ How this situation developed into a drive for secession and the subsequent civil war will be explored in Chapter 3.

³⁷ Hussain Haqqani, *Pakistan between Mosque and Military* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2005), pp. 160-162.

³⁸ Michael Rubin "When Realities Collide: Differing US-Pakistan Threat Perceptions" in Butt and Schofield (eds.), *Pakistan: The US, Geopolitics and Grand Strategies*, p. 52.

³⁹ Interview with Brig. Agha Gul, Quetta, 25 April, 2012

1.3 The Process of Alliance Building

The economic weakness of Pakistan and its perceived security threats, especially in relation to India, compelled the new government in Karachi to seek foreign allies. Like many nations at the time, Pakistan turned to the United States for help. However, it took all of seven years for Islamabad to be accepted into the US system of alliances. An examination of the process and decisions which led to this exposes the ambiguous foundations upon which the relationship was first formed. This section also examines what alternatives Pakistan had in its choice of allies in the context of the Cold War and how the US emerged as its favoured ally. It also examines how American strategic aims made India its first choice of regional partner but ended up heavily allied to Pakistan.

In line with ideals of Muslim unity and non-alignment, it was natural for Pakistan to approach Turkey and Iran, but these countries were unable to offer the support Pakistan wanted because of their own relationship to India.⁴⁰ Turkey and Iran had historical, cultural, linguistic and economic ties to India. Approximately 20% of Indian Muslims shared Iran's Shia faith, whilst the two countries also traded extensively with each other.⁴¹ The Turkish Prime Minister, Bulent Ecevit, for his part, also made a point of letting India know that he sometimes consulted the Hindu Holy Book, the Bhagavad Gita. Other Middle East countries also shrank from taking sides because they were reluctant to antagonise India as the largest non-aligned nation. India's leading role in that organisation effectively excluded Pakistan from taking up its chosen position in the non-aligned movement.

Pakistan was also disappointed with Britain and the Commonwealth for being unwilling to intervene in the Kashmir dispute. As a dispute between member countries, the Commonwealth had avoided addressing the issue and had no machinery for enforcing its actions in any case.⁴² When he returned from the 1951 Commonwealth Conference after India had refused to hold the agreed plebiscite in Kashmir, Liaquat declared, "Pakistan must not be taken for granted.

⁴⁰ Richard Sisson and Leo E. Rose, *War and Secession: Pakistan, India and the Creation of Bangladesh* (California: University of California Press, 1991), p. 47.

⁴¹ Aparna Pande, *Explaining Pakistan's Foreign Policy: Escaping India* (New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 141-142.

⁴² Latif Ahmed Sherwani, *India, China and Pakistan* (Karachi: Council for Pakistan Studies, 1967), p. 21.

Pakistan is not a camp-follower of the Commonwealth.”⁴³ With China still in the throes of revolution this left Pakistan with little choice other than to abandon its non-aligned aspirations and to take sides in the gathering Cold War.

As Pakistan was founded on the basis of the Islamic religion, it was more reluctant to ally with the Soviet Union because of its official atheist doctrine and its record of suppressing religious practice. The words, “communist” and “non-believer”, were viewed in some Pakistani cultures as synonymous. The poor image of the Soviet Union was further exacerbated by its perceived threat to Pakistan security. In Jinnah’s vision of Islamic solidarity, “Muslim countries would stand together against possible Russian aggression and would look to the US for assistance.”⁴⁴ Jinnah also understood the geo-political significance of the region in Cold War calculations and the attraction of Pakistan in strategic terms to US policy-makers: “America needs Pakistan more than Pakistan needs America Pakistan is the pivot of the world ...”⁴⁵ For their part, the Americans had shown little sympathy for a separate Muslim state prior to partition, but policy-makers did recognise Pakistan’s potential importance strategically. For example, the US Secretary of State, George C. Marshall, reminded President Truman that Pakistan, after independence, will become “the largest Muslim country in the world and will occupy one of the most strategic areas in the world”.⁴⁶ As a result of such calculations, the US was one of the first nations to establish diplomatic relations with Pakistan, appointing an Ambassador to Islamabad on 22 September 1947.

Jinnah was equally quick in asking Washington for aid. In September 1947, he sent a special envoy, Laik Ali, to Washington to negotiate a \$2 billion loan and to highlight his country’s need of economic and military development.⁴⁷ His diplomatic memorandum to the State Department confirms Pakistan’s early Western focus and priorities:

⁴³ Jamna Das Akhtar, *Political Conspiracies in Pakistan: Liaquat Ali’s Murder to Ayub Khan’s Exit* (Delhi: Punjabi Pustak Bhandar, 1969), p. 197.

⁴⁴ Dennis Kux, *Disenchanted Allies*, p. 13.

⁴⁵ Margaret Bourke-White, *Interview with India: In the Words and Picture of Margret Bourke White* (London: Phoenix House, 1950), p. 92.

⁴⁶ George Marshall, “Memorandum to the President (Harry S. Truman)”, 17 July 1947, in K. Arif (ed.), *America-Pakistan Relations – Documents* (Lahore: Vanguard Books Ltd. 1984), p. 3.

⁴⁷ M.S. Venkataramani, *The American Role in Pakistan: 1947-1958*, (Lahore: Vanguard Books Ltd, 1984), p. 17.

Primarily defence, and secondly, economic developments are the two vitally essential features of Pakistan's life, and for both of these she has to look, firstly, to the USA, and then to Great Britain, for assistance.⁴⁸

However, the US was, at that time, more focussed on Europe and the Middle East, and therefore rejected the request. Nevertheless, a comparatively small sum of \$10 million was offered from America's war relief funds. Within a month of Laik Ali's visit to Washington, even these rather small steps towards a meaningful alliance with America faced a serious setback due to the explosion of war in Kashmir. Much to Pakistan's displeasure, the US declined to take sides in the conflict and, instead, Washington placed an arms embargo on both Pakistan and India.⁴⁹ This effectively tilted the power-balance in favour of India because of its considerable military superiority over Pakistan. At the time, the US did not wish to prejudice its relationship with India, but the growing threat of Soviet expansion was to bring the US and Pakistan together again in the coming years.

Pakistan used its geo-strategic importance and Islamic antipathy towards communism to campaign for military and economic aid in line with US containment policy. As early as August 1947, a series of Pakistani officials, including the Ambassador to Washington, the Foreign Minister and Prime Minister assured the US Secretary of State that communism was contrary to Islam and that Pakistan was anxious to maintain its stand against communist infiltrators.⁵⁰ The following year, Ambassador MAH Ispahani went further and suggested that Pakistan could become a base for both military and air operations against Soviet threat. "It is in the interest of other nations besides Pakistan," he said, "that Pakistan should remain well equipped and strong, ready to meet any emergency that the international situation may hurl upon the world."⁵¹ On a visit to Cairo in May 1949, Prime Minister Liaquat said Pakistan would help combat communist penetration in South East Asia.⁵² He added that in the confrontation

⁴⁸ Mir Laik Ali Khan, "Memorandum of the Government of Pakistan to the US State Department on its Requirement of Financial and Military Assistance", October 1947, in K. Arif (ed.), *America-Pakistan Relations*, p. 5.

⁴⁹ Memorandum of Secretary of State Marshall to President Truman recommending the imposition of an "informal" embargo on export of military material to India and Pakistan, 11 March 1948, K. Arif (ed.), *America-Pakistan Relations*, pp. 8-9. The President Truman approved Marshall's recommendation on 12 March 1948 and it came into effect immediately.

⁵⁰ *Department of State Bulletin*, No. 336, 17 August 1947 (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1947), p. 13.

⁵¹ Venkataramani, *The American role in Pakistan*, p. 61.

⁵² Burke, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy*, p. 148.

with communism, “the Muslim countries between Cairo and Karachi had an important part to play. It should be the concern of the Western powers to strengthen the Middle East countries.”⁵³

This campaign was unsuccessful in gaining more aid for Pakistan, but the testing of the Soviet atomic bomb and the communist revolution in China in 1949, followed by the communist invasion of South Korea in 1950 alarmed US policy-makers. They were particularly concerned about the security of the oil-fields in the Middle East and, in an echo of the Anglo-Russian “Great Game” of the previous century, they also suspected the Soviet Union had intentions to gain access to warm water ports and the wider Indian Ocean through Afghanistan and Pakistan. As a result of these concerns, America’s attention turned from 1949 more towards South Asia.

The Americans’ first choice of partner in South Asia, however, was India, and they invited Prime Minister Nehru to visit Washington in October 1949, much to the concern of the Pakistan leadership.⁵⁴ In the event, two factors brought Pakistan and the US together. First, the USSR capitalised on Pakistan’s concerns, and on 3 June 1949 invited Prime Minister Liaquat to visit Moscow – an invitation which was initially accepted with enthusiasm.⁵⁵ This acceptance did not represent a reversal in Pakistan’s overall foreign policy strategy. Instead, it was to emphasise that the US should not take Pakistan for granted and to put it in a better bargaining position with Washington. This is illustrated in Ambassador Ispahani’s letter to Prime Minister Liaquat.

Your acceptance of the invitation to visit Moscow was a masterpiece in strategy ... Until a few months ago, we were unable to obtain anything except a few words from middling State Department officials. We were taken much for granted as good boys who would not play ball with communism or flirt with the left; boys who would starve and die rather than even talk to communists ... we were treated as a country that did not seriously matter. On the other hand, the US Government paid much attention to India.... [But after the Liaquat acceptance of the invitation to visit Moscow], overnight Pakistan began to receive the serious notice and consideration of the US Government.⁵⁶

The second factor was that Nehru used his US visit to emphasise his concept of non-alignment. He explained, “we have no intentions to commit

⁵³ *The Times*, 13 May 1949.

⁵⁴ Kalim Bahadur, *Democracy in Pakistan: Crisis and Conflicts* (New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications, 1998), p. 231.

⁵⁵ Shri Ram Sharma, *India-USSR Relations, 1947-1971: From Ambivalence to Steadfastness* (New Delhi: Discovery Publishing House, 1999), p. 24.

⁵⁶ Robert J. McMahon, *The Cold War on the Periphery: The United States, India and Pakistan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), p. 71.

ourselves to anybody at any time” and, when asked where India stood in the Cold War, he replied, “India wants no part of that war.”⁵⁷ He went on to explain that Indian foreign policy would be, “the pursuit of peace, not through alignment with any major power or group of powers, but through an independent approach to each controversial or disputed issue.”⁵⁸

This clear statement disappointed the US, and in December 1949 Washington decided to invite a Pakistani delegation to visit.⁵⁹ As a result, instead of going to Moscow, Prime Minister Liaquat met President Truman in Washington in May 1950.⁶⁰ The US State Department’s policy note, drafted a month ahead of the visit, suggested that the Soviet flirtation may have been significant: “The principal US objectives were the orientation of Pakistan’s Government and people towards the US and other western countries and to wean it away from the Soviet Union.”⁶¹

For his part, Prime Minister Liaquat had three objectives for his three-week visit to the United States. First, to bring his newly-born country close to the US politically; second, to get help to develop Pakistan’s economy; and third, to procure US arms and weapons. To these ends, Liaquat emphasised once more Pakistan’s antipathy towards communism, its preference for liberty, democracy and private property, and its preference for US economic and military assistance. In discussions with military officials, he highlighted the fighting qualities of Pakistan’s anti-communist Muslim warriors.⁶² He also explained the cultural and ideological relationship between Pakistan and other countries of the Middle East. In this way, Liaquat sought to link Pakistan’s military strength to creating long-lasting stability in the area.⁶³ Finally, the Pakistan Prime Minister also emphasised the geo-political significance of both parts of his country, drawing on historical precedents:

⁵⁷ *New York Times*, 16 October, 1949.

⁵⁸ M.J. Akbar, *Pakistan Today* (New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1998), p. 55.

⁵⁹ Syed Hussain Shaheed Soherwordi, “US Foreign Policy Shift towards Pakistan between 1965 and 1971”, *Research Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1, January-June 2010, p. 24.

⁶⁰ Rais Ahmad Khan, *Forty Years of Pakistan-United States Relations*, (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1990), pp. 23-24.

⁶¹ *FRUS*, Foreign Relations of United States, “The Near East, South Asia and Africa”, Vol. V, “*Policy of the United States with Respect to Pakistan*” 3 April, 1950, United States Department of State, Washington, <<http://images.library.wisc.edu/FRUS/EFacs/1950v05/reference/frus.frus1950v05.i0021.pdf>> [Accessed 13 November 2012].

⁶² *Dawn*, 21 June, 1950.

⁶³ Liaquat Ali Khan, *Pakistan: The Heart of Asia, A Collection of Speeches in the US and Canada during May and June 1950*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), p. 6.

Whereas one borders on Burma, not far from where the Japanese advance was halted in the last war, the other borders on Iran and Afghanistan and has an important situation in relation to the communications to and from the oil-bearing areas of the Middle East. This part also controls the mountain passes through which the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent has been invaded ninety times in the past centuries.⁶⁴

It is important to note, however, that Liaquat was always clear that Pakistan sought its own security first and foremost. When asked at a press conference how large a standing army Pakistan wanted, Liaquat replied, “if your country guarantee[s] our territorial integrity, I will not keep [an] army at all.”⁶⁵ Liaquat’s desire to cooperate impressed the Americans but his request for military aid was not seriously considered at the time.⁶⁶ However, just a month after the visit, war broke out in Korea prompting an American rethink. In February 1951, a meeting of US ambassadors to South Asian countries in Colombo favoured the participation of Pakistan in the defence of Middle East countries.⁶⁷ In May 1952, the Director of the State Department’s policy planning staff, Paul Nitze, criticised Western weakness in the Middle East and recommended direct US involvement in the defence of the region, including assistance to Pakistan.⁶⁸ Assistant Secretary of State, George C. McGhee had gone further in April, 1951 saying, “Pakistan’s contribution would probably be the decisive factor in ensuring defence of the area.”⁶⁹

It was believed in the US that Pakistan wanted to be its ally because it saw communism as the main threat to its security and that of the free world. That perception may have been further encouraged by Pakistan’s then Ambassador, Muhammad Ali, who, confirmed in the summer of 1952 that his country had abandoned neutralism and was clearly on the side of the West. “Do not count Pakistan as a neutral nation in Asia,” he said. “Our basic sympathies are strongly with the West.”⁷⁰ Despite Pakistan being seen increasingly as a potential asset by the US, Washington remained reluctant to give military aid. The fear was that arming Pakistan could entangle the US in disputes between Pakistan and India

⁶⁴ Liaquat Ali Khan’s speech at the Town Hall of Los Angeles, 18 May 1950, in K. Arif (ed.), *America-Pakistan Relations*, pp 33-34.

⁶⁵ Pande, *Explaining Pakistan’s Foreign Policy*, p. 92.

⁶⁶ Kux, *Disenchanted Allies*, p. 34.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p. 45.

⁶⁸ McMahan, *The Cold War on the Periphery*, p. 132.

⁶⁹ Michael James Lacey, *The Truman Presidency* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 359-360.

⁷⁰ *Dawn*, 13 June, 1952.

which would have been a distraction from the main business of containing communism.⁷¹

Prime Minister Liaquat was assassinated on 16 October 1951 at a public meeting in Rawalpindi. The circumstances of the incident, in which the alleged assassin was also immediately shot dead, and the subsequent failure of the authorities to fully investigate, led to a theory that the US orchestrated the killing in retaliation for Liaquat's earlier flirtation with the USSR.⁷² This seems unlikely given Liaquat's rather successful visit to the United States just over a year before his assassination. Whatever the truth of such claims, conspiracy theories involving US participation in Pakistan's political life have always resonated among the people of Pakistan.

The US now had two main reasons for choosing Pakistan as its closest ally in South Asia - its strategic location between the Persian Gulf and East Asia; and its willingness, unlike India, to work with Washington. US policy-makers had come largely to accept the importance of Pakistan in its defence of Middle East against communist expansion.⁷³ Moreover, Pakistan had military facilities, such as airfields, from which the Persian Gulf could be controlled and defended, and its army could also be used for the defence of that region.⁷⁴ Besides West Pakistan's strategic importance for the defence of Middle East, East Pakistan also formed the western border of Southeast Asia. Thus Pakistan as a whole formed an important connection of defence systems between the Middle East and Southeast Asia.⁷⁵ This meant that Pakistan was of strategic importance to the defence of the free world out of proportion to her general resources.⁷⁶

Nevertheless, continuing concerns over Pakistan's relationship with India, together with a desire to avoid being dragged into a conflict over Kashmir, led the Truman administration to act cautiously in its relations with Pakistan. This began to change when Dwight Eisenhower became US President in 1953, with the

⁷¹ Kux, *Disenchanted Allies*, p. 47.

⁷² Mowahid Hussain Shah, "Killing Kennedy and Liaquat Ali", *The Nation*, 5 December, 2013; Interview with Brig. Agha Gul, Quetta, April 20, 2012.

⁷³ Annpurna Nautiyal, *Challenges to India's Foreign Policy in the New Era* (New Delhi: Gyan Books, 2006), 241.

⁷⁴ Behcet Kemal Yesilbursa, *The Baghdad Pact: Anglo-American Defence Policies in the Middle East, 1950-59* (New York, Frank Cass, 2005), p. 26.

⁷⁵ Rizwan Hussain, R., *Pakistan and the Emergence of Islamic militancy in Afghanistan*, (London: Ashgate, 2005), p. 69.

⁷⁶ Lord Birdwood, "Reflection on Pakistan in International Relations", *Pakistan Quarterly*. Vol. 5, Spring, 1955, p. 6.

hawkish John Foster Dulles as his Secretary of State. Dulles advocated alliances as a means by which the power of the USSR and China could be contained in the region. With this in mind, he visited both India and Pakistan in May that year. India stuck to its non-aligned approach and declined to join any such alliance, but Pakistan leapt at the chance. Dulles concluded that “Pakistan occupies a high position in the Muslim world. The strong spiritual faith of the people makes them a dependable bulwark against communism.”⁷⁷

Now that communism had spread beyond the USSR, Dulles observed that “Communist China borders on northern territories held by Pakistan and from Pakistan’s northern borders one can see the Soviet Union. Pakistan flanks Iran and the Middle East and guards the Khyber Pass, the historic invasion route from the north into the subcontinent.”⁷⁸ By November, *The New York Times* had become enthusiastic about Pakistan as a potential ally in the cold war. An editorial argued that “there is plenty of courage and skill among the Pakistanis for a first class fighting force, if one is needed.”⁷⁹ The US Secretaries of State and Defence had calculated that Pakistan’s active support might be obtained without involving unmanageable problems with India.⁸⁰ However, when the US informed India of its intention to provide military aid to Pakistan, Nehru accused Pakistan of bringing the Cold War to South Asia, and used this as part of an excuse to rescind India’s earlier agreement to the Kashmir plebiscite.⁸¹ Nehru was also deeply concerned over the possibility of war with its neighbour. In response, President Eisenhower wrote to assure him that if US aid to Pakistan was misused or directed against another country, he would act, “both within and without the United Nations to thwart such aggression.”⁸²

On 25 February 1954, Eisenhower formally announced his decision to give military aid and assistance to Pakistan. This was enthusiastically welcomed in Pakistan. Prime Minister Muhammad Ali declared, “Pakistan today enters a

⁷⁷ *Pakistan Horizon*, Pakistan Institute of Foreign Relations, Karachi, Volume 6-7, 1953, p. 176; *Bulletin*, United States Department of State, Vol. 28, May 25 May 1953, p. 88.

⁷⁸ M.A. Choudhry, *Foundation of Pakistan’s Foreign Policy*, (Karachi: University Press Karachi, 1964), p. 83.

⁷⁹ *The New York Times*, 5 November 1953.

⁸⁰ Arif, *America-Pakistan Relations*, p. 7.

⁸¹ Sangat Singh, *Pakistan’s Foreign Policy: An Appraisal* (Lahore: Farhan Asia Publishers, 1977), p. 55; Ejaz Aslam Qureshi, *Pakistan and South Asian Environment* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1991), p. 75.

⁸² Norman Dunbar Palmer, *The United States and India: The Dimension of Influence* (New York: Praeger Special Studies, 1986), p. 21.

glorious chapter in its history, and is now cast for a significant role in world affairs.”⁸³ Thus, on 19 May 1954, the US and Pakistan signed their first defence agreement called the Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement (MDAA), providing formal confirmation of Pakistan’s alignment with the West. By joining the US military alliance against the leading communist powers, Pakistan took a serious risk of Chinese and Soviet hostility, but it was ready to take that risk as long as the US military aid would allow it to build up its defence capabilities sufficiently to counter the Indian threat.

As arrangements for the MDAA were being completed, communist forces achieved an unexpected military success against the French in Vietnam. With substantial encouragement and support from Mao,⁸⁴ Viet Minh forces surrounded the French garrison at Dien Bien Phu on 13 March 1954 forcing the French to surrender and withdraw from the country. This prompted Dulles to reconsider how to contain communism in Indochina.⁸⁵ The US feared that if regional states opposing communism were left militarily and economically undefended, and were allowed to fall, they would become communist and ultimately seek an alliance with China and the Soviet Union, denying the whole region to the US.⁸⁶

The Chinese were now an added threat to the region backed by the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance of 1950.⁸⁷ As a result, the US sponsored defence alliances in the region in addition to giving military and economic support. On 5 September 1954, the South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) was formed comprising Pakistan, the US, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, Britain, France and Thailand. As well as being committed to deterring aggression, the treaty stressed the goals of economic development and social well-being within the member countries.⁸⁸

The formation of SEATO was welcomed by Muhammad Ali. “Neutralism is no longer possible and Pakistan had to choose between seeing eye to eye with communism or the Western powers.”⁸⁹ By the following year, however,

⁸³ Dawn, 26 February, 1954.

⁸⁴ John Lewis Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 162.

⁸⁵ Cheema, *Pakistan’s Defence Policy, 1947-1958*, p. 136.

⁸⁶ *Bulletin*, United States Department of State, Vol. 28, 25 May 1953, pp. 735-741.

⁸⁷ Abdul Mannan Bagaulia, *Encyclopaedia of Human Geography* (Set of 3 Volumes.) (New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 2005), p. 224.

⁸⁸ *SEATO Record*, South Asian Treaty Organisation, Volume 1, Issues 3-12, 1960, p. 77.

⁸⁹ *New York Times*, 8 September 1954.

Pakistan's commitment seemed more nuanced. Prime Minister Ali met with the Chinese Premier, Chou-en-Lai, at the African-Asian Bandung Conference of 1955 to emphasise that joining SEATO was not an aggressive act towards China. Chou declared that Ali had told him that, although Pakistan was a party to a military treaty, it was not aimed at China.

Pakistan had no fear China would permit aggression against her. As a result of that, we achieved mutual understanding although we are still against military treaties. The Prime Minister of Pakistan further assured us that if the US should take aggressive action under the military treaty or if the US launched global war, Pakistan would not be involved in it
....⁹⁰

Therefore, despite SEATO, China maintained an accommodating relationship with Pakistan, and in October 1956, the new Pakistani Prime Minister Suhrawardy paid an official visit to Beijing. He again assured Chou-en-Lai that, "SEATO was exclusively a defence pact" and that "Pakistan would like to strengthen relations with China."⁹¹ In reply Chou declared that SEATO would never impair and weaken the relationship between Pakistan and China. This understanding was important since the two countries shared a common border, and the statement of understanding was possible because China also had territorial disputes with India.

The US formed another international organisation in its continued policy of containment. Initially known as the Baghdad Pact, it became the Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO) comprising Pakistan, Turkey, Iran, Iraq and the UK, and its main aims were to defend the Middle East and protect its oil fields. Although it was CENTO's main sponsor, the US did not join the pact, opting for observer status only. Aware of Arab anti-Western sentiment in the region it concluded that full membership would create more problems than it would solve.⁹² US Ambassador Gallman noted the interplay between foreign and domestic politics in making the decision to stay out of CENTO. "The United States stayed out in order to avoid antagonising Egypt, to side-step objections from Israel and to prevent a Senate fight over ratification during an election year."⁹³ Without the US, it was

⁹⁰ Rasul Bux Rais, *China and Pakistan: A Political Analysis of Mutual Relations* (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1977), p. 55.

⁹¹ Abdul Qazi Zia, *Pakistan-American Relations in the Nineteen Fifties* (Hong Kong: Asian Research Service, 1990), p. 84.

⁹² Richard Crockatt, *The Fifty Years War: The United States and the Soviet Union in World Politics, 1941-1991*, (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 179.

⁹³ Waldemar J. Gallman, *Iraq under General Nuri: My Recollection of Nuri al-Said, 1954-1958*, (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1964), p. 58.

feared that the alliance would be insignificant, so Pakistan initially deferred joining. However, under pressure from other CENTO members, it finally joined in June 1955.⁹⁴ Joining these two international organisations signified that Pakistan was now undeniably a member of the Western bloc. However, this membership was controversial in the country and led to widespread opposition and disorder in the country.

Long-standing differences between East and West Pakistan persisted and now became focused on foreign policy. Important sections of the press and the main political parties of East Pakistan, including the Azad Pakistan Party, the Awami League and the National Awami Party, were opposed to membership of SEATO and CENTO, which they saw as undermining Pakistan's newly-won sovereignty and constraining commercial freedom.⁹⁵ In February 1957, Moulana Bhashani, an influential, anti-imperialist and political leader of East Pakistan, demanded the cancellation of the alliance agreements and warned he would fight for an independent and neutral foreign policy.⁹⁶ This opposition seriously concerned the military, particularly its Commander-in-Chief, General Ayub Khan, who saw the US as the only route to a speedy modernisation of the armed forces and had been personally involved in persuading the US to ally itself with Pakistan.⁹⁷ The nation's first general election was planned for April 1959, and both Ayub and the US feared that if it were allowed to go ahead those elected might take Pakistan out of SEATO and CENTO. So the US, backed by President Mirza, encouraged Ayub to stage a coup in order to derail the election.⁹⁸

Ayub Khan declared Martial Law on 7 October 1958, Mirza then abrogated the new democratic constitution which had only been in place for two years, branding Pakistani politicians as traitors because of their "unintelligent and

⁹⁴ Cheema, *Pakistan's Defence Policy, 1947-1958*, p. 142.

⁹⁵ Hassan Hafizur Rahman, Ministry of Information, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, *Bangladesher Swadhinata Juddher Dalilpatra* (Bangladesh War of Independence Documents), Volume 1, 1982, Reprinted by Hakkani Publishers, Dhaka, 2003, p. 73. Henceforth referred to as BSJD; Oli Ahad, *Jatiya Rajniti: 1945 to 1975: National Politics: 1945 to 1975*, 2nd edition, Dhaka, Bangladesh Co-operative Book Society Ltd, Dhaka, Bangladesh, 1975; Rai, *Reading in Pakistan's Foreign Policy*, p. 231.

⁹⁶ Mohammad H.R. Talukdar, *Memoirs of Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy*, (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 1987), p. 117.

⁹⁷ McMahan, *The Cold War on the Periphery*, p. 163.

⁹⁸ Altaf Gauhar, *Ayub Khan: Pakistan's First Military Ruler* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 4.

irresponsible criticism” of foreign policy.⁹⁹ President Mirza declared all political parties to be illegal, dismissed the Cabinet, dissolved the National and Provincial assemblies and imprisoned opposition leaders. Finally, he appointed Ayub as the Chief Administrator of Martial Law. Mirza had miscalculated, however. By appointing Ayub to this post he had effectively made his own position as President superfluous. The General deposed him on 27 October 1958 and assumed the title of Field Marshal. In this role, he became the sole political leader of Pakistan.¹⁰⁰

There is evidence that the US and the British knew in advance of the coup. Mirza had informed them about his plan to assume absolute power, and even divulged the planned date.¹⁰¹ Nawaz claims that Dulles advised Mirza that whilst the US favoured democracy over authoritarianism there may be exceptions justifiable for limited periods, but such issues were for Pakistan's leaders and people to decide. “In effect,” Nawaz argued, “the green light was given for Martial Law.”¹⁰² The British High Commissioner, Alexander Symon, also instructed his officials to destroy any “papers held in this office which indicate that we knew in advance [about the coup] to be destroyed”.¹⁰³

Thus the US and Britain, either approved the coup, or at a minimum, turned a blind eye to it. The coup leaders were perceived to be pro-Western, and military rule was justified as being the best way to bring development, modernisation and even democratisation to the country. Within four days of the coup, Ayub received best wishes from the US Chargee d’Affaires and a letter of friendship from US Defence Secretary, Neil McElroy, who also told his Foreign Relations Committee that he was “inclined to believe well of our friends.”¹⁰⁴ Ayub was eager to reassure his American allies of his country’s continued loyalty to the West. “Recent developments have, if anything, strengthened Pakistan’s

⁹⁹*Dawn*, 8 October, 1958.

¹⁰⁰ Hasan Askari Rizvi “Op-ed: Significance of October 27”, *Daily Times Archives*, 27 October 2003, <<http://arc-hives.dailytimes.com.pk/editorial/27-Oct-2003/op-ed-significance-of-october27>> [Accessed 20 March 2013].

¹⁰¹Rizvi, “Op-ed: Significance of October 27”.

¹⁰² Shuja Nawaz, “Pakistan-US Roller Coaster Relationship”, *Politics*, 14 November, 2007, <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/shuja-nawaz/the-us-pakistan-roller-coa_b_72605.html> [Accessed 2 January 2013].

¹⁰³ Roedad Khan, *The British Papers Secret and Confidential India, Pakistan, Bangladesh Documents 1958-1969* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 40.

¹⁰⁴ M.S.Venkataramini, M.S. and H.C. Arya, “America’s Military Alliance with Pakistan: The Evolution and Course of an Uneasy Relationship”, *International Studies*, Vol. 8, 1967, p. 100.

faithfulness to its alliances,” he said. “Pakistan is more than ever on the side of the free people of the West”¹⁰⁵ Ayub made it plain that he thought continued aid, which he saw as a matter of life and death for Pakistan, should be his country’s reward for such loyalty.¹⁰⁶ Most significantly, US aid increased from \$67 million in 1955 to \$145 million after the coup. It seems that President Eisenhower was content to have Ayub as a military dictator better to ensure a long-lasting alliance with Pakistan.¹⁰⁷ To further strengthen that alliance, in December 1959, Eisenhower became the first US President to visit the country.¹⁰⁸ In this way, the US started what was to be a consistent pattern of turning a blind eye to military coups in Pakistan and supporting the dictators that took power. This suggests that, for the US, tolerating the suppression of democracy was a price worth paying for furthering its national interests and deterring communist expansionism.

The new military regime ensured that the military alliance remained intact.¹⁰⁹ The US became even closer to Ayub as Washington sent civilian advisors to Pakistan. In return, the US used Pakistani airbases to maintain surveillance of Soviet territory.¹¹⁰ Ayub assured the US that “Pakistan will stand by you if you stand by Pakistan.”¹¹¹ In that spirit, he signed a bilateral defence agreement with the US on 5 March, 1959. In the agreement, the US said it regarded the preservation of Pakistan’s independence and integrity as “vital to its national interests and to world peace”. Specifically, Article 1 included the undertaking that:

In the case of aggression against Pakistan, the Government of the United States of America will take such appropriate action, including the use of armed forces, as may be

¹⁰⁵ *FRUS* (Foreign Relations of United States), “South and Southeast Asia United”, Vol. 15, Document 335, *Telegram from the Embassy in Pakistan to the Department of State, Karachi*, 31 October, 1958, United States Department of State, Washington, <http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1958_60v15/d334#fnref1> [Accessed 5 December 2012].

¹⁰⁶ *ibid*

¹⁰⁷ Syed Hussain Shaheed Soherwordi, “US Foreign Policy Shift towards Pakistan between 1965 and 1971: Pak-India Wars”, *Research Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1, January-June 2010, <<http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/csas/PDF/Shahed%20Soherwordi%20.pdf>> [Accessed 07 June 2013].

¹⁰⁸ Bruce Reidal, *Deadly Embrace: Pakistan, America, and the Future of the Global Jihad* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 2011), p. 14.

¹⁰⁹ Rai, *Reading in Pakistan’s Foreign Policy*, p. 223.

¹¹⁰ Akbar, *Pakistan Today*, p. 114.

¹¹¹ Leo E. Rose and Noor A. Hussain (eds.), *United States-Pakistan Relations*, (USA: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1985), p. 4.

mutually agreed upon and as envisaged in the Joint Resolution to Promote Peace and Stability in the Middle East, in order to assist Pakistan at its request.¹¹²

On 15 April 1959, the agreement was supplemented by a formal note from the US Ambassador James Langley to the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Manzur Qadir:

The United States would promptly and effectively come to the assistance of Pakistan if it were subjected to armed aggression. A threat to the territorial integrity or political independence of the members (of CENTO) would be viewed by the United States with the utmost gravity.¹¹³

There were those in Pakistan who viewed this as the equivalent of NATO's commitment to collective security in the Washington Treaty.¹¹⁴ Certainly, Article One goes some way towards that interpretation. However, the formal note falls well short of guaranteeing military action if Pakistan were attacked. Any such attack would be "viewed ... with the utmost gravity" allows the US considerable wiggle room. The problem for Washington was that Pakistan viewed this as a commitment to its defence, which led to considerable disappointment when subsequent US administrations interpreted the agreement rather differently. However, the agreement clearly did indicate a far closer relationship between the two countries. Following the agreement, the US gave \$565 million to help modernise Pakistan's air force, including the delivery of 120 F80s, 57 bombers and 12 F140s.¹¹⁵ US aid also came in the form of grants, military sales and military training.

One effect of the agreement was the downturn in Pakistan's relations with the USSR. When Moscow became aware of the negotiations in December 1958, it warned Pakistan that a new military agreement with the US would increase the danger of it being "drawn into the military gambles of these states and complicate the situation in that part of the world which lies in immediate proximity to the Soviet Union, which affects – and cannot but affect – its security interests".¹¹⁶ Pakistan rejected Moscow's warnings on the grounds that the right to collective

¹¹² *United States Treaties and other International Agreements*, Department of State, United States of America, compiled edited, indexed and published by authority of law (1 U.S.C. & 112a) under the direction of the Secretary of State, Vol. 10, part 1, 1959, p. 318.

¹¹³ Abdul Sattar, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1947-2005*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 57.

¹¹⁴ Muhammad Iqbal and Samia Khalid, "Pakistan's Relations with the United States during Ayub Khan's Period", *Pakistaniaat: Journal of Pakistan Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 2011, p.13.

¹¹⁵ Golam Wahed Choudhury, *India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and the Major Powers: Politics of a Divided Subcontinent* (London: The Free Press, 1975), pp. 94-95.

¹¹⁶ Sherwani, *India, China and Pakistan*, p. 90.

security against any danger and threat was accepted under the UN Charter.¹¹⁷ Moscow also made it plain that the bilateral agreement was perceived to be a hostile act and, “the government of the USSR will, naturally, take all the necessary steps towards safeguarding the security of the Soviet frontiers ...”¹¹⁸ These warnings were prescient and resonated when the U2 incident occurred later that year.

Before that, however, Ayub spotted a possible opportunity to bring about a resolution of the Kashmir problem. India and China were preoccupied at the time with an escalating border dispute following an unsuccessful uprising in Tibet. Ayub tried to capitalise on this to resolve differences with India by resurrecting a proposal for the joint defence of the sub-continent against any threat from the north, meaning both the USSR and China.¹¹⁹ On 24 April 1959, he proposed that “in the event of an external threat, Pakistan and India should defend the sub-continent in cooperation with each other.”¹²⁰ However, this would be conditional on India accepting Pakistan’s terms for a settlement in Kashmir and the canal waters dispute.¹²¹ “Once these [issues] are solved, the armies of the two countries could disengage and move to their respective vulnerable frontiers.”¹²²

India’s Commander-in-Chief, General Cariappa, supported the idea precisely because it would release troops for use along its external borders. He acknowledged that the defence problems of India and Pakistan were indivisible: “Pride and prestige factors must be subordinated to achieving the actual need of the hour.”¹²³ India’s High Commissioner in Pakistan, Kewal Singh, was more doubtful about Ayub’s proposal seeing it as insincere opportunism.¹²⁴ Nehru decided to reject the idea, asking, “against whom was there a need for joint defence?”¹²⁵

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Yaacov Ro’i, *From Encroachment to involvement: A Documentary Study of Soviet Policy in the Middle East, 1945-1973* (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1974), p. 314.

¹¹⁹ Lorne J. Kavic, *India’s Quest for Security: Defence Policy, 1947-1965* (California: University of California Press, 1967), p. 35.

¹²⁰ *Dawn*, 25 April, 1959; Ajay Saksena, *India & Pakistan, Their Foreign Policies: Areas of Agreement* (Delhi: Anmol Publications, 1987), p. 51.

¹²¹ Major K.C. Praval, *Indian Army after Independence* (New Delhi: Lancer Publishers, 2009), p. 312.

¹²² J.N. Dixit, *India-Pakistan in War and Peace* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 129.

¹²³ Kavic, *India’s Quest for Security: Defence Policy, 1947-1965*, p. 69.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Rajeswar Dayal, *A Life of Our Times*, (New Delhi: Orient Longman Limited, 1998), p. 304.

Eisenhower visited Pakistan and India that December, and Ayub sought his help in settling the Kashmir dispute. However, the United States' shared concern with India about China meant it would not pressure Nehru.¹²⁶ Eisenhower's continued disinclination to upset Delhi showed that India was still a prized ally the US wanted to win over some time in the future.¹²⁷ Undeterred, in July 1960, Ayub was still promoting Indo-Pakistan co-operation:

...we shall have a good chance of preventing a recurrence of the history of the past, which was that whenever this subcontinent was divided – and often it was divided – someone or other invited an outsider to step in.¹²⁸

Eisenhower's reluctance to support Ayub's plan did not prevent Pakistan from allowing the US a secret air base under the guise of a communications centre at Badaber near Peshawar which served U-2 surveillance aircraft and their illegal flights over the Soviet Union.¹²⁹ In May 1960, a U-2 from that base was shot down over Soviet territory. The US initially claimed it was an unarmed weather plane from Turkey, but later admitted the truth.¹³⁰ In a clear reference to Pakistan, the Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, warned countries which placed their territories at the disposal of forces aggressive towards the USSR that they were "playing with fire".¹³¹ At a diplomatic party in Moscow shortly afterwards, Khrushchev threatened a Pakistani diplomat that Russia would destroy Peshawar with rockets if such an incident happened again. Pakistan, however, did not take these threats seriously because it felt reasonably safe sheltering under the American nuclear umbrella.¹³² When Ayub was asked about Soviet threats he said, "if Russia attacked Pakistan, the latter would not be alone. It would mean world war. The source of attack would not remain unscathed."¹³³

1.4 The Consequences of the Relationship with the US

Pakistan had become the United States' closest ally in Asia through various means, including its defence agreement and membership of SEATO and

¹²⁶ Sherwani, *Pakistan, China and America*, p. 84.

¹²⁷ Interview with Colonel Muhammad Hanif, Islamabad, 1 August, 2012.

¹²⁸ Russel Brines, *The Indo-Pakistani Conflict* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1968), p. 180.

¹²⁹ Sattar, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1947-2005*, p. 50.

¹³⁰ Ralph M. Goldman, *The United Nations in the Beginning: Conflict Processes, Colligation, Cases*, (Philadelphia: Xlibris, 2001), p. 108.

¹³¹ *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Vol. 12, No. 18, 1960, p. 18.

¹³² Samuel Martin Burke, *Mainsprings of Indian and Pakistani Foreign Policies*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1974), p. 179.

¹³³ *Dawn*, 18 May, 1960.

CENTO.¹³⁴ The US had benefited from this relationship by bolstering its containment strategy in the vast area from Turkey to the Philippines. Pakistan, however, was never so committed to containment policy. For, although the rhetoric made reference to containment, leaders from Liaquat Ali Khan to Ayub Khan had always made it plain that Pakistan's primary concern was to get military support to deal with the Kashmir issue and to deter Indian aggression. Joining SEATO and CENTO was largely perceived to be a means of securing aid from the US.¹³⁵ Judging by Major General Fazal Muqem Khan's assessment this aim was largely achieved.

United States' aid has greatly increased the defensive capabilities of Pakistan's small army. It now possesses greater fire-power, better mobility and cross-country performance, and command and control facilities. It has become a hard hitting force.¹³⁶

However, the close relationship with the US had, as stated earlier, aggravated domestic dissent which, though suppressed after the military coup, would re-emerge in the tensions leading up to the 1971 secession of East Pakistan. In addition, its alliance with the US, on occasion, had detrimental consequences in terms of its relationship with other countries. The Indian Prime Minister, Nehru, expressed concern that US aid would make Pakistan more aggressive and more willing to go to war against India. "I do not know anyone," he said, "who can say that this has brought security and stability to Western Asia."¹³⁷ The Indian press warned that the US-Pakistan relationship would make negotiated settlements to problems in Asia more difficult and only create further tension in the region.¹³⁸ And, of course, the MDAP, as stated earlier, prompted Indian withdrawal of its agreement to the Kashmir plebiscite which has never been held.

The Soviet leadership opposed the agreements and Pakistan's membership of the pro-American organisations. Before this, the Pakistan-Soviet relationship was cool but not marked by hostility. The USSR had opposed partition of the sub-continent in favour of a united India but when Pakistan came into being, Moscow

¹³⁴ Burke, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy*, p. 171.

¹³⁵ See for example, Mohammad Ayub Khan, "Speeches and Statements by Field Marshal Ayub Khan", Vol. 1, October, 1958-June, 1959 (Karachi: Pakistan Publication, 1959), p. 53; Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, "Debate on Foreign Policy of Pakistan", *National Assembly of Pakistan, Debates*, Vol. 3, Part 2, 21 August 1964; Haqqani, *Pakistan between Mosque and Military*, p. 32.

¹³⁶ Fazal Muqem Khan, *The Story of the Pakistan Army* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 160.

¹³⁷ M.V. Kamath, M.V., *Nehru revisited* (Mumbai: Nehru Centre, 2003), p. 126.

¹³⁸ *The Hindu*, 3 July, 1954.

had accepted it.¹³⁹ After Pakistan joined forces with the US, however, the Soviet leadership openly sided with India and supported its claim over Kashmir, even going so far as to declare Kashmir an integral part of India.¹⁴⁰ Khrushchev and Bulganin visited India in November 1955 offering military and economic aid and reiterating their pro-Indian position on Kashmir.¹⁴¹ Moscow further alienated Pakistan by supporting Afghanistan's claim to the Pashtun areas of Pakistan, which brought further destabilisation to the Western borderlands between the two countries.¹⁴² Thus, the USSR not only became openly hostile to Pakistan itself and its interests in the Afghan border region, but also more openly supportive of India. As India was the prime focus of Pakistan's foreign policy, its decisions to ally itself with the US could be considered counter-productive at least in this respect.

Pakistan's relationship with the Muslim world, particularly Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Afghanistan was also prejudiced. Egypt regarded CENTO as the product of Western national interests because it was not initiated by the local Arab states. Even after the Suez War in 1956, Egypt refused to allow Pakistani troops to enter its territory as part of the UN Emergency Force. It also refused to receive the Prime Minister of Pakistan when he expressed a desire to visit. Nasser pointedly claimed that "Suez is as dear to Egypt as Kashmir is to India",¹⁴³ and later declared Kashmir to be an integral part of India.¹⁴⁴ The Saudi Government also resented CENTO and pressed Pakistan to withdraw its membership. Saudi media criticised Pakistan by arguing that it had now joined up with Turkey, which "feels honoured to co-operate with the Jewish state."¹⁴⁵ The Saudi King even publicly thanked Nehru for his policy towards Muslims living in India and acknowledged that the fate of the Indian Muslims was in very safe hands.¹⁴⁶ The attitude of Saudi Arabia shocked the people and government of Pakistan. China, on the other hand,

¹³⁹ Khalida Qureshi, "The Soviet Union, Pakistan and India", *Pakistan Horizon*, Fourth Quarter, 1963, pp. 344-345.

¹⁴⁰ Burke, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy*, p. 209; Khalid B. Sayeed, *The Political System of Pakistan* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967), pp. 270-271.

¹⁴¹ Barry Buzan et al, *South Asian Insecurity and the Great Powers*, (London: Macmillan, 1986), p. 183.

¹⁴² J.A. Naik et al, *Soviet Policy towards India: From Stalin to Brezhnev* (New Delhi: Vikas Publications, 1970), p. 58.

¹⁴³ Burke, *Mainsprings of Indian and Pakistani Foreign Policies*, p. 155.

¹⁴⁴ A. K. Pasha, *Aftab Kamal Pasha, India and OIC: Strategy and Diplomacy*, (New Delhi: Centre for Peace Studies, 1995), p. 3.

¹⁴⁵ *Dawn*, 26 September, 1955.

¹⁴⁶ *Hindu*, 14 November, 1959.

appeared to appreciate that Pakistan's alliance with the US was directed against India rather than China and the containment of communism.

Pakistan's alliance with the United States did mean it got sufficient aid to build up its military as a deterrence against possible aggression. However, Pakistan failed in its aim to get support on Kashmir or to secure a peaceful settlement of the dispute. Expectations that Western alignment would help were not fulfilled and Pakistan never received clear and unequivocal support from the US over Kashmir.¹⁴⁷ At the same time, the Soviet Union had shifted to an openly hostile position towards Pakistan and one supportive of India and its claims to Kashmir. Even more troubling was the fact that Pakistan had become more isolated amongst Muslim countries, in contrast to its original aim of befriending them. However, the understanding arrived at with Chou-en-Lai at Bandung reflected a genuine shared interest with China against India and began what would become an enduring partnership.

1.5 Implications for the Relationship

The eight-year process of alliance-building reveals underlying ambiguities in the US-Pakistan relationship. Both states entered the alliance to further their own national interests but, despite the rhetoric of unity, these diverged considerably. Dr. Ishtiaq Ahmed of Quaid-e-Azam and Oxford Universities points out that the US was pursuing a global strategy whilst Pakistan was regionally focussed.¹⁴⁸ This regional focus was also influenced by internal divisions and the need to protect the integrity of the new state from regional interference. The objects of American strategy were first the Soviet Union and later China, and its purpose was to stifle communist expansion. The object of Pakistan's strategy was primarily India and its purpose was security against the military and economic superiority of its bigger and hostile neighbour, including having the capacity to negotiate on Kashmir from a position of strength. The US was engaged in an

¹⁴⁷ Mohammad Ayoob, *Pakistan's Alliance with the United States, 1954-1965: A Study in Loads, Capabilities and Responsiveness* (US: University of Hawaii, 1966), <http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/10125/11839/uhm_phd_6713689_r.pdf?sequence=1>. [Accessed 15 November 2012].

¹⁴⁸ Interview with Ishtiaq Ahmed, Islamabad, 18 June, 2012.

ideological confrontation between capitalism and communism while Pakistan was an Islamic state confronting a Hindu threat.¹⁴⁹

The question arises as to whether interests converged in a mutual aversion towards communism, but the evidence suggests Pakistan was ambivalent. The rhetoric of Jinnah and Liaquat indicated a clear anti-communist and pro-Western stance but the latter's acceptance of Moscow's 1949 invitation points to a more open mind, and Ipshani's letter quoted above suggests this may have been a ploy to galvanise the Americans.¹⁵⁰ Furthermore, Roedad Khan, a former Pakistani civil servant throughout the Cold War, confirmed in a personal interview that Jinnah never intended to forge a real "friendship with the USSR."¹⁵¹ However, Muhammad Ali's assurances to Chou-en-Lai and Suhrawardy's aim to strengthen relations with China clearly indicate that by 1955 not all communists were considered bad if they shared a common enemy in India. Thus, Pakistan's attitude to communism appears to have been India-centric: the USSR, which was supporting India militarily and technologically, was a threat whilst China, which had disputes with India, was not. Ahmed points out also that, unlike the USSR, China was not trying to export its ideology in the region and was therefore perceived in an entirely different way to Moscow.¹⁵² Whilst this may have been true for Pakistan it is unlikely that India or the US would have drawn the same conclusion and, in any case, the Chinese track record was not fully formed in 1955, so it suggests that China's attitude to Pakistan was also India-centric. Thus, Callard's conclusion that Pakistan joined US alliances but "had no strong convictions about the balance of righteousness" in the rift between the West and Communism seems fair.¹⁵³

Thus, the key characteristic of US-Pakistan relations was that both states entered into the alliance with different aims and objectives and with different attitudes towards communism. Much was then built on these ambiguous

¹⁴⁹ The view that the US and Pakistan had contradictory interests was supported in five interviews conducted by the author: Ishtiaq Ahmed, Islamabad, 18 June 2012; Rasul Bux Rais, Islamabad, 25 July 2012; Dr. Tahir Amin, Islamabad, 30 May 2102; and Ambassador Tariq Fatemi, Islamabad, 20 July 2012.

¹⁵⁰ McMahon, *The Cold War on the Periphery*, p. 71.

¹⁵¹ Interview with Roedad Khan, Islamabad, 10 August, 2012.

¹⁵² Interview with Ishtiaq Ahmed, Islamabad, 18 June, 2012.

¹⁵³ Keith B. Callard, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: An Interpretation*, (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1959), p. 4.

foundations creating scope for later friction, misunderstanding and disappointment when the alliance was put to the test. The fact that the US ultimately allied with Pakistan to such an extent in spite of long-standing reservations also indicates that Pakistan's unique geo-strategic location enabled it to exert reverse influence on its bigger and more powerful partner, in essence to get the US to buy its co-operation and access to its territory with aid and arms. It also shows that the US was prepared to turn a blind eye to military dictatorship to secure the alliance in the face of democratic opposition.

The formation of the relationship also required the US to indulge in wilful blindness, in this case over Kashmir. The evidence of enmity between Pakistan and India was plain but the Eisenhower administration thought it could arm Pakistan without making unmanageable problems with India. In so doing it started a regional arms race and galvanised hostilities over Kashmir, and the US found itself making assurances based on dubious claims that it could control the use of the arms it was shipping into the region. Additionally, the fact that Pakistan was the United States' reluctant second choice after India also created insecurity in Islamabad that their ally might again tilt towards their enemy when conditions changed.

CHAPTER 2: DECLINE AND DISAPPOINTMENT: INDIA, CHINA, ISLAM AND THE BOMB, 1961-1979

2.1 Introduction

When Ayub stood firm alongside the US over the U2 incident, he was confident he would not stand alone if attacked. Sixteen years later Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, told his National Assembly in vivid terms that it was the US that was attacking him:

...the elephant [the US] is mad at me....Bloodhounds are roaming in the streets to quench their thirst with my blood...this is not an indigenous development, this is a colossal conspiracy hatched by an imperial foreign power and her stooges.¹

Relations between the two states would get even worse two years later with American citizens killed in anti-US riots in Pakistan. After fourteen years in the making, the next eighteen years saw the strategic alliance unravel into mutual disappointments, threats, sanctions and confrontations. This chapter explores the key events and decisions which caused this deterioration to occur and how they began to establish a pattern of mutual distrust. It also examines how fluctuations in US policy towards Pakistan may have been reflected in alternating US presidential administrations.

2.2 India: The US Disappoints Pakistan

John F. Kennedy became US President in 1961 and his Democratic administration adopted a more pro-India policy.² As a Senator in 1958, he advocated engagement with the non-aligned movement,³ and during the Sino-Indian border clash of 1959 he argued for maximum support for India against Communist China.

We must be willing to join with other Western nations in a serious long-range program of long-term loans, backed up by technical and agricultural assistance - designed to enable India to overtake the challenge of Communist China. . . . We want India to win that race with Red China.⁴

¹ "Statement by Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto to a joint session of Parliament on April 28, 1977" (Extract) in K. Arif (ed.), *America-Pakistan Relations*, Vol. 1, (Lahore: Vanguard Books Ltd., 184), p. 329.

² Kanishkan Sathasivam, *Uneasy Neighbours: India, Pakistan and United States Foreign Policy*, (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), p. 74.

³ John, F. Kennedy, *The Strategy of Peace*, (New York: Harpers & Brothers, 1960), p. 157.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 142-143.

Now as President, Kennedy increased World Bank aid to India over the period 1961-63 to \$2,225 million.⁵ The magnitude of the change can be judged by the fact that US economic aid to India for the entire twelve years from Independence to 1959 was officially valued at only \$1,705 million. In Pakistan, Ayub Khan suspected India would divert the aid towards its military to threaten Pakistan and be more difficult to deal with on Kashmir.⁶ He was further disappointed when US Vice-President Johnson paid a goodwill visit to India with the American First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy in 1961 and encouraged Nehru to extend his leadership to other parts of Southeast Asia.⁷

Fearful of US plans to encourage Indian regional hegemony, Ayub met Kennedy in July of that year. Before leaving he set out his concerns to his domestic press and said Pakistan was concerned, upset and disappointed over US policy in the region.⁸ Ayub Khan indicated that Pakistan might pull out of SEATO if large amounts of aid to India continued. He was also critical of American military aid to India which included 350 US tanks and non-recoil guns.⁹ Ayub Khan warned Washington that if India became too powerful, its smaller neighbours would have no alternative but to seek China's protection.¹⁰ "Can it be," Ayub Khan asked that "the US is abandoning its good friends for people who may not prove such good friends?"¹¹ During his US visit Ayub pointed out that Pakistan was the only country in the region which had allowed the US to use its territory for bases and how it had supported the US over the U2 incident.¹² He told a joint session of the American Congress, "the only people who will stand by you

⁵ Syed Hussain Shaheed Soherwordi, "US Foreign Policy Shift towards Pakistan between 1965 and 1971: Pak-India Wars", *Research Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1, January-June, 2010, <<http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/csas/PDF/Shahheed%20Soherwordi%202.pdf>> [accessed 01 October 2013].

⁶ Roby C. Barrett, *The Greater Middle East and the Cold War: the US Foreign Policy under Eisenhower and Kennedy* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2007), p. 253; Dennis Merrill, *Bread and the Ballot: the United States and India's Economic Development, 1947-1963* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), p. 181.

⁷ Ramesh Chand Gupta, *US Policy towards India and Pakistan*, (Delhi: B.R. Publication Corporation, 1977), p. 16.

⁸ Muhammad Iqbal and Samia Khalid, "Pakistan's Relations with the United States during Ayub Khan's Period", *Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies* Vol. 3, No. 1, 2011.

⁹ *Pakistan Times*, 8 July 1961.

¹⁰ Samuel Martin Burke and Lawrence Ziring., *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: Reappraisal*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 269.

¹¹ Dennis Kux, D., *India and the United States: Estranged Democracies, 1941-1991*, (Washington: National Defence University Press, 1992), p. 191.

¹² Riwan Naseer and Musarat Amin, "Dynamics of Balance of Power in South Asia: Implications for Regional Peace", *Berkeley Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Jan. 2011; Soherwordi, *US Foreign Policy Shift towards Pakistan*, p. 28.

are the people of Pakistan provided you are also prepared to stand by them.” He went on to urge his audience, “not to take any step that might aggravate our problems or in any fashion jeopardize our security.”¹³ He also said, “If India uses American aid for economic development we have no objection, but if it uses it for military purposes, then Pakistan has to prepare herself to meet the threat.”¹⁴

Kennedy sought to placate Ayub with public praise and the promise of prompt delivery of twelve F-104 supersonic fighters which had already been pledged by Eisenhower. He also promised to discuss Kashmir with Nehru¹⁵ and assured Ayub that if America gave arms to India, Pakistan would be consulted first.¹⁶ On the strength of this, Ayub returned to Pakistan apparently pleased with the outcome of his visit to the US. When asked if he was satisfied that the US was not abandoning Pakistan for others who may not be quite such good friends of the country, he answered unequivocally in the affirmative.¹⁷ However, Kennedy had better reason to be pleased with the meeting having not altered his Indian policy in any significant way at all.

Ayub’s satisfaction was short-lived, in any case, and it collapsed when war broke out between India and China. The US supported India against Communist China as might have been expected given Kennedy’s earlier remarks, but this only prompted Pakistan to turn to Beijing. The Sino-Indian border had been disputed since 1959 when China claimed the territories of Ladakh and Arunchal Pradesh. The dispute turned to war in October 1962 when China launched an assault on India in response to the latter establishing military posts in mountains behind Chinese positions.¹⁸

Six days later Nehru appealed to the world community for support urging it not to allow the principle of “Might is Right” to prevail in international

¹³ Muhammad Ayub Khan, M. A., *Friends Not Masters: A Political Autobiography*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 137.

¹⁴ Muhammad Ayub Khan, “The Pakistan American Alliance: Stresses and Strains”, *Foreign Affairs*, January 1964, No. 195, p. 137. Quoted in Muhammad Iqbal and Samia Khalid, “Pakistan’s Relations with the United States during Ayub Khan’s Period”, *Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies* Vol. 3, No. 1, 2011, p. 18.

¹⁵ Merrill, *Bread and the Ballot: the United States and India’s Economic Development*, p. 181.

¹⁶ Khan, *Friends Not Masters*, p. 138.

¹⁷ Muhammad Ayub Khan, *Speeches and Statements*, Volume 4 (Karachi: Pakistan Publications, 1961), p. 50. Quoted in Latif Ahmed Sherwani, *Pakistan, China and America* (Karachi: Council for Pakistan Studies, 1980) p. 102.

¹⁸ S.K. Pillai, *Border Conflicts and Regional Disputes*, Searching for Peace in Central and South Asia, 2002, <<http://conflict-prevention.net/page.php?id=45&formid=72&action=show&articleid=77>> [Accessed 24 May 2013].

relations.¹⁹ The US and Britain promptly signed an aid agreement with Delhi, and the first shipment of aid was rushed to India that November.²⁰ The war was short and China declared a ceasefire on 21 November 1962, but Nehru was encouraged by the support from the West, and particularly from the United States, and declared that India would continue its military build-up even though this particular dispute was settled.²¹ Accordingly, Western powers continued their military and economic aid after the cease-fire was signed, ostensibly to deter any repetition of Chinese aggression.²² In May 1963, US Ambassador to India, Chester Bowles, said the US was “very anxious to help” India build up her strength against China and the only thing to be determined was the amount of military aid that it could absorb.²³ A British-Canadian mission studied India’s air defence needs²⁴ and a separate US mission visited to study its military requirements.²⁵ Under another agreement, the US and UK strengthened Indian defences with radar installations and training for Indian technicians. This agreement also provided for periodic joint training exercises in India.²⁶

If these developments alarmed Pakistan then it also noted with discomfort that the US was encouraging the Soviet Union to give aid to India. On 10 December 1962, the US Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Averell Harriman, expressed approval of India’s relations with the Soviet Union which he declared to be in the United States’ interest.²⁷ Both the US and the USSR wanted to strengthen India against China and encouraged her to take military aid from any country that was willing to provide it. According to Nehru, the USSR also had no objection to India receiving military and other aid from the US and UK.²⁸

The declared objective of US military aid was to enable India to repel Chinese aggression but it seemed to Pakistan it would increase its own

¹⁹ D.R. SarDesai, *Indian Foreign Policy in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, 1947-1964* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), p. 233.

²⁰ Shahen Irshad, *Rejection Alliance*, (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1972), pp. 149-150.

²¹ Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, *The Myth of Independence* (India : Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 62.

²² *The Statesman*, 30 December 1962.

²³ Bhutto, *The Myth of Independence*, p. 62.

²⁴ *The Statesman*, 20 July 1963.

²⁵ Irshad, *Rejection Alliance*, p. 74.

²⁶ Rasul Bux Rais, *China and Pakistan: A Political Analysis of Mutual Relations* (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1977), p. 24.

²⁷ Bhutto, *The Myth of Independence*, p. 62.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 120.

insecurities.²⁹ Pakistani leaders considered the war between India and China to be just border skirmishes exaggerated by Delhi to maximise military aid. In support of this view, Ayub contended that China would not have attacked through the difficult Himalayan Mountains if the objective had been to achieve a decisive victory since it would have been easier to outflank India through Burma.³⁰ Bhutto also pointed out that, even during the war, the bulk of India's armed forces remained on the Indo-Pakistan border, observing that this was "a strange method of resisting the Chinese."³¹ However, his criticism may have been unfair since such a strategy could merely reflect Indian fears of an opportunistic attack by Pakistan which, as will be discussed later, was a genuine possibility.

In addition to their scepticism about Indian claims, Pakistan's leaders had further objections to the Western rush to arm its neighbour. Ayub complained to Kennedy that India's pro-Soviet and anti-Western policies could not justify the military aid it was getting.³² The US tried to argue that Pakistan still received more military and economic aid per capita income than India, but such subtle distinctions were lost on the people of Pakistan.³³ Another complaint was that, despite Kennedy's earlier promise, military aid had been given to India without consulting Pakistan, as Foreign Minister Bogra, reported to his National Assembly:

I speak in anguish not in anger when I have to say that one of our Allies had promised us that we would be consulted before any arms assistance is given to India. I regret to have observed that this was not done.³⁴

It was from these perspectives that Pakistan saw its closest ally strengthening its formidable enemy with the obvious concern that this strength might be turned on Pakistan.³⁵ Kennedy assured Ayub that all the aid was for defeating Chinese communist subversion, which both Pakistan and India opposed, and that it in no way diminished or qualified US commitment to Pakistan.³⁶ Just as Eisenhower had tried to placate Nehru in 1954, Kennedy now tried to placate Ayub with an assurance that if US assistance to India should be misused and

²⁹ Khan, *Friends Not Masters*, p. 142.

³⁰ K. Arif (ed.), *America-Pakistan Relations*, Vol. 1, (Lahore: Vanguard Books Ltd, 1984), p. 209.

³¹ Bhutto, *The Myth of Independence*, p. 62.

³² Arif (ed.), *America-Pakistan Relations*, pp. 209-210.

³³ William J. Barns, *India, Pakistan and Great Powers*, (London: Pall Mall Press, 1972), p. 185.

³⁴ Debates, *Official Reports*, National Assembly of Pakistan, Volume 2, issues 1-16, 1962, p. 4.

³⁵ Soherwordi, *US Foreign Policy Shift towards Pakistan*, p. 28; Arif (ed.), *America-Pakistan Relations*, p. 213.

³⁶ Arif (ed.), *America-Pakistan Relations*, p. 212.

directed against another in aggression, he “would undertake immediately, in accordance with constitutional authority both within and without the United Nations, to thwart such aggression.”³⁷ This time, however, Ayub was not satisfied by Kennedy’s assurances and his reply shows signs of the disenchantment which was beginning to enter the relationship:

I am grateful for the assurance you have given that the arms you are now supplying to India will not be used against us. This is very generous of you, but knowing the sort of people you are dealing with whose history is a continuous tale of broken pledges, I would not ask a friend like you to place yourself in an embarrassing situation. India’s conduct over Junagadh, Mangrol, Hyderabad, Kashmir and Goa should be well known to you. Our belief is that arms now being obtained by India from you for use against China will be undoubtedly used against us at the very first opportunity.³⁸

What would have satisfied Ayub is if Kennedy had linked his aid to Kashmir. All along, Pakistan wanted military aid to India to be conditional on Delhi’s willingness to settle the Kashmir dispute and other outstanding issues between the two countries, but the US was unwilling to do this. The US Ambassador to India, John K. Galbraith, told the Pakistani Ambassador in Delhi on 29 October 1962 that “any demand from the US for a Kashmir settlement would ruin the very favourable prospects in future for Pakistan.”³⁹ Ayub responded to Kennedy on 5 November: “No, Mr. President, the answer to this problem lies elsewhere. It lies in creating a situation whereby we are free from the Indian threat, and the Indians are free from any apprehensions about us. This can only be done if there is a settlement of the question of Kashmir.”⁴⁰

The US and UK did put some pressure on India to discuss Kashmir with Pakistan through the good offices of Averell Harriman of the US and Duncan Sandys of the UK, but would not make their aid conditional because of their primary concern to deter and contain China.⁴¹ Galbraith made this clear at a press conference in New Delhi on 28 December 1962 by stating that American assistance was “in no way contingent on an India-Pakistan agreement on the Kashmir problem ... When our friends are in trouble, we are not doing business

³⁷ Ibid. p. 211

³⁸ Khan, *Friends Not Masters*, pp. 140-141.

³⁹ Rajvir Singh, *U.S - Pakistan and India, Strategic Relations* (Allahabad, India: Chugh Publications, 1985), p. 62.

⁴⁰ *FRUS*, Foreign Relations of the United States 1961-1963, ‘South Asia’, Volume 29, “Telegram from the Department of State to the Embassy in Pakistan”, U.S. Department of State, November 13, 1962, <<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v19/d195>> [accessed 14 July 2012].

⁴¹ Singh, *U.S - Pakistan and India*, p. 62.

that way.”⁴² Ayub again wrote to Kennedy and Macmillan on 2 January 1963 that “Only a speedy and just Kashmir settlement can give us any assurance that the contemplated increase of Indian’s military power is not likely to be deployed against Pakistan in future.”⁴³ However, in March 1963 US Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, reiterated that while the US believed it very important for the security of the entire subcontinent that India and Pakistan resolve their problems, “I would not in any sense qualify our aid purpose by this word ‘condition’.”⁴⁴ Both Bhutto and Ayub saw this as a great lost opportunity to settle Kashmir,⁴⁵ but US Assistant Secretary of State, Phillips Talbot, told Congress that it would have been a great mistake to use aid as a lever to force India to negotiate over Kashmir since this would have opened the way for increased Soviet penetration in India.⁴⁶

An alternative for Pakistan was to take advantage of India’s temporary vulnerability and launch its own attack to regain the disputed territory. Pakistan’s capability was probably sufficient to engage in a limited war confined to Kashmir, and both Ayub and Foreign Minister Bogra admitted that it was due to pressure from the US and UK that Pakistan did not do so. Washington and London warned Pakistan against any such action and Kennedy urged Pakistan to offer a no-war pledge with India.⁴⁷ Galbraith also tried to get assurance from Pakistan that it would not create trouble for India during the war. Pakistan again urged the US to propose to India a reasonable settlement of the Kashmir problem, but Galbraith declined, saying, “it would be taken as a form of blackmail at a time of [Indian] weakness.”⁴⁸ In the event, Pakistan did not go to war with India at this time. Hassan Abbas, a Pakistani-American academic in the area of South Asian and Middle Eastern studies, is of the view, however, that by heeding US and UK warnings at this time Pakistan lost its best opportunity of settling the Kashmir dispute through the use of arms.⁴⁹

⁴² A. Subramanyam Raju, *Democracies at loggerheads: Security Aspects of US-India Relations* (New Delhi: South Asian Publishers, 2001), p. 52.

⁴³ Khan, *Friends Not Masters: A Political Autobiography*, p. 150.

⁴⁴ Vijay Chawla, *India and the Super Powers*, (Jaipur, India: Panchsheel Prakashan, 1973), p. 81.

⁴⁵ Bhutto, *The Myth of Independence*, 62; Khan, *Friends Not Masters*, p. 152.

⁴⁶ *Morning News*, 30 June, 1962, quoted in L. A. Sherwani, *Pakistan, China and America* (Karachi: Council for Pakistan Studies, 1980), pp. 114-115.

⁴⁷ T.V. Paul, *Asymmetric Conflicts: War Initiation by Weaker Powers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 123.

⁴⁸ Singh, *U.S-Pakistan and India*, p. 62.

⁴⁹ Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan’s Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army, and America’s War on Terror* (New York: East Gate Book, 2005), p. 39.

2.3 China: Pakistan Disappoints the US

It is not difficult to understand how the events of 1962 caused Pakistan to turn to China. By July 1963, Ayub again warned that if US aid to India continued on the same large scale he would be compelled to forge an alliance with Beijing.⁵⁰ So, when Bhutto, as Foreign Minister, suggested Pakistan should improve its relations with both China and the USSR, Ayub agreed.⁵¹

Although relations with China had initially cooled under Ayub, there were signs of improvements even before the Sino-Indian border dispute. In 1961, Pakistan voted for Communist China to be given its seat as a sovereign state at the UN despite having previously voted against, at every UN session from the ninth to the thirteenth.⁵² There was even speculation about a possible secret military understanding between the two countries. Bhutto even hinted at this by suggesting that if Pakistan were involved in a clash with India it would not stand alone. He said: "An attack by India on Pakistan would also involve the security and territorial integrity of the largest state in Asia."⁵³ Relations with China then developed further through a series of agreements about borders, trade, air travel and culture.

The border agreement settled a dispute which had existed since 1949 when the new People's Republic of China rejected the boundary drawn up by the British in 1914 (the McMohan Line) which demarcated the Indian Empire. The disputed area lay between China and Pakistan-controlled Kashmir. On the Pakistan side was the territory of Hunza and Baltistan, and on the Chinese side was the province of Sinkiang. Following a Pakistani approach in 1961, China announced in May 1962 that the two countries had agreed to negotiate. Talks began in Beijing on 12 October 1962 (just before the Sino-Indian dispute) and, on 28 December 1962 (just after the ceasefire), agreement was reached on the location and alignment of the boundary.⁵⁴ Pakistan considered it got the best of the bargain by gaining 750 square miles of territory formerly under Chinese occupation and control. In return, Pakistan dropped claims to Chinese territory which it had never occupied or

⁵⁰ *Pakistan Times*, 21 July, 1963.

⁵¹ Sherwani, *Pakistan, China and America*, p. 94.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Shaheen Irshad Khan, *Rejection Alliance? A Case-Study of US-Pakistan Relations, 1947-1967* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1972), p.100.

⁵⁴ Byron N. Tzou, *China and International Law: the Boundary Dispute* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1990), pp. 69-70.

controlled. The Pakistan newspaper, *Dawn*, claimed that “this bears eloquent testimony to the reasonableness of the Chinese Government.”⁵⁵ Importantly for Pakistan, the agreement also acknowledged Jammu and Kashmir as a disputed state, and China for the first time publicly refused to recognise the accession of Kashmir to India.⁵⁶ This agreement served the national interests of both sides. The two governments believed they needed new friends in a hostile world. China gained Pakistan, her third largest neighbour, whilst Islamabad wanted a new protector in place of the United States.⁵⁷

Pakistan also signed an air travel agreement with China on 29 August 1963 for air services between Dhaka and Shanghai via Canton and also from Lahore and Karachi over the Himalayas into China.⁵⁸ This was opposed by Washington. The US State Department claimed it would have an adverse effect on efforts to strengthen the security and solidarity of the subcontinent and that it was “an unfortunate breach of free world solidarity.”⁵⁹ Sino-Pakistan relations continued to develop when the Chinese Prime Minister and Foreign Minister visited Pakistan in February 1964. In a sign of changing attitudes, a *Dawn* editorial commented that they came “... in a vastly changed and even a revolutionary historical context. Many earlier barriers have fallen, prejudices withered away and taboos revised.”⁶⁰ China also offered to assist Pakistan establish heavy industry and shipping in the country with an interest-free \$6 million loan. This resulted in a heavy mechanical complex in Texala and the National Shipping Corporation of Pakistan which commenced service in 1965. A maritime transport agreement was also signed in October 1966, and in 1967 Pakistan received two loans totalling \$47 million for purchasing wheat and rice urgently required, at the time, in East Bengal.⁶¹

Pakistan’s motives for closer relations with China were clear - partly it was for leverage over the American decision to arm India, and partly in the hope

⁵⁵ *Dawn*, 4 March, 1963.

⁵⁶ Margaret W. Fisher, et al., *Himalyan Battle Ground* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1963), p. 142.

⁵⁷ Burke, S.M. and Ziring, L., *Pakistan’s Foreign Policy*, p. 292.

⁵⁸ Samuel Martin Burke, *Pakistan’s Foreign Policy: A Historical Analysis* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 256.

⁵⁹ Ahmad Rashid Malik, *Pakistan-Japan Relations: Continuity and Change in Economic Relations and Security Interests* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2009), p. 61.

⁶⁰ *Dawn*, 18 February 1964.

⁶¹ Golam Wahed Choudhury, *India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and the Major Powers: Politics of a Divided Subcontinent* (London: The Free Press, 1975), p. 182.

of Chinese support in the event of an Indian attack. For Beijing, it was a way of isolating India, as well as a useful demonstration that China was a reasonable, peaceful, and friendly country. Such a policy could also demonstrate to Moscow that its strategy of using India to counter China had drawbacks.⁶² The air agreement was a particular advantage to China. This was the first such agreement with any non-communist country. PIA (Pakistan International Airlines) flights were a quick means of transport from China to the Middle East and Africa where the Chinese were engaged in a campaign to win support from Afro-Asian countries in her border dispute with India. China did not require Pakistan to revise its ties with the US and in March 1963, Chou-en-Lai took a measured view of Pakistan's continued membership of SEATO and the aid it received from Washington. He noted that Islamabad had assured Beijing that its participation in SEATO was not for the purpose of being hostile to China. He also observed that the development of Sino-Pakistan relations had been a gradual process but after a period of suspicion, Chou was able to say in the spring of 1963: "Since President Muhammad Ayub Khan assumed leadership of your country as your President, facts have further proved that Pakistan's policy towards China is one of the friendship and not one of hostility."⁶³

Pakistan's move demonstrated its independence of action but its predicament did not allow it to give up on America as a source of economic and military aid and, to affirm the relationship, a CENTO meeting was hosted in Karachi two months after the border agreement with China.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, China became the most serious complicating factor in the US relationship with Pakistan, if not with the whole subcontinent.⁶⁵ US Under Secretary of State, George Ball, warned Pakistan in March 1964 about its relations with Communist China, adding that "... we are very much concerned. We will watch this very carefully."⁶⁶ To reinforce the point, the US took retaliatory measures by deferring a development loan of \$4.3 million for the development of Dacca airport. Pakistan, however, was able to continue its work on the airport using its own resources, an effort applauded from the sidelines by the *Peking Review*: "When the choice had

⁶² Barnds, *India, Pakistan and Great Powers*, p. 189.

⁶³ Arif, *America-Pakistan Relations*, pp. 40-41.

⁶⁴ H.J. Edward, *The Power of Small State* (Michigan: University Microfilms, 1974), p. 240.

⁶⁵ Choudhury, *India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and the Major Powers*, p. 114.

⁶⁶ Bhutto, *The Myth of Independence*, p. 69.

to be made between national pride and an American role, with all its accompanying insolence and insults, Pakistan preferred to uphold the honour of its people ...”⁶⁷

However, the US continued its warnings with Phillips Talbot cautioning in March 1965 that if Pakistan chose a different political road to the US it would prejudice their “special relationship.”⁶⁸ At the same time, economic pressure was applied on Islamabad. Member countries of the World Bank, at the instigation of Washington, postponed an announcement on contributions to Pakistan’s development programme from July to September 1965.⁶⁹ After Washington unilaterally cancelled Ayub’s trip to America in April 1965, he made his famous “Friends Not Master” statement. As Ayub put it: “It is our policy as an independent nation to normalise our relations with our neighbours however different ideologies might be, and that right we shall not allow to be compromised. It was in this context that I said we are looking for friends not masters.”⁷⁰

US President Lyndon B. Johnson, however, wanted to make Pakistan an example for all nations receiving or expecting American aid. Choudhury portrayed America’s attitude towards Pakistan as that of a naughty child.⁷¹ A succession of senior American officials, including Secretary of State Dean Rusk, visited Pakistan to assure its leaders that they need not turn to China for security because the US would come to Pakistan’s aid if it became a victim of Indian aggression. Ayub, however, was not convinced. He said, “guarantees are easy to give but difficult to implement.”⁷²

2.4 War with India

Guarantees and trust were put to the test, and diverging interests were exposed, in 1965 when Pakistan went to war with India over Kashmir. There were two main reasons for this action. First, Pakistan thought it could take advantage of

⁶⁷ Arif (ed.), *America-Pakistan Relations*, p. 50.

⁶⁸ *Economic Weekly: A Journal of Current Economic and Political Affairs*, Volume 17, Part 2, 1965, p. 115.

⁶⁹ *Dawn*, 14 July 1965.

⁷⁰ Khan, *Friends Not Masters*, p. 9.

⁷¹ Choudhury, *India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and the Major Powers*, p. 119.

⁷² Syed Farooq Hasnat and Anton Pelinka, *Security for the Weak Nations: A Multiple Perspective*, (Lahore: Izhar, 1986), p. 139.

perceived Indian weakness after its poor performance in the war with China and the death of Nehru in May 1964. Second, Pakistan's improving relationship with Beijing led Ayub to believe it was an opportunity to strike India.⁷³ The action was ill-judged and further drove Pakistan and the US apart. Morgenthau, a year earlier, had pointed out the contradiction in American policy towards Islamabad. "The military forces of Pakistan, built up with our [US] massive support, have as their primary target not the Soviet Union or China, but India..."⁷⁴

In Operation Gibraltar, Pakistani-trained guerrillas were sent into Indian-controlled Kashmir to help the local population against the Indian government. This was followed by Operation Grand Slam in which regular Pakistani troops crossed the Ceasefire Line. In response, India attacked Lahore in West Pakistan and the crisis escalated into a full-scale war on 6 September 1965.⁷⁵ Ayub and Bhutto met US Secretary of State McConaughy to ask for immediate US support under the terms of the 1959 Pakistan-US bilateral agreement. McConaughy, however, said the issue should be referred to the United Nations. Ayub countered, "You are on trial, and you cannot hedge or hide from this obligation."⁷⁶

On 10 September 1965, the government of Pakistan officially appealed for US assistance, but Washington maintained its line. "In accordance with our assurances to Pakistan, the United States is urgently to meet this common danger by fully supporting the immediate United Nations action to end the hostilities. The appeal by the United Nations Security Council must be honoured."⁷⁷ It was made clear to Pakistan that "it could not expect US assistance in case of a conflict with India because a double defeat for the Indian armed forces coming after the debacle with China in 1962 would be intolerable for India."⁷⁸ This prompted

⁷³ Greg Cashman and Leonard C. Robinson, *An Introduction to the Causes of War: Patterns of Interstate Conflict from World War I to Iraq* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007), p. 233.

⁷⁴ Hans J. Morgenthau, "Senator Fulbright's New Foreign Policy" *Commentary*, Vol. 37, No. 5 May 1964, p. 70.

⁷⁵ Aparna Pande, *Explaining Pakistan's Foreign Policy: Escaping India* (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. 37.

⁷⁶ *FRUS* (1965), Foreign Relations of the United States, South Asia, Volume 25, "Telegram from the Office in Pakistan to the Department of State", 6 September, 1965, U.S. Department of State, <<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v25/d187>> [accessed 20 July 2012].

⁷⁷ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan, *White Papers on the Jammu and Kashmir Dispute*, 1977, p. 87.

⁷⁸ Rajendra K. Jain (ed.), *US-South-Asian Relations 1947-1982: Pakistan, 1947-1965, the Kutch Conflict, Indo-Pak Conflict of 1965 and Pakistan. 1965-1982*, (New Delhi: Radiant Publishers, 1983), p. 272.

Bhutto to observe, “if the United States could only act through the Security Council, then there was no need for alliances.”⁷⁹

Washington was also disconcerted by the fact that the two combatants in the conflict were using arms against each other which it had supplied. Eisenhower had assured Nehru that US military weapons would not be used against India.⁸⁰ Asked why he used American arms against India, Ayub said that he could not keep them in cotton wool. The arms were in his arsenal to deploy when required.⁸¹ At the same time, Western military equipment supplied to India to fight China, was also used against Pakistan despite Kennedy’s earlier assurances to Ayub that this would not happen.⁸² This was an embarrassment and Washington decided to impose an arms embargo on both countries from 8 September 1965.⁸³ Though the US claimed the arms embargo was even-handed, in practice it had greater effect on Pakistan. Pakistan’s military was totally dependent on America, being nearly 100 percent equipped with the US arms, while India’s equipment was not more than 10 percent American. In the meantime, the USSR, which was the main source of India’s arms, continued its military support.⁸⁴ Bhutto later condemned the embargo as a decision unworthy of an ally or even a neutral and concluded that, “Pakistan-US relations could not be the same again.”⁸⁵

The US had reason to be cautious, however, as Cold War dynamics meant there was a real risk of the war pulling in the great powers. China took the side of Pakistan and when India attacked Lahore, Beijing branded it the aggressor and rejected Delhi’s claims of self-defence. Chou-en-Lai also criticised the US, when he declared: “To appeal for peace without distinguishing between right and wrong

⁷⁹ *Pakistan Horizon*, Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, Karachi, Vol. 30, Nos. 1-4, 1997, p. 204.

⁸⁰ Vinay Kumar Malhotra, *Indo-US Relations in the Nineties* (New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 1995), p. 47.

⁸¹ Nagendra Kr. Singh, *Encyclopaedia of Bangladesh* (Set of 30 Volumes) (New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 2003), p. 50.

⁸² Shahid M. Amin, *Pakistan’s Foreign Policy: A Reappraisal*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 48.

⁸³ Rhonda L. Callaway and Elizabeth G. Matthews, *Strategic US Foreign Assistance: The Battle between Human Rights and National Security*, (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008), p. 170; Christine Fair, *The Counter Terror Coalition: Cooperation with Pakistan and India* (Santa Monica: Rand Cooperation, 2004), p. 110.

⁸⁴ Choudhury, *India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and the Major Powers*, p. 122.

⁸⁵ Roedad Khan, *The American Papers: Secret and Confidential, 1965-73* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 55, quoted in Syed Hussain Shaheed, *US Foreign Policy Shift towards Pakistan*, p.32.

will only encourage the aggressor.”⁸⁶ During Ayub’s state visit to China in March 1965, Chinese leaders assured him that in the event of an attack, “China would definitely support Pakistan.”⁸⁷ Choudhury further claims the Chinese expressed their readiness to enter the conflict against India as the war went badly for Pakistan. However, such an intervention was not required. Pakistan accepted a cease-fire under pressure from the UN and both superpowers before any second front could be launched. Nonetheless, Choudhury takes the view that China was quite willing to intervene in the war on behalf of Pakistan, if Pakistan had formally asked it to do so.⁸⁸

The USSR was critical of China’s support for Pakistan. Moscow feared that such an alliance would lead to the US turning to India, thereby undermining its own role in South Asia.⁸⁹ As a result, Moscow offered to act as mediator in the conflict.⁹⁰ The arms embargo had made the war unsustainable for Pakistan so Ayub accepted this offer and a peace conference was hosted at Tashkent in January 1966. As something was needed to justify the military costs and sacrifices, Pakistan was initially reluctant to accept terms without a mechanism for resolving Kashmir.⁹¹ In the event both sides agreed to exchange the territories each had occupied during the war without any mention of a plebiscite in Kashmir. This was a great disappointment to the people of Pakistan. They thought they had won the war and expected some territorial gains, or at least some promise of a favourable solution to the Kashmir problem.⁹²

After the war, President Johnson invited Ayub to the US in an attempt to restore relations and spoke warmly of the good relationship with Pakistan. In 1966, the arms embargo was partially lifted. Having got Pakistan reliant on American equipment, the US feared that a refusal to provide spare parts would lead Pakistan to turn to other suppliers and become reliant on other countries. Therefore, in 1967, the US announced the resumption of the sale of spare parts

⁸⁶ Burke, *Pakistan’s Foreign Policy*, p. 347.

⁸⁷ Choudhury, *India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and the Major Powers*, p. 184.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 189-191

⁸⁹ Soherwordi, *US Foreign Policy Shift towards Pakistan*, p. 32.

⁹⁰ Wilhelm von Pochhammer, *India’s Road to Nationhood: a Political History of the Subcontinent*, (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1981), p. 547.

⁹¹ Pande, *Explaining Pakistan’s Foreign Policy*, p. 37.

⁹² Hussain Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military*, (Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005), p. 50.

and non-lethal weapons to both India and Pakistan.⁹³ However, Pakistan went on to obtain military hardware from other countries – albeit from America’s allies. For example, 90 F-80 fighter jets came from West Germany, and the US permitted Italy to sell Pakistan 100 M-57 tanks, and in July 1969 it was reported that the US had also asked Turkey to release some 100 Patton tanks to Pakistan.⁹⁴

The Tashkent Treaty did not provide a long-lasting peace since it did not recognise the fundamental imbalance of power between the two combatants.⁹⁵ In the treaty, both countries agreed to respect each other’s peaceful intentions, to promote cooperation and to discourage war and aggression. However, both sides were aware that such a peaceful environment could not be sustained for long because of Kashmir. Therefore, Pakistan once again started a military build-up. In addition to those Western armaments mentioned above, Pakistan also turned to China, so the Chinese T-59 tank began replacing the US M-47/48 tanks as the main battle tank from 1966, 80 of which were exhibited in the Joint Services Day Parade on 23 March 1966. The war had proved that Pakistan’s tank-infantry ratio was lopsided and more infantry was required. Three more infantry divisions, referred to as “the China Divisions”, were raised by the start of 1968, largely equipped with Chinese equipment.⁹⁶ Pakistan’s sense of betrayal by the US pushed it closer towards India’s arch enemy. Soon, China would succeed the US as Pakistan’s major arms supplier and, in the long run, also became Pakistan’s nuclear partner.⁹⁷

Although peace prevailed in Pakistan, it did not restore the prestige of Ayub Khan who was condemned for signing the treaty and effectively losing Kashmir. Soon after Tashkent, Bhutto resigned as foreign minister. He started to oppose the treaty and openly attacked Ayub over it. Bhutto then founded his own party, the Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) in 1966, whose main programme was to

⁹³ Sita Ramachandran, *Decision-Making in Foreign Policy*, (New Delhi: Northern Book Centre, 1996), pp. 165-166.

⁹⁴ Shri Ram Sharma, *Indo-US Relations 1947-71, (Fractured Friendship) Part-1* (New Delhi: Discovery Publishing House, 1999), p. 46.

⁹⁵ Rajesh Rajagopalan, *Neorealist Theory and the India-Pakistan Conflict-II*, IDSA, India, 2004, <<http://www.idsa-india.org/an-jan9-6.html>> [accessed 20 October 2013].

⁹⁶ Ekbal Nikhat, *Great Muslims of Undivided India* (New Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2009), p. 122.

⁹⁷ Bruce O. Reidel, *The Search for Al Qaeda: Its Leadership, Ideology, and Future* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 2010), p. 14.

destroy Ayub's regime.⁹⁸ This led ultimately to Ayub's resignation in March 1969. According to the constitution, Ayub was supposed to transfer power in these circumstances to the speaker of the National Assembly but, instead, he transferred it to his Chief of Army Staff, General Yahya Khan. Ayub believed that only the military had the ability to save Pakistan from external aggression and from internal disorder and chaos. After taking power, General Yahya, abrogated the constitution and declared martial law, and on 1 April 1969, he declared himself President of Pakistan.⁹⁹

At this time, there was disenchantment on both sides over the US-Pakistan relationship. Nevertheless, the US had gained access to bases in Pakistan from where it could monitor and contain the USSR, and Pakistan had received substantial aid, particularly for its military. However, the US remained concerned that communist influence, in the form of China, had increased and there were grounds to believe it could increase further. For Pakistan, the alliance with the US had not improved its security against India. Although Pakistan's military bristled with US armaments, it was no match for its neighbour and Ayub had completely failed to achieve any kind of military or diplomatic resolution of his key problems in Kashmir. But, despite this, neither side broke off relations completely leaving scope for closer so-operation again in the future as events required.

2.5 Civil War and Secret Diplomacy

When Yahya Khan became Pakistan's second military dictator in 1969, Richard Nixon had been US President with Henry Kissinger as his National Security Advisor for just three months. During his short but eventful term, Yahya's relationship with Nixon and Kissinger was to be dominated by two themes: a bloody civil war between East and West Pakistan; and the Sino-Soviet Split which led to US rapprochement with China. This section examines the development of the bilateral relationship through these two major and intertwined themes.

⁹⁸ Tariq Ali, *The Duel: Pakistan on the Flight Path of American Power* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2009), p. 63.

⁹⁹ Paula R. Newberg, *Judging the State: Courts and Constitutional Politics in Pakistan* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 112.

2.6 Civil War

The two parts of Pakistan were separated by 1,000 miles either side of a hostile India. Although the two parts were united by Islam, there were also ethnic, linguistic and economic differences which ultimately led to secession. In recognition of these differences the Awami Muslim League was formed in 1948 (renamed simply the Awami League in 1955) to promote Bengali interests.¹⁰⁰ West Pakistan was less populated than the East but it dominated politically, economically and militarily creating a list of grievances around which Bengali sentiment could organise. Government spending in the West was more than double that in the East and Punjabis from the West dominated the military. Urdu was also essentially the official language of the whole of Pakistan.¹⁰¹

By 1966, the leader of Awami League, Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, formulated “Six Points” for autonomy in East Pakistan including a confederate national government for defence and foreign affairs, but with separate currencies, taxation and paramilitary forces for each province.¹⁰² Yahya Kahn tried to make concessions by promising to bring more Bengalis into the government bureaucracy and the military, and in November 1969 announced that Pakistan’s first free elections based on universal adult suffrage would be held in December 1970 to elect a National Assembly and frame a new constitution. He announced that sovereignty would then pass to the National Assembly.¹⁰³ This gave the Awami League a whole year to campaign on the basis of the Six Points. They won 167 of the 169 seats allocated to East Pakistan, with Bhutto’s PPP party winning only 81 out of 144 West Pakistani seats. Thus, Rehman had a democratic mandate to be Prime Minister - the first time that power would be concentrated in East

¹⁰⁰ *Bangladesh: Government and Business Contacts Handbook* (USA: International Business Publications, 2007), p. 21.

¹⁰¹ Michael Rubin, “When Realities Collide: Differing US-Pakistan Threat Perceptions” in Butt and Schofield, (eds.), *Pakistan: The US, Geopolitics and Grand Strategies*, p. 53.

¹⁰² Salahuddin Ahmed, *Bangladesh: Past and Present* (New Delhi: Efficient Offset Printers, 2004), p. 159.

¹⁰³ Anne Noronha Dos Santos, *Military Intervention and Secession in South Asia: The Case of Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Kashmir and Punjab* (New York: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2007), p. 28.

Pakistan.¹⁰⁴ With this backing, he declared his intention to devise a constitution for regional autonomy based on his six-point programme.¹⁰⁵

Political, business and military leaders in West Pakistan could not accept this political outcome. It threatened their control of the military, foreign exchange earnings and even their access to markets. When it became clear no compromise was possible, Bhutto announced a boycott of the first meeting of the National Assembly, and Yahya then postponed its meetings indefinitely.¹⁰⁶ In response, Rehman called for civil disobedience against the national government claiming it was “the sacred duty of each and every Bengali in every walk of life, including Government employees, not to cooperate.”¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, he urged his people to “build forts in each homestead. You must resist the Pakistani army with whatever you have in hand ... the struggle this time is the struggle for independence.”¹⁰⁸ In response, Yahya accused Rehman of treason, defiling the national flag and of creating terror and turmoil.¹⁰⁹

Chances of a political settlement thus disappeared and West Pakistan lost control, so the military attempted to restore order. On 25 March 1971, a crackdown, called Operation Searchlight, was organised in Dhaka against East Pakistan’s army, police, students, politicians and others. Rehman and his followers were arrested and the political activities of the Awami League were prohibited.¹¹⁰ Two days later, Major Ziaur Rahman, a veteran of the East Bengal Regiment, declared Bangladesh a new and independent state. A liberation army, the Mukti Bahini, formed from the Bengali military and police, was joined by

¹⁰⁴ Jack Anderson and George Clifford, *The Anderson Papers* (New York: Random House, 1973), p. 214.

¹⁰⁵ Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto et al, *The Bangladesh Papers: The Recorded Statements and Speeches of Z.A. Bhutto, Mujeeb-ur-Rahman, General Yahya Khan and other Politicians of Pakistan* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1978), p. 131; Sherwani, *Pakistan, China and America*, p. 166; Badruddin Umar, *The Emergence of Bangladesh: Rise of Bengali Nationalism, 1958-1971* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 275.

¹⁰⁶ Santos, *Military Intervention and Secession in South Asia: The Case of Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Kashmir and Punjab*, p. 28; Rubin, “When Realities Collide: Differing US-Pakistan Threat Perceptions”, p. 53.

¹⁰⁷ International Commission of Jurists, *The Events in East Pakistan, 1971, a Legal Study*, (Geneva, 1972), p. 15.

¹⁰⁸ Antara Datta, *Refugees and Borders in South Asia: The Great Exodus of 1971* (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 216.

¹⁰⁹ A. Appadorai, *Select Documents on India’s Foreign Policy and Relations, 1947-1972*, Volume 1 (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 408.

¹¹⁰ See Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military*, p. 71; Vidya Subrahmaniam, “A War Won against the Tilt”, *The Hindu*, 3 July 2005, <<http://www.thehindu.com/thehindu /mag/2005/07 /03/stories/200507030009 0100.htm>> [Accessed 12 August 2013]; Rubin, “When Realities Collide”, p. 53.

unarmed farmers, factory workers and students, and thus a guerrilla war commenced.¹¹¹ Fighters from the Mukti Bahini sheltered in India where they received training and weapons. They also used Indian bases for attacks on West Pakistan's military targets and supply routes. In response the West Pakistan military intensified its operations.¹¹² Casualty figures vary from US estimates of between 4,000 to 6,000 dead in Dhaka¹¹³ to Rehman's estimate of 3 million deaths in total.¹¹⁴ The upheaval forced an estimated 10 million people to flee to India by the end of the war in December 1971.¹¹⁵

Such a huge migration posed a serious threat to political stability in India, so a solution was needed for the refugees' safe return. Since early intervention in the war would have brought condemnation, India initially called on the international community for help. However, there was little optimism that other countries would respond.¹¹⁶ Indira Gandhi gave warning of what would follow the world's inaction: "If the world does not take heed, we shall be constrained to take all measures as may be necessary to ensure our own security."¹¹⁷ By mid-July 1971, the Indian military started intervening in the conflict, helping the Mukti Bahini become an effective fighting force.¹¹⁸ By mid-October, Bangladeshi forces had taken control of substantial territory.

Now India turned the refugee crisis to its advantage by opposing a UNHCR plan for a reception centre in East Pakistan on the basis that no refugee should return until an Awami League government was securely established.¹¹⁹ At the same time, the Indian army started military movements and exercises along

¹¹¹ Frank Senauth, *The Last Call: Curse of Bhutto's Name* (Bloomington: Author House, 2008), p. 19; Christophe Jaffrelot, *A History of Pakistan and Its Origin*, (London: Wimbledon Publishing Company, 2002), p. 56.

¹¹² Eamon Murphy, *The Making of Terrorism in Pakistan: Historical and Social Roots of Extremism* (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 73.

¹¹³ *FRUS*, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969-1976, South Asia Crisis, Volume 11, "Memorandum from Secretary of State William Rogers to President Nixon", April 3, 1971, US Department of State, <<http://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/nixon/xi/45604.htm>> [Accessed 14 April 2012].

¹¹⁴ Donald W. Beachler, *The Genocide Debate: Politicians, Academics, and Victims* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 16.

¹¹⁵ Rajiv Biwas, *Future Asia: The New Gold Rush in the East* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 162.

¹¹⁶ Duncan McLeod, *India and Pakistan: Friends, Rivals or Enemies?* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008), p. 110; Richard Sisson and Leo E. Rose, *War of Secession: Pakistan, India and the creation of Bangladesh* (California: University of California Press, 1990), p. 152.

¹¹⁷ Cashman and Leonard, *An Introduction to the Causes of War*, p. 249.

¹¹⁸ Jaffrelot, *A History of Pakistan and Its Origin*, p. 56.

¹¹⁹ Viva Ona Bartkus, *The Dynamic of Secession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 158.

East Pakistan's borders. Fearing that India was planning to attack, Pakistan's high command ordered a pre-emptive strike against eight Indian bases on 3 December 1971, thus triggering a full-scale war.¹²⁰ Pakistan was defeated once more and on 16 December confirmed Bangladesh's independence.¹²¹

At the start, the US treated this crisis as an internal affair and made no official comment on the killings resulting from Operation Searchlight. Even when the crisis escalated and thousands more were killed, the US still did not condemn West Pakistan. Appalled, the US Consul General in Dacca, Archer Blood, sent a telegram to his State Department revealing the extent of bloodshed in the conflict and dissented from his government's "moral bankruptcy" for failing to denounce West Pakistan's repression and, what he described as "genocide".¹²² But neither the White House nor the State Department was moved to change policy.

When it became known that US weapons had been used in Operation Searchlight, contrary to the agreement under which they had been supplied, public criticism forced the Nixon administration to ban arms deliveries to Pakistan once again.¹²³ However, it was discovered later that the ban was limited to new licences only, so arms covered by existing licenses were still delivered. It was not until early November, 1971 that arms deliveries finally ceased, although other forms of aid still continued.¹²⁴ Other members of the international community were more willing to act against West Pakistan. In June 1971, the World Bank said that unless and until the crisis was settled politically by West Pakistan, it would not get any of its development aid.¹²⁵

When full-scale war erupted, however, Nixon feared that India, with Soviet support, might attempt to shatter the cohesion of West Pakistan, so he sent a message to the Soviet leadership on the Hot Line asking them in the spirit of superpower détente to restrain its ally, Delhi. He also ordered a task force, led by

¹²⁰ Sathasivam, *Uneasy Neighbours*, p. 10.

¹²¹ Rubin, "When Realities Collide: Differing US-Pakistan Threat Perceptions", p. 53.

¹²² US Consulate (Dacca) Cable (Declassified US Government Documents), *Dissent from US Policy toward East Pakistan*, 6 April, 1971, pp 1-5 (includes a signature from the Department of State).

¹²³ Stephen Roskamm Shalom, *Imperial Alibis: Rationalizing U.S. Intervention after the Cold War* (Boston: South End Press, 1993), p. 124.

¹²⁴ Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *Making U.S. Foreign Policy toward South Asia: Regional Imperatives and the Imperial Presidency* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2008), p. 334.

¹²⁵ Shalom, *Imperial Alibis*, p. 125.

the aircraft carrier USS Enterprise, to the Bay of Bengal.¹²⁶ The Presidential Order did not specify the task force's mission,¹²⁷ but Kissinger later revealed it was sent "ostensibly for the evacuation of Americans, but in reality to give emphasis to our warnings against an attack on West Pakistan."¹²⁸ He added that the US also wanted forces in place in case the Soviet Union put pressure on China.¹²⁹

What motivated Nixon to remain non-judgemental, to deter Gandhi's aggression, to continue aid to Pakistan and to be concerned for the security of China was the fact that, at the same time as the crisis was playing out, Pakistan's leaders were secretly acting as intermediaries between the US and China on what was a much bigger diplomatic project for the US strategically and for Nixon personally.

2.7 Secret Diplomacy with China, and Nixon's Opportunism

If the Pakistan-China relationship had been an irritant for Johnson, it was now an asset for Nixon as Pakistan once again became valuable to US interests. This time its value was in the relationship with Mao's regime rather than its geo-strategic location. The US had been slow to fully appreciate the Sino-Soviet split because communism had been treated as a monolith, but increasingly through the 1960s the division between the two great communist powers had become more visible. The dispute climaxed in 1969 when there was a brief war over the border between China and the USSR.

The US had refused to recognise the PRC after the 1949 revolution but by the late 1960s it was being acknowledged that there could be benefits in a relationship with China. In addition to rebalancing cold war international relations against the USSR, it could yield specific benefits. China could get access to technology and strategic information, and for the US a friendly China could pressure the North Vietnamese to negotiate an end to the Vietnam War. As an important part of the process of integrating Communist China into the

¹²⁶ Bruce O. Reidel, *Deadly Embrace: Pakistan, America, and the Future of the Global Jihad* (Washington D.C.: Brooking Institution Press, 2011), p. 15.

¹²⁷ Raymond L. Garthoff, *Detente and Confrontation: American-Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan* (Washington D.C.: Brooking Institution Press, 1994), p. 304.

¹²⁸ Henry Kissinger, *White House Years* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979), pp. 905-906.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

international community, China became a member of the United Nations on 15 November 1971.¹³⁰ For Nixon himself such a bold move would boost his prestige and re-election campaign.

Sino-US negotiations had begun back in 1969. With Pakistan acting as mediator, diplomatic notes were exchanged, and by April 1971 Chou-en-Lai officially confirmed to Yahya Kahn his willingness to receive the US President's special envoy in China. An arrangement was made for Kissinger to visit Pakistan and, whilst there, he feigned illness as a pretext for being out of the public eye, and secretly flew to Peking to negotiate a later and very public visit for Nixon.¹³¹ Thus, at the time of the East Pakistan crisis, Yahya's role in Sino-US negotiations was pivotal and any unfriendly gesture by the US could have jeopardised the whole project. Kissinger later explained how he and Nixon saw this situation as a dilemma:

The United States could not condone a brutal military repression in which thousands of civilians were killed and from which millions fled to India for safety ... But Pakistan was our sole channel to China; once it was closed off it would take months to make alternative arrangements.¹³²

Nixon's visit to China successfully took place in February 1972 during which there was a historic meeting with Mao. With a concession to withdraw US troops from Taiwan, both governments signed the Shanghai Communiqué which aligned the countries against any powerful country (meaning the USSR), which might try to exert hegemony over Asia.¹³³ Nixon then went on to win a landslide victory in the 1972 election and an end to the Vietnam War was negotiated the following year. The US and China were thankful to Pakistan for the role it played in the process and Nixon paid compliments to Yahya Kahn.¹³⁴

The benefits and losses from these two linked episodes seem unevenly distributed but much of the damage Pakistan suffered came from the civil war which arose from internal factors which were not products of the US relationship.

¹³⁰ Nelson Kloze and Curt Lader, *United States History since 1865* (New York: Barron's Educational Series, 2001), p. 331.

¹³¹ See Lester H. Brune, *Chronological History of US Foreign Relations: 1932-1988*, (New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 802; Ravi Shekhar Narain Singh, *The Military Factor in Pakistan* (New Delhi: Lancer Publishers, 2009) p. 227; Peter Dale Scott, *The Road to 9/11: Wealth, Empire, and the Future of America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), p. 42.

¹³² Kissinger, *White House Years*, p. 854.

¹³³ Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, *China Confidential: American Diplomats and Sino-American Relations, 1945-1996* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), p. 222.

¹³⁴ Shri Ram Sharma, *India-China Relations: Friendship Goes with Power* (New Delhi: Discovery Publishing House, 1999), p. 93.

Despite this, the US did give material and diplomatic help to Pakistan - first, by not condemning the repressive nature of Operation Searchlight; second, by continuing development aid when other nations stopped; and third, by constraining both India and the USSR. In Pakistan there was, and still is, dismay that the US was complicit in allowing the secession of East Pakistan.¹³⁵ However, any US intervention would surely have drawn a response from the USSR via India with inherent dangers of escalation. Kissinger makes a good case that East Pakistan was a lost cause in any case:

There was no likelihood that a small military force owing loyalty to one wing of the country could indefinitely hold a population of 75 million of the other. Once indigenous support for a united Pakistan evaporated, the integrity of Pakistan was finished. An independent Bengali state was certain to emerge, even without Indian intervention. The only question was how the change would come about.¹³⁶

Nixon and Kissinger were also convinced that West Pakistan was secured because of their policies. As Nixon later wrote:

By using diplomatic signals and acting behind the scenes we had been able to save West Pakistan from the imminent threat of Indian aggression and domination. We had also once again avoided a major confrontation with the Soviet Union.¹³⁷

This did little to help Yahya Kahn, however. Under his leadership Pakistan had been decisively defeated by India again and had lost the most populous part of his country. Demonstrations broke out against his military government and, like his predecessor, Yahya Khan was forced to resign on 20 December 1971. On this occasion, however, the military had lost much of its reputation. As a result, Yahya had little option but to pass control to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the former Foreign Minister turned critic.

2.8 Pakistan Diversifies: Islam and the Bomb

Like his predecessors, Bhutto's security outlook was focused on India which he described to the UN General Assembly in 1965 as "a great monster, a great aggressor always given to small aggression."¹³⁸ Unlike his predecessors, however, he had repeatedly criticised Pakistan's unbalanced foreign policy which

¹³⁵ Interview with Tahir Amin, Islamabad, 30 May, 2012.

¹³⁶ Kissinger, *White House Years*, p. 846.

¹³⁷ Richard Nixon, *R.N: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1978), p. 530.

¹³⁸ Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, *Reshaping Foreign Policy: A Collection of Articles, Statements and Speeches: Politics of the People Series, volume I, 1948-1966* (Rawalpindi: Pakistan Publication, 1966), p. 222.

he now sought to diversify. He believed that in supporting the US in its fear of international communism, Pakistan had not only weakened its defence against India but also added to its list of immediate enemies. Furthermore, he was of the view that as long as Pakistan was committed to the US, good relations with Muslim countries would be difficult.¹³⁹ Accordingly, he set out to diminish dependence on the US and to place Pakistan at the forefront of Islamic countries.¹⁴⁰ In so doing, he set the ground for a steadily deteriorating relationship with Washington.

Since Bhutto had long recognised the importance of China in balancing against India and had pushed for closer relations, he now saw it as his most crucial ally.¹⁴¹ To develop this relationship he visited China three times between January 1972 and the summer of 1976. In pursuit of a more balanced Cold War stance he also sought better relations with the USSR. He visited Moscow in March 1972, and this led to the restoration of trade, economic, scientific and technical ties. Addressing the National Assembly, he reported that he had convinced Moscow of Pakistan's peaceful intentions and was "... glad that we have been able to normalize our relation with this great power and neighbouring state."¹⁴² In October 1974, he visited the USSR again and was offered assistance in oil and gas prospecting. A new long term trade agreement was also signed to replace an earlier one which had been signed before the secession of East Pakistan.¹⁴³

However, it was his pursuit of nuclear weapons that was the cause of the greatest difficulties with Washington. In fact, Pakistan was a relatively late entrant to the nuclear arena. A committee for exploring the peaceful use of nuclear energy was set up in 1955 followed by the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC) in 1956, but it was not until 1965 that the first nuclear power plant was established. This was at Karachi and was built with Canadian assistance on the condition that it would be operated under IAEA safeguards. In effect, this meant that Pakistan was agreeing not to develop a nuclear weapons capability. However,

¹³⁹ J. Henry Korson, *Contemporary Problems of Pakistan* (Leiden: Brill Archive, 1974), p. 57.

¹⁴⁰ Peter R. Blood, *Pakistan: A Country Study* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1995), p. 251.

¹⁴¹ Gordon Corera, *Shopping for Bombs: Nuclear Proliferation, Global Insecurity, and the Rise and Fall of the AQ Khan Network* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 13.

¹⁴² Parliamentary Debates. Official Report, Pakistan National Assembly, 1972, p. 50.

¹⁴³ Khurshid Hyder, "Pakistan's Foreign Policy in the Early Seventies", in Masuma Hasan (ed.), *Pakistan in a Changing World* (Karachi: MA'AREF Printers, Karachi, 1978), pp. 108-109.

Bhutto had warned the UN in 1965 of the potential for nuclear proliferation if, in a barely hidden reference to India, “a sixth country” joined the ranks of nuclear countries.¹⁴⁴ The following year, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi began to argue that Third World countries should be given permission to conduct peaceful nuclear explosions.¹⁴⁵ This prompted Bhutto to warn what could happen if this issue was not dealt with equitably:

Nuclear powers cannot on the one hand acclaim non-proliferation in principle and on the other actively assist India and Israel to acquire nuclear capability if India acquires nuclear status, Pakistan will have to follow suit even if it entails eating grass.¹⁴⁶

Gul claims Bhutto sought a defence guarantee from the US to deter India from nuclear blackmail against Pakistan but was unsuccessful.¹⁴⁷ Because of this failure, he took personal charge of a new nuclear project.¹⁴⁸ It is said at a meeting of about 50 Pakistani scientists at Multan on 2 January 1972 Bhutto was told that they could make a nuclear bomb if they had the right resources and facilities. Bhutto assured them that resources and facilities would be made available.¹⁴⁹ A comprehensive programme was then devised and approved later the same year.¹⁵⁰

Bhutto first arranged to keep the programme under his sole control – and therefore also under civilian control. A Ministry of Science, Technology and Production was put under his direct supervision, along with all atomic energy affairs, and he made the Chairman of PAEC answerable only to himself.¹⁵¹ He then set about procuring \$300 million to finance the programme and turned to the oil states where Kuwait, Libya, Iraq UAE and Saudi Arabia assured him of financial support and co-operation. These countries were generally supportive since Pakistan’s nuclear bomb could also serve as a future deterrent against Israel

¹⁴⁴ Hameed Ali Khan Rai, *Pakistan in the United Nations: Speeches Delivered in the General Assembly by the Heads of Pakistan Delegations, 1948-1978* (Lahore: Aziz Publishers, 1979), p. 240.

¹⁴⁵ Hasan Askari Rizvi, *Pakistan’s Nuclear Programme* (Karachi: Pakistan Association for Peace Research, 1991), p. 4.

¹⁴⁶ Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, *Awakening the People* (Karachi: Pakistan Publication, 1973), pp. 20-21.

¹⁴⁷ Interview with Brig. Agha Gul, Quetta, 25 April 2012

¹⁴⁸ Sreedhar, *Pakistan’s Bomb: A Documentary Study* (New Delhi: ABC Publishing House, 1986), pp. 4-20.

¹⁴⁹ Garima Singh, *Pakistan’s Nuclear Disorder: Weapons, Proliferation, and Safety* (New Delhi: Lancer Publishers & Distributors, 2006), p. 6.

¹⁵⁰ Sreedhar, *Pakistan’s Bomb*, p. 121.

¹⁵¹ Singh, *Pakistan’s Nuclear Disorder: Weapons*, p. 6.

after their defeat in the recent 1973 October War.¹⁵² They feared Israel's nuclear capability and believed any move towards acquiring their own nuclear weapons would be wholly unacceptable to the international community. It was thought that Pakistan's nuclear programme would be seen as an attempt to counter India and therefore rather less controversial than a deterrent aimed at Israel. Moreover, Pakistan's location made it less vulnerable to an Israeli attack. The former Pakistani ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Shahid Amin, reported that "the Saudis regard Pakistan as a trustworthy friend who will come to Saudi Arabia's assistance whenever the occasion arises."¹⁵³

In Libya, Gaddafi was interested in making his own nuclear bomb, which he described as a "Sword of Islam", but did not have access to the scientists or equipment needed.¹⁵⁴ He had tried to buy a bomb from China in 1970 but was refused, so he saw Pakistan's approach as another opportunity. In 1973, a secret meeting took place in Paris between Pakistan and Libya, as a result of which Pakistan received a large sum of money from Libya.¹⁵⁵ In February 1974, Pakistan hosted a meeting of the Organisation of Islamic Committees (OIC) in Lahore to further cement its relationship with the Muslim countries. During his visit to the OIC, Gaddafi went to a cricket stadium in Lahore which had been renamed, the "Gaddafi Stadium". Addressing a huge crowd there, the Libyan leader assured the Pakistani people that his country was ready to sacrifice its blood if Pakistan were ever threatened. He also promised Pakistanis that "Our resources are your resources"¹⁵⁶ and he was as good as his word. Money began to flow to Pakistan from Libya. Bhutto's nuclear project thus had two main aims: to counter-balance India's military capability and to put Pakistan at the head of the Islamic world. The US became concerned over the possibility of an "Islamic bomb", fearing that it could be used in a future Arab-Israel conflict.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵² See Shirin Tahir-Kheli, *The United States and Pakistan: The Evolution of an Influence Relationship* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1982), p. 84; Singh, *Pakistan's Nuclear Disorder*, pp. 13-14.

¹⁵³ Corera, *Shopping for Bombs*, p. 13.

¹⁵⁴ Edgar O'Balance, "The Islamic Bomb", *National Defence*, Vol. 65, No. 363, December 1980.

¹⁵⁵ Corera, *Shopping for Bombs*, p. 11.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p. 12

¹⁵⁷ Shafqat Ali Shah, "Pakistan's Perceptions of US Domestic Politics", in Leo E. Rose and Noor A. Hussain (eds.), *United States-Pakistan Relations* (Berkeley: University of California, 1985), p. 101.

Bhutto's nuclear project was galvanised in May 1974 when India tested its first nuclear explosion, under the codename, "Smiling Buddha". Soon afterwards Gandhi wrote to assure Bhutto that her purpose was peaceful and she continued to condemn the military use of nuclear energy. In reply, Bhutto dismissed her assurance with reference to India's broken promises on the Kashmir plebiscite and warned her to expect public opinion in Pakistan to react to the "... chauvinistic jubilation widely expressed in India at the acquisition of a nuclear status."¹⁵⁸ Bhutto decided to turn to China for help, initially requesting that they provide a nuclear umbrella for Pakistan in the event of an Indian attack. In return, he got an unspecific assurance from Chou-en-Lai that every necessary action would be taken in favour of Pakistan when the circumstances arose.¹⁵⁹ In May 1976, Bhutto visited Beijing, accompanied by a number of Pakistani scientists, to strike a deal on developing Pakistan's nuclear capability. The following January, an agreement on scientific and technological co-operation was signed which included China's assistance in the development of Pakistan's nuclear energy. Bates Gill an expert on Chinese foreign policy, later claimed that this Chinese assistance was not restricted to nuclear energy, but also included the acquisition of highly enriched uranium which is necessary to build nuclear weapons.¹⁶⁰ Later in March and June 1977, Chinese scientists visited Pakistan to select sites and discuss implementation plans.¹⁶¹

Bhutto also turned to the French for assistance and on 18 March 1976, Pakistan signed an agreement with Paris for the construction of a nuclear reprocessing plant in Chasma. The US administration reacted sharply against this, arguing that Pakistan could use the plant for the development of nuclear weapons. After pressure from Washington, the agreement was discontinued in December 1976.¹⁶² However, the French facility was still operated under an agreement with

¹⁵⁸ "Items-in-Disarmament – Chronological Files – General", Archival Item, UN Secretariat, 7 June 2006. Copies of letters exchanged between Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, presented by the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations, Mr. Iqbal Akhund to the Secretary-General of the Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim on 12 June 1974.

¹⁵⁹ Shri Ram Sharma, *India-China Relations, 1972-9: Part II* (New Delhi: Discovery Publishing House, 2003), p. 81.

¹⁶⁰ Bates Gill, *Chinese Arms Transfers: Purposes, Patterns, and Prospects in the New World Order* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 1992), p. 152.

¹⁶¹ Sharma, *India-China Relations, 1972-91. Part II*, p. 82.

¹⁶² Rais Ahmed Khan (ed.), *Forty Years of Pakistan-United States Relations: In Search of Peace and Security*, (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1990), pp. 58-59.

the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in which the Pakistani Government undertook not to use any plant, equipment or material to make nuclear weapons and to abide by and co-operate with the Agency's safeguards.¹⁶³ Bhutto argued that Pakistan had a perfect right to develop nuclear energy and said that America's objections were an attempt to undermine his country's sovereignty.¹⁶⁴

Up to 1976, Kissinger offered a deal based on the idea of Pakistan giving up its nuclear weapons in return for increased modern conventional arms from the US. When Bhutto indicated he was not interested,¹⁶⁵ Kissinger is reported to have threatened to "make a horrible example of him" if he did not abandon his plans to reprocess plutonium.¹⁶⁶ Bhutto later claimed that Kissinger made good this threat in the post-1977 election turmoil in Pakistan, and that the US funded his opponents in order to topple his government.¹⁶⁷ Within six months of the election, he was removed in another military coup and charged with murder. Subjected to a rigged trial, he was found guilty by the Supreme Court following the dictates of military, rather than civil, law. Two years later, Bhutto was executed.¹⁶⁸ His execution did not mean the end of Pakistan's nuclear programme, however. The incoming General Zia ul-Haq was as committed to the "Islamic bomb", but after Bhutto's death the programme was removed from civilian control and put it firmly in the hands of the military where it has been ever since.

2.9 US Involvement in Bhutto's Fall

Reports of Kissinger's threat to Bhutto have generated claims about US involvement in the political turmoil and military coup that removed him from power. Full examination of this topic would require lengthy research beyond the scope of this thesis but, because of its significance in US-Pakistan relations and

¹⁶³ IAEA, "The Text of the Safeguards Agreement of 18 March 1976 between the Agency, France and Pakistan", International Atomic Energy Agency, Information Circular, 22 June 1976, <<http://www.iaea.org/Publications/Documents/Infcircs/Others/infcirc239.pdf>> [Accessed 30 June 2012].

¹⁶⁴ Bhutto's statement at a Press Conference at Ottawa, 26 February 1976, in K. Arif (ed.), *America-Pakistan Relations*, Volume 1 (Lahore: Vanguard Books Ltd.), p. 315.

¹⁶⁵ Ashok Kapur, *Pakistan in Crisis* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 130.

¹⁶⁶ Zalmay Khalilzad, "Pakistan and the Bomb", *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 36, No. 1, January 1980, p. 13.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Tariq Ali, *The Clash of Fundamentalism: Crusades, Jihads and Modernity* (London: Verso, 2003), p. 167.

resonance in popular discourse, it is discussed here alongside contributions from interviewees.

Bhutto himself believed the US was heavily involved in his fall. In his death cell memoir, *If I am Assassinated*, he refers to his meeting with Kissinger and concludes that his decision to continue Pakistan's nuclear programme led to his death sentence.¹⁶⁹ However, Gerald Feuerstein, Deputy Chief of the US Mission in Islamabad, recalls that whilst Kissinger had been sent to warn Bhutto, he had adopted a balanced "carrot and stick" approach to persuade him to stop the programme. The "carrot" was the offer of A-7 bombers, whilst the stick was not any direct threat from Kissinger but his emphasising the fact that the Democrats, who favoured a tougher non-proliferation approach than the Republicans, were set to win the upcoming election.¹⁷⁰

Tariq Fatemi, former Pakistani ambassador and current special advisor to Nawaz Sharif, supports the idea that Kissinger was referring to Carter's likely win in the 1977 presidential election and a consequent harder line on proliferation.¹⁷¹ On the other hand, Bhutto's daughter and future Prime Minister, claimed Kissinger did indeed make a direct threat. She recalled her father returning from the meeting "flushed with anger" saying Kissinger had "spoken to him crudely and arrogantly":

During the meeting Kissinger had claimed that he considered my father a brilliant statesman. It was only as a well-wisher that he was warning him: Reconsider the agreement with France or risk being made into 'a horrible example'.¹⁷²

Claims made by an alleged former ISI Director, Brigadier Tirmazi, have been widely used to corroborate Bhutto's version of events. Tirmazi reported that Kissinger had not only said to Bhutto that he would "make a horrible example of you", but had also added, "When the railroad is coming, you get out of the way."¹⁷³ There are doubts, however, about the Tirmazi claims and more recent investigations have been unable to establish the authenticity of his evidence.¹⁷⁴ Thus, there is no definitive evidence of Kissinger's exact intention or wording but

¹⁶⁹ Abbas, *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism*, p. 87.

¹⁷⁰ "Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto Rejected Kissinger's Warning over Nukes", *Daily Times*, 4 April 2010.

¹⁷¹ Interview Ambassador Tariq Fatemi, Islamabad, 20 July, 2012.

¹⁷² Benazir Bhutto, *Daughter of the East* (London: Penguin, 1998), p. 76.

¹⁷³ Syed A.I. Tirmizi, *Profile of Intelligence* (Lahore: Combined Printers, 1995), p. 33.

¹⁷⁴ Pakistan Media Watch, "Bhutto, Sheikh Mujib and Hamid Mir – II", April 29, 2011, <<http://pakistanmediawatch.com/tag/daily-jang/page/3/>> [accessed on 08/06/2013].

it would be reasonable to conclude that a strong warning, at a minimum, was issued.

At the time, Bhutto openly accused the US of plotting against him. He claimed there was “a massive, huge, colossal international conspiracy” against Pakistan and that “foreigners were behind the nationwide agitation by opposition parties to force his resignation.” Citing his opposition to the US, he reported to Parliament that vast sums had flooded in from abroad to finance the campaign against him.¹⁷⁵ The new US Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, promptly denied these allegations, stating that his government had no intention of interfering in Pakistan’s domestic affairs and had given no assistance to any political organisations or individuals. He also pointed out that “despite occasional differences on specific points” the US had maintained economic assistance and arms shipments to Pakistan uninterrupted.¹⁷⁶

The timing of events raises an obvious objection to the conspiracy theory. The meeting with Kissinger in August 1976 was under the Republican Presidency of Gerald Ford. By January 1977, Ford and Kissinger had been replaced by the Democrat President Carter and Secretary of State Vance, who had adopted a strong human rights agenda in international relations. Therefore, the question arises as to how Kissinger could influence events after the party he served had been voted out of power and he was no longer in office. Benazir Bhutto suggested that “changes in the US administration did not necessarily mean changes in all the US centres of power” and pointed out that, “the CIA often acted autonomously and that their policies were not established overnight.”¹⁷⁷ She listed the reasons why there might be no change of policy in the CIA concerning her father:

Here was a man who had spoken out against American policy during the Vietnam War, who had promoted normalised relations with Communist China, who had supported the Arabs during the 1973 war and advocated independence from the superpowers at Third World conferences. Was he getting too big for his boots?¹⁷⁸

Allegations by Tirmazi have been used to support Benazir Bhutto’s assertions with specific accusations. It was argued, first, that Washington

¹⁷⁵ “Statement by Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto to a joint session of Parliament on April 28, 1977”, p.329.

¹⁷⁶ Letter of the US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance to the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Z. A. Bhutto on April 29, 1977, in K. Arif (ed.), *America-Pakistan Relations*, Vol. 1, (Lahore: Vanguard Books Ltd. 1984), p.330.

¹⁷⁷ Bhutto, *Daughter of the East*, p. 76.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

cultivated bureaucrats, PPP stalwarts and ministers as US agents; second, that US diplomats directed operations against Bhutto through direct and frequent contact with opposition leaders; and finally, that a wireless link was established between the US Consulate and the residence of Maulana Maudoodi of the opposition Janat-i-Islami Party. These are now subject to the same doubts about authenticity as those concerning the nature of Kissinger's original threat to Bhutto. A credible ISI source, former Director-General Asad Durrani, interviewed for this research, casts further doubt on their accuracy. He points out that opposition against Bhutto arose internally because he had mishandled issues and manipulated elections and, though he does not rule out the possibility of opportunistic US involvement, he argues that Bhutto could not have been deposed if he had held a good grip on the country.¹⁷⁹ Abbas goes further and cites Rafi Raza, a close associate of Bhutto, who argued that the US did not threaten Bhutto. He points out that if the US had conspired with Zia over the coup then it is likely the General would have gone on to halt the nuclear programme.¹⁸⁰ Gupta is also of the view that there is no proof that the US was responsible for the coup though he argued that Washington appeared to favour authoritarian governments in Pakistan during the Cold War as the best means of maintaining control over the country and containing the possibility of communist expansionism.¹⁸¹ On the evidence available, therefore, there is no strong, reliable indication of US orchestration of either the opposition or the coup itself.

There were also widespread suspicions that America was involved in Bhutto's execution. This view is represented by the Balochistan JUI Senator, Hafiz Hamdullah, who is of the opinion that there was a "US hidden hand" in the execution of Bhutto, and other Pakistani leaders who created problems for them, including Benazir Bhutto and General Zia.¹⁸² An alternative interpretation is that, whilst the US was not directly involved, their threats encouraged and cleared the way for the execution.¹⁸³ Feuerstein rejects these ideas, however, and claims that, on the contrary, Carter sent two mercy pleas to General Zia to save Bhutto.¹⁸⁴ The

¹⁷⁹ Interview with Gen. Asad Durranni, Rawalpindi, 10 July 2012.

¹⁸⁰ Abbas, *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism*, p. 87.

¹⁸¹ Rakesh Gupta, *State in India, Pakistan, Russia and Central Asia* (New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 2004), p. 143.

¹⁸² Interview with Hafiz Hamdullah, Quetta, 18 August, 2012.

¹⁸³ Interview with Shaukat Piracha, Islamabad, 25 June, 2012.

¹⁸⁴ "Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto Rejected Kissinger's Warning over Nukes", *Daily Times*, 4 April 2010.

first plea came when on 18 March 1978, the Lahore High Court found Bhutto guilty of murder and sentenced him to death. The court decision triggered a call for clemency from Carter.¹⁸⁵ The second request from Carter came when on 2 February 1979, the Supreme Court of Pakistan rejected Bhutto's appeal. That same day, the ambassador Arthur Hummel delivered another request for clemency from President Carter.¹⁸⁶

Of the fifteen interviewees for this research who expressed an opinion on the matter, eleven considered the reasons for Bhutto's execution were domestic, particularly his confrontation with Zia. After the coup Bhutto campaigned provocatively against Zia, colourfully claiming he would make shoelaces of the General's distinctive moustache.¹⁸⁷ This became a zero-sum battle in which Bhutto made it plain he aimed to regain power with popular support and execute Zia for treason.¹⁸⁸ Zia consulted widely about Bhutto and the risks involved with letting him survive and concluded that if he did not kill Bhutto, then Bhutto would kill him.¹⁸⁹ Roedad Khan, a Pakistani civil servant from 1949 to the end of the Cold War, recalls Zia telling him, "It was his neck or my neck, one of us had to go."¹⁹⁰

There was no shortage of opportunity for Zia to relent and save face by heeding calls for clemency from many foreign leaders, and not just President Carter.¹⁹¹ Roedad Khan also recalls Zia actually gave an assurance to the Chinese that he would not hang Bhutto which the Chinese premier proudly took to Carter at a Washington summit. However, when the Chinese ambassador relayed his premier's praise for showing great statesmanship, Zia asked, "When did I say that I will not hang him?"¹⁹² Bhutto and his legal team are also held partially accountable for the outcome by not taking the trial seriously and treating it as a political platform rather than making a proper defence.¹⁹³ Fatemi also points out that the manner of the trial and execution was unwelcome to the human rights-

¹⁸⁵ Dennis Kux, *Disenchanted Allies*, p. 236.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.* p. 237.

¹⁸⁷ Interview with Brigadier Agha Gul, Quetta, 25 April, 2012.

¹⁸⁸ Interview with Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi, Islamabad, 11 July, 2012.

¹⁸⁹ Interviews with Brig. Agha Gul, Quetta, 25 April 2012; Fasih Iqbal, Quetta, 29 August, 2012; Ashraf Malkham, Islamabad, 30 June, 2012.

¹⁹⁰ Interview with Roedad Khan, 10 August, 2012.

¹⁹¹ Kux, *Estranged Democracies*, p. 236.

¹⁹² Interview with Roedad Khan, Islamabad, 10 August 2012.

¹⁹³ Interview with Tahir Amin, Islamabad, 30 May, 2012; Interview with Fasih Iqbal, Quetta, 29 August 2012.

oriented Carter administration, and that it contributed to Zia being ostracised by the US.¹⁹⁴ Thus, this analysis reveals no firm evidence to indicate the US was instrumental in Bhutto's ouster or execution and that it was more likely the result of the domestic dispute with Zia which Bhutto himself had escalated to deadly proportions to stir up popular sentiment. Nevertheless, the idea that a US "hidden hand" was responsible has become well established in popular discourse and is part of a collection conspiracy theories which blame the US and other outside forces for the course of events in Pakistan.

2.10 Carter, Zia and a Low Point in Relations

The first two years of General Zia's regime took relations with the US to a low point. There were three main issues which led to difficulties: the nuclear programme; human rights; and India. This period culminated in a mob attack on the US embassy in Islamabad on 29 November 1979 in which two US personnel were killed.

The Carter administration was increasingly concerned about nuclear proliferation. US Deputy Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, notified Pakistan that the US was no longer concerned with the past ties between the two countries and that future relations would hinge upon Pakistan's willingness to cease its nuclear programme.¹⁹⁵ Moreover, under amendments to the 1961 Foreign Assistance Act, the Symington Amendment of 1976 and the Glenn Amendment of 1977, the US suspended military and economic aid to Pakistan. The Symington amendment allowed Congress to stop aid to countries trying to acquire nuclear weapons not subject to safeguards, while the Glenn Amendment prohibited transfers to countries that attempted to acquire nuclear reprocessing equipment, materials or technology, whether or not such safeguard systems were in place.

When Pakistan refused to cease its plan to acquire a nuclear reprocessing plant, the Glenn Amendment was invoked and aid was suspended in 1977. Aid was restored when France cancelled its nuclear agreement with Pakistan, only for it to be ended again in 1979 under the Symington Amendment because of

¹⁹⁴ Interview with Ambassador Tariq Fatemi, Islamabad, 20 July 2012.

¹⁹⁵ Hafeez Malik, *Soviet-American Relations with Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan* (London: Macmillan, 1987), p. 167.

Pakistan's building of a uranium enrichment facility.¹⁹⁶ Undeterred, Zia continued the nuclear programme because it was popular in the country and had become tied up with Pakistani nationalism. As Khan stated: "For the average Pakistani, nuclear development became a sacred national duty, and those who opposed it were looked upon as enemies of the national cause."¹⁹⁷ Zia dismissed Carter's non-proliferation policy as a "noble cause" but hypocritical in its implementation because of the way it affected Pakistan in contrast to a more tolerant attitude to Brazil, South Africa and India.¹⁹⁸ In response, Pakistan withdrew from CENTO in March, 1979 saying, "... in the light of these new realities, the alliance had lost its relevance to Pakistan's security concerns."¹⁹⁹ On 14 August 1979, the US Ambassador was summoned to be informed of Pakistan's, "...serious concern over the escalation of the campaign of threats and intimidation in regard to Pakistan's peaceful nuclear program."²⁰⁰

At the beginning of Zia's time in office, Carter's human rights policy did not seem to be a threat to his position. There was no obvious shift to a more repressive policy. After all, his predecessor, Bhutto, had jailed thousands of political opponents, whom he described as troublemakers, without the due process of law. Indeed, Zia, on assuming power, ordered most of these political prisoners to be released and allowed political parties to operate (with the single exception of Bhutto's party, the PPP).²⁰¹ Moreover, Zia, during the initial phase of his rule, did not subdue civil institutions under military admiration but merged the civil machinery of the state with the military administration. In this way, he gave the impression to Carter's administration that he was gradually moving his country towards democracy.

Some American officials still judged the military regime as a negation of a democracy,²⁰² but the steps taken by Zia in 1977-78, which included the promise of democratic elections pacified most US critics. However, the US

¹⁹⁶ Wade L. Huntley, et al, *Nuclear Disarmament in the Twenty-first Century* (Japan: Hiroshima Peace Institute, 2004), p. 169.

¹⁹⁷ Khan, *Forty Years of Pakistan-United States Relations*, p. 59.

¹⁹⁸ Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, *Interviews to Foreign Media*, (March-December 1978), Vol. 2, Ministry of Films and Broadcasting, (Islamabad: Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1978), pp. 369-370.

¹⁹⁹ Arif (ed.), *America-Pakistan Relations*, p. 346.

²⁰⁰ *The Pakistan Times*, 14 August, 1979, quoted in Syed Farooq Hasnat, "Pakistan-U.S. Relations on Slippery Grounds: An Account of Trust and its Deficit", *Pakistan Vision*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 2011.

²⁰¹ Tahir-Kheli, *The United States and Pakistan*, p. 72.

²⁰² *Ibid.*

started taking the issue of human rights in Pakistan seriously in the weeks preceding Bhutto's conviction for the murder of Nawab Ahmed Khan, when the military authorities arrested hundreds of Bhutto's political supporters and sympathisers. When Bhutto was hanged on 4 April 1979, Carter's administration condemned Zia and his supporters as flagrant violators of human rights.²⁰³ Zia appeared to pay little regard to this and further irritated the US by dissolving all political parties, banning all political activities, arresting a number of politicians and indefinitely postponing the long awaited elections which he himself had previously said would be held in November 1979. Zia also gave his military courts precedence over the civilian courts. This turn of events in Pakistan gravely damaged the Pakistan-US relationship.²⁰⁴

India was another factor that damaged relations with the US. Washington had recognised India as the dominant power in South Asia when Bangladesh separated from Pakistan after the Pakistan-India War in 1971 and, under Carter, US officials became more active in emphasizing the hegemonic role of India in the region. As Hussain explains, this was guided by the Brezezinski Doctrine of "regional influentials" in which US interests in the Third World were linked to states perceived as influential in a region by virtue of their size, strategic location, aspirations and economic resources. India fell into this category in South Asia in the same way that Indonesia and Egypt did for South-East Asia and the Middle East respectively.²⁰⁵ US Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher said in Delhi in July 1977 that the US expected India to play a "leading role in the region of South Asia."²⁰⁶ Pakistan took that statement as convincing proof that the US had left Pakistan to the wolves. This perception was further aggravated when Carter paid official visits to India and Iran and ignored Pakistan.

Relations were further damaged in November 1979 when an angry mob attacked and set fire to the US embassy in Islamabad in the mistaken belief that the US was indirectly involved in the Islamist attack on the Great Mosque in Mecca.²⁰⁷ As a result of the attack, two US officials and four Pakistani staff

²⁰³ Ibid. p. 74.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Mushahid Hussain, *Pakistan and the Changing Regional Scenario: Reflection of a Journalist* (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1988), p. 8.

²⁰⁶ Tahir-Kheli, *The United States and Pakistan*, p. 73.

²⁰⁷ Richard Haass, *Economic Sanctions and American Diplomacy* (New Delhi: Council on Foreign Relations, 1998), p. 160.

members died.²⁰⁸ Another 40 people were trapped inside the burning building and were nearly burnt to death.²⁰⁹ Zia's administration was accused by Washington of leaving the embassy unprotected and then failing to safeguard the lives of US citizens. The US even argued that the attack had been supported by the Zia regime. There is some evidence to back up America's accusations. For example, General Akhtar, head of the ISI, arrived at the scene but chose to do nothing. Pakistani troops were present in the area, but took no action against the mob.²¹⁰ Several embassy officials were trapped in the burning building but it is said that it took hours for the Pakistan army to reach the scene, despite the fact that Zia's residence and military headquarters were not very far from the embassy.²¹¹ In response, Carter ordered the postponement of all future investment in Pakistan and called for an overall reduction in the size of US commitments there.²¹² Within a few weeks, however, circumstances changed dramatically with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, and Carter was obliged to swiftly put his human rights and non-proliferation concerns on hold and revert to the opportunistic courting of Pakistan of his predecessors. Containment of the Soviet Union had to take precedence over human rights violations in Pakistan.

2.11 Strategic Outcomes for the US and Pakistan

The diverging strategic aims that underlay the relationship from the start now began to draw the two allies in different strategic directions as soon as opportunity and necessity arose. Opportunity arose for the US when Nehru appealed for international help in his border dispute with China. India was always the US first choice of regional partner so little time was lost in coming to the rescue with aid and arms to deter what was being billed as Chinese communist expansion. Up until then, Kennedy had been able to gloss over the implications of his pro-India policy, but once he started to arm India he was no longer able to

²⁰⁸ *Pakistan Horizon*, Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, Karachi, Vol. 32, No. 4, 1979, p. 161.

²⁰⁹ Howard B. Schaffer, and Teresita C. Schaffer, *How Pakistan Negotiates with the United States: Riding the Roller Coaster* (Washington D.C.: United Institute of Peace, 2011), p. 121.

²¹⁰ Steven Garrison, *Chronological Events of Attack on US Embassy – Islamabad*, Marine Embassy Guard Association, Historical Archives, 21 November, 1979.

²¹¹ Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military*, p. 182.

²¹² M.J. Akbar, *Pakistan Today* (New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1998), p. 117.

placate Pakistan's doubts about his constancy. His refusal to prejudice his new Indian relationship with conditions over Kashmir deepened the insecurity of his older ally. Thus the necessity arose for Pakistan to resume its search for alternative strategic partners in the direction of China. This in turn made the US doubt Pakistan's constancy to which it responded with a mixture of persuasion, warnings, sanctions and assurances, none of which changed Pakistan's subsequent behaviour. Thus this period saw mutual disappointments and frustrations as each party followed different paths from co-operation to confrontation.

In terms of Cold War strategy, this period of the relationship had been of mixed benefit to the US. It had been successful in containing territorial expansion in the region by the USSR but had lost some regional influence itself. Relations with India had been strengthened in 1962 but Nixon's pro-Pakistan and pro-Chinese policies encouraged Indira Gandhi's Soviet leanings to allow the USSR more influence there, though she maintained nominal non-alignment. China was now well established as an alternative arms supplier and economic developer to Pakistan but this had also created a channel for the US to capitalise on the Sino-Soviet split, to improve its own relations with China and to find a way out of the Vietnam debacle. The resultant easing of Cold War tensions had enabled détente to occur rendering Pakistan of less strategic value to the US.

Reduced Cold War imperatives made it possible for Carter to indulge in new liberal strategies focussed on non-proliferation and human rights, in relation to which Pakistan became a problem rather than an asset. India's 1974 nuclear test signalled the acceleration of a reciprocal Pakistani programme with the added complication of links to the Arab states and their confrontation with Israel. Despite pressure and severe sanctions, Washington could not restrain Pakistan and was unable to control nuclear proliferation in the region. Association with Pakistan also became an embarrassment over General Zia's coup and repressions but Carter was unable to use aid as a carrot to encourage democratisation, because his own democratic processes in the form of Congressional opposition prevented it, so was left with little influence over that issue either. Thus, this period highlighted the limits of US power and influence over Pakistan.

The consequences of this phase of the relationship for Pakistan were mostly negative. The US had shown its eagerness to support India and Ayub had

been unable to use the alliance to make diplomatic or military headway on Kashmir, resulting in his fall from power. This demonstrated that the US alliance only amounted to American even-handedness in Indo-Pakistan disputes, which disproportionately weakened Pakistan. Worse came with the loss of East Pakistan which neither the US nor China were willing to save, though the security of West Pakistan was protected by the US. The regional security balance tipped dramatically in India's favour with its nuclear test which Bhutto, followed by Zia, determined to match in direct confrontation with the US. Thus, the US aid which had continued, with breaks in 1965 and 1971, was suspended in 1979. By then, however, Pakistan was less isolated from the rest of the world community with improved relations and backing, not just from China, but also from Arab States which would finance the nuclear project. With the exception of China, though, these states did not share Pakistan's strategic aims in the regional struggle with India.

US decisions not to intervene to help Pakistan in the Kashmir dispute were one of the main disappointments in this period for Islamabad. In contrast, for example, the USSR had twice cast its UN veto in favour of India. This raises the question as to whether the US could or ought to have done more. Former Pakistani Ambassador Sarwar Naqvi points out that, throughout the 1950s, the US was very active in trying to find a solution through the UN and its special representatives. The outcome was a UN resolution requiring a plebiscite for Kashmiris to decide their own future, to which India would not agree, and for a withdrawal of forces, which both sides failed to comply with, leading to stalemate.²¹³ A common interpretation as to why the US did not do more is that it did not want to upset India and, more to the point, had no leverage there.²¹⁴ But whilst this may have been true later it was not the case in 1962 when Nehru was pleading for Western support. After that, however, US leverage in both countries diminished and it could not twist either the Indian arm or the Pakistani arm.²¹⁵

This suggests Kennedy's failure to negotiate conditions for Nehru's support may have been a missed opportunity to encourage India to move towards what was, after all, the UN position. Talbot's view that requiring conditions in

²¹³ Interview with Ambassador Sarwar Naqvi, Islamabad, 11 July, 2012.

²¹⁴ Interview with Zafar Nawaz Jaspal, Islamabad, 9 July 2012.

²¹⁵ Interview with Asad Durrani, Islamabad, 10 July 2012.

return for aid would have increased Soviet penetration in India (quoted above) is unconvincing since that option was already open to Nehru who, nonetheless, was asking for Western help. Progress on Kashmir at this stage could have forestalled Ayub's 1965 war and may have avoided the cracks in the relationship opening in the way that followed. Brigadier Gul makes a case for also suggesting that Pakistan's Chinese partnership, which followed, may have made it less likely that the US would help. Had Pakistan been allowed to have Kashmir, China would have had strategic access through Pakistan to the Indian Ocean. Thus it was, and still is, not in US interests to let Kashmir become part of Pakistan.²¹⁶

2.12 Implications for the Relationship

The history of this period clearly demonstrates the fractured foundations upon which the relationship was formed and represents a playing out of the consequences of diverging interests. Washington's global containment strategy did not anchor it exclusively to Islamabad and it embraced Pakistan's regional friends and foes alike in the form of China and India respectively. In response, Pakistan demonstrated its regional security was not anchored exclusively to the US and embraced not just China but the anti-Israel Arab states and, more significantly, a resolve to get independent nuclear weapons. In part, both parties were revisiting their pre-alliance positions: Truman's reluctance to get involved in Indo-Pakistani conflicts; Eisenhower's first choice of India; and Jinnah's vision of Islamic unity coupled with the unfinished business of partition. The nuclear issue only served to emphasise Pakistan's preoccupation with India.

Wilful blindness was also a prominent feature of this period. The implication of earlier US wilful blindness over Kashmir became apparent when Washington was unable to prevent Ayub's failed 1965 campaign and ended up handing the advantage to the enemy of its ally. This did not stop the US continuing to indulge in this tactic. Kennedy's bland assurances to Ayub and his assumption that he could arm his new friend, India, without unmanageably provoking Pakistan fall into this category. He acted as though blind to the fact that these moves would inflame Pakistan's insecurity and further escalate the regional arms race, and he was powerless to honour US assurances about thwarting the

²¹⁶ Interview with Brig. Agha Gul, Quetta, 25 April 2012.

misuse of American weapons. Following on, Nixon combined opportunism and wilful blindness by indulging Yahya's repressions in East Pakistan to facilitate détente with China, only to see both East Pakistan and Yahya fall once the moment of opportunity had passed. Carter's switch to human rights and rejection of Pakistan served to amplify the opportunism and wilful blindness that had preceded it.

This period also set the transactional pattern for the relationship, the main feature of which was disappointment leading to lack of trust on both sides. Whether Pakistan indulged in wilful blindness over its US alliances or not it was deeply disappointed that its ally aided and abetted India, failed to help resolve Kashmir, and allowed the loss of East Pakistan. It was also angered over the hypocrisy of non-proliferation which appeared to give a blind eye to India, and other countries, whilst threatening and punishing Pakistan. Pakistan's switch to China, the Arabs and the bomb then angered the US which was also frustrated by what it saw as impulsive and ill-judged aggression against India. Past disappointments then created a mutual expectation of future disappointment and declining trust. This was reflected in the threats and sanctions applied to Pakistan, though there is no evidence that this extended to direct interference in the fall or death of Bhutto.

Another feature of the relationship up to 1979 was the fluctuation of US policies towards Pakistan and India. This emerging pattern suggests that Democrat administrations were less favourable to Pakistan, and tended to be pro-India, while Republican administrations were more favourable to Pakistan. India was the favoured choice of Truman (Democrat) who had also been reluctant to partner Pakistan despite Nehru's rejection. Eisenhower (Republican) went on to make Pakistan his closest non-NATO ally, but Kennedy (Democrat) had then tilted to India, setting off a chain of mutual disappointments with Pakistan. Nixon (Republican) had opportunistically supported Pakistan, nudging India back to closer ties with the USSR, but Carter (Democrat) had then condemned Pakistan over human rights and nuclear proliferation. Whilst there may be multiple explanations for these fluctuations beyond simple party preferences, including the impact of events, opportunities and threats, the basic pattern was visible, and General Zia would use it to his advantage when turmoil in neighbouring

Afghanistan brought the USSR to his country's borders and the US back to his office door.

CHAPTER 3: AFGHANISTAN: COLD WAR PARTNERS AGAIN, 1979-1989

3.1 Introduction

Just when Pakistan had become more of a problem than an asset to the Carter administration, events in the Middle East and Central Asia were to make her a key strategic ally of the US once again. These events were the Iranian Islamic Revolution in February 1979 and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979. However, the process of rebuilding the relationship would not be straight-forward and it would not proceed smoothly once the two sides were working together again against the Soviet Union.

This chapter explores the Soviet invasion and the change of direction of the US in Cold War strategy and in Washington's attitude to Pakistan. It contrasts Carter's approach in the remaining year of his Presidency with Reagan's single-minded confrontation of the USSR and looks at how General Zia approached each to get the best deal. The argument here is that he had learnt from Pakistan's previous experience and took the initiative in using his reverse influence to negotiate with the US more effectively than before. The chapter reviews national interests and argues that, despite joint action, this was not a period when strategic aims converged and that co-operation was only possible because of substantial wilful blindness, particularly over nuclear proliferation. The process of that wilful blindness and its consequences are explored in some detail in this chapter. The evolution of the Mujahidin is also briefly examined to establish the extent to which the US or Zia had control over it. The process of ending the conflict in Afghanistan with the Geneva Accord is used to show how diverging interests would start to pull the two sides apart again. The chapter ends with a survey of the strategic consequences of this period of the relationship and a conclusion about its legacy.

3.2 Afghanistan

Before the Iranian Revolution, US policy in the Middle East rested on the idea that, if properly armed, the "twin pillars" of Iran and Saudi Arabia would be

able to safeguard Western interests in the region. This coincided with the Shah's aim to make Iran the dominant regional power, which resulted in the US transferring arms in massive quantities to his regime. The Shah was regarded by them as the "policeman" of the Gulf who could keep the area free of communist influence and maintain navigation through the Strait of Hormuz, while Saudi Arabia also played a lesser role in this strategy.¹ The Islamic Revolution which ousted the Shah was vehemently anti-American in nature and undermined America's position in the region. Instead of Iran being an ally, it became a threat to US interests and to pro-Western states in the oil-rich Gulf region.

On the heels of the Islamic Revolution came the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan which jolted Carter's complacency about Soviet foreign policy goals and signified a sharp shift away from détente and back to confrontation in the Cold War. Afghanistan had been nominally non-aligned but a coup in 1978 brought in a Marxist regime under Nur Mohammed Taraki with a radical programme of land reform and a campaign against Islam which led to violent popular pro-Muslim reaction and increasing instability. By March 1979 there was armed revolt in Herat with up to 3,000 deaths, including some forty Soviet citizens. A power struggle emerged between Taraki and his more radical rival, Hafuzullah Amin, and the regime's continued existence came under threat.² On the night of 24/25 December 1979, Soviet planes landed in Kabul and two days later about 1,000 Red Army troops took the Presidential Palace and executed Amin and his family. A former leader of the governing party, Babrak Karmal, was installed by the Soviets and their invasion force was enlarged to 70,000, rising to over 100,000 by the mid-1980s.³

The USSR presented the invasion as a lawful response to an invitation from the legitimate Afghan government to restore order resulting from external destabilisation, and it was described as "neighbourly assistance" to help the

¹ Yasmeen Qureshi, *US-Pakistan Interests in the Persian Gulf*, in Rais Ahmad Khan (ed.), *Pakistan-United States Relations* (Islamabad: Quaid-i-Azam University, 1983), pp. 98-99.

² Diego Cordovez and Selig S. Harrison, *Out of Afghanistan: The Inside Story of the Soviet Withdrawal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 36-37.

³ Kuldip Nayar, *Reports on Afghanistan* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1981), p. 46; Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia and the Cold War, 1945-2006* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1981), p. 316.

regime ward off external aggression and to block anti-Soviet penetration on its southern border.⁴

However, it was interpreted very differently in the West. The Carter Administration saw it as aggressive, ideological and an example of territorial expansion by the Soviet Union. US apprehensions were influenced by communist encroachment elsewhere in the world – Ethiopia, South Yemen, Nicaragua and El Salvador; amplified by a new hostility in the shape of the Islamic regime in Tehran.⁵ In addition to being yet another serious challenge to US interests in this region, Carter framed the invasion as a wider threat to the strategic balance and stability of the entire world.⁶ The US President outlined the ominous geo-political implications in his State of the Union address of 23 January 1980. The USSR was in striking distance of the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf; Pakistan and Iran had become more vulnerable to Soviet intimidation; and, “if that intimidation were to prove effective, the Soviet Union might well control an area of vital strategic and economic significance to the survival of Western Europe, the Far East and ultimately the US.”⁷

This reflected the theory that the expansionist drive of Russia, now the USSR, was partly a result of its long-term desire for warm water ports, which would give it effective control over maritime activity and resources in the region. This theory was rejected by some on the grounds that it was no longer likely to be critical for the technically advanced USSR⁸ or that, if still valid, the USSR would have turned their attention to Iran since Afghanistan is the gateway to the sub-continent rather than the Gulf.⁹ Gibson argues, however, that from Afghanistan the USSR could have annexed the neighbouring and restive province of Balochistan with access to over half the Pakistani shoreline and the deep water

⁴ Georgi Arbatov, *Cold War or Détente? The Soviet Viewpoint* (London: Zed Books, 1983), p. 190; Andreï A. Gromyko, *Memories*, (London: Hutchinson, 1983), p. 240.

⁵ Richard Crockatt, *The Fifty Years War: The United States and the Soviet Union in World Politics, 1941-1991*, (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 258

⁶ See Maya Chadda. “Super Power Rivalry in South West Asia: The Afghan Crisis in 1979”, *Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 37, No. 4, October-December, 1981, p. 501; Iftikhar H. Malik, “Pakistan-US Relations in the Early 1980s: An Appraisal of Issues and Source-Material”, *Pakistan Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1, March 1985, p. 113.

⁷ *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Jimmy Carter*, Vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1978), p. 165.

⁸ Zulfiqar Ali Khan, *Pakistan's Security: The Challenge and the Response* (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1988), p. 12.

⁹ Marian Leighton, “Soviet Strategy towards Northern Europe and Japan”, in Robbin F. Laird and Eric P. Hoffmann (eds.), *Soviet Foreign Policy in a Changing World* (New York: Aldine Publishing Company, 1986), pp. 285-298.

port of Gwadar.¹⁰ Either way, the idea was influential since the Western and Japanese economies were heavily dependent on the region's oil reserves and supply routes. At that time the US got 33 percent, Western Europe 66 percent and Japan 75 percent of their oil from there.¹¹ As a result, the USSR was now within 350 miles of their collective jugular vein in the Persian Gulf.¹² Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Shahi, saw it in an even more dramatic way - Soviet control of these sea lanes could collapse the will of industrialised countries, break up the Western alliance and isolate the US.¹³

However, while the US feared the worst, the evidence shows that the Soviet Politburo's intentions were limited to stabilising Afghanistan as a defensive measure against Pakistani and US expansion. They believed Afghanistan was being destabilised by Pakistan, which Ahmed and Rais confirm was true as discussed later in this chapter, and that the US was intent on entrenching itself closer to the Soviet border now it had lost bases in Iran.¹⁴ When Taraki asked for help during the March 1979 crisis, the initial response of the Soviet politburo had been to avoid direct intervention, so they just gave him limited military aid. It was only in September, when Taraki was executed by Amin after a failed assassination attempt, that fears began to grow that Amin might turn to the US for assistance. Removing Amin appeared to be the only way to bring the situation under Soviet control and it was at this point the invasion was planned, though the final decision was not taken until 12 December.¹⁵

For Carter, though, coming on top of the Iranian hostage crisis, the invasion put him under increased domestic pressure from anti-détente critics who attacked him for being soft on communism. As a result, with an election looming,

¹⁰ Bryan R. Gibson, *Covert Relationship: American Foreign Policy, Intelligence, and the Iran-Iraq War, 1980-1988* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger Publishers, 2010), p. 28.

¹¹ Shirin Tahir-Kheli, *The United States and Pakistan: The Evolution of an Influence Relationship* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1982), p. 98.

¹² Ekramul Haque, "South Asia's Politico-Strategic Considerations: A Pakistani View", *Defence Journal*, Volume. 7, Nos. 10-11, 1981, p. 16.

¹³ Agha Shahi, "The Geopolitical Realities of the Region", *Pakistan Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1983, pp. 5-6.

¹⁴ See Demchenko, quoted in Mike Bowker, *Russian Foreign Policy and the End of Cold War* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1997), p. 132.

¹⁵ Michael Dobbs, "Secret Memos Trace Kremlin's March to War", *International Herald Tribune*, 16 November 1992, p. 7.

he felt he had to show that he could stand up to the USSR.¹⁶ It was also felt that inaction would only encourage Soviet aggression elsewhere.¹⁷ As a result, Washington shelved its policy of détente in favour of the much more robust Carter Doctrine of 23 January 1980 which declared that:

An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interest of the United States of America, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force.¹⁸

This new policy included strengthening naval forces in the Indian Ocean and a willingness to work with countries in the region, which would bring the US back into strategic partnership with Pakistan.¹⁹

Carter did not wait long to call Zia. The day after the Soviet invasion, he phoned the General to offer backing to Pakistan and proposed to reaffirm the 1959 US-Pakistan Bilateral Agreement in which the US pledged support against Soviet aggression. The speed at which the invasion changed American attitudes towards Zia and Pakistan, from violators of human rights to front line state in the struggle against Soviet expansion, was remarkable.²⁰ Foreign Minister Shahi thought that Pakistan's immediate reaction to the invasion, calling for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops, was important in transforming the Carter administration's attitude.²¹ Zia's Chief of Staff, General Khalid Mahmud Arif was more cynical and suggestive of opportunism, observing that, "the arch critics of the autocratic military ruler of Pakistan began to woo him. They suddenly discovered Zia's hitherto unknown 'sterling qualities' and the special importance of Pakistan in the changed circumstances."²² Schaffer and Schaffer also point to the fact that Carter took the initiative in making the urgent call to Zia

¹⁶ See Surendra Chopra, *Perspectives on Pakistan's Foreign Policy* (India: Guru Nanak University Press, 1983), p. 229; S. Nihal Singh, *The Yogi and the Bear: Story of Indo-Soviet Relations* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1986), p. 154.

¹⁷ Syed Farooq Hasnat, "Afghanistan Crisis: Policy Positions of Afghanistan, Pakistan, USSR, US, Iran and India", *Strategic Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 3, Spring 1988, p. 48.

¹⁸ Jimmy Carter, *State of Union Address delivered before a Joint Session of the Congress*, January 23, 1980, <<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=33079>> [Accessed 20 August 2012].

¹⁹ K. Arif, (ed.), *America-Pakistan Relations*, pp. 372-373.

²⁰ Tahir-Kheli, *The United States and Pakistan*, p. 740.

²¹ Agha Shahi, *Pakistan's Relations with the United States*, in Hafeez Malik (ed.), *Soviet America Relations with Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan* (London: Macmillan Press, 1987), p. 167.

²² Khalid Mahmud Arif, *Working with Zia: Pakistan's power Politics 1977-1988* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 314 quoted in Howard B. Schaffer and Teresita C. Schaffer, *How Pakistan Negotiates with the United States: Riding the Roller Coaster* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2011), p. 121.

as an indication that the US needed Pakistan at that time more than Pakistan needed the US.²³

Zia was, however, characteristically cautious. Previous experience of US alliances suggested there were risks in tying Pakistan closely to the US, which could include provoking some kind of Soviet retribution. Initially, Zia deflected Carter's proposal and bought time by suggesting instead that his Foreign Minister should visit Washington to discuss the crisis in early January 1980.²⁴ In the meantime, he consulted with senior military and civilian advisors. Foreign Minister Shahi drew up three strategic options for dealing with the Soviet action - to accept it; to defy it directly; or to defy it indirectly.²⁵ Neither of the first two options was acceptable. The first set a precedent for tacit approval of regional intervention by the USSR or India. The second was impracticable because of the disparity in military power between Pakistan and the USSR. Shahi explained that the third option was selected because, "the only hope of withdrawal of Soviet forces lay in mobilising the force of international public opinion and concerting political and diplomatic pressure against the Soviet military intervention."²⁶ However, General Arif interpreted the third option very differently, arguing that Pakistan should give "... overt political, diplomatic, and humanitarian support to the refugees with covert assistance to the Mujahidin"²⁷, which was just how events would later unfold.

In the context of this research it is important to understand Pakistan's reasons for choosing this option in order to gauge how far its interests coincided with those of the US. Evidence from interviewees indicated a range of perspectives and differing opinions. On one side of the argument, Senator Hafiz Hamdullah concluded that Pakistan should have remained neutral and claimed that Zia took the decision only on the advice of the US.²⁸ On the other side, the religious scholar and former advisor to Zia, Maulana Khilji, was clear that the General "used the US to save Pakistan from inevitable Soviet domination", and

²³ Schaffer and Schaffer, *How Pakistan Negotiates with the United States*, p. 121.

²⁴ Ibid. p. 122.

²⁵ Robert G. Wirsing, *Pakistan's Security under Zia, 1977-1988* (London: Macmillan, 1991), pp. 26-27.

²⁶ Agha Shahi, A. *Pakistan's Security and Foreign Policy* (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1998), pp. 50-51.

²⁷ Arif, *Working with Zia: Pakistan's Power Politics 1977-1988*, p. 314.

²⁸ Interview with Hafiz Hamdullah, Quetta, 18 August 2012.

that the conflict had been “a war for Islam and [the] borders of Pakistan against the invasion of USSR.” He likened US-Pakistan relations at that time to “two brothers.”²⁹ Most interviewees did, indeed, consider that the Soviet presence in Afghanistan was a genuine threat to Pakistan’s security but for a more complex set of reasons. Roedad Khan recalled:

The Red Army was in Jalalabad, breathing down our neck. ... The people, media and everyone in Pakistan was against the Russian occupation of Afghanistan. I attended a conference in GHQ [General Headquarters] and they were all saying that their destination was not Jalalabad but the warm water ports of Pakistan.³⁰

Brigadiers Gul and Noor and Colonel Hanif confirmed that if the Soviet Army remained unchecked they expected Moscow to use Afghanistan as a launching pad for an invasion of Balochistan, and also perhaps Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.³¹ Noor also referred to a dramatic petition sent by the Afghan Mujahidin to Zia:

We have previously warned you that Kabul would be on fire but you didn’t listen to us and didn’t provide us help. As a result, today Kabul is on fire and now again we are giving this warning that if at this stage you would [not] help us then [the] fire in Afghanistan will also enter Pakistan.³²

Ambassador Fatemi pointed out that this view of an aggressive USSR was also strongly promoted by the US (as well as the British and some Arab states) to put pressure on General Zia who was “desperate to be accepted by the international community.”³³ However, journalists Ashraf Malkham and Shaukat Piracha were more sceptical about the prospect of the Soviet Union attacking Pakistan. They argued that Zia’s “prime interest was ... how he should benefit from the situation to legitimise his rule.”³⁴

In addition to legitimacy, Zia needed money to stay in power. The unifying effects of an imminent threat and US funds could deliver both, and on this basis the Pakistani people were given the message that the USSR would continue to expand if not stopped in Afghanistan.³⁵ Roedad Khan conceded that, “people were scare[d] to death. General Zia did have popular support and he took

²⁹ Interview with Maulana Abdullah Kilji, Quetta, 6 May 2012.

³⁰ Interview with Roedad Khan, Islamabad, 10 August 2012.

³¹ Interview with Brig. Agha Gul, Quetta, 25 April 2012; Brig. Noor ul Haq, Islamabad, 1 August 2012; Col. Hanif, Islamabad, 1 August 2012.

³² Interview with Brig. Noor ul Haq, Islamabad, 1 August 2012.

³³ Interview with Ambassador Tariq Fatemi, Islamabad, 20 July 2012.

³⁴ Interview with Ashraf Malkham, Islamabad, 30 June 2012; Interview with Shaukat Piracha, Islamabad, 25 June 2012.

³⁵ Interview with Shaukat Piracha, Islamabad, 25 June 2012.

full advantage of that.”³⁶ The political scientist, Zafar Jaspal, acknowledged the potential threat of the Soviet occupation, but agreed the leadership had also tried to exploit the conflict for its own vested interests.³⁷

Beyond these issues, there were also key strategic concerns about Afghanistan which related to the integrity of Pakistan’s border areas and to the old enemy India. Firstly, there had been running disputes between the two countries over the Pashtunistan question (see the introduction), so Islamabad needed a co-operative regime in Kabul to neutralise this threat but, as Ambassador Naqvi pointed out, the USSR had consistently opposed Pakistan’s position on this.³⁸ The second concern, emphasised by several interviewees, was the potential “strategic depth” which Afghanistan provided for the Pakistani army in the event of conflict with India. Afghanistan could provide Pakistan with “strategic depth” in two key ways: it offered a military refuge free from Indian assault, and the possibility of a secure second front which would allow the military to deploy all its limited resources against India. Lt. General Durrani explained that this had already been used in the 1965 and 1971 wars with India when the Afghan government assured Ayub and Yahya they could safely divert troops from their Western border to fight against India in the East.³⁹ The political scientist, Rasool Rais, added it was also important that “Afghanistan should not be used by India, by Baloch nationalists, insurgents..... or any state or non-state actors against Pakistan.”⁴⁰ The scope for Indian interference was all the greater because of its close relationship with the USSR. Thus, an independent and sympathetic Afghanistan was critical to Pakistan’s security against India.

There was also an ideological perspective. Naqvi, Hanif and former Minister of State at the Foreign Office, Nawabzada Khan, all cited Muslim antipathy to communism as a reason for opposing the USSR.⁴¹ Equally important, however, was the prospect of economic and military aid to strengthen the army and consolidate the Zia regime in power.⁴² The main target of the military build-

³⁶ Interview with Roedad Khan, Islamabad, 10 August 2012.

³⁷ Interview with Zafar Jaspal, Islamabad, 9 July 2012.

³⁸ Interview with Ambassador Sarwar Naqvi, Islamabad, 11 July 2012.

³⁹ Interview with Gen. Asad Durrani, Rawalpindi, 10 July 2012.

⁴⁰ Interview with Rasul Bux Rais, 25 July 2012.

⁴¹ Interview with Ambassador Sarwar Naqvi, Islamabad, 11 July 2012; Interview with Col. Hanif, Islamabad, 1 August 2012; Interview with Nawabzada Hamad Khan, Islamabad, 3 July 2012.

⁴² Interview with Ishtiaq Ahmed, Islamabad, 18 June 2012; Interview with Col. Hanif, Islamabad, 1 August 2012; Interview with Zafar Jaspal, Islamabad, 9 July 2012; Interview with Ambassador

up was, as ever, India. As the political scientist Ishtiaq Ahmed explained, “It was all about money more than anything else. It was not [an] ideological relationship ... we were India centric.”⁴³

The interests of Zia and the US overlapped in opposing the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. They both wanted to prevent the USSR from further expansion and to see it withdraw from Afghanistan. Beyond these two basic aims, however, their goals began to diverge. The US aim was to maintain its position in the Cold War and, specifically, to protect Western capitalist economies from the communist threat. Zia’s aims, on the other hand, were to defend his regime and borders, to protect Islam and to prevent India seizing any strategic advantage from the crisis. The US saw the USSR as its main enemy, while Pakistan still saw India in that role. Whilst the immediate target of both sides was the Soviet Union, their reasons for acting differed.

3.3 Carter and Zia: Peanuts

From Washington’s perspective Pakistan’s location once again became important in America’s containment of the Soviet Union. Echoing phrases from the 1950s, Carter’s National Security Advisor, Zbigniew Brezezinski, observed, “Pakistan on account of its unique geo-strategic location is the key stone of the President’s Doctrine for the defence of Middle East and the South Asian Region. Pakistan acts as a pivot between the states of the Indian subcontinent and the oil rich West Asian states.”⁴⁴ In particular, it was possible to monitor the Persian Gulf and the Straits of Hormuz from its 460 miles of coastline.⁴⁵ With this in mind, the US started building a Rapid Defence Force (RDF) to protect oil supply routes. To make this force effective, facilities were to be kept in Oman, Kenya, Somalia and Diego Garcia, and Pakistan was also in a position to play an important RDF role if required. Robert Komer, US Under-Secretary of Defence, in his testimony to

Sarwar Naqvi, Islamabad, 11 July 2012; Interview with Maulana Abdullah Khilji, Quetta, 6 May 2012.

⁴³ Interview with Ishtiaq Ahmed, Islamabad, 18 June 2012.

⁴⁴ *Pakistan Journal of American Studies*, Volume 2, Area Study Centre for Africa, North and South America, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, p. 100.

⁴⁵ Rais Ahmed Khan, “Peace and Security in South Asia: The American Role”, *Pakistan Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1 and 2, Area Study Centre for Africa, North and South America, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, 1983, p. 150.

Congress in February 1980 outlined his country's reliance on Pakistan and other regional countries:

The United States would be hard pressed to defend its interests in the [Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf] region if regional forces are not able or inclined to participate in their defences. Accordingly, we would hope to have a direct military support from regional states which are at risk.⁴⁶

This also demonstrated the importance of the theory of the Soviet Union always seeking warm water ports to US strategy. It was vital that Pakistan did not become a client of, or allied to, the USSR because all those strategic advantages could be turned against the West. As Khan observed, "the fact that Pakistan has been propelled to the forefront of superpower politics is because of its geographical location. Pakistan is the backyard to the Gulf and cannot remain indifferent to the changes that take place there."⁴⁷

However, other important geographical and political features stemmed from General Arif's third option of providing overt support for refugees from Afghanistan and covert assistance for the Mujahidin, tactics which the US also intended to use to undermine the Soviet occupation. Pakistan, rather than Iran, was the natural geographical and communal destination for Afghan refugees because most of them were Pashtuns and shared an ethnic identity with the Pashtuns living in the border regions of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan. At the same time, since the Islamic Revolution in Iran, Pakistan was the only route through which the US could channel material support to the Afghan Mujahidin, as a US Congressional Research Study highlighted:

US options for influencing events in Afghanistan are limited to providing direct or indirect assistance to Afghan guerrilla forces and refugees, and supporting the government of President Zia-ul-Haq in neighbouring Pakistan. In both cases, the options would appear to require working through the Government of Pakistan, since that country is the only haven of the Afghan resurgents to which the US has access. Opposition forces operate from within both Balochistan and the Northwest Frontier provinces of Pakistan. It seems unlikely that the United States could channel any aid through Iran.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Jeffrey Record, *The Rapid Deployment Force and US Military Intervention in the Persian Gulf* (Washington: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 1983), p. 37.

⁴⁷ Rais Ahmed Khan, *Pakistan-United States Relationship: Proceedings of the National Symposium Held at Islamabad on 28-29 August, 1982*, Area Study Centre for Africa, North & South America, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, 1983, p. 102.

⁴⁸ Afghanistan Task Force, Foreign Affairs and National Defence Division, *Afghanistan: Soviet Invasion and US Response*, The library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, Issue Brief Number IB80006, date originated 01/10/80, p. 19, <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metacr/s8151/m1/1/high_resd/IB800_06_19_80May02.pdf> [Accessed 4 April 2013].

Unlike his predecessors of the 1950s, however, Zia did not have to persuade Washington of this fact and, in fact, he found himself in a very good bargaining position.

Foreign Minister Agha Shahi met Carter, Vance and Brzezinski in Washington on 12 January 1980 and presented them with a list of military equipment wanted by Pakistan worth billions of dollars. The US response was modest - \$400 million in aid over two years, divided equally between the military and the economic sector assistance. Shahi also requested an upgrading of the 1959 Mutual Defence treaty because his government wanted a more credible guarantee from the US that it would help if its territorial integrity were threatened. President Carter rejected this and offered instead to reaffirm the 1959 Agreement of Co-operation. This was not enough for Pakistan, in large part because that agreement had never been ratified by the US Congress. One of the reasons given for the US failure to help Pakistan in its 1971 war with India was the absence of Congressional ratification, so Islamabad now wanted the assurance of a treaty which had been formally ratified by Congress.⁴⁹ This was perhaps the most important point of disagreement between the two parties. When the talks ended without any agreement, General Zia expressed his disappointment and taunted President Carter by describing his offer as “peanuts”, in a reference to his peanut-farming ancestry.⁵⁰

Zia believed the US offer of military aid was not proportionate to the size of the threat facing Pakistan at that time.⁵¹ The General concluded that the aid was insufficient to ensure Pakistan’s security, but sufficient to alienate the Soviet Union - a superpower which now had its military on Pakistan’s border.⁵² Washington sought to quell Pakistan’s disquiet, and a US State Department spokesman commented that the “the \$400 million figure is seen in Washington as only part of a larger package also involving nations friendly to Pakistan.”⁵³ This was insufficient for Islamabad, however, which wanted military aid from the US comparable to that given to Turkey and Egypt. Such aid was felt to be a more

⁴⁹ Tahir-Kheli, *The United States and Pakistan: The Evolution of an Influence Relationship*, p. 101.

⁵⁰ Kuldip Nayar, *Reports on Afghanistan*, p. 46; *Facts on File Year Book* (Facts on File, Inc. New York, 1980), p. 83; Schaffer and Schaffer, *How Pakistan Negotiates with the United States*, p. 124.

⁵¹ *The Muslim*, 20 May 1981.

⁵² Arif (ed.), *America-Pakistan Relations*, p. 394.

⁵³ Schaffer and Schaffer, *How Pakistan Negotiates with the United States*, p. 124.

effective deterrence against the Soviet Union, but also a more effective lever against India.

These demands were rejected by President Carter, although he was caught in a dilemma. Firstly, there was India. Improving relations with India had been high on the list of foreign policy priorities from the start of his presidency and this would be prejudiced by supplying Pakistan with significant levels of military aid. India was already critical of the limited offer he had made to Pakistan and the US Ambassador to India, Robert Goheen, was concerned that it could imperil Indo-US relations which were just being stabilised after many years of acrimony and suspicion. Nayar claims that Goheen's concerns were influential in dampening US enthusiasm for arming Pakistan.⁵⁴ The second restraint on Carter was the issue of nuclear proliferation which had become a key element of his foreign policy. The desire to prevent Pakistan acquiring an independent nuclear capability was the reason for the Symington Amendment and the cancellation of US economic and military assistance. Although Carter had already offered to resume some assistance, to go back on this to a greater extent, would undermine the policy and affect the credibility of the US to impose it elsewhere in the world. Nevertheless, Deputy Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, had hinted there might be some leeway here: "We will not put aside the nuclear issue with Pakistan because it is a basic principle of this administration, but it is only one of several foreign policy issues."⁵⁵ A leading Senator, Charles Percy, had also suggested that "the US should make an exception to its nuclear policy and accept Pakistani assurances that it would not manufacture a nuclear weapon."⁵⁶

Nayar argues that the third reason for Carter's caution was the spectre of events in Iran. Washington did not want another Shah of Iran on its hands and Zia's unpopular dictatorship gave the impression to the Americans that his regime could easily go the same way. American public opinion was also still heavily influenced against Zia because of his inaction, or even connivance, in the fatal mob attack on the US embassy a few weeks earlier.⁵⁷ Notwithstanding these problems, General Zia was well aware of the strength of his bargaining position.

⁵⁴ Nayar, *Reports on Afghanistan*, p. 66.

⁵⁵ Statement by Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher during his interview on the CBS, "Face the Nation" program, 6 January 1980, in Arif (ed.), *America-Pakistan Relations*, p. 369.

⁵⁶ NBC, "Meet the Press", 6 January 1980, cited in Tahir-Kheli, *The United States and Pakistan*, p. 139.

⁵⁷ Nayar, *Reports on Afghanistan*, p. 66-67.

He believed he could get substantial military and economic aid without having to compromise his regime or his nuclear programme.

Zia knew that the prospect of any compromise between Moscow and Islamabad over Afghanistan would cause considerable concern in Washington. Therefore, he decided to manipulate his position to his own advantage. Within twenty four hours of declaring Carter's offer as "peanuts", Zia announced plans to hold talks with Moscow. He expressed desire for greater harmony and understanding with his neighbour, the Soviet Union.⁵⁸ He said, "in the absence of active participation by the US, Pakistan may have to adapt itself to a new reality. After all, if you lived in the sea, you had to learn to swim with the whales."⁵⁹ Zia got the response from Washington that he wanted. A high-level delegation, including the National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and the US Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher, was sent to Pakistan in February 1980.⁶⁰

The US delegation tried to convince Zia that the proposed package to Pakistan was just a start and it would be increased over time because other countries were also committed to making their contribution.⁶¹ They further assured him that the Pakistan-US alliance would not be affected by Washington's relationship with India. The US said it would never succumb to India pressure and abandon Pakistan. Nevertheless, General Zia wanted reassurance that aid would not be linked to Pakistan's internal politics or its nuclear programme. Furthermore, he also insisted that Pakistan should not be required to make assurances that any military aid would not be used against India, and wanted the US security guarantees to cover not only acts of Soviet aggression but any attack on Pakistan territorial integrity.⁶² Clearly Zia had India in mind once again here. Washington was unwilling to accede to General Zia's requests. Brzezinski indicated that US aid would rise over time, but not to the levels requested by the Pakistan leader. There was no agreement on the other areas raised by General Zia either. There was, however, a reiteration of America's assurance to help defend Pakistan if Soviet forces threatened its security,⁶³ and a joint statement was made declaring that the Soviet intervention and aggression against Muslims in

⁵⁸ Ibid. p. 69.

⁵⁹ Tahir-Kheli, *The United States and Pakistan*, p. 101.

⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 103.

⁶¹ Nayar, *Reports on Afghanistan*, p. 70.

⁶² *Facts on File Year Book*, (Facts on File, Inc. New York, 1980), p. 27.

⁶³ Schaffer and Schaffer, *How Pakistan Negotiates with the United States*, p. 125.

Afghanistan violated international covenants and represented a serious threat to Pakistan.⁶⁴

Even with the Soviet Union in occupation of Afghanistan and threatening Pakistan's borders and Western oil, no comprehensive agreement between the two sides proved possible. This raises the question of why this was so. On the US side, there were two possible explanations. First, as stated earlier, there were considerable constraints on President Carter limiting his possible course of action. Second, there may have been a desire on the part of the US to call General Zia's bluff regarding his supposed accommodation with the USSR. After all, a similar tactic had been used before by Liaquat in 1949. However, reflections by participants at the talks give no indication that this latter factor was relevant. Thomas Thornton, a member of the US delegation, believed that both sides had misjudged the situation badly. "The Americans overestimated the extent to which Pakistan had rethought its role following the Soviet attack; the Pakistanis erred in believing that the American offer could be bargained upward."⁶⁵ This indicates that the US expected Pakistan to be willing to shift its policy aims in line with America's and essentially accept its "take it or leave it" terms. Thornton reinforces this view of US inflexibility with the observation that, "the basis for a deal was lacking, and since the Americans had made their offer as a package, it fell as a package."⁶⁶

From the Pakistan perspective, General Zia believed he could play the long game because he expected Carter to lose the upcoming presidential election. He believed that a more right-wing Republican President would be more amenable to providing aid. General Arif also believed that the US misjudged Pakistan's willingness to stand firm. The US thought that "Soviet pressure on Pakistan, and her security compulsions in the face of her economic difficulties, would compel her to backtrack and agree to a bilateral relationship with the United States, more or less on US terms."⁶⁷

Thus, it appears that neither side had much intention of giving ground to the other. Underlying this intransigence was the running problem of misaligned

⁶⁴ Nayar, *Reports on Afghanistan*, p. 71.

⁶⁵ Thomas Perry Thornton, "Between the Stools? US policy towards Pakistan during the Carter Administration", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 22, No. 10, October 1982, p. 970.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Arif, *Working with Zia: Pakistan's Power Politics 1977-1988*, p. 314.

strategic aims. US Assistant Secretary of Defence, David McGiffer, of the US delegation, noted that Pakistan was more focussed on India than the USSR. “It was perfectly clear that their [Pakistan’s] orientation as far as equipment was concerned was what would be useful on the Indian border. They were not interested in the sort of thing we thought they needed to secure the Afghan border.”⁶⁸ This shows that, at this time, neither side had altered its primary security priorities in relation to the new situation in the region. Carter’s policy was still determined by the regional factors which impacted on the global struggle of the Cold War, whilst Zia remained primarily focussed on India as the existential threat.

There was, however, more scope for common ground over the issue of refugees. The US accepted that the influx from Afghanistan put a big burden on the weak Pakistani economy and that this should be shared by the international community. US Assistant Secretary of State, Harold Saunder, acknowledged the problem and went further in commending Pakistan for “its humanitarian action over the past many months in providing food, clothing and shelter to these Afghan refugees.”⁶⁹ He urged the UNHCR to implement a relief programme to which his government would contribute additional funds.⁷⁰ Accordingly, the US contributed \$190,000 to the UN emergency programme set up for that purpose. Zia continued to welcome the refugees to his country and, in so doing, improved his own reputation with the US and the wider world.

US opinion was naturally sympathetic to refugees as victims of Soviet aggression and US politicians visited the refugee camps for media opportunities and to see their plight for themselves, which helped soften attitudes in America towards Zia and his regime. The General also framed his refugee policy in moral terms, as one of Muslim solidarity. He said there was no limit to the sacrifices his nation would make for them:

Pakistan was carved out from the Indian sub-continent as a homeland for the Muslims so we feel that Pakistan must be the home of any Muslim anywhere in this world. If three million refugees have come from Afghanistan we feel it is our moral, religious and

⁶⁸ Cordovez, and Harrison, *Out of Afghanistan*, p. 57.

⁶⁹ *Department of State Bulletin*, Volume 9, part 2, Office of Public Communication, Bureau of Public Affairs, Washington D.C. December 1979, p. 54.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

national duty to look after at least three million Afghans if they want to come to Pakistan.⁷¹

This moral duty did, however, put a lot of pressure on the host country's economy, social infrastructure and community. In addition to the demands on public finances, health services and education, there were also difficulties over employment and agriculture. In some areas refugees formed as much as 35-40 percent of the total population and competed with locals for a limited number of jobs. They had also brought livestock with them which, through over-grazing, damaged agricultural land in the already economically depressed areas of NWFP and Balochistan.⁷²

Fearing economic decline might force Zia to change his policy towards the refugees, or even towards Afghanistan, the US provided increased funds, amounting to over \$600 million by 1988, and encouraged Saudi Arabia, Japan and Western Europe to contribute to the cause. The US also supported the refugee assistance efforts of the Catholic relief services, Save the Children, the Salvation Army, the International Rescue Committee and the Council for International Development, with grants totalling \$16.1 million by 1988.⁷³ Funds were also made available to transport seriously ill patients to hospitals in the United States. In addition, the US, along with other major creditors, rescheduled Pakistan's debts and agreed that the World Bank should provide assistance and the International Monetary Fund should provide a \$1.7 million loan.⁷⁴

3.4 Reagan and Zia: Aid and the Bomb

The new Republican President, Ronald Reagan, was, from Islamabad's perspective, well worth waiting for. He arrived in office in January 1981 with the firm conviction that détente had amounted to a sorry US surrender to the global Soviet threat, particularly under Carter. Reagan was intensely anti-communist and viewed the Soviet Union as an aggressive, expansionist and malign presence. His foreign policy aimed to restore US economic and military strength. While Carter

⁷¹ Frederic Grare, *Pakistan and the Afghan Conflict, 1979-1985* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 40.

⁷² US Department of State Bureau for Refugees Programme, *World Refugees Report*, Washington D.C. September 1988, p. 33.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ Tom Rogers, "Refugees – a Threat to Stability", *Conflict Studies*, No. 202, August, 1987, p. 5.

took a principled stand on human rights, Reagan was disinclined to pressure friendly regimes whatever their nature or human rights record.⁷⁵ Afghanistan was one country where Reagan wanted to see the roll-back of communism, and recognised that the US needed Pakistan to help deliver this objective. Zia believed that the change in the White House would be beneficial for Pakistan.

New negotiations between the two countries started in April and were concluded the following September with the formal signing of a six-year aid package from the US worth \$3.2 billion, with the aid once again to be divided equally between the military and economic sector. The total was eight times larger than Carter's offer and, even allowing for the difference in the terms of the two packages, it was still almost three times greater per year. In specific terms, this meant General Zia would receive \$267 million in military aid annually. Included in the package was the sale of forty F-16 fighter aircraft.⁷⁶ Ambassador Fatemi explained that it was not just the money which encouraged the Pakistanis but it was also that it came with a totally different philosophy.

The entire thrust of the Reagan administration was you just tell us and we will give you whatever you want, wherever you want, but we have to confront the Soviets. We have to make it painful for them, we have to make [it] extremely difficult for them and, in the process, if you play the game then you will be richly awarded.⁷⁷

General Durrani, in an interview, felt that this was a very good aid package, but believed that Reagan's enthusiasm was such that they could have got \$5 billion if they had bided their time.⁷⁸

However, the issue of Pakistan's nuclear programme remained an issue between the two sides. Zia refused to abandon the project, and the US was unprepared to support it. This dispute was circumvented by nuancing the issue. Washington accepted the right of Pakistan to continue its nuclear programme but remained opposed to its actual deployment. Justifying this to his Foreign Affairs Committee on 16 October 1981, Under Secretary of State, James L. Buckley, explained, "while Pakistan has refused to curtail its nuclear programme, Pakistani leaders totally understand without a doubt that any explosion of a nuclear weapon would cost Pakistan the intended aid package."⁷⁹ US Senators accepted this

⁷⁵ Crockatt, *The Fifty Years War*, p. 305-306.

⁷⁶ *Dawn*, 16 June 1981.

⁷⁷ Interview with Ambassador Tariq Fatemi, Islamabad, 20 July 2012.

⁷⁸ Interview with Gen. Asad Durrani, Islamabad, 10 July 2012.

⁷⁹ *Facts on File Year Book* (Facts on File, Inc. New York, 1981), p. 669.

compromise. On 18 October, just two days after Buckley's statement to the Senate, a six-year waiver of the Symington Amendment was approved. It was this amendment which, only two years earlier, had halted all US aid to the then ostracised dictator of Pakistan.⁸⁰ This showed clearly the major shift in US foreign policy under the Reagan administration. Thus the US generously started helping Zia's regime and had intentionally overlooked his coercive policies.⁸¹

A key judgement that Zia still had to make was the extent to which he aligned with the US. He wanted American aid but did not want to go so far as to prejudice existing relations with others, including most notably China and other Muslim nations.⁸² Foreign Minister Shahi claims a successful balance was achieved in the new relationship with Washington. The non-aligned status of Pakistan was maintained since no US military bases were any part of the final agreement.⁸³ However, the expectation, expressed by a Pakistani government spokesman, that the development of bilateral relations with the United States would not affect relations with any third country proved to be very much at odds with the view taken by India and the USSR.⁸⁴ However, Zia was clearly pleased with the outcome. On his official visit to the US, he portrayed Pakistan as a bastion of stability on the periphery of a volatile region. He went on to say that the US aid would further strengthen his country's stability, security and confidence in the future. An American analyst at the time supported giving Pakistan the aid package.

Soviet occupation forces in Afghanistan are driving millions of refugees into Pakistan as they draw nearer to Persian Gulf. Iran staggers on like a Rasputin, for how long no one can foresee, amid reports of sizeable Soviet aid to the communist Tudeh Party. And Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India equivocates on Soviet aggression. Only Pakistan's Balochistan province stands between the Red Army and the Arabian Sea's oil-supply lanes.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ M Raziullah Azmi, "Pakistan-United States Relations: An Appraisal", *Pakistan Horizon*, Vol. 36, No. 3, 1983, p. 45.

⁸¹ Iftikhar H. Malik, "Military Coup in Pakistan: Business as Usual or Democracy on Hold", *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 90, No. 360, 2001, p. 361.

⁸² Tahir Amin, *Afghanistan Crisis: Implications and Options for the Muslim World, Iran and Pakistan* (Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies, 1982), p. 135.

⁸³ Agha Shahi, "Pakistan's Relations with the United States", *Pakistan Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1, March 1985, pp. 9-10.

⁸⁴ Syed Farooq Hasnat, "In Search of Peace and Security: Political Relations between Pakistan and the United States" in Rais Ahmed Khan (ed.), *Forty Years of Pakistan-United States Relations* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1990), p. 65.

⁸⁵ Barnett Richard Rubin, "US aid for Pakistan", *New York Times*, 19 February 1982.

The argument that a stable and secure Pakistan was critical to US interests in the region would be used to reinforce support for continuing aid through the years ahead. For example, in May 1984, Howard N. Schaffer, the US Deputy Assistant Secretary for Near East and South Asian Affairs, reiterated:

We continue to believe ... that a stable Pakistan, one of the world's largest Islamic states, can serve as an anchor for the entire region, lending its considerable weight and influence to the cause of regional peace and harmony. Conversely an unstable, insecure Pakistan adds to regional tensions and invites outside interference.⁸⁶

Although Shahi maintained that the US aid package was compatible with Pakistan's non-alignment policy, the two sides' joint strategy to undermine the Soviet occupation in Afghanistan told a different story. The aim of both sides was to trap the USSR into a protracted and costly occupation by directing large amounts of aid and arms to the Afghan resistance, the Mujahidin.⁸⁷

In fact, Pakistan had been sponsoring a network of Afghan resistance fighters long before the Soviet invasion and the aid agreement with Reagan. Around 5,000 Mujahidin had been trained in 1974-5 by Pakistan to protect its interests, particularly in the border regions.⁸⁸ Bhutto gave this support to counter the Pashtun nationalists who had claims on Pakistani territory.⁸⁹ These forces were activated by Pakistan after the pro-Soviet coup in Kabul in 1978. Therefore, by the time of the Soviet invasion in December 1979, Pakistan already had close connections with resistance fighters across the porous border in Afghanistan. General Durrani explained that the decision to support the Mujahidin against the Soviet army had been a gamble taken before the US had offered any aid.

Afghans have always resisted very well. It is a country in which the outsiders have never been comfortable ... But, the decision at that time look[ed] like a gamble. It had its hazards also, i.e. if no one comes to our help then Pakistan would be at the mercy of the Soviet Union and India. There was also an assessment that in due course some other help would come because no one was going to be comfortable with the Soviet Union victory in Afghanistan.⁹⁰

As a result of Islamabad's links with the resistance movement in Afghanistan, General Zia insisted that Pakistan, and not the US, should control and organise the aid to the Mujahidin. This meant the military, and particularly

⁸⁶ Charles Brockway, et al., *Briefing Book: United States Economic Assistance Program in Pakistan*, USAID, Islamabad, August 15, 1984, p. 51, <http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/pnaaq912.pdf> [Accessed 12 May 2012].

⁸⁷ *Dawn*, 4 July 1986; Hasnat, "Afghanistan Crisis: Policy Positions of Afghanistan, Pakistan, USSR, US, Iran and India", p. 41.

⁸⁸ Interview with Rasul Bux Rais, Islamabad, 25 July 2012.

⁸⁹ Interview with Ishtiaq Ahmed, Islamabad, 18 June 2012.

⁹⁰ Interview with Gen. Asad Durrani, Islamabad, 10 July 2012.

the ISI, became very influential as the main distributor of money and weapons from the US, as well as the aid from Saudi Arabia and other Muslim donors.⁹¹

Zia formed an alliance of seven resistance groups based in Peshawar in Pakistan, which became known as the Islamic Union of Afghan Mujahidin (IUAM). Its main function was to coordinate political, military and diplomatic activities. Weapons, supplies and ammunition were funnelled through this alliance to the Mujahidin fighters on the ground in Afghanistan.⁹² Of these groups, four were fundamentalist and three were more moderate. The leaders of the fundamentalist groups were Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, Burhanuddin Rabbani, Rasul Sayyaf and Younis Khalis. The moderate parties were led by Moulvi Nabi Muhammadi, Pir Sayad Ahmad Gilani and Sibghatullah Mujadidi, all of whom favoured some form of constitutional government.⁹³

However, Zia backed Hekmatyar because he was the only resistance leader prepared to sign a document confirming that, in power, he would respect the Durand Line – the current border between Afghanistan and Pakistan. As a result, the ISI funnelled most of the \$2.8 billion of US aid to Hekmatyar and his radical party, Hezb-i-Islami (Party of Islam).⁹⁴ However, as support for the insurgency grew, aid increasingly came from sources other than the US and Arab states. Indeed, Jason Burke, a leading Western commentator on the region, claims that as little as 25 per cent of aid came from state sources with much donated by private individuals and Muslim charities.⁹⁵

In Pakistan, madrassas were another important source of both recruits and funding for the jihad. Although some have argued that the US helped set up and organise madrassas across Pakistan,⁹⁶ Zia's former religious adviser, Maulana Khilji, rejects such claims. He attributes the rise in the number of madrassas at that time to Zia's programme of Islamisation and the system of Zakat in which the well-off gave money to charitable causes which included donations to madrassas

⁹¹ Jurgen Ruland, et al, *US Foreign Policy towards the Third World: A Post-Cold War Assessment* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2006), pp. 165-166.

⁹² A. Z. Hilali, *US-Pakistan Relationship: Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2005), p. 123.

⁹³ Stephen Tanner, *Afghanistan: A Military History from Alexander the Great to the fall of Taliban* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Da Capo Press, 2002), pp. 253-254.

⁹⁴ Hilali, *US-Pakistan Relationship*, p. 123.

⁹⁵ Jason Burke, *Al-Qaeda: Casting a Shadow of Terror*, (London: I. B. Taurus, 2003), p. 57.

⁹⁶ Interview with Ishtiaq Ahmed, Islamabad, 18 June 2012.

and their students.⁹⁷ Hamdullah supports this view and argues that these kinds of madrassas were, in fact, set up two years before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan by an institution called Wafaq-ul-Madaris. He does concede, however, that some might have been set up by Zia with US funding.⁹⁸

Although the evidence on funding madrassas is contested, it appears unlikely they were wholly funded by, or under the control of, the United States. Overall, the picture suggests that the US had only limited control over the jihad against the Soviet Union. The Mujahidin network had been nurtured by Pakistan over a prolonged period of time and was later controlled by the ISI through its distribution of US aid after the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in 1979. As the campaign progressed, it drew in funding from Islamic states and charitable sources which considerably outweighed the US contribution. At the same time the indigenous Mujahidin had been augmented by a range of irregular Muslim forces with a variety of allegiances, but who were more interested in defending Islam than defeating India or protecting Western capitalism. If, as Maulana Khilji claimed, the US and Pakistan were like “two brothers” at this time, there were certainly a lot of other relatives involved in the conflict.

Moscow was not blind to what was going on. In the early stages of the conflict it condemned Pakistan for collaborating with the West and for giving shelter to the Afghan refugees who were described as rebel fighters. It further accused Pakistan of allowing US and Chinese military advisers in the refugee camps to train the rebels in guerrilla warfare. As a result of this, the USSR launched cross-border raids on the camps and went on to violate Pakistan’s territory and air space in over 600 incidents.⁹⁹ This had the effect of stiffening both Republican and Democrat support for Pakistan in the US.¹⁰⁰

This improved the relationship between the US and Pakistan but did, however, attract some criticism. Hussain summed up the concerns many had over America’s long-term commitment to Pakistan. “This is, however, by no means a durable or lasting relationship since on most regional and international issues,

⁹⁷ Interview with Maulana Abdullah Kilji, Quetta, 6 May 2012.

⁹⁸ Interview with Hafiz Hamdullah, Quetta, 18 August 2012.

⁹⁹ Rogers, “Refugees – a threat to stability”, p. 33.

¹⁰⁰ *The Muslim*, 3 October 1984.

Pakistan-American objectives diverge sharply.”¹⁰¹ There was also a concern that Washington would link conventional arms supplies to Pakistan abandoning its treasured nuclear project.¹⁰² Most worryingly of all, there was the prospect of closer relations with the US leading to some kind of retaliation from the USSR, to which the regular incursions on the border attested. Linked to this was the fear that the USSR could support separatists together with India in NWFP and Balochistan to destabilise Pakistan along ethnic lines. Even the increased “aid-cum-sales package” could not deter threats of this magnitude.¹⁰³ In such circumstances, some argued that smaller states like Pakistan should remain strictly non-aligned.¹⁰⁴

India was never far from fears about the implications of the US partnership either. Relations had gradually improved since the end of the 1971 war but the resumption of US aid was now evoking a negative reaction from New Delhi.¹⁰⁵ Foreign Minister Shahi later claimed Indira Ghandi had exploited the situation to get increased Soviet military aid to vastly increase her offensive capability to an extent grossly disproportionate to Pakistan’s “modest increase.”¹⁰⁶ The policy of sheltering and arming the Mujahidin was also criticised on the grounds that the Soviet Army might escalate their pursuit of the Mujahidin, or destroy their supply routes, with more extensive actions on Pakistani territory, even giving an opening for India to make an opportunistic attack.¹⁰⁷

Criticism in the US was more focussed on General Zia and the nuclear issue rather than the principle of making Pakistan a bulwark against the USSR and Afghanistan. Liberal critics rejected the unconditional nature of the aid which they said should have been linked to the restoration of democracy as a way of promoting longer term US security interests and national values.¹⁰⁸ In Congress, however, the arguments were dominated by the idea of linking aid to Pakistan’s

¹⁰¹ Mushahid Hussain, “Pakistan’s Foreign Policy: An Exercise in Tight Rope Walking”, *Pakistan Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 4, September, 1984, p. 19.

¹⁰² Rasul Baksh Rais, “South Asian Security and US Policy: A Pakistani View”, *Strategic Studies*, Vol. 6, Nos. 2-3, 1983, p. 61.

¹⁰³ Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, “The Afghanistan Crisis and Pakistan’s Security Dilemma”, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 23, No. 3, March 1983, pp. 240-241.

¹⁰⁴ Zulfikar Khalid, *Pakistan in the Pamir Knot: Geostrategic Imperatives* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1987), p. 133.

¹⁰⁵ Cheema, “The Afghanistan Crisis and Pakistan’s Security Dilemma”, p. 237.

¹⁰⁶ Agha Shahi, “Pakistan’s Foreign Policy: A New Dimension”, *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1988, p. 30.

¹⁰⁷ Muhammad Ali Siddiqi, “Degree of US commitment to Pakistan”, *Dawn*, 22 February 1985.

¹⁰⁸ See Rubin, “US aid for Pakistan”.

nuclear programme. Reagan's responded by arguing that "... the best available means for counteracting possible motivations towards acquiring nuclear weapons" was through a policy of conventional military aid and security guarantees.¹⁰⁹ Senator John Glenn, who had long campaigned against Pakistan's nuclear programme and authored the 1977 Glenn Amendment, also appeared to accept Reagan's argument that US aid and support for Pakistan could reduce its perceived need for a nuclear weapon.¹¹⁰ However, Zia's nuclear ambitions would soon re-emerge to challenge such ideas and disturb this fragile accommodation.

On 16 January 1984, Pakistan's leading nuclear scientist, Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan, revealed to the *Qaumi Digest* that he had succeeded in enriching weapon grade uranium. Khan's motives for admitting this have not been definitively established but Sharifuddin Pirzada, a former Zia aide, claims it was part of Zia's plan to infer to India he had the bomb, but with sufficient ambiguity to avoid losing US aid. The problem was that Khan had exceeded his brief. A subsequent statement of clarification by the General insisted there were no plans to build a bomb, but that Khan had been right to say Pakistan could build one if it wanted to.¹¹¹

Reaction in the US was compounded by embarrassment, particularly for Glenn and his supporters, as further claims emerged. Senator Alan Cranston asserted that Pakistan was pressing ahead with its programme and would soon be capable of producing several nuclear weapons per year. He also later accused the State Department of obscuring, withholding or downright misinterpreting the facts.¹¹² His claims had some credibility in the light of the bland testimony which US Assistant Secretary of State, Howard Schaffer, gave to Congress shortly after Khan's statement:

The assistance program ... contributes to US nuclear non-proliferation goals. We believe strongly that a program of support, which enhances Pakistan's sense of security; helps

¹⁰⁹ Ronald Reagan, Report to Congress pursuant to sec. 601 of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Act (601 report), for Calendar Year 1981, *The Pressler Amendment and Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons Program*, Senate, July 31, 1992, <<http://www.fas.org/news/pakistan/1992/920731.htm>> [Accessed 10 October 2013].

¹¹⁰ John Glenn, Testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee, "The Pressler Amendment and Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons Program", Senate, July 31, 1992, <<http://defence.pk/threads/the-pressler-amendment-and-pakistan-nuclear-weapons-program.41174/>> [Accessed 10 October, 2013].

¹¹¹ Adrian Levy and Catherine Scott-Clark, *Deception: Pakistan, the United States and the Global Weapons Conspiracy* (London: Atlantic Books, 2007), pp. 101-104.

¹¹² *New York Times*, "Cranston Says Pakistan Can Make A Bomb", 21 June 1984, cited in Dennis Kux, *Disenchanted Allies*, p. 275.

remove the principal underlying incentive for the acquisition of a nuclear weapon capability.¹¹³

Glenn and Cranston proposed an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act 1961 that aid should be discontinued unless the President could certify that Pakistan did not possess a nuclear explosive device and was not developing one or acquiring materials to make one. However, law-makers opted for an alternative amendment, proposed by Senator Pressler and others, which made it much easier for their collective wilful blindness to continue. The Pressler Amendment allowed aid to continue as long as the President would certify annually that Pakistan did not have a nuclear explosive device and that the aid he proposed for that year would significantly reduce the risk that Pakistan would possess one.¹¹⁴

In the meantime, Reagan sent a warning to Zia in September that there would be serious consequences if Pakistan crossed the red line of producing enriched uranium over the five percent level, which was sufficient to produce nuclear energy but not a nuclear bomb. He warned that, “the nuclear issue may undermine all that we are trying to achieve and the considerable progress we have made so far.”¹¹⁵ The Pressler Amendment was formally enacted in March 1985, so Zia’s aid became dependent on the President’s willingness each year to issue a certificate of denial about his nuclear programme and for Congress to be prepared to accept it. In the event, both complied and Reagan duly issued certificates along with soothing assurances regarding Pakistan’s weapons capability. In a letter to Congress in November 1988, Reagan wrote: “I am convinced that our security relationship and assistance program are the most effective means available for us to dissuade Pakistan from acquiring nuclear explosives.”¹¹⁶

These assurances appear all the more wilfully blind when placed in the context of evidence which was in the hands of the Reagan administration which revealed Pakistan’s involvement in the development of nuclear weapons both before and after the Pressler Amendment. In addition to a series of intelligence reports about Pakistan’s covert and underground efforts at making nuclear

¹¹³ Howard Schaffer, Testimony before House Subcommittee, 6 February 1984: *The Pressler Amendment and Pakistan’s Nuclear Weapons program*, Senate, 31 July 1992. <<http://www.fas.org/news/pakistan/1992/920731.htm>> [Accessed 10 October 2013].

¹¹⁴ Glenn, “The Pressler Amendment and Pakistan’s Nuclear Weapons Program”.

¹¹⁵ Kux, *Disenchanted Allies*, p. 276; Helen E. Purkitt, *Annual Editions: World Politics 2008-09* (Ohio, USA: Dushkin Publishing Group, 2008), p. 45.

¹¹⁶ Aleksej D. Voskresenskij, *Russia-China-USA: Redefining the Triangle* (New York: Nova Science Incorporated, 1996), p. 148.

weapons,¹¹⁷ there was more public evidence. In July 1984, three Pakistanis were arrested in Houston trying to smuggle 50 ultra-high-speed electronic switches used for triggering atom bombs.¹¹⁸ This prompted more criticism from the anti-proliferation lobby in Congress and resulted in yet another amendment - the Solarz Amendment, which was passed in August 1985 and demanded that aid be cut off to non-nuclear nations found illegally exporting nuclear-related materials from the US.

In 1987, another Pakistani was caught illegally trying to buy from a US manufacturer materials used in centrifuges that enriched uranium for nuclear weapons.¹¹⁹ However, Reagan continued to justify his government's policy:

Our aid has bolstered Pakistan's ability to withstand Soviet efforts at intimidation by strengthening its conventional military capabilities and by supporting its economic development. Continuation of this assistance...is vital to demonstrate US resolves to resist Soviet aggression and to underline our on-going commitment to the security and stability of the strategically significant Southwest and Asian region."¹²⁰

It is interesting to note that these incidents would have clearly infringed the unsuccessful Amendment proposed by Glenn and Cranston but the Pressler version allowed support to continue on the strength of the President's word that aid was still reducing the risk of nuclear proliferation. On 28 January that year, Abdul Qadeer Khan boasted to an Indian journalist that what the CIA and foreign papers had been saying about Pakistan possessing the bomb was correct. "They told us that Pakistan could never produce the bomb and they doubted my capabilities, but they now know we have done it. ... Nobody can undo Pakistan or take us for granted. We are here to stay and let it be clear that we shall use the bomb if our existence is threatened."¹²¹

In a follow-up interview that March, Zia again tried to make the issue more ambiguous. "You can write today that Pakistan can build a [nuclear] bomb

¹¹⁷ Maleeha Lodhi, *The External Dimension* (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1991), p. 62.

¹¹⁸ Hedrick Smith, "A Bombs Ticks in Pakistan", *The New York Times*, 6 March 1988, <<http://www.nytimes.com/1988/03/06/magazine/a-bomb-ticks-in-pakistan.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm>> [Accessed 1 November 2013].

¹¹⁹ Leonard Weiss, "Pakistan: It's déjà vu all over again", *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 60, No. 3, May/ June 2004, pp. 52-59, <<http://www.thebulletin.org/issues/2004/mj04/mj04weiss.htm>> [Accessed 1 November 2013].

¹²⁰ Ronald Reagan, Memorandum to the US Secretary of State George Schulze on the Justification for Determining Security Assistance for Pakistan, 15 January 1988, cited in M. Raziullah Azmi, *Pakistan American Relations* (Royal Book Company, 1994), p. 123.

¹²¹ Bhumitra Chakma, *Pakistan's nuclear Weapons* (New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 30.

whenever it wishes.”¹²² Reagan’s Ambassador on Nuclear Non-Proliferation was less ambiguous in telling a Congress Committee that Pakistan had enriched uranium beyond the permitted 5 percent.¹²³ Criticisms, accusations, warnings and calls for punitive action rebounded between the Administration, Congress and Islamabad throughout the remainder of the covert war in Afghanistan, but the certificates were delivered each year until the Soviet Union had withdrawn in 1989. Despite this, it seems the US knew very well what was going on. General Durrani recalled that the US “did tell us time and again that this nuclearisation that you are embarked upon was not going to continue forever ... you have been developing the nuclear program taking the unfair advantage of the situation.”¹²⁴ That situation would soon expire but it appeared that Abdul Qadeer Khan had been able to take sufficient advantage of it to get Zia his bomb.

3.5 Endgame

As these controversies were taking place in Washington and Islamabad, changes were taking place in Moscow, in part, driven by Afghanistan, which in turn would lead to peace talks and a Soviet withdrawal. The decision to intervene in Afghanistan had been taken by Brezhnev and a small circle of advisors overruling his military who had strongly objected to the operation.¹²⁵ After Brezhnev died in 1982 his successors as Soviet General Secretary, Andropov and Chernenko, continued the campaign but neither lived long and the reformist Gorbachev took over in March 1985. For a few months the new Politburo increased its military commitment to the Afghan campaign but it remained apparent that the war was unwinnable. This was followed by an attempt to broaden the base of the Afghan government with the hope that this could lead to greater stability in the country. Moscow also sought to pressurise Pakistan into

¹²² William R. Doerner, “Pakistan Knocking at the Nuclear Door: A Key Ally confirms that his Scientists can build the Bomb”, *Time*, 30 March 1987, <<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,963894,00.html>> [Accessed 10 November 2013].

¹²³ *The Economist*, “Nuclear Proliferation: Enrich and Prosper”, 7 November 1987, p. 50. In 1987, Congress was informed by Richard Kennedy, an ambassador on nuclear non-proliferation that Pakistan had enriched beyond the five percent which Pakistan had said would not be exceeded.

¹²⁴ Interview with Gen. Asad Durrani, Islamabad, 10 July 2012.

¹²⁵ Walter LeFeber, *America, Russia and the Cold War, 1945-2006*, (New York: McGraw Hill, 2008), p. 316.

ending its support for the Mujahidin by escalating bombing and incursions along with terrorist subversion.

The US had increased its covert aid to the Mujahidin since Reagan came to power in 1981. He was also willing to supply modern weapons, including most notably portable Stinger missiles to destroy helicopter gunships and reduce Soviet control of the air. Reagan also stepped up his political support for Pakistan with a private message to the Soviet leadership to keep its “hands off” his ally.¹²⁶

Ultimately, the Soviet attempt to win the war failed and by 1986 Gorbachev was determined to seek a negotiated way out of the debacle. This was made clear in his speech to the 27th Soviet Party Congress when he described the war in Afghanistan as “a bleeding wound.”¹²⁷ In certain respects, the war had become Moscow’s Vietnam. The following November, Gorbachev sent a conciliatory message to Pakistan looking to improve relations.¹²⁸

In addition to the hopeless military situation there were other reasons to pull out. Many Soviet families had suffered personal losses and tragedies over the course of brutal fighting with Afghan resistance forces, whom they regarded as fanatics and little better than savages. It was disliked by many in the military and foreign policy apparatus and it was becoming more difficult to justify to the population at large. At the international level the Soviet Union had been strongly criticised and left isolated because of the intervention. The war had also imposed severe financial burdens on the Soviet economy which was already on the verge of collapse under the pressure of the arms race with the West. Soviet Foreign Minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, also foresaw that the war would seriously damage the chances of wider reform and *perestroika* if it were not resolved.¹²⁹

Accordingly, on 13 November 1986 Gorbachev told the Politburo:

We have been fighting for six years. If we don’t change our approach we will fight for another twenty or thirty years! Are we going to fight forever, knowing that our military can’t handle the situation? We need to finish this process as soon as possible.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ *International Herald Tribune*, 16 July 1986.

¹²⁷ Gorbachev, quoted in Archie Brown, “Change in the Soviet Union.” *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1986, <<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/41062/archie-brown/change-in-the-soviet-union>> [Accessed 16 November 2014].

¹²⁸ Shahid M. Amin, *Pakistan’s Foreign Policy: A Reappraisal* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 90.

¹²⁹ Cordovez and Harrison, *Out of Afghanistan*, p. 55; Artemy Kalinovsky, *Long Goodbye: The Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan* (USA: Harvard University press, 2011), p. 74.

¹³⁰ Cordovez and Harrison, *Out of Afghanistan*, p. 55.

The UN acted as intermediary between Pakistan and Afghanistan, but it was only after Gorbachev came to power that real progress was made. The outstanding issue which made the final agreement so difficult was the future government in Afghanistan after Soviet withdrawal. General Zia refused to negotiate directly with the Soviet Union's proxy Afghan leader, Babrak Karmal. "To be crude and direct, we have always stated that Pakistan will not talk to this man who came to head of the Afghan regime by riding on Soviet tanks."¹³¹ After Babrak Karmal was replaced by Najibullah, Shevardnadze proposed in November 1987 to start withdrawing troops by the following 15 May if all accords were signed by that date, which would include the US stopping all its assistance to the Afghan resistance. In the flurry of activity which followed, General Zia opposed the proposed agreement because he did not accept the continuation of a pro-Soviet Kabul regime under any leader. Instead he called for an interim government acceptable to the majority of the Afghan people.¹³²

However, the Geneva Accord was signed between Pakistan and Afghanistan on 14 May 1988. It committed the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops within a year, but neither the US or USSR were required to stop their support for their respective client. As a result, the Najibullah administration remained in place until the new post-Soviet government in Moscow cut all aid to their ally in 1992 and the Najibullah government quickly fell from power. Despite major splits in the Mujahidin between the Peshawar Seven, the Afghan resistance remained unanimous in its opposition to Najibullah and three million refugees stranded in Pakistan refused to return whilst he remained leader.

Zia's proposal for an interim government, however, would include equal places for Najibullah's PDPA, as well as Mujahidin parties, and technocrats from the diaspora. This proposal was unacceptable to all parties and would have been totally unworkable given the history and wide differences between all sides. Zia resisted pressure to change his policy from both the US and USSR. However, he had lost influence in Pakistan since the ending of martial law and the election of a new government in 1985. In the new situation, Zia, as President, had to share

¹³¹ Richards Bernstein, "Zia says Soviet may be flexible on Afghan war", *New York Times*, 10 December 1982, <<http://www.nytimes.com/1982/12/10/world/zia-says-soviet-may-be-flexible-on-afghan-war.html>> [Accessed 28 July 2013].

¹³² See Rosanne Klass, "Afghanistan: The Accords", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 66, Summer 1988, <<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/43385/rosanne-klass/afghanistan-the-accords>> [Accessed 12 August 2013].

power with Prime Minister, Muhammad Khan Junejo. Despite strong appeals from Zia, Foreign Minister Noorani decided to sign the Geneva Accord.¹³³ This was seen as a defeat for Pakistan and the Mujahidin at the time. One resistance figure told an American despairingly: "Everything we fought for is lost. We have been betrayed."¹³⁴

The Soviet troop withdrawal was completed in February 1989, but by that time Zia and Reagan had left the scene. Five months after the signing of the Geneva Accord, Zia died in an air crash along with some close associates and the US Ambassador. An official enquiry concluded it was probably sabotage, but in the absence of more definitive explanations it has fuelled many conspiracy theories in Pakistan, mostly involving the "hidden hand" of the US. Five of the interviewees for this research believed that the US was involved. Ainullah Shams argued that Zia was killed because of Pakistan's nuclear programme. His death would be an example to the rest of the world.¹³⁵ Despite his assertion that the US and Zia had been like brothers, Maulana Khilji believed that Zia was martyred by the US because he was proposing to promote Islam in the region more assertively. In support of this he recalled attending a convention of Islamic scholars in the last days of Zia's rule when the President indicated his intention to introduce more Islamic laws in Pakistan, which would limit American influence in the region.¹³⁶

Other theories have included the idea that Zia was killed for not returning the Stinger missiles to the US after the war, and as retribution for removing Prime Minister Junejo after the signing of the Geneva Accord. There were also stories of Israeli and, of course, Indian involvement. As with the case of Bhutto's arrest and execution, the significant point for this research is not whether such ideas are true, but that they have such resonance, not only amongst the population at large, but also in elite circles. As the journalist Syed Fasih Iqbal observed, "in every big accident that occurred in Pakistan, there is some secret hand of the US."¹³⁷

After Reagan stood down in early 1989, his successor, George H. W. Bush, warned Congress that he might not issue the annual certificate regarding aid

¹³³ Interview with Brig. Noor ul Haq, Islamabad, 1 August 2012.

¹³⁴ Klaas, "Afghanistan: The Accords".

¹³⁵ Interview with Ainullah Shams, Quetta, 25 August 2012.

¹³⁶ Interview with Maulana Abdullah Khilji, Quetta, 6 May 2012.

¹³⁷ Interview with Syed Fasih Iqbal, Quetta, 29 August 2012.

and Pakistan's nuclear programme. The new US Ambassador to Pakistan, Robert B. Oakley, followed this up with a warning:

At times, friends need to be frank with each other. The US is a strong supporter of controls over nuclear development ... we are also bound by our own laws, which include the Symington, Pressler and Solarz amendments. These provisions would prohibit US aid to Pakistan, if evidence were discovered that Pakistan possessed nuclear weapons or was trying to illegally buy nuclear weapons technology.¹³⁸

3.6 Strategic Outcomes for the US and Pakistan

The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan was perceived to be a mutual threat to both the US and Pakistan. This specific threat disappeared after Soviet withdrawal, but the consequences of withdrawal were different for the two parties. The US goals had been substantially achieved. The Soviet army had retreated from Afghanistan and the spectre of Soviet expansion to the warm waters of the Pakistan coast had been laid to rest. As a result, the oil fields and vital trade routes in the Persian Gulf were secured. In addition the long, attritional campaign which the US had helped finance was just as painful and difficult for Moscow as Reagan had hoped. The Soviet economy and the Soviet system itself had been challenged and found wanting. The implications of this went far beyond South Asia and helped create the conditions for the break-up of both the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact.

It is difficult to imagine a better result for the US. Nevertheless, there had been a price. The military and economic aid and supplies given to Pakistan were only part of Reagan's overall campaign to outspend the USSR on military capability but the arms race contributed to the overall level of US debt. The reputation of the US had also been damaged when Reagan adopted a more Realist approach than his predecessor. Carter's human rights agenda was shelved as Reagan declared the Mujahidin to be "freedom fighters" and the Pakistani dictatorship had been legitimised, armed and empowered. More significantly, real attempts at preventing nuclear proliferation in Pakistan, and the wider region, had also been avoided by the US political establishment.¹³⁹ As discussed in the

¹³⁸ Robert B. Oakley, "US-Pakistan Relations: An Agenda for the Future", *Pakistan Horizon*, Vo. 42, No. 1, January 1989, p. 34.

¹³⁹ Bruce, O. Reidel, *Deadly Embrace: Pakistan, America, and the Future of the Global Jihad* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 2012), p. 41.

previous chapter the nuclear issue had consequences far beyond South Asia, since Pakistan's bomb could be used against Israel and its nuclear technology could be transferred to unfriendly states, which included the newly-hostile Iran.

Nor had America's policy enhanced relations with India, which had taken a more pro-Soviet stance over Afghanistan and was, as a result, more isolated in the region. China, on the other hand, was opposed to the Soviet occupation, and with Deng Xiaoping at the helm was undergoing market reforms which had started the process of integrating the country far more into the international community.

For Pakistan, the feared Soviet expansion into Balochistan had not happened. This enabled supporters to say it had been prevented by the partnership with the US. In addition, the hostile Soviet presence in neighbouring Afghanistan had gone along with immediate fears of Indo-Soviet encirclement. In relation to India, military resources had been substantially increased, though India had also capitalised on the situation with increased aid from the USSR, so the regional arms race was still under way. At the same time economic aid had helped the Pakistani economy to grow. GDP growth rates shot up from 3.76 per cent in 1979 to 10.22 percent the next year and never fell below 5 percent until 1989.¹⁴⁰ It is less clear, however, who in Pakistani society benefited from the economic upturn. Zia himself had moved from being shunned by Carter to being Reagan's key man in the region.

This remarkable shift was achieved without changing many of his policies. Though he gave up martial law, he still retained overarching constitutional powers and personal control of the military. Nevertheless, it was significant that he was unable to prevent the Geneva Accord being signed against his express wishes. Afghanistan remained unstable and a potential security concern for Pakistan, but the nuclear programme was close to being achieved. Technological development had proceeded throughout this period to the point where Pakistan had an acknowledged nuclear capability, and gave an ambiguous nod to India to suggest that it had actually acquired a nuclear bomb. A. Q. Khan argued that Pakistan

¹⁴⁰ World Bank, "Pakistan: Economic Indicators", *The Global Economy.com*, <<http://www.theglobaleconomy.com/Pakistan/Economicgrowth/>> [Accessed 22 August 2014].

would never have acquired this capability without the Afghan war and America consequently turning a blind eye to developments in the country.¹⁴¹

It was in the border regions of Pakistan and Afghanistan that another major legacy of this era remained which would shape US-Pakistan relations in the future. The joint strategy to support the Afghan resistance had contributed to the creation of a pool of seasoned and radicalised fighters who were very well armed. Pakistan had been flooded with weapons, most of which had never been returned to the US. As Syed Iqbal observed in an interview, there remain sufficient weapons in their hands to fight a third world war.¹⁴² It would be some years before the US had to confront this legacy as a direct security threat but, in the meantime, Pakistan was left to suffer the consequences in the shape of rising Islamism, weapons culture and drugs, as well as the problem of Afghan refugees and the Mujahidin, many of whom turned against their host.¹⁴³

3.7 Implications for the Relationship

This era is often understood as the time when the relationship between the US and Pakistan improved markedly and the two states were at their closest. Professor Tahir Amin put it this way: “probably that was the only time when Pakistan-US interests coincided almost one hundred percent. Both wanted to contain the Soviet Union. Both wanted to support [the] Afghan Mujahidin.”¹⁴⁴ Former Minister Nawabzada Amad Khan saw it as a time when Pakistan and the US enjoyed increased confidence in each other as a result of working together on issues of mutual interest.¹⁴⁵ The evidence suggests, however, that both these views are misplaced and that this era was one where interests were no more aligned than any other period under consideration, and that mutual confidence was superficial and depended on a mutual suspension of judgement.

The view that interests coincided rests on the assumption that because both states were jointly orchestrating a proxy war against the Soviet army, they shared the same aims and objectives. As the evidence and analysis discussed earlier in

¹⁴¹ Reidel, *Deadly Embrace*, p. 42.

¹⁴² Interview with Syed Fasih Iqbal, Quetta, 29 August 2012.

¹⁴³ Interview with Mehmood Ali Shah, Quetta, 15 April 2012.

¹⁴⁴ Interview with Tahir Amin, Islamabad, 30 May 2012.

¹⁴⁵ Interview with Nawabzada Amad Khan, Islamabad, 3 July 2012.

this chapter shows, however, this was not the sum total of their respective strategic interests. The same could be said for the Mujahidin who, as the conflict progressed, developed into a coalition of forces with varying degrees of ideological intensity and objectives beyond defeating the USSR. A three-way analysis suggests that the interests of the US, Pakistan and the Mujahidin clearly overlapped in wanting the USSR out of Afghanistan but beyond that they had diverging objectives. US aims were to defeat the Soviet system as a whole and to protect Western capitalist economies. Zia's aims were to maintain his regime and territory, to protect Islam and to protect Pakistan against India. The aims of the Mujahidin are more difficult to sum up but, as it developed and became more internationalised and divided, protecting Islam from foreign injustice as a whole became an aim alongside liberating Afghanistan for many of the diverse groups that emerged. Once the overlapping element had gone there was little to stop the diverging elements pulling the three in different and conflicting directions again.

This was also a rich period for wilful blindness on both sides. Although Carter had proposed to work with Zia, he was not prepared to do so at the cost of all his concerns about the nature of the regime, nuclear proliferation and India. It needed the fresh enthusiasm of Reagan to turn a blind eye to all these issues in his more single-minded campaign against the Soviet Union. The most obvious example is over the nuclear programme but it was also done in relation to Zia's domestic political practices. The United States ignored human rights violations and the imprisonment of political prisoners, while still being critical of similar violations by unfriendly governments, and implicitly helped Zia government consolidate his regime at a time when it was facing increasing domestic opposition.¹⁴⁶ Thus, Reagan's plan for a long attritional campaign against the USSR suited Zia since the longer it went on the more he could consolidate himself and the more time he had to make his nuclear weapons. In this sense they shared a tactical objective but for diverging strategic reasons.

Reagan's wilful blindness required him to effectively let Pakistan's nuclear ambitions proceed at the expense of the interests of not just India but also

¹⁴⁶ See M. Raziullah Azmi, *Pakistan American Relations: The Recent Past* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1994), p. 123; Sumita Kumar, *US Measures Against Pakistan's Nuclear Policies, 1990-2001*, in Michael Brzoska and George A. Lopez (eds.), *Putting Teeth in the Tiger: Improving the Effectiveness of Arms Embargoes* (Bingley, UK: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2009), pp. 83-84.

Israel. This emphasises the extent of reverse influence which Zia was able to exert. His assets included, as ever, Pakistan's strategic location, made more valuable by now having the America's Cold War enemy on his border. What he also had was an established network of resistance fighters, now augmented by the refugees, and a porous border through which it was possible to launch attacks. As General Durrani explained, Pakistan had already started its covert campaign from there so it might be said that the US sought to join Pakistan's proxy war rather than the other way round, as is often portrayed.¹⁴⁷ Ishtiaq Ahmed, speculated, however, that the US may have been active in promoting this at an earlier stage as a way of enticing the USSR to intervene to prevent Islamic influence spreading to its own republics.¹⁴⁸ Either way, Zia had the initiative and was able to use it to maintain control and influence over the distribution of aid to the groups he favoured for his own ends. Zia's own dictatorial regime may also have been an asset to the US since it would have been much more straightforward to pursue a drawn-out covert operation, with associated collateral domestic damage, through a suppressive dictatorship than an active democracy. This display of reverse influence also undermines the view of Pakistan as a consistent victim of US policies, as expressed by Tariq Ali for example,¹⁴⁹ since Zia clearly made his own decisions to manipulate the situation and the US to his own advantage.

The abruptness of the US change of attitude is a significant feature of the history of the relationship and demonstrates that co-operation rested on short term circumstances rather than shared interests. It also demonstrates that reverse influence was limited by circumstances rather than permanent features. Circumstances included not just events, like the Soviet invasion, but also a receptive administration in Washington. The fluctuation of US policies continued to reflect the political composition of the presidential administration. The Democrat, Jimmy Carter, had been rebuilding trust with India and was reluctant to make Pakistan too close an ally, but the Republican, Ronald Reagan, was willing to prejudice Indian ties by favouring Pakistan again. Zia was thus able to hold out with confidence until Reagan was elected and offered Pakistan considerably less constrained terms for his co-operation.

¹⁴⁷ Interview with Gen. Asad Duranni, Islamabad, 10 July 2012.

¹⁴⁸ Interview with Ishtiaq Ahmed, Islamabad, 18 June 2012.

¹⁴⁹ Tariq Ali, *The Duel: Pakistan on the Flight Path of American Power* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2008), p. xii.

It is likely that this period of closer engagement between the US and Pakistan did create confidence, but only about the limitations of trust each could expect of the other. What was demonstrated was that under the right circumstances, Pakistan could be confident that the US would buy its co-operation with financial and military aid. Furthermore it would be prepared to temporarily suspend judgement about things it had previously criticised or sanctioned and enable the military to be empowered as the dominant political force in the country. The US could also be confident that the Pakistani military would take advantage of aid and the blind eye to build its resources and strategic advantage against India in defiance of Washington.

The fact that, once the USSR declared a clear interest in withdrawing, the US pressured Zia to agree to a settlement in Afghanistan which left him with ongoing security concerns, emphasises that co-operation was partial and temporary, and that fundamental interests did not converge in this era any more than they had in the previous thirty years. After the Soviet army withdrew General Zia's successors were left to contend with disintegration in Afghanistan and a US with a rediscovered appetite for non-proliferation and sanctions.

CHAPTER 4: EMBARGOS AND SANCTIONS: THE BOMB, THE TALIBAN AND HUMAN RIGHTS, 1989 – 2001

4.1 Introduction

As George H. W. Bush took over from Ronald Reagan as US President in January 1989, he faced major international change unimaginable to his predecessors. In line with the Geneva Accord, the Soviet army withdrew from Afghanistan in February 1989 and Moscow began the process of ending its dominance of Eastern Europe. This began with the breaching of the border between Austria and Hungary in May, culminating in the fall of the Berlin Wall on the evening of 9 November 1989. Bush and Gorbachev met on 2-3 December 1989 in Malta to confirm that the Cold War was over. The summit meeting represented a formal confirmation that the era of superpower rivalry and competition was finally at an end. Arguably, the Cold War had started at the Yalta conference in 1945, it had now ended on a boat in Malta.

As a result of the end of superpower rivalry, Washington once again appeared to lose interest in Pakistan. The USSR was out of Afghanistan and no longer posed a threat to American interests in the region. In the absence of the Soviet Union, the US began to view Pakistan as a potential destabilising factor in the region. Washington was concerned over Kashmir and Pakistan's sponsorship of jihadist ideology,¹ but its nuclear programme remained the major irritant in relations between the two powers and started another difficult period in its relationship with Washington.²

4.2 The Nuclear Programme and the New World Order

In Pakistan there were also significant political changes which initially encouraged the US to continue to engage with Islamabad. After Junejo's removal from office and Zia's death in 1988, Ghulam Ishaq Khan had taken over the Presidency and Benazir Bhutto was elected Prime Minister on 1 December 1988.

¹ Interview with Gen. Asad Durrani, Islamabad, 10 July 2012.

² Ayesha Siddiqa-Agha, *Pakistan's Arms Procurement and Military Buildup, 1979-99: In Search of a Policy* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), p. 95.

Although Ghulam Ishaq Khan came from the civil bureaucracy, he had been an integral part of the military regime, or the “establishment” as the military-intelligence elite came to be known. Benazir Bhutto was the daughter of the hanged Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and her election brought her father’s PPP back into power. Unlike the one-man rule of the previous government, Pakistan was now collectively governed by a troika of the Prime Minister, the President and the Army Chief of Staff, General Aslam Baig.³ However, this was weighted in favour of the “establishment” and although the Constitution gave Benazir Bhutto the right to form a government, Ghulam Ishaq Khan delayed convening the National Assembly for the Prime Ministerial oath until she had given an assurance that she would not interfere in specific foreign and defence policy areas which included Afghan policy, the nuclear programme, and the budget of the Armed Forces. Her ostracism from the nuclear programme was such that she was formally banned from visiting the premises where A. Q. Khan’s research was being conducted.⁴ She also retained Sahibzada Yaqub Khan, the Foreign Minister of the previous regime, thus signalling that there would be little change in foreign policy despite her previous opposition to General Zia.⁵ Nevertheless, her election victory was largely welcomed by the media and Congress in the US, and she responded by emphasising the importance of South Asia to America and urging Washington to continue its relationship with Pakistan, particularly now that it was, in her description, a democratic country.”⁶

By 1989, however, the US was making serious warnings that Pakistan could not remain immune from sanctions if it continued with its nuclear ambitions. Early that year, General Baig visited Washington where he was warned by National Security Advisor, Colin Powell, that if the nuclear programme continued, Pakistan would not only forfeit economic and military assistance but also its close political and security relations with the US.⁷ It appeared to Washington that General Baig had understood the message. For after his return, US intelligence noted that high-level enrichment of uranium was stopped along

³ Richard Haass, *Economic Sanctions and American Diplomacy* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1998), p. 164.

⁴ Arwind Goswami, *3 D Deceit, Duplicity and Dissimulation of US Foreign Policy towards India, Pakistan and Afghanistan* (Bloomington: Author House, 2012), p 270.

⁵ M. Raziullah Azmi, *Pakistan American Relations* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1994), p. 84.

⁶ *The Frontier Post*, December 14, 1988, quoted in Azmi, *Pakistan American Relations*.

⁷ Haass, *Economic Sanctions and American Diplomacy*, p. 164.

with some other elements of Pakistan's nuclear programme.⁸ However, in practice, these changes were of limited value because Pakistan had already achieved nuclear weapons capability. With the nuclear issue high on the US political agenda, Benazir Bhutto found herself in an exposed but uninformed position on her own visit to the US in June. Prior to the visit she had opened a new nuclear power plant at Kot Addu in Pakistan and repeated her government's guarantee of developing nuclear energy for peaceful purposes only. Now in the US she was evasive when, on national television, she was asked whether Pakistan could acquire a nuclear device if it wanted to:

We do not feel it necessary for us to do so in our defence. Well, I am not saying that we could do so if we wanted to, or we couldn't if we didn't want to, but all I am saying is that we are working for peace....⁹

This convoluted answer reflected her awkwardness and ignorance on the issue. It was reported that CIA officials spelled out to her the details of Pakistan's programme and even showed her a mock-up of the weapons in order to demonstrate that they knew more than she did and could monitor her country's nuclear activities in detail.¹⁰ However, if US intelligence understood the reality of the nuclear programme they may not have fully understood the reality of her influence over it. For Bush warned her that he would not issue the annual certificate without assurances that Pakistan would not enrich uranium above five percent and would not develop cores for nuclear weapons. However, the US already knew the five per cent threshold had been crossed and believed that Pakistan had successfully manufactured at least one core. So, Bush's warning was actually an implied demand for a freeze and a hope that the existing core would be destroyed.¹¹

For her part, Benazir Bhutto assured Bush that Pakistan was not interested in developing nuclear weapons and favoured a nuclear test ban treaty with other countries of the region of South Asia.¹² She also told a Joint session of the US Congress that, "I can declare that we do not possess, nor do we intend to make, a

⁸ Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army, and America's war on Terror* (New York: East Gate Book, 2005), p. 140.

⁹ *Foreign Affairs Pakistan*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Islamabad, Pakistan, Volume 16, 1989, p. 24.

¹⁰ See *New York Times*, 11 June 1989, p. 73; George Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb: The Impact on Global Proliferation* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), p. 303.

¹¹ Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb*, p. 303.

¹² Melvin A. Goodman, *Gorbachev's Retreat: The Third World* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1991), p. 63.

nuclear device. That is our policy.”¹³ Her US tour was successful and generated much goodwill for Pakistan and, in the wake of her fresh assurances, Bush issued the 1989 Pressler certification, accompanied by the much repeated warning of the US Ambassador to Islamabad, Robert Oakley, that, “If you take any action on the nuclear program and you go past that line ... He [Bush] will blow the whistle and invoke Pressler.”¹⁴ Bush also promised the sale of sixty F-16 fighter aircraft as an inducement to the Pakistan military to co-operate on the nuclear issue. Despite Benazir Bhutto’s claims regarding Pakistan’s nuclear programme, its reluctance to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty was evidence of her limited influence on the issue.

Benazir Bhutto represented a more acceptable face of Pakistan for the US, but she did not last long. On 6 August 1990, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, with the full support of General Baig, dismissed her government on charges of corruption and mismanagement and called for fresh elections the following October. The following day, she blamed her dismissal on the Military Intelligence (MI) which she claimed had been conspiring against her government from the first day.¹⁵ Given the historical conflict of both her family and party with the establishment her claim may have been partially correct, but there were other factors, such as economic mismanagement and a lack of experience in governance, which also played an important role in her dismissal. A. Q. Khan, also disclosed later, in his lecture at the University of Science and Technology in Rawalpindi, that he had repeatedly advised General Baig to get rid of her because she was creating too many hurdles to the further development of Pakistan’s nuclear programme.¹⁶

After she was dismissed from office, she claimed that during the 1990 Kashmir crisis, the military had already crossed Bush’s red line without keeping her informed.¹⁷ She also later claimed that she was unaware of the extent of the country’s nuclear capability during her time as Prime Minister and that the

¹³ Seymour M. Hersh, “On the Nuclear Edge”, *The New Yorker*, 29 March 1993, <<http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1993/03/29/on-the-nuclear-edge>>, [Accessed 15 October 2012].

¹⁴ Haass, *Economic Sanctions and American Diplomacy*, p. 165.

¹⁵ Abbas, *Pakistan’s Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army, and America’s war on Terror*, p. 142.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Zafar Iqbal Cheema, “Pakistan’s Nuclear Use Doctrine and Command and Control” in Peter L. Lavoy et al. (eds.), *Planning the Unthinkable: How New Powers will use Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Weapons* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2000), p. 164.

Pakistan President had kept her in the dark about it.¹⁸ However, this raises the question of whether she was also being wilfully blind. Her statement to Congress looks unconvincing in the light of the briefing she had been given by the CIA, and she appeared to be able to make knowledgeable claims after leaving office whilst purporting ignorance when in post. In addition, the military would not be the only avenue of intelligence on the matter, since the Prime Minister had access to alternative sources through the Intelligence Bureau (IB) which reported to the civil government.

By this time, the next Pressler Certificate was due. US Secretary of State, James Baker, warned the Pakistani Foreign Minister, Sahibzada Khan, that further economic and military assistance would be continued only if the President of Pakistan presented new, credible and convincing evidence that his country did not possess nuclear weapons. Caretaker Prime Minister, Mustafa Jatoi, replied that he had already given written assurances that Pakistan had no intention of producing nuclear weapons.¹⁹ However, documents leaked to the *Washington Post* revealed yet more Pakistani attempts to acquire banned equipment. This time, Pakistan sources had sought to obtain high temperature furnaces used for the manufacture of nuclear weapons through its embassy in France and intermediaries in Canada and Switzerland.²⁰ There was also evidence that both the Chinese and French governments were contributing to Pakistan's nuclear programme. Throughout the 1980s, China had transferred equipment and technology for Pakistan's nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles programmes to the alarm of the US and India.²¹ In November 1989 Chinese Prime Minister, Li Peng, announced that China would sell Pakistan a 300 megawatt nuclear power reactor. The following February, France President, François Mitterrand, visited Pakistan and agreed to sell another nuclear power plant to meet its electricity needs, but which was interpreted as assistance for the weapons programme.²² A statement from the US State Department said, "France has apparently agreed to sell a nuclear power reactor to

¹⁸ Rajput Budania, *India's National Security Dilemma: The Pakistan Factor and India's Policy Response* (New Delhi: Indus Publishing Company, 2001), p. 143.

¹⁹ *Pakistan Horizon*, Volume 44, Issues 1-2, April 1991, p. 3.

²⁰ *Keesing's Records of World Events*, Volume 36, 1990, p. 3764.

²¹ Lisa Curtis, *China's Military and Security Relationship with Pakistan*, The Heritage Foundation, <<http://www.heritage.org/research/testimony/chinas-military-and-security-relationship-with-pakistan>> [Accessed 9 October 2013].

²² See Aileen, "The Significance of the French Offer", *The Muslim*, 1 March 1991; Rafique Akhtar, *Pakistan Year Book*, (Lahore: East & West Publishing 1990), p. 330.

Pakistan without requiring that Pakistan accept full-scope International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards, i.e., safeguards on all nuclear activities in Pakistan, not just on the item being exported.”²³ Here it is important to note that France had already sold nuclear reactors to China, India and Korea but at that time the US did not raise any objection.²⁴ In addition there was evidence of Chinese help with missile technology. From the late 1980s, there were reports that China began discussing sales of M-11 missiles and related technology to Pakistan with a formal contract being signed in 1988. In April 1991, Washington would reveal it had discovered that China had transferred these missiles to Pakistan, though this was denied by Beijing.²⁵

In October 1990, non-proliferation campaigners in Congress, McCurdy and Solarz, wrote to Bush with their concerns and urged him to end all aid.²⁶ US Ambassador in Pakistan Oakley then ended eleven years of pretence by informing Pakistan’s caretaker government that Bush had decided not to issue a Pressler certificate.²⁷ Up to that point, Pakistan was the third highest US aid recipient after Egypt and Israel, and another six-year aid package had been signed in 1987. But economic and military aid worth \$564 million for the fiscal year of 1990 was now stopped. Washington insisted that if Pakistan wanted US assistance to resume it should roll-back its nuclear programme to its status pre-April 1990.²⁸ Within the embargoed aid was \$300 million of military supplies which were stopped along with the delivery of 28 F-16 air-fighters for which Pakistan had already paid.²⁹

Bush’s decision not to issue the certificate automatically invoked the Pressler Amendment which had a particular effect on relations because it applied uniquely to Pakistan. This meant that aid could continue uninterrupted to India, a

²³ Verinder Grover and Ranjana Arora, *Political System in Pakistan: Pakistan’s Foreign Policy, its Relations with the USA, UK, Commonwealth and UNO* (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications, 1995), p. 363.

²⁴ *Dawn*, 5 March 1990.

²⁵ R. Jeffery Smith, “Chinese Missile Launchers Sighted in Pakistan”, *Washington Post*, 6 April 1991, quoted in *China’s Missile Export and Assistance to Pakistan*, Archived Material, Centre for Non-Proliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies, Monterey, USA, <http://cns.miis.edu/archive/country_india/china/mpakpos.htm#2> [Accessed 15 October 2013].

²⁶ *Selection from the National Press*, Centre for South Asian Studies, Quaid-i-Azam Campus, University of Punjab, Pakistan, 1992, p. 73.

²⁷ Howard B. Schaffer and Teresita C. Schaffer, *How Pakistan Negotiates with the United States: Riding the Roller Coaster* (Washington: United Institute of Peace, 2011), p. 8.

²⁸ For more detail see Tehmina Mahmood, “Pressler Amendment and Pakistan’s Security Concerns”, *Pakistan Horizon*, Vol. 47, No. 4, October 1994, p. 104.

²⁹ Aparne Pande, *Explaining Pakistan’s Foreign Policy: Escaping India*, (New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 105-106.

Soviet ally, which had already demonstrated its own nuclear capability as long ago as 1974.³⁰ In Pakistan, this was seen as unfair and discriminatory. Reaction was bitter and focussed on what was perceived as US hypocrisy with much indignation that only Pakistan was being punished.³¹ An often repeated sentiment was, “now that the Afghan War is over, the United States no longer needs Pakistan. You Americans have discarded us like a piece of used Kleenex.”³² Maleeha Lodhi, former Pakistani Ambassador to the US, explained Pakistani sentiment about the unfairness of sanctions:

The irony about US non-proliferation policy in South Asia was that while the impetus for proliferation at every step came from India, it was Pakistan, and not India, that was subjected to penalties, embargoes and sanctions. Perversely Pakistan became the victim of penalties for what India had done in 1974 with its explosion of a nuclear device.³³

Pakistan’s Foreign Minister, Sahibzada Khan, complained that the, “Pressler law was not just ‘outmoded’ but could end up defeating the very purpose of discouraging nuclear proliferation: it could actually promote it.”³⁴ This sense of resentment was not restricted to the political elite, and it also had resonance amongst the people. Brigadier Gul explained: “In Pakistan, a common person thought that American is a great friend but this sense of betrayal was so strong that this ... started changing into amazement, wonderment and then tragedy: a great dislike for a country which does not value another country’s sacrifice.”³⁵ The sacrifices that Gul was referring to were a so-called Kalashnikov culture, narcotics smuggling and USSR attacks on Pakistan. “So we have paid a very high price. But America totally neglected that.”³⁶ General Duranni summed up how it now appeared to Pakistan that the Cold War had ended - the Afghans had won against the Soviets and Pakistan had claimed victory; India was unhappy at what Pakistan had achieved; but the US now looked like “enemy number one.”³⁷ Whilst this assessment appears a little exaggerated, since India clearly

³⁰ Benazir Bhutto, “Pakistan’s Foreign Policy: Challenges and Responses in the Post-Cold War Era”, in Keith Philip Lepor, (ed.), *After the Cold War: Essays on the Emerging World Order* (Austin, USA: University of Texas Press, 1997), p. 150.

³¹ *The Nation*, 12 July 1997.

³² Richard Haass, *Economic Sanctions and American Diplomacy*, (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1998), p. 166.

³³ Maleeha Lodhi, “The Pakistan-US Relationship”, *Defence Journal*, Pakistan, April 1998, <<http://www.defencjournal.com/april98/pakistanus.htm>> [Accessed 12 March 2012].

³⁴ *The Nation*, 9 October 1990.

³⁵ Interview with Brig. Agha Gul, Quetta, 25 April 2012.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Interview with Gen. Asad Durrani, Islamabad, 10 July 2012.

remained Pakistan's prime enemy, it emphasises two points that mark this as a significant turning point in relations. First, it underlines the strength of feeling in Pakistan, not just that the Pressler sanctions were unjust and discriminatory, but also that the US was abandoning its former ally once again. Second, by not targeting India with sanctions in an even-handed way the US was, once again, favouring and empowering Pakistan's original enemy number one.

There was also criticism in the US that the sanctions had left their Cold War ally out in the cold. The Pressler Amendment had originally attracted criticism by some US analysts, including Rosenfield, that it had been written to ignore and provide special exemption for India and Israel, both of which had nuclear programmes far more advanced than Pakistan's.³⁸ The *Washington Times* held India responsible for the South Asia nuclear arms race and argued that Pakistan's programme did not threaten the US but, "if the moralist guiding our [US] policy still feels compelled to eliminate it, they should put the screw on pro-Soviet India, whose nukes make Pakistan's necessary and leave allies in Islamabad alone."³⁹ However, the originator of the amendment, Senator Pressler, defended the action to the Senate Foreign Relations Sub-Committee on the basis that he had hoped it would never have to be applied in the first place. "It is my hope today that the sanctions can be lifted. However, I cannot support any effort to lift sanctions at the expense of our nation's non-proliferation goals"⁴⁰ Where Pressler justified sanctions on high-minded policy grounds, Director of the State Department South Asia Bureau, Malott justified it on more pragmatic grounds.

We kept our part of the bargain but Pakistan let us down by crossing the line in 1990. We had promised Pakistan billions and billions of dollars if that line was not crossed. In so many words, the President was signalling his desire to continue the close security relationship with Pakistan provided Islamabad froze the nuclear program.⁴¹

The Republican majority in the US Congress accepted these arguments and President Bush was able to tell Pakistan's new Ambassador to the US, Syeda Abida Hussain, in March 1992 that the nuclear issue was still the major obstacle

³⁸ S. Rosenfield, "Why Non-Proliferation Law is Written?" *Washington Post*, 31 July 1987.

³⁹ *Washington Times*, 8 May 1991, cited in Aazar Tamana, *United States-Pakistan Relations in the Post-Cold war Era: The Pressler Amendment & Pakistan's National Security Concerns*, (Perth: Curtin, 2004), p. 30.

⁴⁰ *Overview of US policy towards South Asia* (Pennsylvania State University, U.S.G.P.O, 1995), p. 136.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

to a good relationship between the two countries. Senior Fellow for India, Pakistan, and South Asia at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) Daniel Markey's later analysis also placed the blame on Pakistan for renegeing on a deal and creating distrust:

They say we abandoned them in 1990, once the Cold War was over and we no longer needed them to combat the Soviet threat. Against our express wishes, they went ahead with the nuclear weapons program, no longer making it possible to cooperate with them in quite the same way.⁴²

However, Markey's conclusion appears to ignore the eleven years of US wilful blindness which facilitated this state of affairs. What made co-operation less easy in 1990 was not the nuclear programme, which had been fast-tracked by the supply of Pressler certificates, but the evaporation of Washington's need to pretend it was not happening.

After Benazir Bhutto's overthrow, Nawaz Sharif was elected Prime Minister in November 1990, but he still had to work with Ghulam Ishaq and General Baig as part of the troika. Despite the sense of betrayal felt over the Pressler sanctions, the new government continued to look for other ways to reconnect with the US. Although Pakistan's military and economic aid had ceased, humanitarian assistance was still distributed through the Catholic Relief Services and CARE (Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere), and formal assistance continued for the control of narcotics and drug programmes, allowing some communication and co-operation to be maintained.

A better opportunity for Nawaz Sharif to rebuild relations came with Saddam Hussein's seizure of Kuwait in August 1990 and the subsequent Gulf War in 1991. President Bush worked through the UN to gather a multi-national force to drive Saddam out of Kuwait. Pakistan joined the US-led coalition with a contribution of 5,000 troops stationed in the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia. This was appreciated by the US,⁴³ but Pakistan was just one of over thirty nations in the coalition so its impact may have been somewhat reduced. In the years that followed, Pakistan showed itself willing to play an increased role in humanitarian operations in Somalia and peacekeeping efforts as far apart as East

⁴² Daniel Markey, *Complex US-Pakistan Relations* (Council on Foreign Relations, 2007), <http://www.cfr.org/pakistan/markey_complex_us_pakistan_relations/p12720> [Accessed 29 October 2013].

⁴³ Schaffer and Schaffer, *How Pakistan Negotiates with the United States*, p. 8; Kux, *Disenchanted Allies*, p. 323.

Timor, Bosnia, Kosovo, Sierra Leone, and the Congo.⁴⁴ In helping with Bush's aim to involve the world community in fighting despotism, and with Clinton's later aim of democratic enlargement, it was important for the US to have the co-operation of Pakistan as a leading Muslim nation.

Nevertheless, US-Pakistan relations remained deadlocked over the nuclear issue for the remainder of the Bush presidency. In June 1991, after the end of the Gulf War, Nawaz Sharif sent a delegation headed by the Pakistani Senate Chairman, Waseem Sajad, to the US. Sajad reiterated Pakistan's position that it was ready to stop production of weapons-grade uranium but would not destroy its existing stock. The US, however, insisted that the resumption of aid, and most particularly military aid, was dependent on Islamabad abandoning its nuclear programme completely.⁴⁵ In November, US Under-Secretary of State, Reginald Bartholomew, went to Pakistan to keep the pressure on the government. However, President Ghulam Ishaq refused to abandon his nuclear programme and, by so doing, earned the nickname "Mr Nuke" by the US.

US attitudes actually hardened further when Pakistan's Foreign Secretary, Shehryar Muhammad Khan, officially dropped claims that Pakistan neither had, nor was developing, weapons. In an interview to the *Washington Post* in February 1992, he admitted that, "...the capability is there. Pakistan possesses elements which, if put together, would become a device". He added that in 1990 Pakistan had frozen its production of highly enriched uranium and bomb cores but would not destroy its existing nuclear capabilities unless and until India did the same.⁴⁶ A few days later, the Ambassador Syeda Abida Hussain addressed George Washington University and confirmed Khan's position, "We have achieved the ability and we imposed a restraint. We do not roll back; we do not advance."⁴⁷ What prompted these statements was rising tension with India over the Kashmir insurrection. Islamabad feared the crisis might escalate and, therefore, felt the need to remind India that it had a nuclear deterrent. This highlights the continuing

⁴⁴ A. J. Armanini, *Politics and Economics of Central Asia* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2002), p. 17.

⁴⁵ Maleeha Lodhi, *The External Dimension* (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1991), p. 95.

⁴⁶ R. Jeffery Smith, "Pakistan Can Build One Nuclear Device, Foreign Official Says", *Washington Post*, 7 February 1992. Quoted in Samina Ahmed, "Public Opinion, democratic governance and the making of Pakistani nuclear policy" in Eric Arnet (ed.), *Nuclear Weapons and Arms Control in South Asia after the Test Ban*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 63, <<http://books.sipri.org/files/RR/SIPRIRR14.pdf>> [Accessed 17 November 2013].

⁴⁷ *Washington Times*, "Pakistan Stands Firm on Nuclear Threshold", 11 February 1992.

priority of India above all other security threats since these statements effectively undermined previous efforts to get a resumption of US aid.

4.3 Kashmir

The frozen conflict in Kashmir left the province divided into two parts controlled by India and Pakistan respectively, separated by a Line of Control (LoC) which was the *de facto* border between the two. It had also given rise to opposition parties and resistance groups, some of which favoured union with Pakistan and others that campaigned for complete independence. For forty years the Indian and Pakistani intelligence services had also been active there and the ISI had supported the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), which fought for independence. Disputed elections in 1987 in Jammu (the Indian-controlled part) prompted agitation which was also inspired by Mujahidin success in Afghanistan and the Palestinian intifada. The Indian government responded with brutal repression, prompting an insurrection which started with a series of powerful explosions in Jammu on 31 July 1988 and developed as more militants entered from the Pakistani side to fight with the JKLF.⁴⁸ Tension between Pakistan and India rose and the Indian government blamed Pakistan for supporting and training the militants.⁴⁹ The US also blamed Pakistan for supporting the insurgency and in April 1990, the US Under-Secretary warned Pakistan that this could be considered to be aiding terrorism.

Pressure built in India for the government to take retaliatory military action against Pakistan and it positioned 200,000 troops along the borders as well as in Kashmir. In response, Pakistan deployed armoured tanks. This locked both sides into a political and military stand-off that made it difficult for either to back down without appearing weak.⁵⁰ Thus, by May 1990, the tension had become so serious it threatened a wider Pakistan-India war. Both sides conducted military

⁴⁸ See Jason Burke, *Al-Qaeda: Casting a Shadow of Terror* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003), p. 90; Timothy W. Crawford, *Pivotal Deterrence: Third Party Statecraft and the Pursuit of Peace* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp. 170-171.

⁴⁹ *Toronto Star*, "Suicide March in Kashmir Leaves 12 Dead", 13 February 1992, quoted in Hagerty, *The Consequences of Nuclear Proliferation: Lessons from South Asia*, p. 173.

⁵⁰ Sumit Ganguly and S. Paul Kapur, (eds.), *Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia: Crisis Behaviour and the Bomb* (New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 67.

exercises and there were mounting fears that nuclear weapons might be used.⁵¹ In May, Bush sent Deputy National Security Advisor, Robert Gates, and Assistant Secretary of State, Richard Haas, to mediate between the two countries.⁵² At a meeting, Gates did not accuse Pakistan of initiating the conflict, but did suggest that Islamabad was supporting the Kashmiris.⁵³ General Duranni explained that America's role was interpreted in Pakistan as the start of a new phase in Indo-US relations. America was believed to be anxious to capitalise on the fact that India needed new allies now that the USSR no longer existed.⁵⁴

The Pakistanis, for their part, denied supporting the insurgents but were nervous about losing control of the situation, so they undertook to clamp down on the activities of militants in their part of the disputed territory. This resulted in the army opening fire on militants crossing to the Indian-controlled side and blocking the road leading to the LoC. It was reported by Pakistani forces that at least twelve supporters of JKLF were killed and about 150 were injured as a result of their action.⁵⁵ The President and the General also promised to close the militants' training camps in their territory whilst India agreed to confidence-building measures designed to reduce the risk of border incidents getting out of control.⁵⁶ Burke claims, however, that by this time the ISI had already switched its support away from the JKLF, which favoured independence, to groups linked to Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) which fought for union with Pakistan.⁵⁷

An indication of the conflict within the Pakistani troika at this time was that, while these negotiations were taking place, Benazir Bhutto was away on an official tour to Middle Eastern countries to win support for Pakistan's position on Kashmir. There were suggestions that she sought to avoid having to discuss the Kashmiri issue with American officials. One member of the US mission claimed they tried to meet her on three occasions, but she failed to turn up. There was a

⁵¹ See Crawford, *Pivotal Deterrence*, pp. 170-1; Strobe Talbott, *Engaging India: Diplomacy, Democracy, and the Bomb* (Washington: The Brooking Institution, 2004), p. 20; Jeffery T. Richelson, *Spying on the Bomb: Intelligence from Nazi Germany to Iran and North Korea* (New York: Norton & Company, 2007), p. 429.

⁵² Akhtar, *Pakistan Year Book*, p. 330; Bhumitra Chakma, *Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons*, (New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 34.

⁵³ *South Asian Studies*, Volume 19, Issues 1-2, Centre for South Asian Studies, University of Punjab Pakistan, 2004, p. 149.

⁵⁴ Interview with Gen. Asad Durrani, Islamabad, 10 July 2012.

⁵⁵ *Toronto Star*, "Suicide March in Kashmir Leaves 12 Dead", p. 173.

⁵⁶ Talbott, *Engaging India*, p. 20.

⁵⁷ Burke, *Al-Qaeda*, p. 90.

suspicion she was avoiding direct talks with Gates so that President Ghulam Ishaq and General Baig would bear responsibility for subsequent actions. Later, she asserted that the Foreign Ministry withheld information from her and that she actually wanted to meet Gates. Whatever the truth of such assertions, the fact remained that both the Prime Minister and Defence Minister were out of the country when India and Pakistan were negotiating on Kashmir.⁵⁸

Although the immediate crisis of another Indo-Pakistani war was averted, armed resistance in Jammu continued through the 1990s and attracted violent militants from Afghanistan. They had little in common with the indigenous struggle of the Kashmiri people and were intent on implementing radical Islam among the moderate local Muslims as well as fighting Indian oppression. Thus, what had started as an insurgency over human and religious rights became dominated by a violent form of Islamic activism.⁵⁹ ISI support would bring Pakistan into US sights as a state sponsor of terrorism and attempts to bring them under control would direct the attentions of the militants onto Pakistan itself.

4.4 Iran

According to General Duranni, doubts about Pakistan's relationship with Iran were another principal reason for the deterioration in relations with Washington after the Cold War. Islamabad was told to abandon its relations with the Islamic regime. Pakistan refused. It had a large Shia population of fifteen to twenty percent, and the leader of the revolution in Iran, Ayatollah Khomeini, was popular not just among the Shias but also among the non-Shia population in Pakistan.⁶⁰ Here it is helpful to briefly reflect on Pakistani relations with, and attitudes to, Iran and how these affected relations with the US. Before the 1979 Islamic Revolution, the Shah of Iran had sided with Pakistan to counter India, because of Delhi's support for the pro-Soviet Nasser regime in Egypt, and had supported Pakistani repression of Baloch separatists as well as giving aid and energy on preferential terms. In addition to this, it was, and still is, strategically important for Pakistan to maintain a peaceful border with Iran so as not become

⁵⁸ P. R. Chari, et al., *Perception, Politics and Security in South Asia: The Compound Crisis of 1990* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), p. 103.

⁵⁹ Burke, *Al-Qaeda*, p. 92.

⁶⁰ Interview with Gen. Asad Durrani, Islamabad, 10 July 2012.

sandwiched between two hostile neighbours. Such co-operation was also helpful to US containment strategy.

After the revolution, however, the US came to view Iran as a prime security threat, so Pakistan's border strategy became yet another area where interests diverged. Despite the potential which the revolution held for political destabilisation in the region, Pakistan was anxious to maintain peaceful relations with the new regime. On the eve of the revolution Cabinet Minister Khurshid Ahmed met Khomeini in Paris to assure him Islamabad would work with him, and Pakistan was first in recognising the new Islamic Republic of Iran. After the Iran-Iraq War broke out in 1980, General Zia withstood considerable pressure from his two principal backers, the US and Saudi Arabia, and withheld support for Iraq. He also firmly rejected US proposals in 1984 to train Baloch-based Mujahidin to destabilise Iran.⁶¹ It became clear later that Pakistan had been transferring nuclear technology to Iran throughout the 1980s and in early 1990 General Baig visited Tehran where it is claimed he negotiated a nuclear deal with Iran's Revolutionary Guard saying, "Iran is willing to give whatever it takes, \$6 billion, \$10 billion. We can sell to Iran at any price."⁶² This did not help Pakistan's cause in the run-up to the imposition of sanctions.

General Baig, who had opposed intervention in Kuwait and predicted US defeat in the Gulf War, also proposed a policy of "strategic defiance" in which Iran, China and Pakistan would collaborate to meet the menace of US global hegemony.⁶³ Whilst this was provocative at the time, the idea of a tripartite relationship was not entirely new. Just as Pakistan had mediated between Mao and Nixon in 1974, it did the same between Deng Xiaoping and Khomeini after 1979. China had misread developments in Iran and supported the Shah in his anti-Soviet stance. Premier Hua Guofeng then paid an ill-judged visit to the Shah as his regime was crumbling in 1978 drawing condemnation from Khomeini and leading to a breakdown in relations. Agha Shahi, Zia's foreign policy advisor, then mediated an apology and a gradual rebuilding of Tehran-Beijing relations which

⁶¹ See Shah Alam, "Iran-Pakistan Relations: Political and Strategic Dimensions", *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. 28, No. 4, 2004, p. 531; Harsh V. Pant, "Pakistan and Iran: A Relationship in Search of Meaning" in Butt and Schofield (eds.), *Pakistan: The US, Geopolitics and Grand Strategies*, pp. 207-208.

⁶² Baig quoted in Alam, "Iran-Pakistan relations: Political and Strategic Dimensions", p. 541

⁶³ *Pakistan Horizon*, "Address by General Mirza Aslam Baig at the POF's Seminar in Wah Cantt on 2 December 1990", January 1991, pp. 146-148.

led to the Chinese supplying arms to Iran in its war with Iraq along with technology for its nuclear programme. Thus, during the 1980s, a strong Pakistan-Iran-China relationship developed.⁶⁴ This was useful to Pakistan since it brought together three allies against India and kept the Iranian border free from threat. Whilst it was clearly against US interests in relation to Iran it did have the advantage of being wholly anti-Soviet and all three collaborated with the US in the proxy war in Afghanistan. However, Baig's proposal was anti-US and increased Washington's concerns considerably, but he had overplayed his hand and was forced to retire in August 1991. He was replaced by the moderate and pro-Western, General Asif Nawaz who immediately cancelled the deal with Iran and ruled out future nuclear co-operation. These moves calmed nerves in Washington, but did not altogether remove concerns about Pakistan's reliability in America's eyes as far as Iran was concerned.⁶⁵

After Kabul fell to the Mujahidin in 1992 Iran and Pakistan found themselves increasingly at odds competing for influence in the anarchy of Afghanistan. This intensified after the Taliban took Mazar-e-Sharif in 1998 killing Iranian diplomats and thousands of Hazara Shiites. Despite this Iran welcomed Pakistan's nuclear tests as a demonstration that an Islamic nation could build nuclear weapons. However, the sectarian violence in Pakistan in which hundreds of Shias, including Iranian diplomats and nationals, have been killed, went on to inflame rivalries. In the aftermath of the US invasion of Afghanistan Iran would start to form a strategic partnership with India.⁶⁶

Despite the sectarian violence it would be wrong to conclude that popular opinion in Pakistan was wholly against Iran. The Islamic Revolution had much wider appeal beyond Iran and the Shia community. As Mandaville points out, it was seen as a Third World victory in which a popular rising had replaced Western-backed, neo-imperialists with an indigenous alternative regime.⁶⁷ In Pakistan and other Muslim countries, it had the added appeal of being an Islamic alternative at a time when Shia-Sunni rivalry had not developed to the proportions it would later assume. It is also likely that it would have resonated with Pakistani

⁶⁴ Alam, "Iran-Pakistan Relations: Political and Strategic Dimensions", pp. 535-536.

⁶⁵ Zahid Hussain, *Frontline Pakistan: The Struggle with Militant Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), p. 166.

⁶⁶ Alam, "Iran-Pakistan Relations: Political and Strategic Dimensions", p. 537.

⁶⁷ Peter G. Mandaville, *Global Political Islam* (Oxford: Routledge, 2007), p. 90.

anti-Americanism which was growing in the population as a whole through the 1970s and 1980s for a variety of reasons, which included American support for Zia's dictatorship.⁶⁸ This sentiment increased after the Pressler sanctions were imposed. Even after the upsurge of sectarian violence, Iran still continued to gain the approval of the majority of Pakistanis. Opinion polls showed that from 2006 to 2012 the proportion of Pakistanis expressing a favourable view of Iran ranged between 67-76 per cent.⁶⁹

This short review of Pakistan-Iran relations suggests that whilst the main divergence between Pakistani and US interests was about India there was also considerable divergence over Iran after the Islamic Revolution in 1979. However, it can also be claimed that Pakistan's interests in relation to Iran are still substantially India-centric. In this light, Duranni's claims that Pakistan's relationship with Iran was an added reason for the downturn in relations with the US, and that Khomeini was popular with both Shias and non-Shias, appear credible.

4.5 Clinton and Benazir Bhutto: A Partial Thaw

From a position of apparently unassailable popularity at the time of the Gulf War, Bush's approval ratings steadily declined, and he failed to get re-elected for a second term. Despite steering the world through the end of the Cold War and the first post-Cold War conflict, he was replaced by the Democrat, Bill Clinton, who had a long domestic agenda but less clarity about how to deal with the new world shaped by his predecessor.⁷⁰ The US was now the world's greatest military and economic power, but Clinton was soon confronted with a diverse range of foreign policy problems, which included bloody civil wars in Yugoslavia, Somalia, Liberia and Rwanda. These crises prompted calls for US humanitarian intervention. This was fuelled and complicated by the extensive reach of media coverage which caused an anonymous US official to observe, "Mr and Mrs Couch Potato want us to stop civil wars and save the hungry. They see

⁶⁸ Hamid Kizilbash, "Anti-Americanism in Pakistan", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 497, May 1988, pp. 61-62.

⁶⁹ Pew Research Global Attitudes Project, "Pakistan: Opinion of Iran" *Global Indicators Database*, 2014, <<http://www.pewglobal.org/database/indicator/25/country/166/>>, [Accessed 14 June 2014].

⁷⁰ LaFeber, *America, Russia and the Cold War, 1945-2006*, p. 374.

the military as the best way to do that, but when people get killed they won't stand for it."⁷¹ Then, just a few weeks after Clinton's inauguration, a foreign terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre, killed six people and caused extensive injuries and disruption, thus bringing international terrorism to US soil and adding this problem to Washington's mix of pressing foreign policy and security issues.

It was over the more familiar nuclear issue that the new US administration first had cause for concern. In January 1993, US intelligence reported that China had supplied nuclear capable M-11 missiles to Pakistan in violation of the Missile Technology Control Regime.⁷² This was an informal, voluntary association of countries which agreed to the non-proliferation of WMD delivery systems by coordinating international export licensing.⁷³ This time the US applied sanctions on China which affected \$1 billion worth of Chinese exports but had no impact on Pakistan.

However, it was not long before Clinton seriously took up the issue of international terrorism with Pakistan in a way which also suggested the Democrats might be returning to their pro-India disposition. The US was aware that Pakistan was supporting the insurgency in Kashmir. Warnings were given that Pakistan was in danger of being declared a state which sponsored terrorism, and put in the same category as Iran, Iraq, North Korea and Libya. This would have seriously damaged Pakistan's status and reputation all around the world and would have further limited its access to aid from international organisation like the World Bank and the IMF, never mind the US and the West more generally.⁷⁴

However, Clinton held back from fully blacklisting Pakistan and, instead, put it on a "watch list" of suspected state sponsors of terrorism for six months without formally admitting this had been done.⁷⁵ The director of the ISI, Javed Nasir, was also singled out for special attention. The CIA had developed a dislike for him because they suspected him of not co-operating in efforts to get the Afghan mujahidin to return the Stinger missiles provided by the US in the fight

⁷¹ *Newsweek*, 27 December 1993, p. 13.

⁷² Haass, *Economic Sanctions and American Diplomacy*, p. 167.

⁷³ M. Cherif Bassiouni, *International Criminal Law: Sources, Subjects and Contents* (The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2008), p. 40.

⁷⁴ Rhonda L. Callaway and Elizabeth G. Matthews, *Strategic US Foreign Assistance: The Battle between Human Rights and National Security* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), p. 175.

⁷⁵ B.K. Tewari, B.K. and Awadesh Kumar Singh, *India's Neighbours: Past and Future* (Rohtak, India: Spellbound Publications, 1997), p. 63.

against the Soviet occupation.⁷⁶ In addition, Nasir was accused of breaking an arms embargo in Bosnia by supplying arms and weapons to the Bosnian Muslim resistance.⁷⁷ Since the US was also backing the Bosnian Muslims by this time, Nasir largely escaped recriminations for the latter.

Nevertheless, the US insisted that Nasir be removed from office if Pakistan wanted to avoid being declared a terrorist state. These warnings had a galvanizing effect on Nawaz Sharif who sent Akram Zaki, of his Foreign Ministry, to Washington with assurances that his government would put an end to extremism and terrorism inside Pakistan. The new Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, made it plain that the US expected Pakistan to back this assurance with action and, accordingly, Islamabad cracked down on the Arab militants operating on its territory. As a result, many of them crossed the border and went to Afghanistan looking for sanctuary.⁷⁸ In addition, Nawaz Sharif removed Nasir, along with some other ISI officials, from their posts in May 1993. These actions were sufficient for Clinton to remove Pakistan from the “watch list” the following July. This was, however, against the advice of the CIA’s Counter-Terrorism Division.⁷⁹

There was further instability in Pakistan which resulted in the resignation of both Nawaz Sharif and President Ghulam as under heavy pressure from the military. This paved the way for fresh elections - the third in five years - which brought Benazir Bhutto back to power as Prime Minister.⁸⁰ With fresh leaders in both countries, US-Pakistan relations began to show some signs of improvement. Benazir Bhutto introduced some measures which won approval in Washington. One of the more important of these was the renewed targeting of drug traffickers. This was important in the US where the “War on Drugs” had been steadily promoted up the political agenda and had taken on an international dimension. Afghanistan was a major producer of opium and the porous border with Pakistan made it a prime smuggling route for onward distribution to the West.

⁷⁶ B. Raman, *The Kaoboy of R&AW: Down Memory Lane*, (New Delhi: Lancer Publishers, 2007).

⁷⁷ See Qaiser Butt, “Islamabad refuses to Hand over ex-ISI chief to Bosnia Tribunal”, *The Express Tribune*, 20 September 2011, <<http://tribune.com.pk/story/256199/islamabad-refuses-to-hand-over-ex-isi-chief-to-bosnia-tribunal/>> [Accessed 12 November 2013]; Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan’s Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army, and America’s War on Terror* (New York: East Gate Book, 2005), p. 148.

⁷⁸ Kux, *Disenchanted Allies*, p. 322.

⁷⁹ Raman, *The Kaoboy of R&AW*.

⁸⁰ Haass, *Economic Sanctions and American Diplomacy*, p. 167.

Relations also improved through a succession of reciprocal visits by top-ranking military leaders throughout 1994-95.⁸¹ Yet the nuclear issue remained a stumbling block. This prompted the Clinton administration to devise a new gradual strategy to deal with nuclear proliferation in South Asia which was to first cap WMDs, then reduce them over time, and eventually to eliminate them altogether. For Pakistan this meant that the US was not now aiming at abolishing existing capabilities or devices but simply hoping to stop any further development.⁸²

With this in mind, Strobe Talbott discussed with Pakistani officials the delivery of 28 F-16 fighter aircraft, which Pakistan had already paid for but which had never been delivered because of the Pressler sanctions. Talbott sought to use these aircraft as a means to persuade Islamabad to cap its programme and allow inspection of its nuclear facilities. However, Benazir Bhutto rejected the offer. "If we are unilaterally pressed for the capping, it will be discriminatory, and Pakistan will not agree."⁸³ Pakistan's Chief of Army Staff also rejected the proposal on the grounds that it was not possible to bargain over Pakistan's nuclear programme with F-16s or anything else. India was at the heart of this stand. Because the US did not force India to roll back its nuclear programme, this was seen by Pakistan as outright discrimination.

Pakistan's policy-makers also linked the nuclear programme with Kashmir. Benazir Bhutto emphasised the link and argued that Pakistan's nuclear programme was not the main source of instability in the region. "There cannot be peace in the region," she said, "without the peaceful resolution of the Kashmir

⁸¹ From the US side these included, General Tommy Frank of the US Training and Doctrine Command in January 1994; General Hoar of Central Command in July 1994; General Peay in December 1994 and August 1995; Under Secretary of Defence, Stocombo also in December 1994; a delegation headed by Edward Warner, Assistant Secretary of Defence, Strategy and Requirement, to participate in a seminar on Peacekeeping Operations at General Headquarters, Rawalpindi; and Lt. General Arnold, of the Central Command in April and September 1995. From the Pakistani side the Chief of Army Staff, General Abdul Waheed Khan, visited the US in March and April 1994. See, Ikramullah, "Unknown Soldiers Behind the Brown Amendment", *The Nation*, 8 October 1995; Muhammad Faiz Anwar, "US Sanctions Against Pakistan: Rationale and Impact (1990-2001)", *Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 2013, p. 29; and Hassan Askari Rizvi, "Pak-US Relations: The Latest Phase", *The Nation*, 3 October 1995.

⁸² Mitchell Reiss, *Bridled Ambition* (Washington DC: Wilson Centre Press, 1995), p. 262 quoted in Haass, *Economic Sanctions and American Diplomacy*, p. 166.

⁸³ John-Thor Dahlburg, "Pakistan and India Rebuff U.S. Proposal: Two Rival Nations are Cool to Strobe Talbott's Plan for Reducing Danger of Nuclear War", *Los Angeles Times*, 28 April 1994, <http://articles.latimes.com/1994-04-08/news/mn-43643_1_nuclear-war> [Accessed 18 November 2013].

issue.”⁸⁴ The US proposal thus failed as neither Pakistan nor India was willing to abandon their nuclear programme and allow international inspection of their nuclear facilities.⁸⁵

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, new geopolitical considerations were emerging in Central and South Asia in which Pakistan again potentially fulfilled a strategic role for the US. The five former Central Asian Republics of the USSR had become independent states at the very end of 1991 and were attracting interest because of the oil and gas there, notably in Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan. Being landlocked, it would be necessary to construct pipelines to get the oil and gas out to the world market. As a result, Pakistan, with its deep sea port at Gwadar, was perceived to be a key part of such a network. In addition, Pakistan appeared to be balancing the principles of Islam with secular democracy so it might act as successful model of moderation for other Muslim countries, particularly the Central Asian states, in preference to the more extremist Iranian model.

The US was also encouraged to work with Pakistan because it had been a partner on several peacekeeping operations around the world and co-operated in fighting terrorism and drugs trafficking. These factors, combined with the realisation that sanctions were not preventing nuclear proliferation, prompted the Clinton administration to work with Congress to undo the restrictions placed on it by the Pressler Amendment.⁸⁶ US Defence Secretary, William Perry, demonstrated this shift in thinking when he visited Pakistan in January 1995 and observed that the Pressler Amendment had failed to achieve its objective and instead had been counter-productive.⁸⁷ He also illustrated how it had created frustration and anti-American sentiment among the Pakistani population at large: “I have never been to a country where even the taxicab drivers and the school

⁸⁴ Zahid Hussain, “Benazir Bhutto says Pakistan Unwilling to Give up Nuclear Program”, *AP News Archive*, 20 November 1993, <<http://www.apnewsarchive.com/1993/Benazir-Bhutto-Says-Pakistan-Unwilling-to-Give-Up-Nuclear-Program/id-8e08a6a37bf38bb83dceafea2f3f5c7c>> [Accessed on 17 February 2013]

⁸⁵ See Haass, *Economic Sanctions and American Diplomacy*, p. 167; Pande, *Explaining Pakistan's Foreign Policy* pp. 105-106; R. Jeffrey Smith “US Proposes Sale of F-16s to Pakistan”, *Washington Post*, 23 March 1994, p. 27, quoted in Haass, *Economic Sanctions and American Diplomacy*, p. 167.

⁸⁶ Tamana, *United States-Pakistan Relations in the Post-Cold war Era*, pp. 30-32.

⁸⁷ Haass, *Economic Sanctions and American Diplomacy*, p. 167.

children know in detail about a law passed by the US Congress.”⁸⁸ The following April, Benazir Bhutto visited the US and put the case for changing the Pressler Amendment. She argued that it had frozen the US-Pakistan relationship and “rewards Indian intransigence and punishes Pakistani loyalty and friendship.”⁸⁹

This loyalty had been clearly shown only two months earlier when Pakistan and the US had successfully co-operated in a joint operation in Islamabad to apprehend Ramzi Yousef, the suspected mastermind behind the 1993 attack on the World Trade Center. Pakistan had also speeded up the arrangements for Yousef’s extradition to the US.⁹⁰ This enabled Clinton to give warm words of appreciation at the press conference concluding Benazir Bhutto’s visit, not just for Yousef’s capture but also for Pakistan’s help in peacekeeping operations. On the question of sanctions he said, “I plan to work with Congress to find ways to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and to preserve the aims of the of the Pressler amendment, while building a stronger relationship with a secure, more prosperous Pakistan.”⁹¹ Benazir Bhutto expressed her pleasure over Clinton’s remarks and hope for a resolution to the issue of the F-16 aircraft which she felt should either be delivered to Pakistan or the money reimbursed. However Clinton’s reference to this issue stressed the complications and limitations involved and was in stark contrast to Reagan’s bland assurances accompanying his annual certificates throughout the proxy Afghan campaign:

I intend to consult with [Congress] about what we ought to do about the airplane sale..... We cannot release the equipment. However Pakistan made payment. The sellers of the equipment gave up title and received the money, and now it’s in storage. I don’t think what happened was fair to Pakistan in terms of money. ... So, I intend to consult with Congress on that and see what we can do.⁹²

Where Reagan had been able to soothe Congress to allow aid to flow uninterrupted to Pakistan, Clinton now had to struggle to persuade it to ease restrictions. His aim was not to abandon Pressler but merely to negotiate revisions which would allow commitments entered into prior to the 1991 sanctions to be

⁸⁸ Rebecca K. C. Hersman, *Friends and Foes: How Congress and the President Really Make Foreign Policy* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 2000), p. 73.

⁸⁹ *The Tribune*, “Benazir Sticks to her guns on NPT”, 7 April 1995, p. 18, quoted in M. G. Chitkara, (1996), *Nuclear Pakistan*, (New Delhi: A.P.H. Publishing Corporation, 1996), p. 15.

⁹⁰ Armanini, *Politics and Economics of Central Asia*, p. 22.

⁹¹ Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, William J. Clinton, Bk. 1, January 1 to June 30, 1995, *National Archives and Records Administration*, Government Printing Office, 1995.

⁹² *Ibid.*

honoured. In addition he hoped to resume economic aid and military training.⁹³ To do this, he needed to work with the Republican Chairman of the Foreign Relations Sub-Committee for South Asia, Senator Hank Brown, who held a series of hearings to examine the effects of the Pressler Amendment. Some Cold War logic was revived which portrayed India as linked to Russia and Pakistan to the US, and that sanctions had produced a conventional imbalance of forces favouring India.⁹⁴

The evidence given on 14 September 1995 by Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs, Robin Raphel, was more telling in terms of how Pakistan was needed in the cause of post-Cold War US objectives. She stressed that while the Administration strongly supported the goal of curbing Pakistan's nuclear weapons programme, the legislation needed to be revised to fit current global realities:

Of most immediate concern are the Pressler roadblocks to cooperation with Pakistan's Government in areas such as combating terrorism and furthering U.S. commercial interests in a lucrative market, where U.S. firms need ... to level the playing field with their European competitors. ... Pressler sanctions have also changed Pakistani perceptions of their role in the world. For most of the past 40 years, Pakistan's strong, Western orientation has been continually reinforced by a broad range of contacts with the United States. Five years of sanctions have cut off contacts, training, and cooperative projects that reinforced this orientation. No one should be surprised if Pakistani military officers and civilians look elsewhere for training and contacts, and for inspiration and friendship. Given its troubled neighbourhood, Pakistan stands in danger, over time, of drifting in directions contrary to our fundamental interest and its own.⁹⁵

Senator Brown then introduced yet another amendment which was approved by 55 to 44 votes in the Senate and was signed into law by Clinton on 27 January 1996. The arguments in favour emphasised the loyalty of Pakistan to the US, the discriminatory nature of Pressler and the unfairness of its application. Brown claimed that waiving restrictions to sell Pakistan \$368 million of out-dated and old-fashioned equipment would not disturb the military balance in the subcontinent and suggested the US refusal to deliver aircraft or return money to Pakistan a breach of contract.⁹⁶

⁹³ Haass, *Economic Sanctions and American Diplomacy*, p. 167.

⁹⁴ Lloyds I. Rudolph and Sussane H. Rudolph, *Making US Foreign Policy towards South Asia: Regional Imperatives and the Imperial Presidency* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2008), p. 194.

⁹⁵ *Dispatch Magazine*, "Robin Raphel's Statement before the Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, DC, September 14, 1995", US Department of State Dispatch, Vol. 6, No. 39, 25 September 1995, <<http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/ERC/briefing/dispatch/1995/html/Dispatchv6no39.html>> [Accessed 13 November 2013].

⁹⁶ Rudolph and Rudolph, *Making US Foreign Policy towards South Asia*, pp. 193-194.

The original anti-proliferation campaigners also came out in favour of the new amendment, including Pressler, Glenn and Lugar, who had helped steer the Pressler Amendment through Congress.⁹⁷ The Brown Amendment removed non-military aid from the provisions of Pressler and gave the President authority for a one-off waiver to release military equipment embargoed since 1991. As a result, Clinton released \$368 million worth of military equipment, but was barred from releasing the F-16s since Congress had opposed this on the grounds that they could be used to deliver nuclear weapons.⁹⁸ New military aid would also continue to be barred, but limited assistance in key areas, such as peacekeeping, counter-terrorism and counter-narcotics, was resumed.

The Symington Amendment was still in place, however, and continued to embargo military training, investment guarantees and economic assistance from the US, particularly since intelligence reports revealed Pakistan had obtained ring magnets for enriching uranium from the Chinese, in addition to the M-11 missile launchers they had got in 1993.⁹⁹ Despite the warm rhetoric and the Congressional struggle, however, the Brown Amendment was a disappointment. Because the F-16s could not be released Clinton planned to sell them to a third party and reimburse Pakistan from the proceeds but the US was unable to persuade any eligible buyer to make a purchase. Although the remaining military hardware was released, the rest of the provisions of the Brown Amendment, such as the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), Trade and Development Assistance (TDA), and International Military Education and Training (IMET), were not implemented. As a result, the overall significance of the passing of the Brown Amendment proved to be rather limited.¹⁰⁰

Although this period of comparative thaw did not revive strong bilateral relations, Pakistan continued to help the US in its struggle against terrorism and drug trafficking. For example, a joint FBI-Pakistan operation caught Mir Aimal Kasi who was accused of killing two CIA agents outside their US headquarters in

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ James Wynbrandt, *A Brief History of Pakistan* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2009), p. 243.

⁹⁹ Haass, *Economic Sanctions and American Diplomacy*, pp. 167-168.

¹⁰⁰ See Muhammad Fiaz Anwar, "US Sanctions against Pakistan: Rationale and Impact (1990-2001)", *Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 2013, p. 29, <<http://pakistaniaa.org/index.php/pak/article/viewFile/224/233>> [Accessed 13 December 2013]; Michael Brzoska and George A. Lopez, *Putting Teeth in the Tiger: Improving the Effectiveness of Arms Embargoes* (Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing, 2009), p. 89.

January 1993, apparently in retaliation for US actions against Muslims. Kasi fled the US to shelter on the Afghan-Pakistan border where he was handed over to the FBI in June 1997 and flown to the US to be subsequently tried and executed. In a precursor of later incidents, there was widespread protest in Pakistan and the rest of the Muslim world because the proper extradition process had not been gone through. Four US oil workers in Pakistan were shot by gunmen in suspected revenge for what was widely seen as the “illegal abduction” of Kasi.¹⁰¹ These events caused tension between the US and Pakistan governments which were only exacerbated by the removal of Benazir Bhutto from power once again and the return of Nawaz Sharif as Prime Minister after elections in 1997.

The US-Pakistan thaw had another severe setback in May 1998 when, in response to five nuclear test explosions by India, Pakistan detonated six of its own and thus removed any doubt whatsoever about its capability. The US re-imposed economic sanctions but still tried to remain engaged with Pakistan. Clinton’s new Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, considered that engaging with Pakistan, rather than just imposing sanctions would best serve US interests.¹⁰² Instead, she set out three main aims for the US in South Asia: to prevent nuclear competition; to strengthen the global nuclear non-proliferation regime; and to improve the relationship between Pakistan and India by promoting dialogue between them. As part of this policy, the US offered to resume conventional military aid to Pakistan, it actively sought dialogue with India and the two countries signed formal agreements, including the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, to restrict the development of their nuclear weapons. Whilst expressing clear disapproval of Pakistan’s exploding a nuclear device in May 1998, Strobe Talbott said: “... the US understood and continues to understand your concerns with a nuclear-capable India and your desire to ensure that your vital security interests are protected”.¹⁰³ In the event, neither country signed the Test Ban Treaty, but they did declare a

¹⁰¹ *BBC News*, “Mystery remains over CIA deaths”, 15 November 2002, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/amer_icas/2416677.stm accessed on 05/09/2014> [Accessed 12 November 2013]; Joseph T. McCann, *Terrorism on American Soil, A Concise History of Plots and Perpetrators from the Famous to the Forgotten* (Boulder: Sentient Publications, 2006), pp. 177-181.

¹⁰² Madeleine Albright, *Interview for CNN’s Late Edition with Wolf Blitz*, as released by the US Department of State, Washington DC, 15 June 1998.

¹⁰³ Strobe Talbott, “Contours of Washington’s South Asia Policy I”, *The Nation*, 23 November 1998, cited in Tamana, *United States-Pakistan Relations in the Post-Cold war Era: The Pressler Amendment and Pakistan’s National Security Concerns*, p. 39.

suspension of further nuclear testing.¹⁰⁴ Thus, with the exception of the brief and limited respite of the Brown Amendment, the US Congress continued to support the Pressler Amendment right up to 22 September 2001.

4.6 After the End of the Soviet War in Afghanistan

While Washington and Islamabad were engaged in manoeuvring over sanctions, the situation in Afghanistan was evolving in a way which would come to have profound effects on global politics – and with specific implications for both the US and Pakistan. After the Soviet troops left Afghanistan in February 1989, the US had achieved its primary objective. The new CIA Director, William Webster, hosted a champagne party to celebrate and he received a congratulatory two-word cable from the US embassy in Islamabad which summed up the triumphal sentiment of the occasion. It said simply: “We won”¹⁰⁵

However, from the moment of American victory, Afghanistan lost its strategic importance to US policymakers. The former Director of the CIA, Robert Gates, observed that, “Afghanistan was a battlefield between the United States and the Soviet Union, now that the battle is ended, we have other agendas and other countries in mind and Afghanistan is not one of them.”¹⁰⁶ However, subsequent events demonstrate that Gates’ interpretation of the conflict was narrow, simplistic and misplaced. The war was clearly not just a Cold War struggle between the superpowers. It also encompassed a range of Islamic causes and regional security interests, many of which were contradictory and independent of the US and USSR. Gates was correct, however, in stating that the US had moved on to other things. President George Bush appointed an ambassador in Kabul, but he remained in Washington for security reasons. Clinton went even further and left the post unfilled when he took office.

Apart from the Soviet army, the belligerents had not left the battlefield and their battles were not over. Najibullah’s PDPA government did not fall immediately after the Soviet withdrawal. Instead, it remained in power until Soviet aid was withdrawn after the collapse of the USSR in December 1991. The

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Dick Camp, *Boots on the Ground: The Flight to Liberate Afghanistan from Al-Qaeda and the Taliban, 2001-2002* (Minneapolis, USA: Zenith Press, 2012), p. 73.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

Mujahidin, for its part, continued to receive aid from the ISI.¹⁰⁷ Finally, in 1992, the Mujahidin entered the Afghan capital of Kabul to overthrow the PDPA government. Najibullah was brutally murdered, and Burhanuddin Rabbani was installed on 28 June 1992 as President of the newly declared Islamic Republic of Afghanistan.

However, Rabbani was an unsatisfactory choice as far as Pakistan was concerned. He was a Tajik supported by Pakistan's rivals, Iran, Russia and India. Islamabad favoured the Pashtun, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and his Hezb-i-Islami group, which had undertaken to recognise the Durand Line between Pakistan and Afghanistan.¹⁰⁸ After the fall of the PDPA, the different Mujahidin groups turned on each other as they struggled for power. Warlords added to the chaos as the country was engulfed in a long and bloody civil war which was fuelled by outside powers supporting their own chosen faction and group.

There has been much criticism of the US for the chaos which overwhelmed Afghanistan after the Soviet withdrawal. Brigadier Gul and Colonel Hanif both felt that US managed the end of their involvement in the conflict poorly and too abruptly. Hanif considers it was their duty to deal with the groups which they had made powerful, to disarm them and to work for a stable government. Gul was unsure if this apparent oversight was deliberate or down to lack of political insight.¹⁰⁹ The political scientist Mehmood Ali Shah had no doubts and characterised it as "foolish and immature". He thought the US should have remained "until the formation of stable government in Afghanistan and then slowly and gradually evacuated."¹¹⁰

However, it is unclear how the US could have rebuilt the country. This had been a proxy war and the US had no presence of regular forces in the country when the Soviet war came to an end. Their influence on the different factions of

¹⁰⁷ Jayshree Bajoria and Eben Kaplan, "The ISI and Terrorism: Behind the Accusations", *Council on Foreign Relations*, 4 May 2011, <<http://www.cfr.org/pakistan/isi-terrorism-behind-accusations/p11644>> [Accessed 8 November 2013].

¹⁰⁸ Rasul Baksh Rais, "In the Shadow of Past: Pakistan's Afghan Policy", in C. Baxter (ed.), *Pakistan on the Brink: Politics, Economics, and Society* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), p. 37; Barnett R. Rubin, *Fragmentation of Afghanistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 112-114, quoted in Usama Butt and Julian Schofield (eds.), *Pakistan: The US Geopolitics and Grand Strategies* (Pluto Press, London, 2012), p. 56.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Brig. Agha Gul, Islamabad, 25 April 2012; Interview with Col. Hanif, Islamabad, 1 August 2012.

¹¹⁰ Interview with Mehmood Ali Shah, Quetta, 15 April 2012.

the Mujahidin was largely indirect and relied on Pakistan as the intermediary. In any case, Washington was not the only source of military and economic aid to the rebels. It would also have been difficult for the US to intervene militarily after the Soviet withdrawal. The Geneva Accords recognised the legitimacy of the Najibullah regime and did not demand its overthrow.¹¹¹ This was generally seen as a major problem with the accords, but they did not appear to legitimise the idea of forcible regime change. Supporters of the PDPA government, most notably the USSR, India and Iran, would have strongly opposed any military intervention from America.

It is also unclear how the US could have equitably disarmed the various factions since Pakistan had insisted on controlling the distribution of weapons and equipment. Proof that this flow could not be reversed lay in the fact that the US had been unable to retrieve the Stinger missiles which had been so decisive in the guerrilla campaign and that the Mujahidin were now determined to keep. This particular case highlights America's lack of influence in Afghanistan at the end of the war. This also casts doubt on America's claim to have won the war. On the contrary, Lieven claims that the ISI saw victory over the USSR as its own achievement.¹¹² The extent to which Pakistan could claim victory was also a matter of debate. Zia had played a leading role in the war, but he had been unable to determine the peace terms, which his successors found far from ideal from Pakistan's perspective.

General Duranni, was not critical of America's departure from Afghanistan. He argued that, "Wrapping up things in Afghanistan was the job of Afghans and then Pakistan and also to some extent the Iranians." However, the way Pakistan then went about "wrapping up", in the absence of the US, became very contentious. General Zia had obstinately opposed the Geneva Accord on the grounds that Afghanistan needed a government acceptable to the majority of its people and he had accordingly proposed an inclusive interim regime. Inclusivity was perceived to be as much a pragmatic as idealist matter.¹¹³ General Duranni emphasised the fact that Afghan society was highly disparate with independent

¹¹¹ Rosanne Klaas, "Afghanistan: The Accords", <<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/43385/rosanne-klaas/afghanistan-the-accords>> [Accessed on 9 August 2013].

¹¹² Lieven, A., *Pakistan: A Hard Country*, (London: Penguin Books, 2012), p. 189.

¹¹³ Interview with Gen. Asad Durrani, Islamabad, 10 July 2012.

tribes spread far and wide and in such a way that even a small faction could cause widespread destabilisation.

...if you want to bring back stability then the basic principle is a simple one: all the major factions in Afghanistan have to be agreed. Even the small factions ... So right from the beginning, all of us had just one thing in mind, how do you put these people together, how do we make that big Jirga. In those days we used to say 'broad-based government'.¹¹⁴

Colonel Hanif conceded that Pakistan had initially been in a good position to mediate because it had the confidence of many of the factions, but he felt it failed to take advantage of this.

No faction in Afghanistan was against Pakistan because we were supporting all those factions in Afghanistan against the USSR. Those factions became anti-Pakistani when later on Pakistan started supporting the Pashtun faction and then the Taliban. It was at that time, the Northern Alliance and other anti-Taliban elements became hostile to Pakistan.¹¹⁵

Hanif was not alone in criticising the strategy of supporting the Pashtun-based Hekmatyar at the expense of inclusivity. Ambassador Naqvi says this would only have worked if Hekmatyar had been acceptable to the rest of the Mujahidin which, of course, he was not. Naqvi also considered the basic assumption that Pakistan needed to side with the Pashtuns to be at fault. Afghanistan was a mix of Tajiks, Uzbeks and Hazaras as well as Pashtuns, and the Pashtun element was big enough to look after its own interests without Pakistan trying to fight battles on their behalf.¹¹⁶ In addition to his criticism of the US, Mehmood Shah was also critical of Pakistan which he felt should have treated Afghanistan as a sovereign, independent and respectable state and helped it become a stable, progressive country. For this to work, however, Shah added that all the neighbouring countries, Iran, India and the Central Asian states, would have to have done likewise. Otherwise, he argued, "... Afghanistan will remain unstable and if Afghanistan is unstable then the whole of Asia will be unstable, both Central and South Asia."¹¹⁷

Hanif argued that Pakistan and Iran should be singled out for particular blame. Instead of working jointly for a stable and peaceful Afghanistan they did the opposite and tried to dominate events to suit their own interests.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Interview with Col. Hanif, Islamabad, 1 August 2012.

¹¹⁶ Interview with Ambassador Sarwar Naqvi, 11 July 2012.

¹¹⁷ Interview with Mehmood Ali Shah, Quetta, 15 April 2012.

That was quite unfortunate for us. We interfered in Afghanistan's domestic affairs a lot. Therefore, I think it was a great mistake of both Iran and Pakistan that they didn't struggle for the establishment of peaceful and stable government in Afghanistan.¹¹⁸

Despite Zia's obstinacy in the cause of an inclusive regime, his successors appear to have gone in the opposite direction by backing their favoured faction against the others. This suggests the military concept of strategic depth was still paramount in the minds of the Pakistan leaders at the time. They mistakenly believed that the best way to maintain Pakistan security was through military proxies rather than promoting political stability in Afghanistan through diplomacy and compromise.

4.7 The Rise of the Taliban

The Taliban, an extreme Muslim movement following strict Islamic Sharia law, emerged out of the anarchy that gripped Afghanistan at this time. Led by Mullah Omar, the Taliban was founded in the Pashtun province of Kandahar, in the south of Afghanistan, where people were tired of endless hostilities among different warlords. There, the Taliban dispensed quick justice based on a mixture of Islamic laws and Pashtun practices. It is said the Taliban first came to prominence in spring 1994, when a warlord in Kandahar kidnapped and raped two girls. Mullah Omar led a band of 30 religious students (Talibs), armed with just 16 rifles, who freed the girls and hanged the warlord from a barrel of a tank. A few months later, a boy who two commanders wanted to sodomise was freed by Mullah Omar and his band of Taliban. As these stories became known, appeals started coming in from different parts of the country asking for the Taliban to help out in other local disputes. Thus, Mullah Omar emerged as a heroic figure who helped the poor against the cruel and the powerful. To add to his quickly growing reputation, Mullah Omar never asked for any kind of reward from the people he helped.¹¹⁹

Mullah Omar soon became Ameer (Head) of Kandahar. This is perceived to be a very significant position because other holders have often gone on to capture the whole of Afghanistan, the most prominent being Ahmed Shah Abdali.

¹¹⁸ Interview with Col. Hanif, Islamabad, 1 August 2012.

¹¹⁹ See Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Islam, Oil and the New Great Game in Central Asia* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2000), p. 25.

Mullah Omar was determined to follow this historic path, and he went out of his way to increase the number of his Talib followers. Over time, Taliban forces subdued provinces and captured the major cities of the country - Jalalabad, in 1995, Herat, and Kabul in 1996, and Mazar-i-Sharif, in northern Afghanistan, in 1997. Soon after this, the Taliban regime was formally recognised by Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.¹²⁰

Because of the later importance of the Taliban in US-Pakistan relations, it is important to consider the origins of the movement and the extent to which American or Pakistani agencies were instrumental in its creation. The political scientist Rasool Rais is clear that the Taliban emerged in the “vacuum of statelessness and hopelessness” that Afghanistan had become and in which the people craved security.¹²¹ Ambassador Ayaz Wazir, in an interview, stressed that Afghanistan at that time was highly chaotic, riven by uncontrolled and unaccountable warlords who took taxes and imposed disruptive tolls and that “everybody’s life [was] at risk, everybody’s honour [was] at risk, nobody was safe, nobody’s property or family was safe.” In these conditions the, “people of Afghanistan were ready to give their support to anyone, whether that was Mullah Omar or some other leader, who promised to bring peace and stability.”¹²²

The Taliban was a product of indigenous struggle which grew through promoting peace and stability in one province after the other.¹²³ General Duranni was clear that external forces, including Pakistan and the ISI, could not create such groups or even the environment in which such groups emerge. This was probably true, but the Taliban was largely welcomed as a force by fellow Pashtuns.¹²⁴ However, as Wazir pointed out, they faced greater problems when they marched north, out of the Pashtun areas and confronted the Tajiks, Uzbeks and Hazaras. It was at this point that the Taliban looked for assistance from external forces, including Pakistan and Saudi Arabia.¹²⁵ Despite this outside support, Brigadier Gul emphasised the Taliban’s independent and inward looking perspective. Mullah Omar was unwilling to take orders from others and had little

¹²⁰ Pande, *Explaining Pakistan’s Foreign Policy*, p. 78.

¹²¹ Interview with Rasul Baksh Rais, Islamabad, 25 July 2012.

¹²² Interview with Ambassador Ayaz Wazir, Islamabad, 20 May 2012.

¹²³ Interview with Ishtiaq Ahmed, Islamabad, 18 June 2012.

¹²⁴ Interview with Gen. Asad Durrani, Islamabad, 10 July 2012.

¹²⁵ Interview with Ambassador Ayaz Wazir, Islamabad, 20 May 2012.

idea how his regime would interact with the rest of the world. This failure contributed significantly to Afghanistan's isolation.

They controlled almost 94% - 95% of the total Afghanistan, but Mullah Omar did not have a geo-strategy, any geo-political or military knowledge. ... The only thing they were able to do significantly was [secure] peace in Afghanistan. Narcotics cultivation had been stopped but other than this, their diplomacy was awful All the countries of the world need alliances for commerce, for trade and for your economic well-being, but the Taliban government didn't have any such policy.¹²⁶

Pakistan abandoned Hekmatyar when it became clear in 1994 that he was losing ground to other groups and transferred its support to the Taliban.¹²⁷ Mullah Omar was already well known to the ISI because he had trained in their camps in the 1980s and fought against the USSR in Afghanistan.¹²⁸ Indeed, most of the Taliban were children of the anti-Soviet jihad, and many were born in refugee camps in Pakistan and educated in Madrassas.¹²⁹ Practically all members of the Taliban were from Afghanistan's main ethnic Pashtun group. They were Sunnis, following strict Islamic Sharia law.

Pakistan favoured the Pashtun because they made up the majority in Afghanistan and enjoyed significant support in the Pakistan military and the ISI. At least twenty percent of the military were of Pashtun background whilst the ISI tended to favour the Taliban's radical view of Islam.¹³⁰ A sympathetic government in Kabul was seen by these groups as essential for security reasons, even if the Taliban never supported Pakistan on what the government saw as the vital issue of the Durand line. Nevertheless, Islamabad hoped that the Taliban might improve Pakistan's relations with the newly independent states of Central Asia.¹³¹ The Afghan civil war was preventing trade and the supply of oil and gas from those areas.¹³² If a sympathetic Taliban regime could succeed in re-

¹²⁶ Interview with Brig. Agha Gul, Quetta, 25 April 2012.

¹²⁷ Rashid, *Taliban*, p. 26.

¹²⁸ See Bruce O. Riedal, *Avoiding Armageddon: America, India, and Pakistan to the Brink and Back* (Uttar Pradesh: HarperCollins, 2013), p. 194.

¹²⁹ Rashid, *Taliban*, p. 23.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 26.

¹³¹ Patrick Clawson, *Strategies Assessment 1997: Flashpoints and Force Structure* (Washington: National Defence University, Institute for National Strategic Studies, 1997), p. 122.

¹³² Rashid, *Taliban*, p. 26; Jeanne K. Giraldo and Harold A. Trinkunas, (eds.), *Terrorism Financing and State Responses: A Comparative Perspective* (California: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 97.

establishing stability in Afghanistan, this could have significant economic and political benefits for Islamabad.¹³³

The ISI was the main conduit for aid to the Taliban, and the agency's officers also served as military advisers.¹³⁴ Several Taliban offensives were extremely well planned and executed with a swift, effective style of warfare that could only have been possible with the assistance of the Pakistani military and the ISI.¹³⁵ The future military dictator of Pakistan, General Musharraf, explained why it had been essential to maintain support for the Taliban even after it had taken power. "If we had broken with them, that would have created a new enemy on our western border, or a vacuum of power there into which might have stepped the Northern Alliance comprising of anti-Pakistan elements."¹³⁶ Musharraf had India in mind when he talked about anti-Pakistan elements. Delhi had perceived a victory for the Taliban as a victory for Pakistan. It had, therefore, airlifted fuel supplies to the Northern Alliance which was the only military opposition to the Taliban on the ground in Afghanistan.¹³⁷

There is also evidence to suggest that Washington also backed the Taliban. The official US line was that it supported the UN mission which sought to negotiate with the warring factions and establish an Interim Council. However Brigadier Gul recalled that the CIA started taking an interest the Taliban in 1995, at the time they were taking Jalalabad and Herat.

Once I was asked by the US defence attaché in Islamabad, "Who are the Taliban?" My answer to him was, "you tell me who the Taliban are". And he started laughing and said that I hear the ISI is supporting them. I said that I hear that CIA is supporting them too. So there was a climate of doubt and suspicion.¹³⁸

Also in 1995 there were signs that the Clinton administration favoured Mullah Omar's movement. Assistant Secretary of State, Robin Raphel, reported to Congress on the Afghan situation and picked out the Taliban as the one group that favoured a peaceful solution.

The reluctance of factional leaders to relinquish their personal power for the overall good of Afghanistan remains the major obstacle [to peace and stability in Afghanistan]. While

¹³³ *The National Security Archive*, "Pakistan: The Taliban's Godfather", National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 227, 14 August 2007.

¹³⁴ A. Z. Hilali, *US-Pakistan Relationship: Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 248.

¹³⁵ Giraldo and Trinkunas, *Terrorism Financing and State Responses*, p. 196.

¹³⁶ Pervaiz Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2006), p. 203.

¹³⁷ Interview with Brig. Agha Gul, Quetta, 25 April 2012.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

the intentions of the Taliban movement are unclear, its leadership has expressed support in principle for a peaceful political process.¹³⁹

Taliban intentions became clearer in 1996 when they captured the Afghan capital and began to impose repressive laws which their religious police (the Ministry of Enforcement of Virtue and Suppression of Vice) implemented with violent measures which included the frequent use of the death penalty. The Taliban banned television, music and dance and forced every male in Afghanistan to wear a beard. Their code also prohibited women from attending schools or working outside their homes except in some aspects of health care.¹⁴⁰ Despite these repressive laws, the US seemed reluctant to raise objections.

Raphel later noted that there were “misgivings” at the time, but stressed that the Taliban was an “indigenous” movement that had fought legitimately to “stay in power”.¹⁴¹ A State Department spokesman, Glyn Davies, said that, “the United States finds nothing objectionable in the policy statements of the new government, including its move to impose Islamic law.”¹⁴² Although there was growing evidence of the Taliban’s suppression of women and its increasing cruelty towards the people of Afghanistan, and most particularly non-Pashtuns, it was argued that the US did nothing because the Taliban was perceived to be anti-Iranian, anti-Shia, and apparently pro-Western.¹⁴³

General Aslam Baig claims the US went beyond just tolerating the Taliban and was far more pro-active. Indeed it is doubtful that the Taliban would have been so successful without US support.¹⁴⁴ It was not possible for Pakistan, with its weak economy, to finance such a costly adventure on its own. The Taliban was getting some of its finances from tolls on transport and the drug trade, but this was not enough to pay for their expensive and long-term military expeditions against powerful rival forces. Meher claims that Pakistan had continued to act as a conduit for substantial financial assistance from Saudi

¹³⁹ Statement by Robin Raphel Assistant Secretary Of State for South Asian Affairs before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Near Eastern And South Asian Affairs, 7 March 1995, <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/ac_ad/intrel/raphael.htm> [Accessed 06 September 2013].

¹⁴⁰ Kenneth Katzman, “Afghanistan: Current Issues and US Policy Concerns” in Lydia M. Buyers (ed.), *Central Asia in Focus: Political and Economic Issues* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2003), p. 199.

¹⁴¹ Robert E. Ebel and Rajan Menon Ebel (eds.), *Energy and Conflict in Central Asia and the Caucasus*, (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000), p. 199.

¹⁴² Camp, *Boots on the Ground*, p. 74.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ebel and Menon, *Energy and Conflict in Central Asia and the Caucasus*, pp. 199-200.

Arabia in a triangular relationship with the US.¹⁴⁵ Officials in Washington deny that they supported the Taliban and point to the fact that the US government spoke against the violation of human rights in Afghanistan, including those of women, and also supported the UN effort to build a broad-based transitional government in Afghanistan.¹⁴⁶ However, this position was undermined by Benazir Bhutto when she told the BBC on 14 October 1996 that “the United States and Britain supplied weapons to the Taliban on money provided by Saudi Arabia.”¹⁴⁷ Further support for the idea of the US backing the Taliban was provided by Congressman Rohrabacher who had tried to arrange the supply of humanitarian aid for a non-Taliban area, but claimed he was blocked by Clinton’s Assistant Secretary of State, Karl Indefurth (who had replaced Raphel on South Asian Affairs). Rohrabacher told the House of Representatives on 19 July 2004:

We knew it was clear that the United States was supporting the Taliban, but what is even more poignant, most Afghans believed that the Taliban were created by the United States of America and that they had our support. ... If there was any doubt about my suspicions about U.S. policy, it was confirmed in 1997 when high-level executives from the Clinton administration saved the Taliban from total defeat and extinction. ... We knew by that time that the Taliban were evil. Yet we helped save them because we had made a deal with Pakistan and with Saudi Arabia to create the Taliban and to keep them in power.¹⁴⁸

Thus the claims of Gul, Baig and Benazir Bhutto, from the Pakistani side, and of Rohrabacher, from the US side, suggest that some elements of the US security establishment were actively involved in supporting the Taliban. Whether Raphel knew or approved is in doubt. In 1995, she told Congress:

Outside assistance to individual faction leaders has only strengthened their intransigence. We have worked hard with like-minded states to stop material support and funding for the belligerent factions, and to support the UN efforts to foster a return of peace and stability to Afghanistan.¹⁴⁹

If the rich natural resources of Central Asia were attracting regional interest they were also attracting strong interest from international energy corporations, including those in the US. A primary problem all had to address,

¹⁴⁵ Jagmohan Meher, *America’s Afghanistan War: The Success that Failed* (New Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2004), p. 205.

¹⁴⁶ Barnett Rubin, “Afghanistan”, *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 1 December 1996, <<http://fpif.org/afghanistan/>> [Accessed 19 October 2013].

¹⁴⁷ Anwar-ul-Haq Ahady, “Saudi Arabia, Iran and the Conflict in Afghanistan”, in William Maley (ed.), *Fundamentalism Reborn?: Afghanistan and the Taliban* (London: Penguin Books., 2001), p. 132.

¹⁴⁸ *United States of America Congressional Record*, “Congressman Dana Rohrabacher speech in the House of Representative on 19 July 2004”, Government Printing Press, USA, pp. 1618-1619.

¹⁴⁹ Statement by Robin Raphel Assistant Secretary Of State for South Asian Affairs before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Near Eastern And South Asian Affairs 7 March 1995, <<http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/raphael.htm>> [Accessed 06 September 2013].

though, was how to get physical access through these landlocked states. This, in turn, raised problems of political access and support in transit states as well as governments in the Central Asian states themselves. The only access options for the West were through Russia, Iran or Afghanistan. The Russian route was expensive and Moscow could not be relied upon to give an easy entry to the US. The most economical option would have been through Iran but hostile relations made this mutually unacceptable to both Tehran and Washington. Therefore the only remaining option was through Pakistan and Afghanistan.¹⁵⁰

Thus, US policy makers were now pressured by energy companies, particularly the Unocal Corporation, over the need for a stable authority with whom they could make a sustainable deal. Some of the most significant energy resources were in South Turkmenistan where vast gas fields were discovered near Daulatabad in the early 1990s. The newly independent government of Turkmenistan was still largely dependent on Soviet infrastructure which included a heavily used pipeline system which took existing supplies of natural gas to Russia, so alternative routes for new pipelines had to be explored. An Argentinean company called *Bridas* proposed to build such a pipeline but, in 1995, Turkmenistan broke with them in favour of a deal with the US Unocal Corporation.¹⁵¹

By 1997 the Taliban had taken Mazar-i-Sharif and were in control of much of the country so Unocal invited three of its representatives to the US in December 1997.¹⁵² They stayed for five weeks in a five star hotel in Texas where future President, George W. Bush, was Governor at the time. They visited Unocal's headquarters and met US officials including Thomas Gouttierre, a consultant with Unocal, who was also paid by the US for his services in Afghanistan.¹⁵³ They had dinner with Martin Miller, the vice-president of Unocal, who served them halal food. Unocal promised that despite instability in Afghanistan, it would start building the pipeline very soon. Unocal was assured by the Taliban that its pipeline and workers would be safe. In the last days of their

¹⁵⁰ Kalim Bahadur, *Democracy in Pakistan: Crisis and Conflict* (New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications, 1998), p. 211.

¹⁵¹ Richard Pomfret, *The Central Asian Economies Since independence*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 159.

¹⁵² Camp, *Boots on the Ground*, pp. 74-76.

¹⁵³ Louis D. Cruz, *Unmitigated Disaster*, Volume 1, (USA: Xlibris Corporation, 2012), p. 80.

stay, the Taliban representatives were invited to Washington to meet State Department officials, which prompted Lees to observe:

The US government, which in the past has branded the Taliban's policies against women and children “despicable”, appears anxious to please the fundamentalists to clinch the lucrative pipeline contract. The Taliban is likely to have been impressed by the American government's interest as it is anxious to win international recognition.¹⁵⁴

International recognition was indeed an important bargaining point and the Taliban agreed to a \$2 billion pipeline deal with Unocal only on the condition that the US officially recognised its government in Afghanistan. The Clinton administration started debating the possibility of *de facto* and *de jure* recognition of the Taliban government. Although Assistant Secretary of State Indefurth had expressed concern to the Taliban representatives about human rights and drug trafficking, their policies towards women hardened even further the following year and became a block to US recognition.¹⁵⁵ There is evidence that Pakistan was also pressuring the Taliban to agree the deal. Brigadier Gul was under no illusion that Pakistan had told them to let Unocal lay the pipeline from Turkmenistan but blamed their intransigence for the collapse of the deal. “They had their minds set, and they didn’t want to listen to others.”¹⁵⁶

Where the government was constrained by human rights issues, Unocal itself was less fussy. It donated \$900,000 to the Centre of Afghanistan Studies at the University of Omaha, Nebraska. This was the same institution that Ishtiaq Ahmed claimed had been instrumental in establishing the jihadi curriculum for the madrassas (see the previous chapter). This time the Centre set up a training and humanitarian aid programme for the people of Afghanistan and opened a school in Kandahar. It was run by Gerald Boardman who had formerly headed the US Agency for International Development in Peshawar which had provided cross-border assistance to the Mujahidin. The school trained some 400 Afghan teachers, electricians and pipe-fitters to help Unocal lay the pipeline. This made the anti-Taliban elements, including Russia and Iran, convinced that Unocal was funding the Taliban.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ Caroline Lees, “Oil Barons Court Taliban in Texas”, *Daily Telegraph* (UK), 14 December 1997.

¹⁵⁵ David G. Victor, et al., *Natural Gas and Geopolitics: From 1970 to 2040* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 221.

¹⁵⁶ Interview with Brig. Agha Gul, Quetta, 25 April 2012.

¹⁵⁷ Rashid, *Taliban*, p. 171.

The Taliban delegation to the US also met with Michael Malinowski, Director of the Pakistani, Afghanistan and Bangladesh Bureau. They discussed the Saudi terrorist financier, Osama bin Laden who, Malinowski argued, had damaged the image of Afghanistan to the world. The Taliban delegation assured Malinowski that bin Laden was simply a guest and would not cause any trouble.¹⁵⁸ However, when al-Qaeda bombed US embassies in Tanzania and Kenya on 7 August 1998, the Taliban's hospitality to al-Qaeda began to back-fire. In response, the US bombed terrorist training camps in the Afghan border areas where they believed bin Laden was located. Mullah Omar claimed the camps had already been closed and said the attacks showed America's enmity towards the Afghan people. He was defiant that bin Laden would never be handed over to America.

Pakistan announced that one of the US missiles hit a Pakistani border village killing five people which sparked anti-US demonstrations by the JUI and other Islamist parties. This also led to contradictory claims between the Pakistani government and the military about who knew what before the attack. Foreign Minister Sartaj Aziz said they had received no warning and had provided the US with no facilities for the attack. He still did not condemn the attack and only described it as unfortunate. The Pakistani military seemed to challenge this view of events. It was admitted that US General Ralston was in Islamabad at the time of the attacks and that the military was aware of imminent attacks against the Afghan terrorist camps. The military later said that they had objected to the attacks and wrote to that effect to Nawaz Sharif. The report of the explosion in the border village was later retracted, though two unexploded missiles did land on Pakistani territory.

In the days that followed, aid agencies started withdrawing from Afghanistan and Unocal suspended its pipeline project indefinitely.¹⁵⁹ UN sanctions were imposed on Afghanistan, and Pakistan was left to wrestle with an influx of yet more refugees and illicit smuggling in its volatile border regions. Foreign Minister Abdus Sattar observed, "United Nations agencies, bilateral donors, the United States, the United Kingdom and others have simply walked

¹⁵⁸ Camp, *Boots on the Ground*, pp. 74-76.

¹⁵⁹ *BBC News*, (1999), "Special Report: US Strikes", 16 February 1999, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/special_report/1998/08/98/us_strikes/155347.stm> [Accessed 07 September 2014].

away since 1989. But we can't do that."¹⁶⁰ Osama bin Laden escaped the American bombs and it would be more than another twelve years before the US finally dealt with him.

4.8 Musharraf: Another Military Coup

There was another crisis in relations between Pakistan and the US when Nawaz Sharif was overthrown by the military in October 1999. Pakistan's Chief of Army Staff, General Pervez Musharraf, suspended both the constitution and parliament and named himself as the Chief Executive of Pakistan. He justified his coup by claiming that Nawaz Sharif's recent interference in the affairs of the armed forces had contributed to turmoil and uncertainty in the country.¹⁶¹ President Clinton urged Musharraf to quickly return the country to democracy. "Pakistan's interests," he said, "would be served by a prompt return to civilian rule and a restoration of the democratic process. I urge that Pakistan move quickly in that direction."¹⁶²

Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Thomas Pickering, expressed his country's disappointment at the suspension of democracy in Pakistan. At a Foreign Policy Forum at George Washington University on 6 December 1999, he stated that the only option open was the re-imposition of sanctions.

Until we see a restoration of civilian democratic government in Pakistan, we have made it clear we would not be in a position to carry out business as usual with Pakistani authorities. Section 508 of the Foreign Operational Appropriations Act contains a prohibition against a broad range of assistance for any country whose democratically elected head of government is deposed by military coup or decree. We are now in a process of making a legal determination that such sanctions should be applied.¹⁶³

Congress approved the sanctions, but since Pakistan was already suffering under the Pressler, Symington and Glen amendments, the new sanctions had little impact.

¹⁶⁰ *BBC NEWS*, (1999), "Pakistan Fears Afghan Exodus", 19 November 1999, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/528153.stm> [Accessed 7 September 2014].

¹⁶¹ Sean D. Murphy, *United States Practice in International Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 19.

¹⁶² *BBC News*, "Clinton Urges Return to Civilian Rule", 14 October 1999, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/473507.stm> [Accessed 05 December 2013].

¹⁶³ Murphy, *United States Practice in International Law*, p. 20.

A tour of South Asia had already been planned for Clinton in March 2000. Because of the coup he was initially unwilling to keep his commitment to visit Pakistan, but ultimately decided to go. During this landmark tour, Clinton spent a glorious five days in India and a tense five hours in Pakistan.¹⁶⁴ The obvious contrast between the two visits illustrated the President's complete disenchantment with Pakistan and his country's tilt towards India.¹⁶⁵ Clinton even refused to shake hands with Musharraf in front of the cameras.¹⁶⁶ In Islamabad, Clinton met General Musharraf and urged him to develop a time-table for restoring democracy. He also encouraged him to use Pakistan's good relationship with the Taliban government to persuade them to close down the terrorist training camps in Afghanistan. Musharraf agreed to take up the issue of terrorist camps with the Taliban but gave no time-table for national elections.¹⁶⁷ However, as a result of an earlier visit in 2000 by US officials, the FBI was committed to training Pakistani police officers in counter-terrorism.¹⁶⁸ This proved far-sighted in the light of 9/11 which occurred less than a year after the agreements were made.

4.9 Strategic Outcomes for the US and Pakistan

Assessing the consequences of the relationship for the US in this period is complex because its strategies and interests were being reformulated and were no longer driven by the Cold War. First, Bush (Senior) and then Clinton had to work out what America would do with its undisputed power now that its central focus had collapsed and world politics began to fragment into a variety of more ambiguous problems with varying degrees of relevance to US security. Bush's first preoccupation was with steering the Western alliance safely through the potential dangers of the Soviet collapse. Thereafter he veered between intervention against Iraq, where oil supplies were threatened, and minimal intervention to support freedom and democracy elsewhere, such as in

¹⁶⁴ Daniel S. Markey, *No Exit from Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 179.

¹⁶⁵ Kux, *Disenchanted Allies*, p. 358.

¹⁶⁶ Iftikhar H. Malik, "Pakistan in 2000: Starting Anew Stalemate?" *Asian Survey*, Vol. 41, No. 1, 2001, p. 113.

¹⁶⁷ Armanini, *Politics and Economics of Central Asia*, p. 11.

¹⁶⁸ LePoer, B. L., "Pakistan-US Relations", CRS Issue Brief for Congress, 31 December 2001, p. 14, <<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/7859.pdf>> [Accessed 27 October 2013].

Yugoslavia.¹⁶⁹ Once it was clear the USSR was under strain and seriously wanted a way out of its Afghan debacle, Pakistan became a problem again. Zia's obstinate opposition impeded negotiations over the Geneva Accords but, for whatever reason, the US got its way by the required deadline. After that Pakistan became a problem in two more ways. First was the nuclear programme where, after years of indulgent wilful blindness, the US could once again condemn and sanction Pakistan in the cause of non-proliferation. However, the Afghan interlude had been long enough for Pakistan to cross all America's thresholds and red lines, so sanctions had little effect other than to vindicate the pro-sanctions lobby in Congress and to make Pakistan feel betrayed yet again. At the same time, it is unlikely that this would have gone unnoticed in India where, with the USSR gone, the possibilities for that "first choice" relationship were brighter. The second problem Pakistan posed for Bush's foreign policy was over Kashmir, not just in relation to potential nuclear war, but because of the infiltration of former Mujahidin freedom fighters who now became labelled as terrorists. Though the US pressured Pakistan into taking action in this instance it was unable to address the bigger issue of what to do with the heavily armed and radicalised irregular forces that had won one conflict in the cause of Islam and were looking for others.

Like Bush, Clinton had unfinished Cold War business to conclude in dismantling the Soviet nuclear stockpile outside Russia. Beyond that he set out to focus foreign policy on elevating the role of economics, along with US business interests, and enlarging the reach of democracy around the world.¹⁷⁰ Although he had pledged to concentrate on domestic policies, Clinton was drawn into a range of foreign interventions as global politics became increasingly complex through technology, nationalisms, uneven economic development and religious fundamentalism.¹⁷¹ Pakistan had contributed to US efforts in humanitarian interventions and the continuing "War on Drugs", but it had worked against them on nuclear proliferation. Just as Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus had been cleared of nuclear weapons, Pakistan showed India and the world that successive US sanctions and inducements had been a complete failure and that it now had its

¹⁶⁹ Stephen E. Ambrose and Douglas G. Brinkley, *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy since 1938* (London: Penguin Books, 1997), p. 378.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p. 399.

¹⁷¹ LaFeber, *America, Russia and the Cold War, 1945-2006*, p. 396.

own nuclear arsenal. This not only increased the risks of nuclear war in the region but became a role model for the likes of North Korea, Iran, Iraq and Libya. A big fear had been that Soviet nuclear weapons would find their way to less stable states or non-state activists. Pakistan now added another fear that their proven technology and know-how could be easily exchanged.

However, for much of Clinton's term, Pakistan appeared to be contributing positively to his aspirations for democratic enlargement. Although the Pakistani model of democracy was imperfect by US standards, it illustrated how Islam and democracy could be combined. Benazir Bhutto's positive reception in the West may have obscured the realities of Pakistani politics but it encouraged continued engagement. This then collapsed with Musharraf's coup as another military dictator arose in an Islamic state, this time armed with nuclear weapons and exportable technology. On these issues alone Pakistan's actions had made the world a more dangerous place for the US.

More dangers arose out of Afghanistan and the evolution of the Mujahidin, in which both Pakistan and the US played key roles. Inclusive politics gave way to chaos and armed anarchy which gave birth to the Taliban, first as a welcome provider of justice and stability but later as an abhorred provider of hospitality to the vehemently anti-US Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaeda training camps. There is clear evidence that Pakistan, along with others, strongly supported the Taliban and more contested evidence that the US did likewise. At first, this looked as though it would help US economic expansion by providing stability for the trans-Afghan pipeline and North-South trade routes to Central Asian resources and markets, but this collapsed as increasing Taliban repression made them unacceptable partners. The commercial implications of this were significant since it handed the initiative to China to claim much of the Central Asian energy, raw materials and trade to fuel its expanding economic power. Then, nine years after the Soviet withdrawal, the US realised it had a different enemy in Afghanistan when al-Qaeda blew up its embassies. The only positive which the US could draw from Afghanistan was that the Taliban had kept Iranian influence there at bay.

However, by the time Clinton visited South Asia in 2000 he remarked that it was, “the most dangerous place in the world today”.¹⁷²

For Pakistan, over twenty-five years of perseverance had paid off and it had finally come out of the nuclear closet. This had not given them an advantage over India, who had got there many years before, but it compensated for their comparative weakness in conventional forces and the prospect of mutually assured destruction evened the score considerably. Here it is helpful to consider the extent to which nuclear deterrence increased or decreased the propensity for conflict between the two states. Pakistan’s former Army Chief, General Baig, was clear about the benefits: “Far from talk of nuclear war, there is no danger of even a conventional war between India and Pakistan. ... As compared to previous years, there is no possibility of an India-Pakistan war now.”¹⁷³

Even before Pakistan’s public tests it was being argued that its nascent nuclear capability had made an indispensable contribution to deterring aggression and maintaining peace and stability.¹⁷⁴ The case for this rests on the fact that, despite tensions and incidents, outright war had been avoided during the 1990’s and beyond. During the 1990 Kashmir crisis, Mushahid Hussain claims that Pakistani policy makers and defence planners were convinced that it was the fear of nuclear retaliation that stopped India from attacking Pakistan even though its ground troops were apparently poised for a surgical strike.¹⁷⁵ This is supported from the Indian side. Subrahmanyam concluded that mutual nuclear capability induced mutual caution by comparing 1965, when India launched an invasion in response to Pakistani infiltration in Kashmir, to 1990, when Pakistan once again infiltrated Kashmir but India chose to deal with the problem just on its own territory.¹⁷⁶

Indian nuclear strategists also argued that atomic capabilities on both sides had moderated actions between the two states.¹⁷⁷ However, Sasikumar contended

¹⁷² *BBC News*, “Analysis: Clinton’s disappointments in South Asia”, 26 March 2000, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/691339.stm> [Accessed 9 September 2012].

¹⁷³ P. Sahadevan, *Conflict and Peace-Making in South Asia* (New Delhi: Lancer’s Books, 2001), p. 127.

¹⁷⁴ Abdul Sattar, “Reducing Nuclear Dangers in South Asia”, *Regional Studies*, Islamabad, Volume 8, No. 1, Winter 1994-95, p. 20.

¹⁷⁵ Mushahid Hussain cited in Chakma, *Pakistan’s Nuclear Weapons*, p. 34.

¹⁷⁶ K. Subrahmanyam, K., “Capping, Managing, or Eliminating Nuclear Weapons?” in Kanti P. Bajpai and Stephen P. Cohen (eds.), *South Asia after the Cold War: International Perspective* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993), p. 184.

¹⁷⁷ M. Granger Morgan, et al., “India and the United States”, *Washington Quarterly*, Volume 18, No. 2, 1994, p. 164.

that Pakistan was engaging in nuclear brinkmanship in 1990 and that acquiring nuclear capability had encouraged it to engage in low-intensity conflict.¹⁷⁸ This interpretation portrayed India and Pakistan as a miniature of US-Soviet confrontation in which nuclear weapons deterred direct war but encouraged indirect, proxy conflicts. These arguments were weakened by the later 1999 Kargil War, in which Indian and Pakistani militaries made incursions and did confront each other directly, but India still held back from the kind of full scale invasions it had made prior to nuclear deterrence. This, together with evidence of India's and Pakistan's use of proxies in Afghanistan, as well as Kashmir, suggests that Sasikumar was largely correct.

If nuclear deterrence had reduced the intensity and directness of Indo-Pakistan conflict it had not solved the underlying problems of the Kashmir crisis. This raises the question as to whether it might have been possible for the US to use its global leadership to help resolve this conflict. Clinton had devoted considerable time and political influence to Northern Ireland where the dangers to US security were insignificant compared with South Asia. Kashmir had become not just a potential nuclear flashpoint but was also developing into a pan-Islamic grievance which both attracted and inspired fundamentalism.¹⁷⁹ However, there appear to be two particular reasons why Clinton could not use his influence here. First was the intransigence of both sides, particularly their respective militaries, which was reinforced by the sacrifices each had made to the cause. Excluding the thousands killed in 1947, over 16,000 soldiers had died there along with 50,000 to 100,000 civilians, insurgents and Indian security personnel.¹⁸⁰ Second, neither side viewed the US as impartial. India rejected international mediation, because the 1972 treaty committed the two countries to resolving their disputes between themselves, and Delhi mistrusted Washington which it saw as being closer to Islamabad on regional issues.¹⁸¹ Islamabad, on the other hand, was suspicious that the US would favour Delhi in its attempts to make India its regional partner. Thus Clinton was unable to ease tension in 2000. India firmly refused American

¹⁷⁸ Karthika Sasikumar, "Crisis and Opportunity: the 1990 Nuclear Crisis in South Asia" in Sumit Ganguly and Paul Kapur (eds.), *Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia: Crisis Behaviour and the Bomb* (New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 85.

¹⁷⁹ Interview with Mehmood Ali Shah, Quetta, 15 April 2012.

¹⁸⁰ Lieven, *Pakistan: A Hard Country*, p. 187.

¹⁸¹ Daniel Lak., "Kashmir: Can the US Help?", *BBC News*, 21 March 2000, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/684327.stm> retrieved 9 September 2014> [Accessed 20 May 2013]

mediation and its Defence Minister predicted another hot summer on the LoC. Nevertheless, the visit appeared to leave a legacy of renewed engagement between India and the US which Clinton's successors could build on.¹⁸² By contrast, Clinton refused to shake Musharraf by the hand.

4.10 Implications for the Relationship

The discussion in the previous section about how far Pakistan contributed to America's shifting aims and objectives in this period demonstrates there was little convergence of interests. Differences over the Geneva Accords highlighted the fact that the US and Pakistan wanted different futures after the war. Pakistan wanted a stable Afghanistan with a sympathetic regime for strategic depth against India. The US wanted the Soviet army out, and for the USSR to be weakened, with little regard for what remained in Afghanistan. Pakistan's interests took them in the direction of a continuing partnership with the Mujahidin, Saudi Arabia and Muslim donors to see off Najibullah and thereafter to sponsor their proxies, the Taliban, in the civil war. US interests took them in the direction of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet world, and then to lead a multilateral New World Order to confront Iraq rather than communism. Pakistan was now only a minor part of this global mission but its nuclear interest was still stubbornly at odds with US non-proliferation and when the Mujahidin moved to Kashmir, Pakistan's sponsorship and refuge for them came to be at odds with US interests in containing terrorism. There was, however, a moment when American and Pakistani interests did converge. This was in relation to the proposed trans-Afghan pipeline which would have benefitted both and it caused them both to back the Taliban, but the moment passed, because of the Taliban's deadly hospitality, and Pakistan's continued backing of them came to be at odds with the US.

The consequences of previous wilful blindness became apparent in this period, notably in the shape of the Pakistan military's treasured nuclear bombs, but this did not stop it continuing to be a feature of the relationship. Benazir Bhutto appeared to be selective over what she claimed she knew, and when she knew it, in relation to the extent of progress on the nuclear programme. Despite

¹⁸² *BBC News*, "Analysis: Clinton's Disappointments in South Asia", 26 March 2000, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/691339.stm> [Accessed 9 September 2012].

having had his intelligence services brief her about what was going on, Bush then suspended judgement for another year. However, when he finally acknowledged reality, the US had to turn a blind eye to its own wilful blindness in order to maintain moral standing on the issue. There are also grounds to suggest that wilful blindness was occurring over another issue which would come to dominate US-Pakistan relations in the future: the Taliban. Whilst Robin Raphel of the State Department told Congress the US was working to stop support to the warring factions in the civil war there is evidence on both sides that the US did support the Taliban. Brigadier Gul's evidence also suggests that both intelligence services were turning a blind eye to each other's support for Mullah Omar.

Pakistan had very little reverse influence in this period, strengthening the view that this was circumstantially limited by events and politics in Washington. The US was initially preoccupied by events elsewhere in which Pakistan played a minor role. Pakistan had more cause to attempt to win the favour of the US with peacekeeping, counter-narcotics and counter-terrorism which was marginally successful until the 1998 nuclear test explosions. However, this did not substantially change its behaviour as nuclear brinkmanship, terrorist infiltration of Kashmir and sponsorship of Hekmatyar and the Taliban contributed to making the region a dangerous place. The pattern of US political bias in favour of Pakistan or India was not as clear during this period as there was no significant shift in either direction. Under the Republican Bush sanctions were applied discriminately to Pakistan and there was condemnation of infiltration into Indian Kashmir but there was not any significant initiative by him to tilt to India. Democrat Clinton severely criticised India's nuclear tests, applied sanctions and cut off humanitarian aid,¹⁸³ but the outcome of his 2000 regional tour hinted at the prospect of a future tilt in that direction, particularly as Pakistan had reverted to military authoritarianism.

The transactional pattern of the relationship continued to reinforce mistrust and the expectation of disappointment. The sense of betrayal over the reintroduction of the Pressler sanctions was not confined to the political elite and was strongly felt throughout Pakistan not just for cutting off aid but for appearing

¹⁸³ *BBC News*, "US imposes sanctions on India", 13 May 1988, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/special_report/1998/05/98/india_nuclear_testing/92797.stm> [Accessed 12 September 2014].

to favour India. US abandonment of Afghanistan also strengthened expectations that its commitment to the region was temporary and that Pakistan had to look after its own longer term security. On the US side, Pakistan was considered to be the unreliable partner over the nuclear issue and over state sponsorship of terrorism. The notion of shared interests and values appeared to have been abandoned by both sides. Compliant behaviour from Pakistan was something the US either bought with aid and arms or achieved through threats. Both approaches would be used when the US next needed Pakistan's co-operation, but previous experience of abandonment by the US would prompt Pakistan to hedge its bets with longer-term and contrary strategies of its own.

CHAPTER 5: AFGHANISTAN RE-MAKES AND RE-BREAKS THE US-PAKISTAN RELATIONSHIP, 2001-2012

5.1 Introduction

As in 1979, Pakistan-US relations were suddenly transformed by the 9/11 incident and the US-led invasion of Afghanistan, but they deteriorated seriously as the extended war against al-Qaeda and the Taliban moved into Pakistan and divergent interests once again became apparent. This chapter examines how the partnership was reformed under conditions of stress and identifies the factors which then created the mutually exclusive goals which caused the relationship to decline into crisis. It looks at Musharraf's decision to ally with the US on this occasion, in contrast to General Zia in 1981, and the costs incurred by Pakistan as a result. It also explores how mutual frustration, disappointment and suspicion led to US operations on Pakistani territory and to Pakistani support for the Afghan Taliban in its attacks on NATO and the Afghan regime. It concludes with a review of the relationship and examines the extent to which the relations during this period allowed the US and Pakistan to achieve their respective strategic aims.

5.2 9/11: Musharraf, "a Leader of Courage and Vision"

The election campaign of George W. Bush did not mark him out as a figure who was much interested in foreign policy or one with the knowledge and experience to deal with arguably the greatest threat to American security since the Cold War. Nevertheless, he became President in January 2001, albeit with a minority of the popular vote. His lack of experience in foreign affairs, defence and security was offset by an influential team of mostly neo-conservative realists, in stark contrast to Clinton's pragmatic internationalists. They believed in using their unrivalled power against challenges to US supremacy, unilaterally if necessary, which they saw mostly in the states of the Middle East, Russia and China. This meant they were focussed on traditional state threats and, discounting

the advice of their predecessors, they did not consider non-state terrorism to be an immediate danger.¹

General Musharraf, on the other hand, was a career soldier at the head of the Pakistani military with a great deal of collective experience and understanding of regional politics and security interests.² The focus on India as the enduring threat had not changed and neither had Pakistan's general policy towards its neighbour. Musharraf was determined to maintain military parity with India and use proxies where necessary to undermine India's influence in Kashmir and Afghanistan. In effect, this meant the Musharraf administration was knowledgeable about, and supportive of, both state-sponsored and non-state terrorism in the region.

Musharraf's authoritarian regime was well known to, and barely tolerated by, the outgoing Clinton administration. Bush on the other hand appeared ignorant, but at the same time rather more optimistic than his predecessor, about the possibilities of forging positive relations with the Musharraf administration. When, on the presidential campaign trail, Bush was asked to name the President of Pakistan he failed to do so, but added, "the new Pakistani general, he's just been elected - not elected, this guy took over office. It appears this guy is going to bring stability to the country and I think that's good news for the sub-continent".³ Although not too much should be read into an off-guard comment made over a year ahead of taking office it suggests a feature of Bush's outlook, in addition to his ignorance, was that an unelected general is good news if he brings stability. Many in Pakistan had long suspected this to be a feature of US foreign policy and Bush would go on to perpetuate it and to admire Musharraf as a leader of courage and vision.

On 6 August 2001, US intelligence warned the Bush team of a possible attack by bin Laden supporters inside the US. On 4 September his cabinet discussed the matter inconclusively, and seven days later the terrorist strike occurred, witnessed live by the world on television. Four hijacked airliners were flown as missiles by suicide crews - two into the World Trade Centre in New York, one into the Pentagon, and one which crashed en route to an unknown

¹ Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia and the Cold War, 1945-2006*, pp. 410-411.

² Anatol Lieven, *Pakistan: A Hard Country*, (London: Penguin Books, 2012), p. 65.

³ *BBC News*, "Americas Bush no whizz on foreign quiz", 6 November, 1999, <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/506298.stm>> [Accessed 15 September 2014].

target, apparently as a result of a fight between passengers and crew. Over 3,000 people were killed and around \$1 trillion damage was done.⁴ The implications for US foreign and security policy were transformational, particularly in relation to Pakistan and its activities in Afghanistan.

The attacks deeply affected Bush personally and in his role as national leader. On the night of the attacks he revealed in his diary how he viewed the historic situation he found himself in. “The Pearl Harbour of the 21st century took place today,” he wrote.⁵ The next day he told the country that the attacks were not just acts of terror, “They were acts of war.”⁶ By 15 September, his sense of outrage and determination appeared stronger than his clarity about what should be done. However, he was already signalling that retribution would be targeted on both non-state perpetrators and their state hosts:

I’ve asked the highest levels of our government to come to discuss the current tragedy that has so deeply affected our nation. ... I am going to describe to our leadership what I saw: the wreckage of New York City, the signs of the first battle of war. We’re going to meet and deliberate and discuss ... but there is no question about it, this act will not stand; we will find those who did it; we will smoke them out of their holes; we will get them running and we will bring them to justice. We will not only deal with those who dare attack America, we will deal with those who harbour them and feed them and house them.⁷

By 20 September, he was making it clear that al-Qaeda was responsible and began framing them as a global threat in similar terms to the way his Cold War predecessors had framed communism. He also signalled that both al-Qaeda and the Taliban regime would be the first targets.

The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organisations known as Al-Qaeda ... its goal is remaking the world – and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere The leadership of Al-Qaeda has great influence in Afghanistan and supports the Taliban regime in controlling most of that country. In Afghanistan, we see Al-Qaeda’s vision for the world ... The United States respects the people of Afghanistan but we condemn the Taliban regime ... by sponsoring and sheltering and supplying terrorists. By aiding and abetting murder, the Taliban regime is committing murder.⁸

⁴ The 9/11 Report, “The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States”, New York, 2004, pp. xcvi-xcviii.

⁵ Dan Caldwell, *Vortex of Conflict: US Policy towards Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iraq* (California: Stanford University Press, 2011), p. 87.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ John Ehrenberg, et al., *The Iraq Papers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 482-483.

⁸ George W. Bush, “Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People”, *The White House*, 20 September 2001, <<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>> [Accessed 3 November 2014].

The Taliban were given an ultimatum with five specific demands: hand over al-Qaeda leaders; close all terrorist camps; give the US full verification access; release all detained foreigners; and guarantee protection for all foreign journalists and aid workers.⁹ Mullah Omar rejected the first of these saying, “I will not hand over a Muslim to an infidel”, and demanded proof of bin Laden’s involvement. On 7 October, the US launched attacks on Afghan territory to capture bin Laden, oust the Taliban, and prevent further use of Afghanistan as a terrorist haven.¹⁰

The operation consisted of bombing and ground attacks by Special Forces, but much of the fighting was delegated to anti-Taliban factions which were still holding out in the north of Afghanistan. These former rivals had united as the Northern Alliance and were supported by India, Russia, Iran and Tajikistan. Now with full US support, the Northern Alliance swiftly took the capital of Afghanistan, Kabul, and the majority of the country by the end of the year.

The Taliban leadership fled along with bin Laden. Their suspected refuge in the Tora Bora caves of the Eastern mountains was bombarded, but bin Laden and Mullah Omar evaded capture and, together with many of their followers, disappeared into the porous Afghan-Pakistan boundary areas, from where yet another long guerrilla campaign would be based, this time against the US-led coalition and the new government of Hamid Karzai.

On 11 September 2001, Bush’s National Security Advisor, Condoleezza Rice, had planned to make a speech critical of Clinton for not confronting Russia as the main security threat to the US and for not developing missile defences.¹¹ Ironically, President Putin of Russia was one of the first foreign leaders to phone the White House after the 9/11 attack and offer support. This became important in arranging bases in Central Asia, physical access to Afghanistan from the north and for brokering contact with the Northern Alliance.

The US also needed southern access to Afghanistan and the border areas through Pakistan. Pakistan’s ISI Director, General Mahmood Ahmed, was a frequent visitor to the US and was in Washington when the attacks occurred. As a

⁹ Hafeez Malik, *US Relations with Afghanistan and Pakistan: The Imperial Dimension* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 186.

¹⁰ Caldwell, *Vortex of Conflict*, p. 89; Ellen Grigsby, *Analyzing Politics: An Introduction to Political Science* (USA: Cengage Learning, 2012), p. 272.

¹¹ Richard Clarke, *Against All Enemies: Inside America's War on Terror* (London: The Free Press, 2004), p. 24.

result, he became the centre of much media attention whilst in the United States. The following day, he, along with Pakistan's US Ambassador, Maleeha Lodhi, met the US Deputy Defence Secretary, Richard Armitage, who offered Pakistan a simple and stark choice. "You are either 100% with us or 100% against us. There is no grey area."¹² Later that evening, US Secretary of State, Colin Powell, telephoned Musharraf asking for Pakistan's full support. He made it clear that, "the American people would not understand if Pakistan did not cooperate with the United States in fighting terrorism."¹³

Armitage and Powell drew up a list of no less than seven explicit demands for Pakistan to agree to. First, the interception of al-Qaeda operatives and supplies; second, the granting of blanket over-flight and landing rights; third, territorial access for US and allied personnel; fourth, the sharing of intelligence and immigration data; fifth, public condemnation of anti-American terrorism and the curbing of domestic support for it; sixth, an end of supplies to the Taliban; and finally, stopping diplomatic support for the Taliban if they continued to harbour al-Qaeda.¹⁴ However, according to Musharraf, these demands were also accompanied by a crude threat from Armitage. If Musharraf did not comply and support the Americans in their war on global terrorism, then Pakistan "should be prepared to be bombed back to the Stone Age."¹⁵

On 16 September 2001, Musharraf announced that Pakistan would indeed join the US-led coalition and two days later, he told the nation:

We in Pakistan are facing a very critical situation, perhaps as critical as the events in 1971. If we make the wrong decisions our vital interests will be harmed ... Our critical concerns are our sovereignty, second our economy, third our strategic assets ... and fourth our Kashmir cause. All four will be harmed if we make the wrong decision. We have to save our interests.¹⁶

Compared with General Zia's protracted negotiations in 1979-1981, Musharraf's decision came very quickly. His decision was criticised for not consulting more widely as Zia had done, and for not negotiating more strongly in the interests of the country. Inevitably, this criticism grew when the US-Pakistan

¹² Gordon Corera, *Shopping for Bombs: Nuclear Proliferation, Global Insecurity, and the Rise and fall of the AQ Khan Network* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 152.

¹³ Shamshad Ahmad, "Pakistan's Quest for Security and Survival: US-Pakistan Relations", in Butt and Schofield, (eds.) *Pakistan: The US Geopolitics and Grand Strategies*, p. 115.

¹⁴ Nasir Islam, "Pakistan, Afghanistan and the United States: A Triangle of Distrust", in Butt and Schofield, (eds.) *Pakistan: The US Geopolitics and Grand Strategies*, p. 89.

¹⁵ Pervaiz Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir*, (London: Simon & Schuster, 2006), p. 201.

¹⁶ *The Nation*, 20 September 2001.

partnership subsequently unravelled and Pakistan went on to suffer much internal violence and upheaval. Iftikhar Malik is also of the view that “Musharraf’s hasty Washington alliance quickly brought Pakistan into the whirlwind of political turmoil”.¹⁷ Ambassadors Fatemi and Naqvi, along with the journalist Syed Iqbal argued that this was a one-man decision and even Musharraf himself did not demur from this view.¹⁸

...it is at times like these that a leader is confronted by his acute loneliness. He may listen to any amount of advice he chooses, but at the end of the day the decision has to be his alone. He realises that the buck really stops with him.¹⁹

Although it is difficult to construct an unambiguous account of what would have been a hectic process, closer examination of events suggests that Pakistan’s responses may not have been quite as solitary and clear-cut as this. Deeper understanding of what happened provides insight into how America’s heavy-handed approach impacted on the Pakistani military, its interests and its subsequent behaviour, as well as on wider Pakistani society. The decision to cooperate with the US occurred in stages. Powell’s first call to Musharraf was a general ultimatum, repeating Armitage’s ultimatum that Pakistan had to be either with the US or against it. Musharraf responded that he would be with the US against terrorism, but there was no negotiation over terms or obligations at this stage.²⁰ However, the seven demands subsequently formulated by Armitage and Powell required a substantial revision of Pakistan’s fundamental strategy in the region, notably in abandoning the Taliban.

Musharraf called a meeting of cabinet ministers and senior military leaders to discuss the demands on 14 September. Ahmad claims this was a “pro-forma meeting” to inform his colleagues of the decision he had already made.²¹ However, other evidence points to a long and contested debate over six hours in which General Mahmood, General Usmani (Deputy Army Chief of Staff) and two others argued in favour of retaining their Afghan policy and against helping the US, or at least delaying a response to see what Washington would offer in return.

¹⁷ Iftikhar Malik, *Pakistan: Democracy, Terror and the Building of a Nation*, (London: New Holland Publishers, 2010), p. 84.

¹⁸ Interview with Ambassador Tariq Fatemi, Islamabad, 20 July 2012; Interview with Ambassador Sarwar Naqvi, Islamabad, 11 July 2012; Interview with Syed Fasih Iqbal, Quetta, 29 August 2012.

¹⁹ Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire*, p. 201.

²⁰ See Ahmad, “Pakistan’s Quest for Security and Survival: US-Pakistan Relations”, p. 115; Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire*, p. 201.

²¹ Ahmad, “Pakistan’s Quest for Security and Survival”, p. 116.

Mahmood and Usmani had been key allies of Musharraf in the 1999 coup, so their opposition represented a significant split in his clique. Musharraf appeared to have thought out his position carefully and his counter-argument seemed to have less concern for the fate of the Taliban, al-Qaeda or US security than for their own fate as a military regime and, of course, India. If Pakistan offered to help the US it would get a clean bill of health from its erstwhile critic, and if it failed to help then Washington would take its aid and regional alliance to India.²² Underlying this was also the fact that Pakistan was militarily and economically weak and was in no position to endure military confrontation with America.²³ As a result, the terms were accepted but with certain alterations – the US was granted only a narrow corridor of air-space, instead of permission to fly over the whole country, and the use of two bases, instead of territorial access across all of Pakistan.²⁴ No reciprocal claims were made of the US though Musharraf strongly hinted that Pakistan expected immediate economic relief and an end to sanctions in return.²⁵

The restricted nature of the decision-making group and the failure to negotiate with the US had consequences for the way the relationship developed in the long war that followed. Ambassador Fatemi explained how wider Pakistani society felt alienated from the war and from the US:

There was no popular support for this adventure, none of the political parties were on board, none of the social, cultural, religious figures were brought on board and, therefore, a strong perception grew in Pakistan that this was America's war. This is not our war, and this is war against Islam and war against Muslims, and the misfortune was that you had a bunch of people in power in Washington at that time who can only be considered as people with tunnel vision, who had no understanding of the wider implications of this war on the world of Islam. They had disdain and contempt for Islam and for Muslims globally which made the war extremely unpopular not only in Pakistan but in the other Muslim countries too.²⁶

Maulana Khilji, Ainullah Shams and Brigadier Gul were even more critical of the US and they made claims that the 9/11 attacks were either orchestrated or allowed to happen by the US in order to provide a pretext to attack Muslims and invade Afghanistan in pursuit of geo-political interests in Central Asia. These conspiracy theories were stoked by the fact that none of the 9/11

²² Owen Bennett-Jones, *Pakistan: Eye of the Storm* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 3; Adrian Levy and Catherine Scott-Clark, *Deception: Pakistan, the United States and the Global Weapons Conspiracy*, (London: Atlantic Books, 2007), pp. 311-312.

²³ Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire*, p. 202.

²⁴ Islam, "Pakistan, Afghanistan and the United States: A Triangle of Distrust", p. 89.

²⁵ Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos: The U.S. and the Disaster in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Central Asia*, (London: Penguin Books, 2008), pp. 30-31.

²⁶ Interview with Ambassador Tariq Fatemi, Islamabad, 20 July 2012.

attackers came from either Afghanistan or Pakistan.²⁷ Opposition to the military's alliance with the US also led to widespread belief that its purpose was to consolidate the Musharraf's position of power. Journalists Fasih Iqbal, Ashraf Malkham and Shaukat Piracha all interpreted Musharraf's decision as a means to gain the legitimacy that his regime lacked.

After the 9/11 incident, we joined the war, which was not because of Pakistan nor because of something that happened in Pakistan. In 1980, General Zia wanted legitimacy [for] his dictatorial regime which he acquired from the US by joining the Afghan war against USSR. This time, General Musharraf wanted legitimacy [for] his dictatorial rule in Pakistan and he got legitimacy from the US by joining the war on terror against al-Qaeda and the Taliban.²⁸

Colonel Hanif, on the other hand, considered Musharraf's decision to be correct and in the interests of Pakistan. The critical factor had been a statement by Indian Defence Minister Jaswant Singh that Pakistan was a state sponsor of terrorism and that Indian airbases would be made available to the US. Not to support the US would have thus benefited India, "I would never have taken a decision which would favour India's national interest." This view sees Pakistan's relationship with India as a zero-sum game. Anything that benefited India was to Pakistan's disadvantage. Hanif also pointed out that US action was authorised by a UN resolution which China backed, so any failure to move against the Taliban would also be likely to prejudice Beijing's support for Pakistan.²⁹

For the majority of Pakistani society, however, this was the government's war and its failure to gain popular support undermined the military and fermented anti-US sentiment as first the refugees and then the fighting spilled over into Pakistan itself. As General Duranni observed:

I can ask this question of anyone: "if there is a war between the Afghans and the Americans where are our sympathies? With the Americans? No way. Even if there is a Taliban regime that we don't like and an American regime which we love, our neighbours are the Afghans, our people's sentiments are with the Afghans. The US is a foreign power, it is a distant power, they are here today and will go sometime soon."³⁰

Ambassador Fatemi's criticism was that, by rushing the decision, Musharraf did not fully understand the implications of the reciprocal assurances and responsibilities he was entering into. Furthermore, he did not give himself time to negotiate better terms or a more suitable approach to the problem of al-

²⁷ Interview with Maulana Abdullah Khilji, Quetta, 6 May 2012; Interview with Ainullah Shams, Quetta, 25 August 2012; Interview with Brig. Agha Gul, Islamabad, 25 April 2012.

²⁸ Interview with Shaukat Piracha, Islamabad, 25 June 2012.

²⁹ Interview with Col. Hanif, Islamabad, 1 August 2012.

³⁰ Interview with Gen. Asad Durrani, Islamabad, 10 July 2012.

Qaeda which could avoid the dangers of invasion and the uncertainties of regime change.³¹ Musharraf's decision-making did indeed contrast starkly with that of General Zia in 1979 after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, even though there were similarities in their aims. Like Musharraf, Zia had become isolated and needed legitimacy for his regime as well as an injection of aid and cover for the nuclear project. Unlike Musharraf, though, he refused America's first approach, waiting months for a better offer and to give him time to build support at home. As Khan said, Zia was able to use the situation to his, and his country's, advantage. He received both economic and military aid without forfeiting Pakistan's independence. According to Khan, "General Zia had the courage to reject Carter's first offer as 'peanuts' but Musharraf lacked that courage and in order to save his tenure he accepted the US demands unconditionally".³²

In fact, the two situations are not directly comparable. In 1979, the US had not been attacked and President Carter was not considering any kind of military intervention in Afghanistan. Instead, there was a covert war against the Soviet occupation which allowed Zia to insist on control over the distribution of money and arms to the Mujahidin. The key difference, however, was that in 1979 Pakistan was already supporting the anti-communist mujahidin, whereas in 2001 it was supporting the Taliban regime even though it had minimal control over it.

The pressure on Musharraf was, therefore, more intense and his options were more limited. Nevertheless he had two notable assets to negotiate with: geo-strategic location and intelligence.³³ In terms of location, Pakistan was once again the shortest and most politically viable over-land route into landlocked Afghanistan and the most obvious base from which to launch military attacks – most particularly on the southern mountain hide-outs of the Taliban. The other options looked less attractive to Washington. Iran also shared a border with Afghanistan, but relations with the US were bad at the time, and China, despite condemning the 9/11 attacks, was highly suspicious of an American presence in Central Asia. India did not look such a good option either since it did not share a border with Afghanistan. This made some believe that Musharraf's concerns that

³¹ Interview with Ambassador Tariq Fatemi, Islamabad, 20 July 2012.

³² Interview with Roedad Khan, Islamabad, 10 August 2012.

³³ Syed Farooq Hasnat and Ahmed Farouqui (eds.), *Pakistan: Unresolved Issues of State and Society*, (Lahore: Vanguard Books, Lahore, 2008).

the US might switch allegiance look exaggerated.³⁴ In terms of intelligence, Washington acknowledged that the Pakistan Army and ISI had a vast store of knowledge about Afghanistan which was considered vital in the war on terror.³⁵

Therefore, it would seem that Musharraf had a better negotiating hand than he thought at the time. Washington was surprised by Musharraf's compliant response and never expected him to accept all their demands so swiftly.³⁶ This suggests that either Musharraf had misread the situation or that Armitage's bullying approach had obscured a willingness to negotiate. Either way, an opportunity was missed to negotiate and work through a more appropriate arrangement which more fully recognised Pakistan's interests and usefulness to America, and could, at a minimum, have reduced the misunderstandings and double-dealing on both sides that followed. It has also been suggested that Musharraf missed an opportunity to get US support on Kashmir.³⁷ It is difficult to imagine, though, that Armitage, Powell and Bush were willing to be side-tracked by Kashmir at that time and it is unlikely that any concession could have been more than a vague undertaking to do something in the future.

Whilst Musharraf and the US failed to negotiate, the political scientist, Ishtiaq Ahmed claimed that the military leadership, in the lead-up to the invasion, did try to persuade the US on three points – first, the problem of al-Qaeda could be resolved without recourse to war; second, al-Qaeda and the Taliban were different and posed a different kind of threat; and third, the Northern Alliance should not be allowed to take over in Kabul. On the first point, diplomatic options were available through the Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC) and possibly too through third party Muslim nations.³⁸ However, it was clear from the start that the US leadership was keen to pursue a military solution. Nevertheless, General Mahmood did travel to the Afghanistan in a fruitless attempt to persuade Mullah Omar to hand over bin Laden as demanded by the Americans.³⁹ Mahmood's

³⁴ Dr. Hidayat Khan, "Pakistan's Contribution to Global War on Terror After 9/11", *IPRI Journal*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 2013, p. 42.

³⁵ See Devin T. Hagerty, "The United States-Pakistan Entente: Third Time's a Charm? In Craig Baxter, (ed.) *Pakistan on the Brink: Politics, Economics, and Society* (Maryland: Lexington Books, Maryland, 2004), p. 7; Mary Buckley and Rick Fawn (eds.), *Global Response to Terrorism: 9/11, Afghanistan and Beyond* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 14.

³⁶ Bob Woodrow, *Bush at War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002), pp. 51-53.

³⁷ Interview with Tahir Amin, Islamabad, 30 May 2012.

³⁸ Interview with Ishtiaq Ahmed, Islamabad, 18 June 2012.

³⁹ Interview with Ambassador Sarwar Naqvi, Islamabad, 11 July 2012.

efforts took place in parallel with war preparations. He met and phoned Armitage and US Ambassador Chamberlin to keep them informed and to persuade them that negotiation was highly preferable to invasion. At his last meeting with Chamberlin on 24 September, he told her the Taliban were ill-prepared and frightened. He implored the US not to act in anger, “reasoning with them to get rid of terrorism will be better than the use of brute force. If the strategic objective is al-Qaeda and UBL [Osama bin Laden] it is better for the Afghans to do it. We could avoid the fallout.”⁴⁰

Mahmood warned that Afghanistan would revert to warlordism if the Taliban was eliminated. He assured Chamberlin that Pakistan would not flinch from military efforts but, in what turned out to be an accurate prediction, he warned that, “a strike will produce thousands of frustrated young Muslim men. It will be an incubator of anger that will explode two or three years from now.”⁴¹ Chamberlin’s interpretation was that Mahmood’s eleventh hour mission was just so Musharraf could tell the Pakistani people peace had been sought right to the end.⁴²

There appeared to be little success too in the attempt to get the US to understand the differences between al-Qaeda and the Taliban. In fact, as Ambassador Fatemi explained, “the Taliban [had] nothing to do with 9/11.”⁴³ Furthermore, the Taliban were only interested in Afghanistan. Unlike al-Qaeda, the Taliban did not have global concerns and did not pose a threat to anyone outside the country.⁴⁴ Finally, the US had no intention of preventing the Northern Alliance from taking Kabul. The Northern Alliance was an important part of the US-led coalition and played a key role in the swift victory over the Taliban. However, the Northern Alliance’s march into Kabul caused consternation in Pakistan, and especially amongst the Pashtuns, the consequences of which are addressed later in this chapter.

⁴⁰ US State Department record of Meeting between Mahmood and Chamberlin 24 September 2001. Unclassified document, US Embassy (Islamabad), Cable, “Mahmud Plans 2nd Mission to Afghanistan”, 24 September 2001, Secret, pp. 1-3, <<http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB325/doc08.pdf>> [Accessed 24 May 2014].

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Interview with Ambassador Tariq Fatemi, Islamabad, 20 July 2012.

⁴⁴ Interview with Ishtiaq Ahmed, Islamabad, 18 June 2012.

Thus, it appears that decision-making on both sides suffered from the limited vision of a small group of key decision-makers. The US adopted a traditional, state-centric view of the crisis which did not fit the threat posed by al-Qaeda. The US was able to overthrow the Taliban government in Afghanistan, but it was unable to catch either bin Laden or Mullah Omar and found that the militant Islamism survived its military defeat in Afghanistan. Pakistan, for its part, suffered from its continued obsession with India and a determination in the Musharraf administration to stay in power. Pakistan found itself committed to a cause which lacked support in the country and led to the government being unable to keep many of its promises to Washington.

In the short term, however, both sides appeared to get some of what they wanted. The US military got bases from which they could bomb and raid Afghanistan and Bush made a speedy start on his War on Terror. Within a week Musharraf got his clean bill of health from Washington. Concerns over nuclear arms and human rights were shelved once more as Washington lifted all sanctions and provided \$2.64 billion aid over the next three years.⁴⁵ Where Clinton avoided a hand-shake in 2000, a succession of high-ranking US officials now chose to visit Pakistan. On 15 October, Powell paid an official visit to acknowledge Musharraf's bold step against terrorism and to give an invitation to shake hands with Bush in the US. In Washington, on 13 February 2002, Bush warmly welcomed Musharraf as a leader of "great courage and vision."⁴⁶ As with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, this new US campaign in Afghanistan appeared to come as a blessing in disguise once again to rescue the tenure of Pakistan's military rulers.⁴⁷ Just to be on the safe side, and to allay US concerns, Musharraf had removed both Mahmood and Usmani from their posts on 7 October 2001 and took the ISI under his own direct control.

5.3 Post 9/11: Disappointment and Double-Dealing

In his State of the Union Address in January 2002, Bush made many claims of success in Afghanistan. In four months, America had "rallied a great

⁴⁵ Corera, *Shopping for Bombs*, pp. 153-154.

⁴⁶ *BBC News*, "Warm praise for Musharraf in US", 14 February 2002, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/1818898.stm> [Accessed 3 November 2014].

⁴⁷ See Ahmad, "Pakistan's Quest for Security and Survival", pp. 115-116.

coalition, captured, arrested and rid the world of thousands of terrorists, destroyed Afghanistan's terrorist training camps, saved a people from starvation and freed a country from brutal oppression.”⁴⁸ He then moved his country's attention on to his next group of enemies including the “axis of evil” that was North Korea, Iran and Iraq.⁴⁹ In Afghanistan, however, there was still much unfinished business. Despite Bush's assurance that “even 7,000 miles away, across oceans and continents, on mountaintops and in caves, [enemies of the US] will not escape the justice of this nation”⁵⁰, al-Qaeda and the Taliban were finding refuge in the Afghan-Pakistan border areas.

In Pakistan, Bush's triumph had received mixed reviews with thousands of Islamic radicals coming out on to the streets of major cities to demonstrate against the US armed intervention. It appears that many of the demonstrators were mobilised by the unsubstantiated reports that most of the Jews who normally worked at the World Trade Centre were absent on 11 September 2001. This led to conspiracy theories suggesting Jews had orchestrated the attacks. Unrest was further inflamed by General Hamid Gul, the former ISI Director who was also known as one of the founders of the Taliban, when he endorsed calls for a jihad against the US once it became clear that the intervention was also directed against his former protégés.⁵¹ Thus, while Musharraf had won friends abroad he had created enemies at home.

At the same time, fall-out from the invasion was beginning to set the scene for greater troubles in the form of cross-border infiltration and home-grown terrorism which would be directed against him and his state as well as against Afghanistan and the US. This would draw the US into action on Pakistani territory. The installation of a non-Pashtun dominated regime in Afghanistan would also draw Musharraf and the ISI into allying with some terrorist factions which were fighting US forces. In this way, relations between Washington and Islamabad deteriorated steadily over the next ten years as the latest Afghan conflict dragged on longer than the Soviet occupation.

⁴⁸ George W. Bush, “State of the Union Address to the Joint Session of Congress”, 21 January 2002, <<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/onpolitics/transcripts/sou012902.htm>> [Accessed 22 September 2014].

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ *Pakistan Newswire*, “Hameed Gul endorses call for Jihad”, October 14, 2001, cited in Butt and Schofield, (eds.) *Pakistan: The US Geopolitics and Grand Strategies*, p. 58.

At the beginning, however, Pakistan's contribution to the US-led invasion was significant. In line with the Powell-Armitage demands aerial space and landing rights were provided along with the use of air bases at Jacobabad, Shamsi and Dalbandin. The Pakistan navy also supported US and coalition forces in landing ships at Pasni and even curtailed its training operations in order to accommodate them.⁵² The Pakistani military's willingness to co-operate can be seen from the fact that most of its logistic support was made available without any formal agreements and free of the user fees that would normally be required for such privileges.⁵³ This included giving the US 100,000 gallons of fuel per day without any initial payment.

As the Taliban faced defeat and Kabul fell on 13 November 2001, the US-led forces set up a number of military bases in Afghanistan, notably at Bagram near Kabul. The peacekeeping force, the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), was established by the UN, but became more active under NATO command after the Taliban regrouped and began striking back. As ISAF grew to 100,000 personnel, it became more and more dependent upon supply routes through Pakistan. These ran from the port of Karachi, through Pakistan and into Afghanistan either through the Chaman crossing near Quetta or through the Khyber Pass near Peshawar.⁵⁴ Whilst it was the best option available, it was still vulnerable to logistical problems, environmental disruption and, as the insurgency increased, to terrorist attack. In addition it gave Pakistan a political strangle-hold, which it used on occasions, to pressure the US over disputes. This led the US to develop alternative supply routes through Russia and Central Asia, and Azerbaijan and the Caspian Sea, known as the Northern Distribution Network (NDN) (See Appendix 5 for Map). These were much slower, more expensive and complex than the Pakistani route.⁵⁵ As a result most supplies still went by truck through Chaman and the Khyber Pass, but some supplies may have been diverted into the hands of the terrorists. General Duranni said 30,000 containers had not

⁵² Khan, "Pakistan's Contribution to Global War on Terror After 9/11", p. 45.

⁵³ Christine Fair, *The Counterterror Coalition: Cooperation with Pakistan and India* (USA: RAND Corporation, 2004), p. 15.

⁵⁴ C.J. Randin, "Analysis: The US-Pakistan Relationship and the Critical Factor of Supply", *The Long War Journal*, December 4, 2011, <http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2011/12/us_pakistani_relato.php> [Accessed 20 April 2012].

⁵⁵ Alexandros Petersen, *The World Island: Eurasian Geopolitics and the Fate of the West* (California: ABC-CLIO, 2011), pp. 134-134.

reached their destination in Afghanistan after leaving the port of Karachi. He was unsure about the contents of the containers, but suspected they may have contained weapons and surveillance equipment which would have been of great value to terrorists in both Afghanistan and Pakistan.⁵⁶

Pakistan was initially highly active in capturing and killing militants fleeing across the border. 115,000 army and paramilitary troops were stationed along both the Afghan and Iranian borders and more than 3,500 suspects were arrested while trying to escape into Pakistan.⁵⁷ In the first five years after 9/11, Pakistan handed over 369 suspected militants to the United States.⁵⁸ However, the US still felt it necessary to buy loyalty with cash rewards for individual officers involved in capturing or killing militants. Despite such monetary rewards, a few ISI and army officers who were sympathetic to the jihadi cause defected to the militants and, with their high-level training and knowledge, went on to organise retaliatory attacks against the Pakistani state, including two assassination attempts on Musharraf in 2003.⁵⁹ This is one of the most rugged frontiers in the world and has always been difficult to guard. As a result, there could never be enough troops on either side of the border to prevent many al-Qaeda and Taliban militants crossing and finding refuge in the Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA), North West Frontier Province (NWFP) (later renamed Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa) and Balochistan, where they could regroup and recruit more radical Pakistanis to their cause.⁶⁰

5.4 Pakistan's Problems with the Northern Alliance

It did not take long for Pakistan's co-operation with the US to be undermined by events in Afghanistan as the Taliban vacated Kabul and the Northern Alliance swept into the capital in November 2001. The Northern Alliance was made up of mostly non-Pashtun and wholly anti-Taliban ethnic groups, and was perceived to be hostile to Pakistan in part because of its support of India. For this reason, Islamabad was opposed to the Northern Alliance taking

⁵⁶ Interview with Gen. Asad Durrani, Islamabad, 10 July 2012.

⁵⁷ Khan, "Pakistan's Contribution to Global War on Terror After 9/11", p. 46.

⁵⁸ Peter Bergen, *The Longest War: The Enduring Conflict between America and Al-Qaeda* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2011), p. 254.

⁵⁹ Rashid, *Pakistan on the Brink*, pp. 49-50.

⁶⁰ Lieven, *Pakistan: A Hard Country*, p. 410.

power in Afghanistan. This view had been communicated to Washington on many occasions. General Mahmood, whilst in Washington at the time of the 9/11 attacks, urged the CIA Director, George Tenet, not to rely on the Northern Alliance. This was reiterated by Musharraf on the day of the US intervention on 7 October, when he warned the international community that Afghanistan would return to anarchy and the region would be destabilised if the Northern Alliance was allowed to take power in Kabul. “The Northern Alliance must not draw mileage out of this action and the post-action has to be balanced.”⁶¹

On his October visit to Islamabad, Powell tried to placate Pakistani fears by suggesting a “moderate Taliban” might be included in a future Afghan government. Although it was unclear what this might involve, it evoked outrage in elitist circles in the US, including from Powell’s predecessor as Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright.⁶² Just three days before the Northern Alliance took Kabul, Musharraf met Bush at a meeting of the UN General Assembly in New York. In the joint press conference that followed, Bush appeared to understand and be in full agreement with Musharraf’s position.

Well, I think we share a common view that in order for there to be a country that is stable and peaceful on this good leader's western border, that any power arrangement must be shared with the different tribes within Afghanistan. And a key signal of that will be how the city of Kabul is treated. We will encourage our friends to head south, across the Shamali Plains, but not into the city of Kabul, itself. And we believe we can accomplish our military missions by that strategy.⁶³

Musharraf was obviously pleased with this and explained his reasoning for the agreed strategy:

Well, I agree with the President totally. Why I have been recommending that Kabul should not be occupied by the Northern Alliance basically is because of the past experience that we've had when the various ethnic groups were in hold of Kabul after the Soviets left. There were atrocities, killings and mayhem within the city. And I think if the Northern Alliance enters Kabul, we'll see the same kind of atrocities being perpetuated against the people there.⁶⁴

⁶¹ *CNN.com/World*, “Musharraf Backs US as Protests Mounts”, October 8, 2001, <<http://edition.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/asiapcf/south/10/08/pakistan.musharraf/>> [Accessed 12 May 2012].

⁶² Michael Rubin, “When Realities Collide: Differing US-Pakistan Threat Perceptions”. In Butt and Schofield, (eds.) *Pakistan: The US Geopolitics and Grand Strategies*, pp. 58-59.

⁶³ *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, “Remarks Following Discussions with President Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan and an Exchange with Reporters in New York City”, November 10, 2001, Volume 37, No. 45, National Archive and Record Administration (NARA), pp. 1643-1644.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

Later in the same press conference, Musharraf had said he saw a “new dawn” in US-Pakistan relations. However, the new dawn lasted only the three days before the Northern Alliance entered Kabul and crowds gathered in the city, shouting “death to Pakistan” and “death to the Taliban.”⁶⁵ Pakistanis were indeed hunted down and shot along with many other foreigners in the capital. Some accounts claim the US had urged the Northern Alliance to stay out of the capital until a new, broad-based government could be formed, but the unexpected and sudden evacuation by the Taliban made it necessary for the Alliance to enter the city to maintain public order. Confronted with this fait accompli, US officials then welcomed it as victory for the coalition forces.⁶⁶

However, Woodward’s account of the US National Security Council meeting a month earlier, on 9 October 2001, claims that this was one of the major issues discussed at that stage of the war, and that taking control of Kabul was seen as an important symbolic victory. Vice-President Cheney had actually advocated encouraging the Northern Alliance to take the capital and CIA Director Tenet recognised it would not be possible to stop them doing so. Discussion about possible UN involvement in the final operation continued until the sudden Taliban retreat overtook events.⁶⁷

It is also clear that Washington was fully aware of the dangers the Northern Alliance posed for Pakistan since it had accepted Islamabad’s plea to be allowed to evacuate its military advisers and volunteers with the Taliban in Kunduz to avoid their being caught up in a repeat of the massacre of prisoners that took place at Mazar-e-Sharif.⁶⁸ This suggests that, whilst the US may not have been expecting events to unfold as they did, Bush’s assurances to Musharraf were reckless. At the same time, knowledge that the US military was abetting the Northern Alliance on its rampage made Bush appear culpable. The result was that Musharraf was left looking weak and it greatly added to his troubles.

⁶⁵ *BBC News*, “Kabul falls to Northern Alliance” 13 November 2001, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/1653137.stm> [Accessed 23 September 2014]; *Guardian*, “Northern Alliance takes Kabul”, 13 November 2001, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/nov/13/afghanistan.terrorism15>> [Accessed 23 September 2014].

⁶⁶ The *Guardian*, “Northern Alliance takes Kabul”, 13 November 2001, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/nov/13/afghanistan.terrorism15>> [Accessed 23 September 2014].

⁶⁷ Woodward, *Bush at War*, pp. 185-186.

⁶⁸ Lieven, *Pakistan: A Hard Country*, pp. 407-408.

In frustration he called first for a demilitarised zone in Kabul and then for a multi-national Muslim force, including Pakistan, to intervene, which the US dismissed as not appropriate because they were already working to involve the UN in rebuilding the Afghan state. At home in Pakistan the episode was labelled a strategic debacle in the press and ISI officials were quoted as saying that Pakistan's worst nightmare had come to pass.⁶⁹ This perceived betrayal lay at the heart of much of Pakistan's so-called double-dealing which undermined relations with Washington over the following years.⁷⁰

Although the Northern Alliance did not seize total power on their own they were highly influential in the Interim and Transitional Authorities which governed Afghanistan for the next two and a half years. In the immediate aftermath of the Taliban withdrawal there was a grave danger of a return to anarchy, so the UN and US moved quickly to organise some temporary state apparatus. A conference in Bonn established an Interim Authority to run the country for six-months and to convene a Loya Jirga (Grand Assembly) which would pick a Transitional Administration to govern for two more years leading up to national elections. Four traditionally hostile, but all anti-Taliban, factions attended the conference. These were the Northern Alliance and three exile groups – one with Iranian ties; one loyal to the former King; and another mainly Pashtun group based in Pakistan. Musharraf lobbied for the inclusion of moderate Taliban representatives but was unsuccessful, which meant that all delegates at the conference were opposed to his former ally and not well disposed to Pakistan. The resulting Interim Administration was led by Hamid Karzai, an ethnic Pashtun who had sided with the Northern Alliance. However non-Pashtun leaders of the Northern Alliance wielded the real power, occupying around half of posts in the 29-member cabinet, and with a sub-set of Tajiks controlling key ministries and the secret police. Many ordinary Pashtuns, therefore, suspected that the interim government was a vehicle for minority ambition.⁷¹ The Loya Jirga of June 2002 was then heavily manipulated, as the International Crisis Group reported:

Subject to back-room deals and intimidation on the floor, delegates were unable to fulfil the duties mandated to them under the Bonn Agreement. For instance, President Karzai's

⁶⁹ Rashid, *Descent into Chaos*, p. 87; Rubin, "When Realities Collide: Differing US-Pakistan Threat Perceptions", p. 59.

⁷⁰ Islam, "Pakistan, Afghanistan and the United States: A Triangle of Distrust", p. 90.

⁷¹ Anja Manuel and P.W. Singer, "A New Model Afghan Army", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 4, 2002, p. 46.

main opponents withdrew their candidacies under pressure, making his election somewhat perfunctory. Other important votes, such as that to approve the structure of government, did not take place at all. Many left feeling that, rather than manifesting the sovereignty of the people, they had merely rubber-stamped the decisions of others.⁷²

Although the number of Pashtun office-holders increased, the key posts involved with defence, foreign affairs and security were held by Tajiks who had been leaders in the Northern Alliance. The Defence Minister, Mohammed Fahim, was the same commander who had taken Kabul and still retained his own private militia of around 10,000 heavily armed troops in the Panjshir Valley.⁷³ Thus, at an early stage, the Afghan Administrations were dominated by anti-Pakistan and pro-Indian elements. Even the Pashtun elements were drawn from those who had opposed the Taliban.

5.5 Pakistan and Terrorism: Sponsor and Victim

Whilst the rapid take-over of Kabul by the Northern Alliance was remarkable, its success had been greatly aided by the Taliban tactic of vacating the capital and retreating to the mountains in the south. The Northern Alliance found progress more difficult in this region not just because of the terrain but most particularly because they were in hostile Pashtun territory. Thus, in 2002, operations there were taken over by ISAF forces who soon found themselves facing guerrilla warfare. At the same time, leading members of both al-Qaeda and the Taliban fled across the Pakistan border to the Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA), the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Balochistan.⁷⁴

It is helpful to future understanding of events there to explain some of the unique features of these areas. FATA is a semi-autonomous region which consists of seven tribal agencies: Khyber, Kurram, Orakzai, Mohmand, Bajaur, North Waziristan and South Waziristan (See Appendix 4 for Map). It is sparsely populated with roughly three million inhabitants from about 60 Pashtun tribes. It

⁷² International Crisis Group, “The Afghan Transitional Administration: Pitfalls and Perils”, *Afghanistan Briefing*, 30 July 2002, p. 2, <<http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/asia/southasia/afghanistan/The%20Afghan%20Transitional%20Administration%20Prospects%20and%20Perils.pdf>> [Accessed 12 February 2014].

⁷³ Thomas H. Johnson, “Afghanistan’s post-Taliban transition: the state of state-building after war”, *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 25, Nos. 1-2, 2006, p. 7.

⁷⁴ Zahid Ali Khan, “Military Operations in FATA and PATA: Implications for Pakistan”, *Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad, Strategic Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 1, 2012, p. 130.

is underdeveloped, with poor medical facilities and transport, and has limited access to clean water. At least 60 percent of the total population lives under the poverty line. Pakistan control over FATA was always limited. Central authorities never intended to govern the area as such, but, in an echo of British colonial rule, simply to try and manage tribal conflicts and contain potential rebellions. Limited administrative and judicial authority is exercised by a Political Agent, appointed by the central government, through the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR). This regulation incorporates elements of local ethnic codes, several principles of which have been subsequently declared unconstitutional, including the use of collective punishment for misdemeanours.⁷⁵ In north and central NWFP there are seven former princely states and tribal territories which are governed as Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA), including Chitral, Swat, and Dir which were only assimilated into Pakistan in 1960 (See Appendix 4 for Map). National and provincial law was introduced gradually in these areas from 1970 but attempts in 1994 to replace traditional justice with a system that conformed to the national constitution sparked a violent campaign for a return to sharia. Local elites of land owners, bureaucrats and clerics encouraged this campaign, since the constitutional system undercut their control, and they colluded with militant participation.⁷⁶ In 2010 NWFP was renamed Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) in recognition of majority Pashtun identity but this led to violent protests from non-Pashtuns demanding a province of their own.⁷⁷

Balochistan, where there was already an active separatist insurgency, also had eight districts bordering Afghanistan and five districts subject to PATA regulations. There was a history of tribesmen from FATA, NWFP and parts of Balochistan fighting with the Taliban in the Afghan civil war and of good relations with al-Qaeda. Some had even participated in the Taliban government, with other sympathisers from Punjab and Sindh. These tribal areas were, therefore, natural places for the Taliban and al-Qaeda to shelter in the aftermath of the US invasion. Thousands gained safe haven there along with foreign militants

⁷⁵ Hassan Abbas, *President Obama's Policy Options in Pakistan's Federally Administrated Tribal Areas* (Michigan: Institute for Social Policy and Understanding, 2009), p. 3; Lieven, *Pakistan: A Hard Country*, pp. 382-384.

⁷⁶ International Crisis Group, "Pakistan: Countering Militancy in PATA", Asia Report No. 242, 15 January 2013, pp. 3-5, <<http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/files/asia/south-asia/pakistan/242-pakistan-countering-militancy-in-pata.pdf>> [Accessed 4 February 2014].

⁷⁷ Lieven, *Pakistan: A Hard Country*, p. 394.

from the Arab countries, Chechnya, Uzbekistan, East Asia and Sudan. They reorganised and regrouped in these areas to start fighting back against the occupation force in Afghanistan. At the same time their militancy spread within the border provinces since it was also a natural recruiting ground for the *jihad* against the US.⁷⁸

Whilst militancy in the tribal areas was growing, it was Pakistan's links to anti-Indian terrorism that brought the first rebuke from Bush. Groups linked to Kashmiri separatists had been operating in Indian controlled Kashmir since 1990 in a complex struggle involving both Indian and Pakistani intelligence services and their respective proxies. On 13 December 2001, a well-televised suicide attack on the Indian Parliament was stopped from blowing up the entire building but killed 12 and injured 22 people. Blame was swiftly placed on Pakistan and two groups it was accused of supporting - Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammad. Half a million Indian troops massed on the Pakistan border in a tense stand-off which many feared could lead to a nuclear confrontation.⁷⁹ With the US newly engaged in the region, both sides looked to Washington to make the other see sense. Islamabad banked on the fact that Washington would not tolerate an Indo-Pakistan war to jeopardize the hunt for al-Qaeda and so would press India for a favourable diplomatic settlement. However, Delhi banked on Bush's wider anti-terror credentials and that its escalation of the conflict would put pressure on him to get Pakistan to shut down the offending militant groups.

Bush went with India, first condemning the attacks and the murderous ways of the two groups and then calling on Musharraf to shut them down.⁸⁰ Bush thus found himself drawn into regional politics beyond Afghanistan which not only showed him allied to a state sponsor of terrorism in his war on terror but also

⁷⁸ See Umbreen Javaid, "FATA: A Breeding Ground of Extremism in Pakistan", *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol. 18, Issue – 2, 2011, p. 174; Riaz Mohammad Khan, *Afghanistan and Pakistan: Conflict, Extremism, and Resistance to Modernity* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2011), p. 211; Phillip J. Quinlan, "Pakistan: A Conflict Ally in the Fight Against Terrorism Since 9/11", *Global Security Studies*, Volume 3, Issue 1, Winter 2012, p. 3; Qandeel Siddique, *Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan: An Attempt to Deconstruct the Umbrella Organisation and the Reasons for its Growth in Pakistan's North-West*, (Denmark: Danish Institute of International Studies, 2012), pp. 9-10.

⁷⁹ *BBC News*, "Indian parliament attack kills 12", 13 December 2001, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/1707865.stm> [Accessed 25 September 2014]; A. Roy, "India's Shame", *The Guardian*, 15 December 2006, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2006/dec/15/india.kashmir>> [Accessed 25 September 2014].

⁸⁰ Celia W. Dugger, "Big Troop Buildup Mounted by India and Pakistan", *New York Times*, 25 December 2001, <<http://www.nytimes.com/2001/12/25/international/asia/25INDI.html>> [Accessed 25 September 2014].

involved him in supporting his ally's enemy. However, his move did have positive effects. Musharraf banned the groups as demanded and promised to prevent further terrorism against India from Pakistani territory but, in a reference to what may have been behind the original attack, he demanded that India and the international community made efforts to solve the Kashmir issue. He went on to limit infiltration into Indian controlled Kashmir which led to a reduction in the violence there. In 2003 both sides declared a ceasefire along the Line of Control.⁸¹ This suggests that, having failed to get US support on Kashmir through confrontation with India, Pakistan had opted for a more conciliatory approach, perhaps with recognition that resources would be needed on its Western border areas in the coming years.

Next, US concerns turned to FATA and NWFP as the regrouped militants there started guerrilla attacks against ISAF forces trying to stabilise southern Afghanistan. Now, in addition to the al-Qaeda fighters, the Afghan Taliban was being augmented by a home-grown Pakistani Taliban recruited from the madrassas and the Pashtun tribes who identified with their cause. To add to this, seasoned militants from Kashmir went there to join the anti-US jihad when their operations against India were closed down. These groups were dominated by a network led by a former Taliban minister, Jalaluddin Haqqani, who had been close to the ISI and CIA during the 1980s before joining the Taliban in 1994 and developing links with al-Qaeda. Haqqani fled to North Waziristan and became the first anti-US commander in FATA. He would be blamed for many attacks on ISAF but, at the same time, he was pro-Pakistan and had helped their army in its dealings with the militant groups.⁸²

Musharraf's policy towards these groups appeared ambiguous but there was a logic to it which related to the ever-present Indian threat and the unwelcome Northern Alliance dominated administration in Afghanistan. The assumptions were that the US would give increasing influence to India in Afghanistan through their favoured partners, the Northern Alliance, and then abandon the area while

⁸¹ Lieven, *Pakistan: A Hard Country*, p. 411.

⁸² See *BBC News*, "Clinton Urges Pakistan to Take Action against Militants", 21 October 2011, <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-south-asia-15388051>>, [Accessed 08 July 2013]; *Daily News*, "Egypt, Senior Haqqani Network Commander Killed in Islamabad: Taliban Sources", 11 November 2013, <<http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2013/11/11/senior-haqqani-network-commander-killed-in-islamabad-taliban-sources/>> [Accessed 23 March 2014]; Rashid, *Pakistan on the Brink*, p. 52.

discarding Pakistan just as it had done after the Soviet withdrawal in 1989. This would leave a pro-Indian regime free to make trouble on the Western border.⁸³ These anxieties were given added weight by India's activities in Afghanistan where it provided several hundred million dollars in financial assistance, including building the new parliament and funding its legislators. It also built roads near the Pakistani border which were run by its own state agency and opened consulates in several cities, including neighbouring Jalalabad and Kandahar, which Islamabad feared became bases for terrorist activities aimed at Pakistan and Balochistan in particular.⁸⁴

In order to counteract this, Ahmed Rashid claims Musharraf maintained the Taliban as a proxy against the Kabul regime and encouraged them to relaunch their insurgency in Afghanistan with funds, training and operational support.⁸⁵ These claims are brought into question, however, by Lieven, who argues that whilst the Taliban were given shelter and tolerated they were not supported by Pakistan in the way the Mujahidin had been. This is obvious, he claims, from their lack of sophisticated training and weaponry which would have been substantially better if the ISI were giving full support.⁸⁶ Whichever version is correct it is clear that Pakistan's handling of the Taliban was much more tolerant than of al-Qaeda. However, Khan suggests that this policy was in line with the limited role which the US expected of Pakistan at the beginning. He claimed that Washington only sought Pakistani assistance in catching al-Qaeda leaders and their foreign associates and did not ask them to target the Afghan Taliban and their associates, such as Haqqani and Hekmatyar.⁸⁷ Both Rashid and Lieven agree that al-Qaeda and foreign militants were hunted with determination, at least in the heartland of Pakistan where hundreds were killed or captured, including "disappeared" people who, it was believed, were illegally handed to the Americans. Nevertheless, the military avoided intervening in FATA.

This changed, however, when the US pressured Musharraf to take action against the militants in FATA. Persuasion included massive financial assistance

⁸³ Rashid, *Pakistan on the Brink*, pp. 50-51.

⁸⁴ Seth G. Jones and Christine C. Fair, *Counterinsurgency in Pakistan*, (Santa Monica CA: Rand Corporation, 2010), p. 18.

⁸⁵ Rashid, *Pakistan on the Brink*, pp. 50-51.

⁸⁶ Lieven, *Pakistan: A Hard Country*, pp. 412-413.

⁸⁷ Riaz Mohammad Khan, *Afghanistan and Pakistan: Conflict, Extremism, and Resistance to Modernity* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2011), p. 131.

for the military establishment of over \$2 billion a year to Pakistan's key national security agencies, including the army, Frontier Corps, and ISI, to conduct operations against militants. Accordingly, the well-funded military launched Operation Al-Maizan in 2002 to clear South Waziristan of the foreign fighters which they suspected were being based there. The significance of this resonated beyond Afghanistan and the US-Pakistan relationship, as it was the first time that the military had ventured into FATA to exert the will of the Pakistani state on the traditionally independent tribesmen who were accustomed to making their own decisions and arrangements for their security. Khan explained that, "handling the tribal areas is not a joke. Using force against them will never work ... it didn't work during the British time and it will also not [be] workable now. We have to handle the situation very carefully."⁸⁸

The operation started cautiously with the military setting up checkpoints and gaining the co-operation of local leaders to identify foreign militants and those that harboured them. However, when the army entered the region in 2003 to capture their targets the situation deteriorated. An operation aimed at rooting out foreign militants evolved into an insurgency in which local rebels joined forces with the non-Pakistanis. Al-Qaeda declared a fatwa calling for the death of Musharraf who subsequently survived two assassination attempts in quick succession in December 2003. By early 2004, the army was battling in several locations simultaneously and suffered significant losses despite the introduction of bombing by the air force. At the same time, the army employed scorched-earth tactics to destroy homes and villages which enraged the local population even further and brought in battle-hardened Chechens and Uzbeks to join the fight.

In response, the US and Pakistan conducted targeted strikes against the militants, but Pakistani casualties mounted throughout 2004. This forced the military to conclude a less than advantageous peace deal in April that year which was interpreted as victory by the tribesmen. The deal involved the state paying compensation and making a guarantee of non-interference in the region. In return, the rebels agreed to stop attacking Pakistani forces and harbouring foreign fighters. The deal broke down, however, when the principal militant leader, Nek Mohammad Wazir, was killed in a US missile strike in June 2004. As a result, al-

⁸⁸ Interview with Roedad Khan, Islamabad, 10 August 2012.

Qaeda and foreign militants remained in FATA, and gained almost total control over the region. This apparent victory empowered the militants and gave them greater confidence and legitimacy than ever before. The influence of the Taliban increased while the border areas remained a militant haven. It also meant that what had started as a purely Afghan jihad had now become a jihad against the Pakistani state whose security forces were considered as apostate by the militants in FATA. The unrest continued in the form of several local insurgencies each of which was punctuated with peace deals which were always subsequently broken. Nek Mohammed's successor was Baitullah Mehsud, who, in early 2006, began orchestrating a suicide-bombing campaign in Pakistani cities.⁸⁹

While US attention and military resources were diverted to another invasion which was going wrong in Iraq, Pakistan was left with a heavy burden and was paying a high price militarily, politically, socially and economically. The politics in the border areas became a complex interaction of local insurgent groups with varying aims and loyalties, some of which conflicted. The state was unwilling to launch another general assault for fear of the domestic consequences and also because the military had been shown serious deficiencies in conducting counter-terrorist operations and holding territory. To compensate, the military used tribal rivalries and conflicting loyalties amongst the militants to divide and weaken them, including co-opting some groups to undermine others. This tactic was interpreted simplistically in the West as duplicity and weakness on the part of Pakistan.⁹⁰

In fact, the military did become involved in several more anti-terrorist campaigns, causing wholesale disruption in FATA and NWFP. The first occasion came in 2007 as the indirect result of Chinese, rather than American, pressure. An extremist group had taken occupation of the Lal Masjid (Red Mosque) in Islamabad from where it made vigilante raids against video and vice shops in the name of Sharia. Musharraf initially held off taking action for fear of the consequences of a bloody battle only two miles from his palace. His hand was forced, though, when the Chinese government demanded the release of some of its

⁸⁹ See Jones and Fair, *Counterinsurgency in Pakistan*, pp. 46-56; Khan, *Afghanistan and Pakistan: Conflict, Extremism, and Resistance to Modernity*, pp. 132-133; Siddique, *Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan*, pp. 9-10.

⁹⁰ Khan, *Afghanistan and Pakistan: Conflict, Extremism, and Resistance to Modernity*, p. 143; Lieven, *Pakistan: A Hard Country*, p. 416.

nationals who had been working as masseurs and had been apprehended in the anti-vice raids. When the extremists refused to negotiate, the military stormed the mosque on 10 July 2007 killing 154 people. The public witnessed the bloody end to the standoff when it was televised widely throughout the country.⁹¹

Musharraf was already in domestic difficulties. He had abandoned an attempt to impose emergency rule and had just failed to get rid of the Chief Justice who was pursuing him over his role in relation to the “disappeared people”. Clashes and demonstrations in Karachi back in May, which had left 41 dead, compounded his troubles.⁹² In particular, these events galvanised the insurgents in FATA and NWFP. A ten month truce was called off in Waziristan and a wave of attacks on military and official targets followed, including a big increase in suicide bombings. Baitullah Mehsud also took the opportunity to coordinate the various Taliban groups and in December 2007 he announced that they had united in a coalition under his leadership with the name Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP).⁹³ That same month the TTP was blamed by the government for the assassination of Benazir Bhutto, who had returned to contest elections against Musharraf, although this was denied by them.

In response, Musharraf launched several campaigns to clear these areas of anti-Pakistan militants in 2008 and 2009. They had mixed success. Many militants were killed and some areas cleared at least temporarily. However, the counter-insurgency strategy also had the effect of alienating the local populations. In the Mehsud stronghold of South Waziristan, for example, an estimated 4,000 houses were destroyed in a month and up to 200,000 inhabitants displaced. The antagonism such policies led to only increased the difficulties of the government in trying to maintain some kind of control over these areas. Even when Pakistan had support from the US military and the CIA, for example in the 2008 operations in Bajaur and the Mohmand Agencies, it had success in killing as many as 1,000

⁹¹ Lieven, *Pakistan: A Hard Country*, pp. 416-417; *BBC News*, “Pakistan cleric makes defiant vow”, 6 July 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/6276428.stm> [Accessed 26 September 2014].

⁹² Mark Tran, “Pakistan mosque siege”, *The Guardian*, 11 July 2007, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/jul/11/pakistan.qanda>> [Accessed 26 September/2014].

⁹³ Shezad H. Qazi, *An Extended Profile of the Pakistani Taliban*, Institute for Social Policy and Understanding, Washington, <<http://www.ispu.org/pdfs/ISPU%20Policy%20Brief%20Extended%20Profile%20of%20Pakistani%20Taliban.pdf>> [Accessed 5 May 2014].

militants but was still unable to regain political control over these regions.⁹⁴ The failure of these operations became apparent as the TTP escalated violence across Pakistan in 2008 with 2,148 terrorist, insurgent and sectarian attacks in that year alone. In terms of suicide bombings the trend was equally bleak with the numbers of incidents and casualties peaking in 2009, before dropping somewhat thereafter as table 6.1 shows:

TABLE 6.1: SUICIDE ATTACKS IN PAKISTAN, 2000-2012

Year	2000-5	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
No. of attacks	17	9	57	61	90	58	44	32
Deaths	260	161	842	940	1090	1153	625	243
Injured	838	230	2008	2426	3492	2954	1386	705

Source: Pakistan Body Count: Suicide Bombing Incidents in Pakistan, 1995-2014, <<http://pakistanbodycount.org/analytics>>, [Accessed 2 November 2014].

Apart from the deaths of insurgents, about 5,000 security personnel were killed in FATA and NWFP/KPK in 2001- 2011 but the civilian population suffered more severely with about 40,000 killed in the same period. The scale of the upheaval and misery caused by the military’s counter-insurgency strategy also became apparent in 2009 when nearly three million people from the affected areas were forced to leave their homes and became designated as internally displaced persons (IDPs). Administrative, educational and judicial structures became paralysed and criminal groups emerged along with increased theft, kidnapping and murder to add to the insecurity, poverty and sense of hopelessness which, in turn, fed the militancy further.

Criminality spread to the rest of Pakistan where a 21 per cent rise was reported in the first six months of 2009. The number of women and children killed in this period rose by 83 per cent and 162 per cent respectively.⁹⁵ In addition to the physical and social costs caused by the upheaval, the economic costs were also considerable. It was estimated that Pakistan’s war on terror had cost the country

⁹⁴ Jones and Fair, *Counterinsurgency in Pakistan*, p. 76; Khan, “Military Operations in FATA and PATA: Implications for Pakistan”, pp. 133-135.

⁹⁵ Khan, “Military Operations in FATA and PATA: Implications for Pakistan”, p. 140.

an estimated \$70 billion.⁹⁶ Unsurprisingly, Pakistan's war on terror was not popular among the people. A survey conducted by Pakistan's Institute of Peace Studies in 2009 showed 80 per cent of the public against the military operation in FATA and 20 per cent believing the counter-insurgency to be a direct result of their country's participation in America's global war on terror.

The same survey also estimated that about 18 per cent of the country's madrassas were affiliated with jihadi and sectarian organizations.⁹⁷ Former ISI Director, General Duranni, considered these FATA interventions to be the biggest of Musharraf's many mistakes.

After joining the war on terror, Musharraf made many big mistakes but I consider that the most vital mistake was sending the armed forces into the tribal areas of Pakistan. One has to tell Musharraf that you may not know this area. Starting operation[s] in tribal areas would bring many problems to Pakistan. This will spread and we will not be able to control the situation for the next fifteen to twenty years. Even if we occupy those areas, who is going to save Rawalpindi, Lahore, Karachi and other cities of Pakistan from the attacks of those tribal people?⁹⁸

Despite the terrible costs of the counter-insurgency strategy, the Afghan Taliban, the Pakistani Taliban and al-Qaeda remained in place as an active force in the region. As soon as one area was cleared it was just a matter of time before the insurgents occupied another and the cycle continued. The Pakistani military was ill-equipped and unprepared for counter-insurgency warfare. It was primarily organised and trained for a major war with India, and the high command was reluctant to take the risk of diverting troops from the Indian border. This caused some to conclude that the military's lack of success was down to the fact that it simply had insufficient troops to do the job of securing all seven agencies of FATA.⁹⁹ However, this was unlikely as the US had supplied considerable aid to Pakistan for its fight against terrorism. A greater problem was the inability of the Pakistan government to win over the "hearts and minds" of the people in FATA whilst fighting a bloody counter-insurgency campaign.

⁹⁶ Khan, *Afghanistan and Pakistan: Conflict, Extremism, and Resistance to Modernity*, pp. 136-140; Khan, "Military Operations in FATA and PATA: Implications for Pakistan", p. 115.

⁹⁷ Muhammad Amir Rana, *Mapping the Madrassa Mindset: Political Attitude of Pakistani Madaris, Conflict and Peace Studies*, 2009, pp. 31-35, <file://ueahome/ereshum2/rmg08kpu/data/Documents/05.pdf> [Accessed 27 April 2014].

⁹⁸ Interview with Gen. Asad Durrani, Islamabad, 10 July 2012.

⁹⁹ Brad L. Brasseur, *Pakistani Military on the Wrong Border*, Khaama Press, Afghan News Agency, 5 July 2011 <<http://www.khaama.com/pakistani-military-on-the-wrong-border>> [Accessed 04 June 2013].

The issue of cross-border raids and shelter for the militants caused the US added concern since it escalated tensions between Musharraf and Hamid Karzai in Kabul. As early as 2003 problems arose when the US, jointly with Pakistan, tried to seal the Afghan border along the Durrand Line, which Karzai did not recognise. In the process, the Pakistani military advanced into the Afghan side to occupy what had previously been no-man's land, leading to exchanges of artillery fire with the Afghans. Karzai protested and warned he would not back down, and added that Pakistan should also stop cross-border attacks by extremists.¹⁰⁰ By March 2006, the Taliban were being blamed for an increase in violence in Afghanistan, including a surge in suicide bombings. Frustrated by Musharraf's failure to restrain the militants sheltering in Pakistan, Karzai publicly sent him details of the whereabouts of 150 Taliban suspects sheltering in his country, including Mullah Omar. Musharraf dismissed the intelligence as nonsense and outdated and accused Karzai of not knowing what was happening in his own country. In particular, he accused the Afghan defence and intelligence establishments, which were headed by former Northern Alliance commanders, of conspiring against Pakistan.¹⁰¹

By now, the US needed cooperation between Islamabad and Kabul in the ongoing hunt for al-Qaeda and in the deteriorating campaign against the Taliban, but the sniping between Karzai and Musharraf was growing steadily more public and intemperate. Bush refereed a working dinner between the two at the White House that September which was formally described afterwards as a "constructive exchange" but no new agreements or initiatives emerged.¹⁰² By 2007 the two were still blaming each other. Karzai said the madrassas were training camps for terrorists rather than religious schools. Musharraf, on the other hand claimed that whilst some terrorists might hide in Pakistan the real support they got was in Afghanistan itself.¹⁰³ Although Karzai was not disappointed when Musharraf resigned in 2008 he continued to pin the blame for Taliban violence on Pakistan,

¹⁰⁰ Ahmed Rashid, "We will not back down, Karzai warns Musharraf", *Daily Telegraph*, 18 July 2003, <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/afghanistan/1436456/We-will-not-back-down-Karzai-warns-Musharraf.html>> [Accessed 3 November 2014].

¹⁰¹ *BBC News*, "Musharraf says Karzai 'oblivious'", 6 March 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/4777610.stm> [Accessed 3 November 2014].

¹⁰² *The Guardian*, "Bush referees as Karzai and Musharraf meet for dinner", 28 September 2006, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2006/sep/28/usa.pakistan>> [Accessed 3 August 2014].

¹⁰³ *CNN.com/Asia*, "Karzai, Musharraf talk terror", 26 December 2007, <http://edition.cnn.com/2007/WORLD/a_siapcf/12/26/karzai.pakistan/index.html> [Accessed 3 August 2014].

and the ISI in particular, with no acknowledgement of what might be happening in his own country: “The war against terrorism will not be won unless and until we go to the sanctuaries, to the training grounds, to the financiers, to the motivators of hatred that come across the border to kill us all.”¹⁰⁴ After seven years of engagement with both governments Bush had been unable to reconcile the differences between them, adding another dimension to his problems there.

Whilst Afghanistan and the militants in FATA and NWFP/KPK would dominate the next phase in relations, there were two other significant developments during the Bush-Musharraf period which shaped the perceptions and attitudes which their successors inherited - nuclear proliferation and India once again.

5.6 The Issue of Nuclear Proliferation

While Bush was preparing his attack on Afghanistan, Musharraf took precautions to protect his most valuable asset, not from al-Qaeda but from the US. He ordered the redeployment of his nuclear weapons to at least six different secret locations. This step was taken because of uncertainty over the future of the region and the Pakistan-US relationship. In particular, he feared that circumstances might cause the US to strip Pakistan of its nuclear assets.¹⁰⁵ That this was one of his first thoughts demonstrated the importance of the nuclear deterrent in the military’s thinking and underlined how much of a priority this was in getting his “clean bill of health” from co-operating with the US.

However, he then came under pressure from the US over the nuclear issue from revelations about the activities of the nuclear scientist, A. Q. Khan. Khan had been removed as head of the nuclear programme in March 2001, but the following year he became the subject of allegations in the press that Pakistan had been providing uranium enrichment materials and other nuclear technology to North Korea since the 1990s. These were first denied by the government, but a

¹⁰⁴ Aryn Baker, “Karzai on Musharraf: Good Riddance”, *Time*, 19 August 2008, <<http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1833991,00.html>> [Accessed 3 August 2014].

¹⁰⁵ Molly Moor and Kamran Khan, “Pakistan Moves Nuclear Weapons – Musharraf Says Arsenal is Now Secure”, *Washington Post*, 11 November 2001, quoted in Paul K. Kerr and Mary Beth Nikitin, *Pakistan’s Nuclear Weapons: Proliferation and Security Issues*, Congressional Research Service, 23 February, 2010, p. 10.

second set of allegations in August 2003 claimed Pakistan had also been giving nuclear help to Libya and Iran. A military investigation was carried out and, in February 2004, Dr. Khan appeared on Pakistani television to confess that the allegations were true and that he, rather than the Pakistani government, was the culprit, though few believed the government did not know what he had been up to. He was placed under protective custody at his home but made a free citizen again five years later in recognition of his great achievements and contribution to his country. After his release he regretted that he had been persuaded to make the confession which he said had been prepared for him by friends who subsequently betrayed him, though he was characteristically ambiguous about why. He would not indulge in any further controversy other than to claim his innocence and that he was not part of any illegal or unauthorised deal.¹⁰⁶

There was natural concern that the US would invoke sanctions once more as a result of Khan's revelations but, as in the past, a blind eye was turned so aid and co-operation continued. The American attitude was significant since the implications went well beyond Pakistan and involved proliferating nuclear technology amongst the enemies of the US and its allies in the Middle East. IAEA evidence showed Khan's illicit operation to be a sophisticated network spread over more than 30 companies and 30 countries and there were allegations that he had given highly enriched uranium to the vehemently anti-US and anti-Israeli regime in Iran.¹⁰⁷ Both US intelligence and IAEA investigators were keen to talk to Khan, but Pakistan refused requests to hand him over claiming the case was closed and that all relevant information had already been shared with the IAEA and the US in any case. The Pakistani foreign Minister, Khurshid Kasuri, was even defiant in his statement to the Senate in May 2006. "Yes, we are under a lot of pressure on the issue of Dr. A. Q. Khan, but we [will] not surrender. We are an ally of the US in the global war on terror, but we will not take dictation from

¹⁰⁶ See Shahnaz Akhtar, "Dynamics of USA-Pakistan Relations in the post 9/11 Period: Hurdles and Future Prospects", *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 2, No. 11, June 2012, p. 209; Syed Irfan Raza, "A. Q. Khan regrets 'Confession'", *Dawn*, 30 May 2008, <<http://www.dawn.com/news/305247/a-q-khan-regrets-confession>> [Accessed 28 September 2014]; Lieven, *Pakistan: A Hard Country*, p. 200.

¹⁰⁷ *Dawn*, "IAEA denied access to A. Q. Khan", 1 October 2004, <<http://www.dawn.com/news/372279/iaea-denied-access-to-a-q-khan>> [Accessed 28 August 2014].

anybody on our national interests.”¹⁰⁸ The statement suggests he was confident that America’s position would not change as long as Pakistan was its partner in the war on terror. It was also directed towards his domestic audience. Khan was, and still is, a popular national hero and pictures of him regularly appear as a patriotic symbol at demonstrations and celebrations. However, away from the public eye, the revelations and the possibility of retaliation would also have given the US a substantial lever with which to manoeuvre a reluctant Musharraf into starting his ill-fated actions in FATA in 2002 and 2003.

5.7 India and the US

If Bush had made Pakistan feel insecure over the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan, he now went to the root of its insecurities and formed a strategic alliance with India. This became clear when he visited India in March 2005 saying he had come as “a pilgrim and a friend.”¹⁰⁹ In claims that could not be made of his relationship with Pakistan, he said India and the US were “global leaders” and that India's democratic record was an example for the rest of the world.¹¹⁰ In a reference to India’s remarkable economic progress, Bush pointed out that the partnership had a strategic business rationale as well as a political one: “All that separates a business in Bangalore from a business in Boston is an e-mail, a text message, a video conference.”¹¹¹

The main purpose of the visit was to finalise the framework for a mutual defence agreement and a controversial deal on full civil nuclear co-operation, both of which would cause unease and resentment in Pakistan.¹¹² The nuclear deal was controversial because it gave India access to US technology despite not having signed the non-proliferation treaty. Some safeguards were included which provided for international inspection of its civilian nuclear facilities, but these had little prospect of being effective since they excluded military installations and left

¹⁰⁸ Naeem Ahmed, “US-Pakistan Relations after 9/11: Threats and Responses”, in M. Saleem Kidwai (ed.), *US Policy towards the Muslim World: Focus on Post 9/11 Period*, (Maryland: University Press of America, 2010), p. 227.

¹⁰⁹ *BBC News*, “Bush hails partnership with India”, 3 March 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/4770946.stm> [Accessed on 2 September 2014].

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² Dr. Noor ul Haq, “Trust Deficit in Pak-US Ties”, *The Frontier Post*, September 22, 2013.

India free to decide which reactors were civilian or not. In this way, additional imported fuel could be used for the civilian programme, allowing home produced fuel to be diverted for weapons production.¹¹³ The joint Defence Framework Agreement was signed in July 2005 but it took three years to change US laws and negotiate international waivers to accommodate the Nuclear Agreement which was signed in August 2008.

After visiting India, Bush went on to Pakistan where he reaffirmed a broad and lasting strategic partnership but showed no interest in offering a similar nuclear deal. “Pakistan and India are different countries with different needs and different histories. So, we proceed forward, our strategy will take in effect those well-known differences.”¹¹⁴ Pakistan was indeed different - economically underdeveloped; run by a military dictator; at war with its own people in FATA and NWFP; and plagued by terrorists who had just blown up a US diplomat in a suicide attack. How far such differences influenced Bush’s approach to the region is unclear. There was no doubt, however, that the new US-India partnership was a grave concern and the nuclear deal was seen as a security threat to Pakistan.

The basis of their complaint was, as before, that Pakistan was being discriminated against, as Prime Minister, Gilani, explained in July 2008, “there should be no discrimination. If they [US] want to give such nuclear status to India, we expect the same for Pakistan.”¹¹⁵ He also warned that the US-India deal would destabilize South Asia and would result in a nuclear arms race between India and Pakistan. However, the request was rejected by the US on the grounds that such a deal was specific to India and not for other countries.¹¹⁶

Four years later this refusal is still seen as an injustice.

The US must act responsibly, it has to make the smaller state, like Pakistan, feel important and make it feel like a friend. In this way, it can win the trust of Pakistan ... The US must also sign a civil nuclear [agreement] with Pakistan. If something has to be done with India, then why not with Pakistan? Right now, we [have] adequate anti-proliferation networks in place.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ Shaista Tabassum, “The Nuclear Question: Nuclear Security and the US and Western Concerns” in Butt and Schofield (eds.) *Pakistan: The US, Geopolitics and Grand Strategies*, p. 239.

¹¹⁴ George W. Bush, “Remarks following Discussions with President Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan and Exchange with Reporters in Islamabad, Pakistan, March 4, 2006”, *Public Papers of the President of the United States: George W. Bush*, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, p. 402.

¹¹⁵ Kim Ghattas, “Pakistan PM Meets a Sceptical US”, *BBC News*, 31 July 2008, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/7534597.stm> [Accessed 20 August 2014].

¹¹⁶ Ahmed, “US-Pakistan Relations after 9/11: Threats and Responses”, p. 229.

¹¹⁷ Interview with Nawabzada Amad Khan, Islamabad, 3 July 2012.

At the time, however, the A. Q. Khan case demonstrated that Pakistan's anti-proliferation networks had been far from adequate and that US enemies had profited as a result. In these circumstances, it was clear the US felt the onus lay with Pakistan to rebuild trust on the issue of nuclear weapons. Also, with a long history of ignoring and subverting US demands over nuclear proliferation, it was highly unlikely that Congress, the IAEA or the Nuclear Suppliers Group would have agreed to a deal for Pakistan. Nevertheless, it must have appeared unjust from Islamabad's perspective that India, which had started the regional nuclear arms race in the region and had sided with the USSR during the Cold War, was now being rewarded with international acceptance as a nuclear power and with US nuclear supplies under an agreement with significant non-proliferation loopholes. This would lead to claims that the US-India deal was anti-Muslim and escalated the regional arms race.

Beyond the nuclear deal, however, the implications of the emerging Indo-US nexus, as it was termed, were much deeper and the signs for Pakistan were ominous. While it was engaged on fulfilling its post-9/11 obligations, at great social, economic and political cost to itself, the US was busy developing a long-term strategic partnership with its primary enemy in the region.¹¹⁸

5.8 Obama and the “Af-Pak Strategy”

At the start of 2009, the new civilian government with Yusuf Gilani as Prime Minister and Benazir Bhutto's widower, Asif Ali Zardari, as President, had been in office for ten months when Barack Obama became US President with Hilary Clinton as his Secretary of State. Bush had left office with his personal approval ratings at only 25 per cent,¹¹⁹ as the US got bogged down in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. The American electorate was war-weary and deeply worried by the economic crisis of Bush's final months in power. Obama won a large majority in the November 2008 elections speaking to the American people of hope and the need for change.

¹¹⁸ Ahmad, “Pakistan's Quest for Security and Survival: US-Pakistan Relations”, p. 120.

¹¹⁹ Gallup “Presidential Approval Ratings -- George W. Bush”, <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/116500/Presidential-Approval-Ratings-GeorgeBush.aspx>> [Accessed 29 September 2014].

In foreign policy, Obama's prime concern was to find ways of ending the Iraqi war and finishing the fight against al-Qaeda and the Taliban so he could bring US troops home. In Pakistan, the electorate had similarly been motivated by hopes for democratic change and peace when they voted Musharraf out of office. However, beyond expressions of hope, the problems to be confronted had not changed and it would be no easier for Obama and Gilani to solve the complexities of Afghanistan and the Pakistan border areas than it had been for their predecessors. Thus, Washington continued to have the same level of concern over the roots of terrorism in the tribal areas, and Pakistan was seen as a problem rather than a solution to the war on terrorism.¹²⁰

This led to the formulation of the America's so-called, "Af-Pak" strategy, announced in March 2009, which treated Afghanistan and Pakistan as two fronts in the same war and, for the first time, differentiated clearly between al-Qaeda and the Taliban. Al-Qaeda was to be destroyed as an organisation, and the same resolute approach was to be taken against the most militant and uncompromising elements of the Taliban, but there was more room for compromise with the moderates who were more willing to renounce insurgency and give up the fight. To support this new strategy, there was a surge in US troop numbers in Afghanistan and an intensification of drone attacks in Pakistan. Extra finance was provided to build Pakistan's capacity for counter-insurgency. \$400 million was provided to train the Frontier corps and \$3 billion over five years to train and equip the rest of the army.

The strategy also put more emphasis on the political. More aid was provided for civilian development in both countries, including job creation, education, training and infrastructure projects. For Pakistan, the Kerry-Lugar-Berman Act was proposed in September 2009 to provide \$7.5 billion civilian assistance over five years. In addition there were to be regular rounds of a US-Pakistan dialogue to co-ordinate action, build military-to-military ties and to help alleviate Pakistani concerns over abandonment.¹²¹ This constructive and multi-dimensional approach was a long way from Armitage's bullying threats and Bush's simplistic attitude towards the war on terror. Even so, the level of distrust

¹²⁰ Ahmad, "Pakistan's Quest for Security and Survival: US-Pakistan Relations", p. 121.

¹²¹ See Ishtiaq Ahmad, "The Af-Pak Strategy and Prospect of Counter Terrorism Cooperation" in Butt and Schofield (eds.), *Pakistan: The US, Geopolitics and Grand Strategies*, pp. 131-139.

on both sides which had built up since 2001 meant that not all features of the strategy were welcomed in Pakistan. For example, putting Pakistan in the same category as Afghanistan was perceived to be offensive in Islamabad and adopting the same counter-insurgency strategy in both countries was considered to be “a colossal mistake”.¹²²

More specifically, the Kerry-Lugar-Berman Act had conditions attached which were considered intrusive and demeaning. These included the requirement that the US Secretary of State had to certify that Pakistan was continuing to cooperate in dismantling nuclear proliferation networks. Hillary Clinton visited Pakistan that October in the middle of the row over the Act. She had gone to turn a new page in the bilateral relationship and to start rebuilding it on the basis of mutual respect. However, getting this message across was difficult, despite her announcement of an additional \$243 million to help improve a range of civilian projects in energy generation and higher education.¹²³ The issue was only resolved with an assurance from Congress that there was no intention of compromising Pakistan’s sovereignty or security.

Despite these problems, there was some optimism that the Strategic Dialogue could help move the two countries to a more stable, long-term relationship. At the third round of the dialogue in October 2010 progress was being made and Washington offered an additional \$2.29 billion for security assistance as a gesture to the Pakistani military that it was not being overlooked in the renewed focus on civilian aid.¹²⁴ However well-intentioned and sincere these initiatives were, Islamabad remained suspicious of Washington. The leaders felt they had been given empty promises before and remained concerned over the durability of the current relationship with Washington. Furthermore, there had been insufficient time to rebuild the trust that would be needed to hold the new relationship steady through the difficulties which were about to batter it.

¹²² *Dawn*, “Af-Pak Policy a Mistake”, 17 November 2009, <<http://www.dawn.com/news/845684/afpak-policy-a-mistake>> [Accessed 29 September 2014].

¹²³ Ahmad, “Pakistan’s Quest for Security and Survival”, pp. 124-125.

¹²⁴ Ahmad, “The Af-Pak Strategy and Prospect of Counter Terrorism Cooperation”, p. 141.

5.9 The Issue of Nuclear Security

In the last months of the Bush administration the instability in Pakistan started causing fears over the security of Pakistan's nuclear weapons and the possibility of them falling into the hands of terrorists or even an extreme Islamist government. In September 2008, the US Chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Mullen, reported, that whilst the weapons were secure, and had remained so through changes in the Pakistani government, there were still concerns in relation to terrorists.

Certainly at a worst-case scenario with respect to Pakistan, I worry a great deal about these weapons falling into the hands of terrorists and either being proliferated or potentially used. And so, control of ... those weapons is a key concern. And I think certainly the Pakistani leadership that I've spoken with on both the military and civilian side understand that.¹²⁵

By March the following year, US Central Commander, General Petraeus, revealed that concerns had spread to the possibility of regime collapse. "Pakistani state failure would provide transnational terrorist groups and other extremist organisations an opportunity to acquire nuclear weapons and a safe haven from which to plan and launch attacks."¹²⁶ Up until then though, US intelligence appeared relaxed on the issue. In November 2007, Deputy Secretary of State, John Negroponte, told Congress he was satisfied with the long term security of Pakistan's nuclear weapons since he believed there was plenty of succession planning within the Pakistani military and that the weapons were under effective technical control.¹²⁷ In May 2008, Donald Kerr, US Deputy Director of National Intelligence, judged that the military's control of nuclear weapons was firmly institutionalised and withstood many political changes over the years. Pakistan made its own assurances in a May 2009 statement from its Foreign Ministry: "There is simply no question of our strategic assets falling into the wrong hands. We have full confidence in our procedures, mechanisms and command and control systems."¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Paul K. Kerr and Mary Beth Nikitin, *Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons: Proliferation and Security Issues*, Congressional Research Service, 23 February, 2010, p. 1.

¹²⁶ Kristen E. Boon, et al, *Catastrophic Possibilities Threatening US Security*, Vol. 9, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 270.

¹²⁷ *House of Foreign Affairs Committee Hearing on Democracy, Authoritarianism and Terrorism in Contemporary Pakistan*, 7 November 2007.

¹²⁸ Kerr and Nikitin, *Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons*, p. 9.

However, Wikileaks cables revealed that, behind the public assurances, there was real worry and suspicion on both sides about this issue. The US ambassador to Pakistan, Anne Patterson, briefed special envoy, Richard Holbrooke, in February 2009 that her major concern was less the possibility that militants might steal an entire weapon than the chance that someone working in military facilities could gradually smuggle enough material out to eventually make a weapon.¹²⁹ The record of a September 2009 meeting between UK Foreign Secretary, David Miliband, and US officials also revealed concerns in Britain over the safety and security of Pakistan's nuclear weapons. Miliband also expressed the view that “the Pakistanis worry that the US will drop in and take their nukes.”¹³⁰

These fears were given added weight a month later when the General Headquarters of the Pakistani Army in the heart of Rawalpindi came under terrorist attack over several hours. In May 2011, terrorists again entered a secure military base in Karachi where they destroyed three p-3C Orion maritime surveillance planes. Those two high profile incidents raised serious questions about the armed forces' ability to protect their nuclear weapons from terrorist attacks.¹³¹ There was also criticism in Pakistan as Hamdullah explained:

The terrorist attacks on Pakistan's GHQ, and air and naval bases in Karachi is a matter of great disgrace for Pakistan's armed forces. The question arises how those terrorists entered those sensitive places with such tight security and fought with our armed forces for many hours. After those incidents, what kind of message did Pakistan give to the world? How can Pakistan give assurances to the world, and most particularly to the US, that our nuclear weapons are safe from terrorist and extremist elements in Pakistan? In a nutshell, Pakistan gave a clear message to the world that it has insufficient security to protect its military installations, including its nuclear weapons from extremist elements.¹³²

However, it was not just the dangers posed by external terrorist attacks or the infiltration of military installations that worried the US and NATO, but also the prospect of a coup or mutiny by extremist elements within the army itself. This fear became more prominent as suspicions about Islamic sympathies of some groups within the military also grew. This fear was shared by Pakistan's main

¹²⁹ *The Guardian* “US embassy cables: Punjab, ISI and a distracted president trouble Pakistan”, 30 November 2010, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/us-embassy-cables/documents/190330?gclid=Article:in%20body%20link>> [Accessed 28 September 2014].

¹³⁰ *The Guardian*, “US embassy cables: US expresses fears over Pakistan nuclear weapon programme”, 30 November 2010, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/us-embassy-cables-ocuments/181529?gclid=Article:in%20body%20link>> [Accessed 28 September 2014].

¹³¹ Imtiaz Ali, *United States-Pakistan Relations: Facing a Critical Juncture* (Washington: Institute for Social Policy and Understanding, 2012), p. 18.

¹³² Interview with Hafiz Hamdullah, Quetta, 18 August 2012.

rival in the region, India.¹³³ There were also concerns expressed over the rapid growth of Pakistan's nuclear arsenal. A US/NATO intelligence briefing of December 2008 revealed that, despite its precarious economic situation, Pakistan was producing nuclear weapons at a faster rate than any other country in the world.¹³⁴

Pakistan's own fears, expressed by David Miliband in his meeting with US officials, were given added weight by media reports that the US was making contingency plans which included sending in its own troops to secure the bombs. In response, Pakistan continued its public assurances and complained that Western fears were both exaggerated and unreasonable. There was also a perceived discriminatory and anti-Muslim edge to these concerns, it was claimed, since Pakistan's weapons were no more at risk than India's and no one ever spoke of a "Hindu Bomb" in the way they did of an "Islamic Bomb".¹³⁵

Despite this, US intelligence was in no mood to take risks. In US National Security Agency documents, leaked by Edward Snowden in 2013, it was revealed that surveillance of Pakistan's arsenal had been substantially increased. Fears about the security of its nuclear programme were so high that the budget for tracking the spread of illicit weapons divided the world into two categories - Pakistan and everybody else. These disclosures exposed new levels of US distrust in an already unsteady security partnership with Pakistan and revealed a more expansive effort to gather intelligence than had previously been disclosed.¹³⁶ Pakistan's former Ambassador to the US, Hussain Haqqani, observed, "if the Americans are expanding their surveillance capabilities, it can only mean one thing: the mistrust now exceeds the trust."¹³⁷

In fact, Musharraf had earlier given them every reason to be suspicious. When he suspended elections and declared emergency rule in November 2007,

¹³³ Tabassum, "The Nuclear Question: Nuclear Security and the US and Western Concerns", p. 241.

¹³⁴ *Guardian*, "US embassy cables: Fears over safety of Pakistan's nuclear weapons", 30 November 2010, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/us-embassy-cables-documents/226331>>, [Accessed 28 September 2014].

¹³⁵ *New York Times*, "Obama's Worst Pakistan Nightmare", 8 January 2009, <<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/11/magazine/11pakistan-t.html>> [Accessed 1 October 2014].

¹³⁶ Greg Miller, et al, "Top-secret U.S. intelligence files show new levels of distrust of Pakistan", *The Washington Post*, 2013, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/top-secret-us-intelligence-files-show-new-levels-of-distrust-of-pakistan/2013/09/02/e19d03c2-11bf-11e3-b630-36617ca6640f_story.html> [Accessed 13 April 2014].

¹³⁷ Haqqani in Miller et al., "Top-secret U.S. intelligence files show new levels of distrust of Pakistan".

one of his justifications was that if elections were allowed to proceed in Pakistan's disturbed environment it could bring in dangerous elements which might endanger Pakistan's "strategic assets" - a common euphemism for nuclear weapons.¹³⁸ In contrast, by September 2011 he was assuring the American media that their fear over weapons getting into the wrong hands was being massively overstated.¹³⁹

5.10 Kashmir

Obama appeared to understand that Kashmir lay at the centre of regional politics and that resolving this conflict would, in turn, help him succeed against the militants. In an eve of election interview, he said he would encourage India and Pakistan to resolve the issue so Islamabad could focus fully on the sources of Afghan instability rather than on India.¹⁴⁰ In accordance with this policy, Obama proposed to appoint a special envoy to the region to cover Afghanistan, Pakistan and India with a wide-ranging brief to include Kashmir. His choice of envoy was Richard Holbrooke, a veteran negotiator with a proven record in the Balkans. This rekindled Pakistani hopes that Obama would now play a more pro-active role than his predecessors in seeking a negotiated settlement in Kashmir. However, India lobbied strongly against the proposal and made it plain it would not accept either Holbrooke or, indeed, any US mediation in the dispute.

A Wikileaks cable revealed that Indian External Affairs Minister, Pranab Mukherjee, told the US Ambassador on 9 January 2009 that the idea smacked of interference and was unacceptable. Mukherjee was keen that India's relationship with the US should not be seen through the lens of regional crises. To drive the point home, the US was told that the Vice-President elect, Joe Biden, need not take the trouble to include India on his forthcoming regional tour.¹⁴¹ Kashmir was then taken out of Holbrooke's brief and he was appointed as Special Envoy to

¹³⁸ *Reuters*, "U.S. envoy warns Pakistan emergency undermines poll", 18 November 2007, <<http://www.reuters.com/article/2007/11/18/idUSCOL23152>> [Accessed 1 October 2014].

¹³⁹ Jeffrey Goldberg and Marc Ambinder, "The Ally from Hell", *The Atlantic*, 28 October 2011 <<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2011/12/the-ally-from-hell/308730/>> [Accessed 9 August 2013].

¹⁴⁰ Ahmad, "Pakistan's Quest for Security and Survival: US-Pakistan Relations", p. 119.

¹⁴¹ *The Hindu* (2011), "186057: Mukherjee shares concern about special envoy in Ambassador's farewell call", 21 May 2011, <<http://www.thehindu.com/news/the-india-cables/the-cables/article2035413.ece>>, [Accessed 4 July 2014].

Afghanistan and Pakistan only. National Security Adviser, General James Jones, made it plain that the new administration would not get involved in the issue beyond helping both countries build more trust and confidence.¹⁴² In Pakistan, this was seen as yet another unfair concession to India.¹⁴³

The US had put immense pressure on Pakistan over its support for terrorist groups in Kashmir but had backed away from pressuring India to reach a settlement.¹⁴⁴ The political scientist, Dr. Mehmood Ali Shah and Ambassador Naqvi, pointed out in interviews that this also signalled how far the US position on Kashmir had changed.¹⁴⁵ Originally Washington had justified what they claimed was a neutral stance by supporting the UN resolution, which was based on a plebiscite for Kashmiris to decide their own fate. Now it had abandoned this requirement and just called for the conflict to be resolved by the two sides without third party involvement, which had been the long-standing Indian position. Thus the US appeared to have abandoned the idea of Kashmiri self-determination in favour of a deal which supported India's position on the issue.

5.11 The Controversy over Drones

The complex and covert nature of US-Pakistan relations is well illustrated by the issue of drones over Pakistan territory. The Islamabad government actually co-operated with the US military over the drone strikes, but tried to pretend it did not. The use of these unmanned aircraft for bombing and missile attacks started in Pakistan in 2004 under the Bush administration. Launched from bases in the region, drones were operated remotely from a control centre in the US. They were used in more dangerous areas where piloted aircraft may come under enemy fire and be shot down. It was also claimed that drones could offer a better chance of precision strikes which would cause less collateral damage and fewer non-combatant casualties than traditional bombing or shelling. Sohrab argues that their

¹⁴² *Dawn*, "US to steer clear of Kashmir imbroglio", 29 March 2009, <<http://www.dawn.com/news/453219/us-to-steer-clear-of-kashmir-imbroglio>>, [Accessed 1 September 2014].

¹⁴³ *Dawn*, "Kashmir taken out of Holbrooke's brief, says report", 31 January 2009, <http://www.dawn.com/new_s/341239/kashmir-taken-out-of-holbrooke-s-brief-says-report> [Accessed 1 October 2014].

¹⁴⁴ Lieven, *Pakistan: A Hard Country*, p. 46.

¹⁴⁵ Interviews with Dr Mehmood Ali Shah, Quetta, 15 April 2012; Interview with Ambassador Sarwar Naqvi, Islamabad, 11 July 2012.

use became so common in FATA that they greatly reduced the need for US ground forces. Despite these supposed advantages, the US drone programme led to problems with the Pakistani government and aggravated anti-US sentiment in the country. There were a number of reasons for this. The most prominent amongst them was the feeling that the drones violated Pakistani sovereignty and killed innocent lives. For despite their supposed accuracy, civilian casualties formed over 20 per cent of the total number of deaths from drone attacks.¹⁴⁶ This concern was heightened by the thought that these lives had been lost at a click of a button pressed by an unknown American many thousands of miles away.

TABLE 6.2: TOTAL NUMBER OF CASUALTIES DUE TO DRONE STRIKES EACH YEAR, 2004-2011

Years	Incidents	Killed	Militants	Civilians
2004	1	7	5	2
2005	3	15	5	10
2006	2	94	1	93
2007	4	63	51	12
2008	36	298	223	75
2009	54	549	387	162
2010	122	849	788	61
2011	73	517	420	97
Total	295	2392	1880	512

Source: Drone Wars Pakistan: Analysis, *New America Foundation*, Washington, <<http://natsec.newamerica.net/drones/pakistan/analysis?page=1>> [Accessed 12 July 2014].

From 2008 onwards, Islamabad denounced the drone programme and requested the US to reconsider it. Prime Minister Gilani protested that action against terrorists inside Pakistan was the sovereign right and responsibility of his government. “If there are any militants in our country, it is our right to take action against them and we can do that. So we do not want anyone to interfere in our sovereignty.”¹⁴⁷ The Chief of Pakistan’s Armed Forces, General Ashfaq Kayani reminded the US on 10 September 2008 that “their rules of engagement clearly defined operations against militants inside a country as the sole responsibility of that country’s armed forces”. He went on to elaborate that “there is no question of

¹⁴⁶ Waqas Sohrab and Ishtiaq Ahmad Choudhry, “Pak-US Relations in 21st Century: Challenges and Opportunities for Pakistan”, *Berkeley Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 2, Issue 3, March 2012, p. 11.

¹⁴⁷ *Dawn*, “Only Pakistan Can act in FATA: PM”, 13 September 2008, <<http://www.dawn.com/news/321016/on-ly-pakistan-can-act-in-fata-pm>> [Accessed 29 April 2013].

any agreement or understanding with the coalition forces whereby they are allowed to conduct operations on our side of the border.”¹⁴⁸

General Kayani’s statement seemed clear, but claims began to emerge of a secret agreement with the US under which the Pakistani authorities tacitly supported US drone strikes in Pakistan. The first public acknowledgement of Pakistan co-operation came in February 2009 when Senator Dianne Feinstein, Chair of the Senate Intelligence Committee, disclosed that the US used Pakistani airbases for drone attacks in FATA.¹⁴⁹ This suggested a much deeper relationship with the United States on counter-terrorism matters than had been publicly acknowledged. Initially, the Pakistan government denied their bases were used in this way, but by December 2009 Defence Minister, Ahmed Mukhtar, admitted the US was using Pakistan’s Shamsi Airbase for drone operations.¹⁵⁰

Further evidence of Pakistani collusion was provided in a Wikileaks document revealing that Gilani had tacitly allowed the US to conduct the operations in FATA in August 2008, just a month before his public protests. The leaked cable revealed that Interior Minister, Rehman Malik, advised an un-named US official to suspend the “alleged Predator attacks until after the Bajaur operation”, suggesting that there was some co-ordination over the drone programme and Pakistan’s FATA operations at the time. Gilani is then reported as saying, “I don’t care if they do it as long as they get the right people. We’ll protest in the National Assembly and then ignore it.”¹⁵¹ Musharraf contributed to the controversy in a CNN interview in April 2012, when he rejected Gilani’s earlier statements that Pakistani leaders had no part in the operations. He went on to insist that the government of Pakistan signed a secret deal with the US that drones could be used “only on a few occasions, when a target was absolutely isolated and there was no chance of collateral damage.”¹⁵² Further evidence was obtained by

¹⁴⁸ *Dawn*, “Kayani Warns US to Keep its troops Out”, 11 September 2008, <<http://www.dawn.com/news/320706/kayani-warns-us-to-keep-its-troops-out>> [Accessed 24 April 2013].

¹⁴⁹ *Dawn*, “US Official Says Drones Using Pakistan Base”, 14 February 2009, <<http://www.dawn.com/news/847273/us-official-says-drones-using-pakistan-base>> [Accessed 30 April 2013].

¹⁵⁰ Sultan M. Hali, “The Reprehensible Drone Attack”, *The Nation*, January 25, 2012, <<http://www.nation.com.pk/columns/25-Jan-2012/the-reprehensible-drone-attacks>> [Accessed 9 August 2013]; *AlJazeera News*, *Pakistan and US: Hand-in-hand on Drone Deaths*, 18 December 2013, <<http://m.aljazeera.com/story/20131127145212604294>> [Accessed 12 September 2013].

¹⁵¹ *The Tribune*, “WikiLeaks: Gilani Open to Drone Strikes on ‘right people’”, 1 December 2012.

¹⁵² Cheryl K. Chumley, “Pervaiz Musharraf Admits Pakistan OK’d US Drone Attacks”, *The Washington Times*, April 12, 2013, <<http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2013/apr/12/pervez-musharraf-admits-pakistan-okd-us-drone-atta/>> [Accessed 7 August 2013].

The Washington Post in October 2013 in CIA documents and Pakistani diplomatic memos which showed that Pakistani military officials, who had bitterly criticized the US strikes, had secretly been choosing some of the targets and also received regular briefing about the results.¹⁵³

The CIA declined to discuss these revelations but chose not to challenge their validity. Pakistan's foreign office spokesman, Aizaz Chaudhry, also avoided commenting on them, though he did say the then government of Nawaz Sharif, was adamant that the drone strikes must be stopped.¹⁵⁴ Whatever other difficulties the US and Pakistan governments had in co-operating, it seemed they could still find solidarity in denying their collusion. Bergen and Tiedemann observed that Pakistan benefitted substantially from this arrangement since the drones struck at the TTP but the blame was shifted onto the US. "For Pakistani politicians, the drone program is a dream come true. They get to posture to their constituents about the perfidious Americans even as they reap the benefits from the US strikes."¹⁵⁵

The Commission set up in the wake of the US killing of Bin Laden also examined this issue and concluded that the Pakistani government had consented to the strikes. There had been no written agreement, according to the report, but there had been an informal, political understanding. This array of evidence strongly implicates successive Pakistani administrations in the drone operations and negates their claims that the US was violating sovereignty.¹⁵⁶ It also implicates both military leaders and the civilian Prime Minister Gilani in the deception. Khan, in an interview, concluded that the collusion over drone strikes did indeed undermine Pakistani sovereignty, but not in the way the Pakistan leaders had suggested in public.

¹⁵³ David Rohde, "Why the US Should Wage its Pakistani Drone War in Public", *The Atlantic*, 7 November 2013, <<http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2013/11/why-the-us-should-wage-its-pakistani-drone-war-in-public/281240/>> [Accessed 3 February 2014].

¹⁵⁴ Greg Miller and Bob Woodward, "Secret Memos Reveals Explicit Nature of US, Pakistan Agreement on Drones" *The Washington Post*, 24 October, 2013, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/top-pakistani-leaders-secretly-backed-cia-drone-campaign-secret-documentsshow/2013/10/23/15e6b0d8-3beb-11e3-b6a9-da62c264f40e_story.html> [Accessed 10 April 2014].

¹⁵⁵ Peter Bergen and Katherine Tiedemann, "The Drone War", *New Republic*, June 3, 2009, p. 9, <<http://www.newrepublic.com/article/the-drone-war>> [Accessed 8 September 2013].

¹⁵⁶ Neha Ansari, "Drones not a violation of our sovereignty", *The Tribune*, July 23, 2013, <<http://tribune.com.pk/story/580923/drones-not-a-violation-of-our-sovereignty/>> [Accessed 10 September 2013].

The US wanted to carry on their own agenda in Islamabad. They are very happy with the President of Pakistan, Asif Ali Zardari, no matter what the people of Pakistan think about him. He has done and is doing exactly what the Americans wanted ... So the result is that Pakistan is no longer independent. It has a rubber stamp parliament. It has a thoroughly corrupt Prime Minister and this type of arrangement in Pakistan suits him.¹⁵⁷

Notwithstanding Pakistan's public criticism, the US defended their use of drone strikes against the militants in FATA. In April 2012, John Brennan, Obama's counter-terrorism adviser, said: "As a matter of international law, the United States is in an armed conflict with al-Qaeda, the Taliban, and associated forces, in response to the 9/11 attacks, and we may also use force consistent with our inherent right of national self-defence."¹⁵⁸ The following June, Hillary Clinton also defended their use: "We will always maintain our right to use force against groups such as al-Qaeda that have attacked us and still threaten us with imminent attack."¹⁵⁹ The UN appeared to back the US by stating that every state had the duty to prevent terrorist plots and actions on its territory.¹⁶⁰ In certain interpretations of the law, it was claimed that Pakistan had not fulfilled its duty and the United States, therefore, had a right to intervene to protect itself from security threats emanating from Pakistan. The US drone strikes were, therefore, acts perpetrated in self-defence and did not constitute a violation of Pakistani sovereignty.

The UN Special Rapporteur, Philips Alston, extended this argument to include targeted killings:

A targeted killing conducted by one State in the territory of a second State does not violate the second State's sovereignty [where] . . . the first, targeting State has a right under international law to use force in self-defence under Article 51 of the UN Charter, [and if] the second State is unwilling or unable to stop armed attacks against the first State launched from its territory.¹⁶¹

The other claim that sovereignty had not been violated also related to the fact that the consent of the Pakistan government had been acquired. However it is

¹⁵⁷ Interview with Roedad Khan, Islamabad, 10 August 2012.

¹⁵⁸ *Dawn*, "Clinton Backs Drone Attacks", 8 June 2012, <<http://x.dawn.com/2012/06/08/clinton-backs-drone-att-acks/print/>> [Accessed 3 April 2013].

¹⁵⁹ Arshad Mohammad, "Clinton Backs Drones after Al Qaeda figured Killed", *Reuters*, London, June 7, 2012, <<http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/06/07/us-clinton-drones-idUSBRE8560N520120607>> [Accessed 5 July 2013].

¹⁶⁰ *Security Council, Resolution 784 (1992)*. Adopted by the Security Council at its 3063rd meeting, on March 31, 1992, <<http://www.treasury.gov/resourcecenter/sanctions/Documents/748.pdf>> [Accessed 12 September 2013].

¹⁶¹ Andrew C. Orr, "Unmanned, Unprecedented, and Unresolved: The Status of American Drone Strikes in Pakistan under International Law", *Cornell International Law Journal*, Vol. 44, 2011, p. 736.

not clear whether consent can be seen to have continued once Nawaz Sharif succeeded Gilani as Prime Minister in June 2013. While his predecessors had condemned the strikes at home they had all refrained from raising the issue at international level, but Sharif did so at the UN General Assembly on 27 September 2013 in which he said that, the use of drone strikes could never be accepted as it was “a continued violation of our [Pakistan's] territorial integrity.”¹⁶² Also, on his visit to the US in October, 2013 he called directly for the strikes to stop:

The use of drones is not only a continued violation of our territorial integrity but also detrimental to our efforts at eliminating terrorism from our country ... This issue has become a major irritant in our bilateral relationship as well. I would therefore stress the need to end drone attacks.¹⁶³

A few days later, on 4 November, he addressed his country's army at a field exercise and reiterated that the drones violated Pakistan sovereignty and said: “Gone are the days when our national security policies were determined through telephone calls from abroad. We now have a democratically elected government, chosen by the people of Pakistan.”¹⁶⁴ Retired General, Talat Masood, explained the change in policy:

I think the intelligence agencies, the military and the civilian leadership were all party to it but they didn't want to say so in public because it would be a very bad public relations exercise, and it would show how weak Pakistan is ... But the new civilian government has taken a different position. It says, well we were not a party to that and we think that ... the drones are doing much greater harm [than good].¹⁶⁵

The attacks did indeed cause harm, not least in generating resentment and inflaming anti-US sentiment. A survey in June 2012 revealed that only 17 per cent of Pakistanis backed the drone strikes, even if they were conducted with the support of the Pakistani government.¹⁶⁶ A series of polls showed the lack of support for America in Pakistan. In 2010, only 17 per cent of Pakistanis held a

¹⁶² *The Tribune*, “Pakistan Committed against Extremism, but Drones Must Stop” 27 September, 2013, <<http://tribune.com.pk/story/610267/pakistan-committed-against-extremism-but-drones-detrimental-nawaz-at-un/>> [Accessed 9 September 2013].

¹⁶³ *AlJazeera News*, “A Case against Drones”, 26 October 2013, <<http://m.aljazeera.com/story/201310267541941623>> [Accessed 23 March 2014].

¹⁶⁴ *The Economic Times* “US Drone Attacks Violate Pakistan's Sovereignty: Nawaz Sharif”, November 4, 2013, <http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2013-11-04/news/43658852_1_hakimullah-mehsud-pakistani-tali-ban-us-drone-attack> [Accessed 4 April 2014].

¹⁶⁵ *AlJazeera News*, “A Case against Drones”, 26 October 2013, <<http://m.aljazeera.com/story/201310267541941623>> [Accessed 23 March 2014].

¹⁶⁶ *Pew Research Global Attitude*, (2012), “Pakistani Public Opinion Ever More Critical of US”, June 27, 2012, <<http://www.pewglobal.org/2012/06/27/pakistani-public-opinion-ever-more-critical-of-u-s/>> [Accessed 13 May 2013].

favourable view of the US, and Barack Obama's personal rating fell from 13 per cent in 2009 to 8 per cent in 2010.¹⁶⁷ In the same year, only 2 per cent of the Pakistan public favoured good relations with the US.¹⁶⁸ To add to a feeling of crisis in US-Pakistan relations, a legal action for murder was launched in Pakistan against former CIA lawyer, John Rizzo, who claimed to have approved a monthly list of some 30 individuals to be targeted by drone strikes.¹⁶⁹

Public opinion in the tribal areas themselves is more difficult to pin down. An un-named 2009 poll quoted in *The Economist* found support for the strikes in these areas in contrast to the findings in the country as a whole. 52 per cent of respondents said they thought the strikes were accurate and 60 per cent said they weakened militant groups.¹⁷⁰ However, another poll conducted in 2010 in the tribal areas by the New America Foundation found only 16 per cent believed the drone strikes were accurate. It is notoriously difficult to conduct polls in conflict areas and, no doubt, the discrepancy in results is due to a fear of the militants.¹⁷¹ It also might be the result of a genuine difference of opinion amongst those opposed to the militants. Drones have caused innocent lives to be lost, but they have proved to be more accurate than conventional bombing.

Thus, the dispute over drones has been a mix of public condemnation and private collusion by the Pakistani political establishment. This duplicitous position has fuelled anti-Americanism even though the drone strikes may have been preferable to the alternatives for people in the affected areas. Gilani illustrated the hypocrisy of his government's policy on drones. On the one hand, he condemned their use because it ran "counter to our strategy of segregating peace-loving tribal people and militants". On the other, he declared that he had asked the US to provide Pakistan with the drones "so that in the case of credible intelligence we

¹⁶⁷ *Pew Research Centre*, "Muslim Disappointment: Obama More Popular Abroad than at Home, Global Image of US Continues to Benefit", 22-Nation Pew Global Attitudes Survey, Pew Research Centre, Washington, June 17, 2010, p. 2-3, <<http://www.pewglobal.org/files/pdf/Pew-Global-Attitudes-Spring-2010-Report.pdf>> [Accessed 14 May 2014].

¹⁶⁸ International Republican Institute Public Opinion Survey, July 15–August 7, 2009, cited in Robert B. Oakley and T.X. Hammes, "Prioritizing Strategic Interests in South Asia", *Strategic Forum*, No. 256, June 2010, p. 12.

¹⁶⁹ *The Economist*, "Out of the blue", 30 July 2011, <<http://www.economist.com/news/asia/21524916-growing-controversy-over-use-unmanned-aerial-strikes-out-blue>> [Accessed 01 October 2014].

¹⁷⁰ *Economist*, "Drop the Pilot", 19 October 2013, <<http://www.economist.com/news/asia/21588142-surprising-number-pakistanis-are-favour-drone-strikes-drop-pilot>> [Accessed 1 October 2014].

¹⁷¹ *Economist*, "Out of the blue", 30 July 2011, <<http://www.economist.com/news/asia/21524916-growing-controversy-over-use-unmanned-aerial-strikes-out-blue>> [Accessed 1 October 2014]; *Economist*, "Drop the Pilot", 19 October 2013, <<http://www.economist.com/news/asia/21588142-surprising-number-pakistanis-are-favour-drone-strikes-drop-pilot>> [Accessed 1 October 2014].

can ourselves take action.”¹⁷² This shows that the real argument was less about the drones themselves and rather more about who was using them and who was choosing the targets. This may have seemed a lesser dispute in the eyes of many, but it still remained at the heart of much of the animosity which continued to grow between Washington and Islamabad.

5.12 Duplicity and the Haqqani Network

2011 was a particularly bad year for the US-Pakistan relationship when underlying tensions and suspicions broke out into public accusations, demands and unilateral retaliations. The main reason was US frustration over the resurgent Taliban who were seriously disrupting their plans for troop withdrawal from Afghanistan in 2014 with brazen attacks and mounting casualties on the allied side. In particular, Washington was angered by anti-US militants sheltering in Pakistan, notably the Haqqani Network, which it claimed were aided by the ISI. Pakistan, on the other hand, had long been frustrated by the perceived unreliability of the US and believed it necessary to retain its proxy influence in Afghanistan through these groups once the Americans had withdrawn.

The Haqqani Network had already been blamed for a number of attacks on US and Afghan forces, including at the Kabul Serena Hotel in January 2008, a NATO convoy in May 2010, a truck bomb at an Outpost in Wardak on 11 September 2011 and the US Embassy in Kabul the following day.¹⁷³ The last two of these attacks brought US frustrations to the surface with accusations of ISI involvement. Admiral Mike Mullen, retiring Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, reported to the US Senate Armed Service Committee on 22 September 2011 that the Haqqanis, the ISI and the Pakistani Government were all responsible for those attacks.

the Haqqani network...act as a veritable hand of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence Agency... In choosing to use violent extremism as an instrument of policy, the

¹⁷² Yousaf Raza Gilani, “Pakistan Wants Drones’ Technology and Possession: Gilani”, Associated Press of Pakistan, 6 June 2009, <http://www.app.com.pk/en_/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=78095&Itemid=38> [Accessed 1 October 2014].

¹⁷³ *Mapping the Militant organisations*, “Haqqani Network”, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford, <<https://www.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/363#note1>> [Accessed 21 November 2013]; Thomas Joscelyn, “Panetta on Pakistan”, *The Long War Journal*, June 12, 2012, <http://www.longwarjournal.org/threat-matrix/archives/2012/06/panetta_on_pakistan.php> [Accessed 15 May 2014].

government of Pakistan – and most especially the Pakistani Army and the ISI – jeopardises not only the prospect of our strategic partnership, but also Pakistan’s opportunity to be a respected nation with legitimate regional influence. By exporting violence, they have eroded their internal security and their position in the region. They have undermined their international credibility and threatened their economic well-being.”¹⁷⁴

Anger was inflamed by a *Guardian* report that the US NATO Commander in Afghanistan had personally asked Pakistan’s army chief to halt the truck bomb attack that intelligence had warned him about. General Kayani was reported to have offered to make a phone call to stop the assault. Alarm came not just from Kayani’s failure to prevent the attack, but also from the fact that he had such a direct line of communication with the terrorists. When challenged over Haqqani involvement, a Pakistani military spokesman shifted the blame to NATO. “The main question is how did this truck travel to Wardak and explode without being checked by NATO? This is just a blame game.”¹⁷⁵

It appears that the US had understood the Pakistani position and strategy for some time. A WikiLeaks record of a November 2008 NATO briefing by US Intelligence Officer, Peter Lavoy, explained that Pakistan permitted the Taliban leadership council (the Quetta Shura) to operate in Balochistan while the ISI provided intelligence and financial support to insurgent groups, especially the Haqqani network, to conduct attacks on Afghan, ISAF, and Indian targets. Lavoy suspected that the ISI did this for three reasons. First, the ISI did not want India to play such an active role in Afghanistan; second, it believed that the Taliban would prevail in the long term, at least in the Pashtun belt; and finally they believed that if militant groups were not attacking Afghanistan, they would seek out Pakistani targets. Lavoy’s analysis recognised that the Pakistani military had lost overall control of the border areas and could only target a few insurgent groups at a time, so it had little option other than to adopt a policy of appeasement with others.¹⁷⁶

The US intelligence services, however, were very suspicious of the ISI and Pakistan more generally. Documents for interrogators at Guantanamo Bay recommend they treat the ISI as a terrorist organisation, the same as al-Qaeda,

¹⁷⁴ Carlotta Gall, *The Wrong Enemy*, (New York: Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, 2014), p. 261.

¹⁷⁵ *Guardian*, “US bomb warning to Pakistan ignored” 22 September 2011, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/sep/22/us-bomb-warning-pakistan-ignored> [Accessed 1 October 2014].

¹⁷⁶ *Guardian*, “US embassy cables: US expresses fears over Pakistan nuclear weapon programme”, 30 November 2010, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/us-embassy-cables-ocuments/181529?gu=Article:in%20body%20link>> [Accessed 29 September 2014].

Hamas and Hezbollah. Thus, association with the ISI was assumed to be an indicator of a detainee's likely support for militant Islamism and its war against US and coalition forces in Afghanistan.¹⁷⁷ The political establishment, however, had to be more cautious. The important transit routes through Pakistan had already been closed to NATO traffic on two previous occasions in protest at the NATO killing of two Pakistani soldiers in September 2010 and the drone strikes in April 2011.¹⁷⁸ By October, however, political caution had been overtaken by frustration when Hilary Clinton returned to Islamabad along with CIA Director David Petraeus, and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Martin Dempsey. In a joint news conference with Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Hina Rabbani Khar on 21 October 2011, Clinton made blunt accusations about Pakistan's links with the Haqqani network and demanded greater cooperation to squeeze the network which, she asserted, was responsible for cross-border strikes in Afghanistan. Pointing out that the Haqqanis could eventually be dangerous to Pakistan itself. "It's like that old story," Clinton said, "you can't keep snakes in your backyard and expect them only to bite your neighbours. Eventually those snakes are going to turn on whoever has them in the backyard."¹⁷⁹ General Kayani, however, turned the responsibility onto the US, saying it should focus on stabilising Afghanistan rather than pushing Pakistan to attack militant groups in the crucial border region.¹⁸⁰

Whilst this response might have been seen as provocative in the US, it reflected the view of many in Pakistan who saw the American reaction as hypocritical. Both Ishtiaq Ahmed and the journalist Ashraf Malkham pointed out that the Haqqani Network was the product of the Mujahidin which had been sponsored to fight the USSR in the 1980s with US money, technology and

¹⁷⁷ Jason Burke, "Guantánamo Bay files: Pakistan's ISI spy service listed as terrorist group", *Guardian*, 25 April 2011, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/apr/25/guantanamo-files-isi-integer-services-intelligence>> [Accessed 1 October 2014].

¹⁷⁸ Andrew North, "Is troubled US-Pakistan marriage heading for divorce?", *BBC News*, 10 May 2011, <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-13342140>> [Accessed 1 October 2014].

¹⁷⁹ *The Economic Times*, "Can't Keep Snakes in your Backyard: Clinton to Pakistan", 22 October 2011, <http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2011-10-22/news/30309741_1_haqqani-network-safe-havens-snakes> [Accessed 22 November 2013].

¹⁸⁰ Steven Lee Myers, "Clinton Widens Audience in Pakistan, but sticks to Tough Message", *The New York Times*, 21 October 2011; Bhaskar Prasad, "You Can't Keep Snakes in Your Backyard: US to Pakistan", *International Business Times*, 22 October 2011.

training and that both the CIA and the ISI should accept blame.¹⁸¹ Former Minister for Foreign Affairs at the time, Nawabzada Amad Khan, agreed with this perspective. “It would be insane to assume that we are hand and glove with any such [terrorist] organisations, or the military or ISI support any such organisations. Pure and simple, it is a lack of capacity right now which stops us from going against everyone simultaneously.”¹⁸² Ambassador Naqvi also blamed a lack of military capacity as a reason for Pakistan failing to act. Even if this were not so, he argued that there was no long-term military solution to the problems in the border areas. “Suppose we finish off the Haqqani network, the problem will still not be solved because the militants of the Haqqani network will scatter and start their terrorism in every corner of Pakistan.”¹⁸³ General Duranni was also exasperated over the US failure to appreciate the impossibility of sealing the Afghan-Pakistan border. “The Mexican border cannot be sealed which is much shorter, much simpler. Thus, if that cannot be done then Pakistan [cannot] be blamed [for its problems along the Pakistan-Afghan border].”¹⁸⁴ A common theme of grievance was also that the US appeared not to appreciate the great costs and sacrifices that Pakistan had borne in supporting Washington’s war on terror.¹⁸⁵ This assessment was confirmed by the Assistant Secretary of State, Phillip Crowley, who said “there is no country that has suffered more significantly from terrorism than Pakistan itself.”¹⁸⁶ As Khan said in an interview in 2012: “the war on terror is not confined only to Afghanistan and the tribal areas of Pakistan, but it has also spread to the secured areas of Pakistan such as, Quetta, Peshawar, Karachi, Bannu, Kohat etc. where the terrorists are targeting innocent civilians.”¹⁸⁷ Pakistan’s support of the war on terror had significantly destabilised and radicalised the country.¹⁸⁸ Interior Minister, Rehman Malik spoke for many when he said:

¹⁸¹ Interview with Ishtiaq Ahmed, Islamabad, 18 June 2012; Interview with Ashraf Malkham, Islamabad, 30 June 2012.

¹⁸² Interview with Nawabzada Amad Khan, Islamabad, 3 July 2012.

¹⁸³ Interview with Ambassador Sarwar Naqvi, Islamabad, 11 July 2012.

¹⁸⁴ Interview with Gen. Asad Durrani, 10 July 2012.

¹⁸⁵ Interview with Nawabzada Amad Khan, Islamabad, 3 July 2012.

¹⁸⁶ *The Nation*, “No Country has Suffered more from Terrorism than Pakistan: US”, 11 January 2011, <<http://www.nation.com.pk/international/11-Jan-2011/No-country-has-suffered-more-from-terrorism-than-Pakistan-US>> [Accessed 20 September 2013].

¹⁸⁷ Interview with Roedad Khan, Islamabad, 10 August 2012.

¹⁸⁸ Khursid Ahmad, “Pakistan Suffers a \$68 Billion Financial Losses in War on Terror”, *Weekly Pulse, Islamabad*, June 10, 2011,

If the strategy is not right, all the stakeholders have to share responsibility. Pakistan has suffered unimaginably since the war on terror began. We are not just fighting for Pakistan; we are fighting for the whole world. If this country is destabilized, the whole region is destabilized ... so please, stop the blame game. We are your partners. We are victims, not part of the terrorists.”¹⁸⁹

Just as the US accused Pakistan of playing a double game over its tolerance of the Haqqanis, many in Pakistan accused the US of double standards over peace talks with the Taliban. Realisation that the Taliban could not be eliminated led to US acceptance that a solution in Afghanistan would have to accommodate them in some way. In October 2008, US Defence Secretary Robert Gates said they would be ready to reconcile with the Taliban if they pursued talks with the Afghan Government. This policy was a major switch to the idea of reducing violence by empowering influential militias in areas beyond the reach of the Kabul regime. This kind of reconciliation with former adversaries had been used in Iraq and was seen as a possible solution to the Afghan problem.¹⁹⁰

The process proceeded in November 2011 with a meeting in Munich between US officials and Tayab Agha, a representative of Mullah Omar, followed by two rounds of preliminary talks about exchanging prisoners.¹⁹¹ For many in the West, this was seen as an inevitable compromise. In Pakistan, however, it was seen as an act of hypocrisy and betrayal. It was hypocritical because it showed the US following strategies which it had earlier condemned Pakistan for pursuing. It was a betrayal because Pakistan was being left out of the peace process, as Ishtiaq Ahmed pointed out:

If [the Taliban] is a peace negotiator for the US then how [can] the US force Pakistan to go against the Haqqani network which is also [a] major section of the Taliban? Therefore, the argument of the US that Pakistan is providing a safe haven to the Taliban finished with the beginning of the US-Taliban talks and has no moral justification ... the US [does not] involve Pakistan because the Indians and the Afghan Northern Alliance consistently mislead them.”¹⁹²

<<http://weeklypulse.org/details.aspx?contentID=795&storylist=16>> [Accessed 11 December 2013].

¹⁸⁹ Rehman Malik, cited in Simon Tisdal, “US-Pakistan relations facing biggest crisis since 9/11, Officials says”, *The Guardian*, April 12, 2011, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/apr/12/us-pakistan-relations-crisis>> [Accessed 20 March 2014].

¹⁹⁰ Mike Mount, “Gates: US Would Support Afghan Peace Talks with Taliban”, *CNN.com*, October 10, 2008, <<http://edition.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/asiapcf/10/10/gates.taliban/>> [Accessed 20 December 2013].

¹⁹¹ Mona K. Sheikh and Maja T.J. Greenwood, *Taliban Talks: Past, Present and Prospects for the US, Afghanistan and Pakistan*, DIIS Report (Copenhagen, Denmark: Danish Institute for International Studies, 2013), p. 15.

¹⁹² Interview with Ishtiaq Ahmed, Islamabad, 18 June 2012.

Beyond these grievances, though, there were also strategic reasons why Kiyani was not prepared to bow to US demands at this stage. The Haqqani Network was perceived to be important in maintaining Pakistani influence in Afghanistan after the US had withdrawn. Pakistan was also becoming increasingly concerned, as Lavov had suggested, over the Indian presence in Afghanistan. India had spent \$1.3 billion on reconstruction and infrastructure projects and by mid-2010 had stationed 4,000 of its own specialist advisors and security personnel in the country.¹⁹³ Pakistan saw the Indian presence as a security threat and a deliberate attempt to prevent it from attaining strategic depth on its border. In addition, Pakistan long suspected India of covert intervention in the tribal areas and the province of Balochistan and of providing arms and funds to the TTP and the Baloch separatists.¹⁹⁴ Pakistan was also suspicious of American support for India in Afghanistan.

The US is supporting India and the Northern Alliance ... It will never be in the national interest of Pakistan when people like them are sitting on the throne in Kabul after the Americans have left Afghanistan ... We have a porous border with Afghanistan and if there is a government in Afghanistan which is anti-Pakistan and pro-Indian like Northern Alliance, then they can cross the border and commit terrorism in Pakistan. Therefore, the US is supporting our enemy in Afghanistan.¹⁹⁵

General Duranni went further in claiming, “there are [a] number of people and insurgent groups which are paid by the US and India to attack Pakistan.”¹⁹⁶ These concerns were given added weight in October 2011 when India and the Karzai government in Kabul signed a Strategic Partnership Agreement under which India would help with education, energy requirements and integrating Afghanistan into the Indian economy. It was also understood that India would increase its training of Afghan security forces. Indian Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, referred to the violence in Afghanistan, which he said was undermining security in South Asia and promised that India would stand by Afghanistan when foreign troops withdrew in 2014.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ Vahid Brown and Don Ressler, *Fountainhead of Jihad: The Haqqani Nexus, 1973-2012* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 156-157.

¹⁹⁴ Mohsin Tausif, “India-Afghanistan Relation and Its Impacts on Pakistan”, *Society for the Study of Peace and Conflict (SSPC)*, New Delhi, 4 November 2011, <http://www.sspconline.org/opinion/IndiaAfghanistan_Relatio_Impact_on_Pakistan_04112011> [Accessed 12 January 2014].

¹⁹⁵ Interview with Roedad Khan, Islamabad, 10 August 2012.

¹⁹⁶ Interview with Gen. Asad Durrani, Islamabad, 10 July 2012.

¹⁹⁷ *BBC News*, “Afghanistan and India sign 'strategic partnership'”, 4 October 2011, <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-south-asia-15161776>> [Accessed 1 October 2014].

In these circumstances it suited Islamabad to support the pro-Pakistani Haqqanis. Haqqani also performed another key function for Pakistan in providing access to, and brokering deals with, the complex web of insurgent groups in the tribal areas and in Afghanistan itself. This had been critical in negotiating the release of the Pakistani Ambassador to Afghanistan, Tariq Aziz Uddin, who had been kidnapped in 2008 by the TTP. In 2009 Musharraf explained how and why Haqqani was important.

He is the man who has influence over Baitullah Mehsud, a dangerous terrorist, the fiercest commander in South Waziristan and the murderer of Benazir Bhutto as we know today. Mehsud kidnapped our ambassador in Kabul and our intelligence used Haqqani's influence to get him released. Now, that does not mean that Haqqani is supported by us. The intelligence service is using certain enemies against our enemies. And it is better to tackle them one by one than making them all enemies.¹⁹⁸

Pakistan could not afford to lose Haqqani as a key strategic asset and, even more, they could not afford to make an enemy of him as General Duranni's explained:

I have no intention of making the Haqqani network my enemy. We have problems with God knows how many other factions. Therefore, we don't want to create a problem with someone who is not against us and who is only trying to resist the US occupation.¹⁹⁹

Ishtiaq Ahmed's analysis was that Pakistan's counter-terrorism approach should be seen as "triangular".

We have been tough on domestic groups who were launching terrorism against Pakistani civilians, security institutions and establishments and have zero tolerance for them. But we have been lenient towards Afghan Taliban or the Haqqani network whose priorities are in Afghanistan ... [since] they are no threat to Pakistan. We are also lenient towards Lashkar-e-Taiba and other groups because their priorities are also not in Pakistan; their priorities are in Kashmir and India.²⁰⁰

Thus, with the two sides working to different strategies for different reasons and to different timetables there appeared little room for convergence on the issue of the Haqqani network. The best that Obama could hope for was an accommodation which would allow him to withdraw a sufficient number of troops to claim he had met his promises to the American people. The best that Pakistan could hope for was to maintain its triangular approach for as long as it could and hope it would not seriously endanger its core relationship with Washington.

¹⁹⁸ Brown and Rassler, *Fountainhead of Jihad: The Haqqani Nexus, 1973-2012*, pp. 156-157.

¹⁹⁹ Interview with Gen. Asad Durrani, Islamabad, 10 July 2012.

²⁰⁰ Interview with Ishtiaq Ahmed, Islamabad, 18 June 2012.

5.13 The US-Pakistan Relationship Faces Crisis

Emotions on both sides were inflamed by three other incidents in the crisis year of 2011 leading to an atmosphere of relationship breakdown - evidence of lethal unauthorised CIA activity in Pakistan; unilateral US intervention to kill Osama bin Laden under the noses of the Pakistani military; and the US attack on the Pakistani army post at Salala. Khan considered that these incidents left the relationship in an unprecedented state of crisis with the two countries accusing each other of betrayal. Given the recent history of relations, the crisis itself was not entirely unexpected. However, the suddenness of the deterioration did appear to take both sides by surprise.²⁰¹

On 27 January 2011, an American from the US Consulate in Lahore, Raymond Davis, shot two Pakistanis whom he thought were about to rob him. A third Pakistani was killed when an American vehicle rushing to Davis's aid collided with a motorcycle and then fled the scene. The ruthless manner in which Davis conducted the killing and his aborted rescue alerted police that he was a CIA agent. He was, in fact, one of many contractors engaged by the CIA on unauthorised activities in Lahore, but the US immediately issued denials, claiming he was a *bona fide* diplomat with diplomatic immunity, and demanded his release. This denial was not only untrue, causing recrimination and public uproar, but it was also misguided, since it made a quiet diplomatic solution less likely.

The Pakistani Court ruled against Davis's claim for diplomatic status and refused to release him. The incident escalated and the US stuck to its claims that Davis was an administrative and technical official and, in calling for his release, even Obama referred to him as "our diplomat."²⁰² Senior US politicians started campaigning for aid to be suspended. In Pakistan there was outrage at the idea of armed Americans rampaging through their cities. Indignation stoked anti-US sentiment, which was already rife, and there were mass demonstrations calling for Davis to be executed.

The US Embassy tried to pressure President Zadari to release Davis, but this just demonstrated their ignorance of Pakistani politics since the President had

²⁰¹ Interview with Roedad Khan, Islamabad, 10 August 2012.

²⁰² Declan Walsh and Ewen MacAskill, "American who sparked diplomatic crisis over Lahore shooting was CIA spy", *The Guardian*, 20 February 2011, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/feb/20/us-raymond-davis-lahore-cia?uni=Article:in%20body%20link>> [Accessed 1 October 2014].

little influence over either the courts or the police in the city of his political rival, Nawaz Sharif. After forty-seven days the immediate crisis was resolved with an admission by the US that Davis was a CIA contractor who was tracking militant groups in Pakistan, and the payment of \$2.3 million in diyat (compensation payable under Islamic law as an alternative to retributive punishment) to the families of Davis's victims.²⁰³ This allowed Davis to return home, but it left much resentment about covert US operations in Pakistan and the knowledge that they too were playing a double game.

The incident exposed US arrogance and ineptitude and suggested their confidence in being able to stonewall denials was greater than their political skill in pulling it off. It also highlighted the volatile state of relations. Thus, when a drone strike killed dozens at a peaceful tribal gathering in North Waziristan, the day after Davis's release, there were yet more accusations of US arrogance in acting precipitately on the basis of faulty intelligence.²⁰⁴ Kayani, called the action a violation of human rights, while Gillani described it as irrational.²⁰⁵ US Ambassador to Pakistan, Cameron Munter, was summoned to Pakistan's Foreign Office to receive a strong official protest. Later, hundreds of US personnel, believed to work for the CIA, did not get their visas renewed and were effectively expelled from the country.²⁰⁶ These events increased mistrust between Pakistan and the US and put the alliance in danger, but more was to follow.

US duplicity and incompetence had been revealed in the Davies case, but the tables were turned three months later. On 2 May 2011, US security forces completed a carefully planned assault on bin Laden's compound in Abbottabad where special forces shot him dead. This was a cause for celebration in the US,

²⁰³ See K. Alan Kronstadt, *Pakistan-US Relations*, Congressional Research Service, 24 May 2012, p. 7, <<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R41832.pdf>> [Accessed 12 April 2014]; Mark Mazetti, "How a Single Spy Helped Turn Pakistan against the United States", *New York Times*, 9 April 2013, <<http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/14/magazine/raymond-davis-pakistan.html?pagewanted=1&r=0>> [Accessed 1 October 2014]; Alex Rodriguez, "'Blood Money' Tradition might help resolve US-Pakistani row", *Los Angeles Times*, 13 March 2011, <<http://articles.latimes.com/2011/mar/13/world/la-fg-pakistan-blood-money-20110313>> [Accessed 19 April 2014]; Simon Tisdal, "US-Pakistan relations facing biggest crisis since 9/11, Officials says", *The Guardian*, 12 April 2011, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/apr/12/us-pakistan-relations-crisis>> [Accessed 20 March 2014].

²⁰⁴ Khalid Iqbal, "The Sew-Saw of Pakistan-US Relations!" *The Nation*, Islamabad, 28 March 2011.

²⁰⁵ Simon Tisdal, "US-Pakistan relations facing biggest crisis since 9/11, Officials says", *The Guardian*, 12 April 2011, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/apr/12/us-pakistan-relations-crisis>> [Accessed 20 March 2014].

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

nearly ten years after 9/11, but was a cause for embarrassment and more indignation in Pakistan. The Abbottabad compound which had been bin Laden's refuge for five years was located only half a kilometre from Pakistan's premier military academy and 35 kilometres from the capital city, Islamabad. This intensified US doubts about Pakistan's duplicity and commitment to the war on terror and led to two likely conclusions - either Pakistan had protected Osama bin Laden by providing him with a safe refuge; or the ISI, had been unable to find him despite his proximity to a very sensitive military base. Either way, Pakistan's credibility was shaken. There were official denials of collusion but many in the US had their doubts. Ali Soufan, a former US counter-terrorism agent, pointed out that the town where bin Laden's compound was located was full of former and current military officials and was remarkably free from any terrorist activities. "There's no way he could have been sitting there without the knowledge of some people in the ISI and the Pakistani military."²⁰⁷ The US Secretary of Defence, Leon Panetta, doubted Pakistan's official claims of not knowing about bin Laden's hideaway.

I personally have always felt that somebody must have had some sense of what was happening at this compound. Don't forget, this compound had 18 foot walls around it. Twelve foot walls in some areas, 18 foot walls elsewhere, a seven foot wall on the third balcony of the house. It was the largest compound in the area. So you would have thought that somebody would have asked the question, "What the hell's going" on there?²⁰⁸

General Duranni pointed out possible double standards on the US side over this. After all, American security agencies had been equally negligent in failing to detect the 9/11 hijackers who were living in the US for years. So, if the US condemned Pakistan for its complicity over bin Laden then the CIA should also be condemned for its complicity with the 9/11 terrorists.²⁰⁹

Islamabad protested over the unilateral action taken by the US to kill bin Laden, which took place on Pakistani territory but the Pakistani authorities were not even informed. Panetta hinted that the reason for this was that the US did not

²⁰⁷ Soufan, cited in Michael Isikoff, "Bin Laden Hideout Location Challenges Pakistan Credibility", *NBC News*, 2 May 2011, <http://www.nbcnews.com/id/42865101/ns/world_news-de_ath_of_bin_laden/t/bin-laden-hideout-location-challenges-pakistan-credibility/> [Accessed 27 May 2014].

²⁰⁸ Thomas Joscelyn, "Panetta on Pakistan", *The Long War Journal*, 12 June 2012, <http://www.longwarjournal.org/threat-matrix/archives/2012/06/panetta_on_pakistan.php> [Accessed 15 May 2014].

²⁰⁹ Interview with Gen. Asad Durrani, Islamabad, 10 July 2012.

trust Pakistan not to warn bin Laden in advance. When asked if Pakistan had interfered in the operation in any way, Panetta laughed and replied that, “they didn’t know about our operation. That was the whole idea.”²¹⁰ However, Pakistan’s sense of embarrassment and indignation was summarised by Musharraf in June 2011. “There is no way Pakistani authorities helped hide Osama bin Laden in their country ... It is extremely embarrassing, Pakistan is not a banana republic. People coming in and out without the government knowing, that is bad from the government’s point of view.”²¹¹

This incident also created severe internal tensions between the Pakistani military and the civilian government. This was revealed in the “Memogate” scandal which broke at the end of 2011 in which it was alleged that President Zardari feared the military was plotting a coup in the wake of the Abbottabad attack. In an attempt to thwart this, it was alleged Zardari sought help from the US military in restraining Pakistan’s generals. What is curious about this was the convoluted channel of communication. Zardari is said to have asked his Ambassador in the US to seek help from a wealthy American businessman of Pakistani origin, Mansoor Ijaz, in getting a memorandum to the Pentagon. Ijaz claims he drafted the memo with material supplied by the Ambassador and delivered it to a former security advisor, General Jones, who then passed it to Admiral Mullen (who then ignored it). This suggests two possible features of US-Pakistan relations at the time. Firstly, it illustrates how weak the ties may have been between the civilian government and its US counterpart in that the President had no direct links with top military officials.²¹² A second possibility is that Zardari did not trust the normal chain of communication to maintain confidentiality any more than the US trusted the integrity of their communications with Pakistan over bin Laden.

Next it was the turn of the US to make another misdirected attack to inflame tensions even further. On 26 November 2011, NATO helicopters attacked

²¹⁰ CNN, “Panetta: US Running out of Patience with Pakistan on Militant Havens”, 7 June 2012, <<http://edition.cnn.com/2012/06/07/world/asia/afghanistan-panetta-pakistan/>> [Accessed 27 May 2014].

²¹¹ *Tribune*, “Pakistan Didn’t Know about Bin Laden: Musharraf”, 15 June 2011, <<http://tribune.com.pk/story/189312/pakistan-didnt-know-about-bin-laden-musharraf/>> [Accessed 23 June 2014].

²¹² Qaiser Farooq Gondal, “The Pakistan-US Memogate Scandal”, *The Washington Times*, 21 December 2011, <<http://communities.washingtontimes.com/neighborhood/letters-pakistan/2011/dec/21/pakistan-us-memogate-scandal>> [Accessed 22 September 2014].

a Pakistani check post at Salala in Mohmand agency on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. 24 Pakistani soldiers were killed and 12 more were injured. This attack drew a furious response from the Pakistan army, describing it as unprovoked and indiscriminate. Gilani called it outrageous and convened an emergency meeting of the cabinet. Border crossings for ISAF supply routes were closed within hours and trucks and tankers were turned back. Orders were issued to Pakistani soldiers to return fire if they came under attack again, raising the prospect of hostilities between forces of the two erstwhile partners.²¹³ The Parliament of Pakistan then passed a joint resolution requiring the US to vacate Shamsi airbase.²¹⁴

Claims and counter-claims failed to assign responsibility and Pakistan insisted on a formal US apology as a condition for re-opening supply routes.²¹⁵ The NATO version of events claimed US-Afghan special forces in the area had been fired on first from a Pakistani position and had fired back, calling in air support. When the Pakistani side told the US they were under attack the level of mistrust was such that neither side would give precise location details to the other, so the incident was put down to an unfortunate miscommunication. Pakistan responded that the complete NATO chain of command knew their gunships were attacking Pakistani forces by 1:15a.m. that day, but continued knowingly for over an hour longer.²¹⁶ The US State Department favoured an apology, but the US military resisted claiming that there was fault on both sides. The Obama administration issued a statement of regret, but this was not enough to satisfy the many Pakistanis who had once more come onto the streets in anti-American protests. In Washington, Senators called for a tough line to be taken on Pakistan,²¹⁷ and, in what some criticised as a “stunt”, an Extraordinary Congressional Hearing in February 2012 heavily criticised human rights abuses in

²¹³ BBC News, “Pakistan outrage after 'NATO attack kills soldiers’”, 26 November 2011, <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-15901363>> [1 October 2014].

²¹⁴ Huma Imtiaz, “Salala Air Raid: United States Says Sorry – Finally”, *The Tribune*, July 4, 2012, <<http://tribune.com.pk/story/403330/salala-air-raid-united-states-says-sorry--finally/>> [Accessed 29 November 2013].

²¹⁵ *The News Tribune*, “Khar Wants US Apology on Salala Attack to reopen NATO Supply”, 5 June 2012, <<http://www.thenewstribune.com/2012/06/05/khar-wants-us-apology-on-salala-attack-to-reopen-nato-supply/>> [Accessed 10 June 2014].

²¹⁶ The Nation, “Pakistan rejects US army findings on NATO attacks”, 28 December 2011, <<http://nation.com.pk/national/28-Dec-2011/pakistan-rejects-us-army-findings-on-nato-attacks>> [Accessed 3 September 2014].

²¹⁷ *The Washington Times*, “2 key senators call for tough line with Pakistan”, 27 November 2011, <<http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2011/nov/27/2-key-senators-call-tough-line-pakistan/>> [Accessed 4 September 2014].

Balochistan.²¹⁸ Washington became further incensed when Pakistan proposed reopening the supply lines, but charging what they regarded as new and exorbitant charges.²¹⁹ However, the continued closure of the supply routes was not only raising operational costs, but also complicated the Pentagon's ability to efficiently move forces and equipment out of Afghanistan in preparation for American withdrawal. At the same time, the Pakistani military was becoming concerned about the possible loss of aid. Finally, a deal was made in which Hillary Clinton issued a carefully worded statement that the US was sorry for the losses suffered by the Pakistani military.²²⁰ This was sufficient to reopen the supply routes after a six-month stand-off, although not all in Pakistan were happy with the outcome. As Senator Hafiz Hamdullah said in an interview:

The NATO supply route was opened by the decision of Pakistan's army without taking into consideration the consent of Parliament which actually is the true representative of the people of Pakistan ... The US didn't apologise for [the] Salala incident properly ... Saying only sorry for that incident is not enough. The West use this word 100 times a day, even if they sneeze they say sorry.²²¹

The US-Pakistan relationship was at very low ebb once again in 2012. Phillip Crowley, former Assistant Secretary of State for Obama, thought that, given the complex and convoluted nature of the relationship, the apology and re-opening of supply routes qualified as momentum. "Yes, the bar is low. Turning things around will be a long process, but there is a basis to start."²²² Roedad Khan, however, offered a more pessimistic view. "Today we are the slaves of the Americans. We were allies of America; we were supporting the Americans through thick and thin. That is gone now."²²³ Senator Hamdullah, however suggested this might be going too far.

Despite the harsh statements, there is a resolve from the US side that they have to keep Pakistan on board. They can't afford to ignore Pakistan which is strategically [a] very important country for the US in this region. From our side also, we know very well that we don't want to be [an] enemy of the US. We are the friends of the US and we want to be friends of the US in future as well. To assume that [the] Pakistan-US relationship is

²¹⁸ *The Tribune*, "Following years of neglect, Balochistan issue taken up by US congressional panel", 10 February 2013, <<http://tribune.com.pk/story/334339/following-years-of-neglect-baloch-istan-issue-taken-up-by-us-congressional-panel/>> [Accessed 3 September 2014].

²¹⁹ *The Guardian*, "Pakistan ends dispute over NATO supply routes after Hillary Clinton apology" 3 July 2012, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jul/03/pakistan-dispute-nato-hillary-clinton>> [Accessed 3 November 2011].

²²⁰ P.J. Crowley, "Viewpoint: US and Pakistan Alliance is for Good", *BBC News*, 10 July 2012, <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-18788452?print=true>> [Accessed 11 July 2013].

²²¹ Interview with Hafiz Hamdullah, Quetta, 18 August 2012.

²²² P.J. Crowley, "Viewpoint: US and Pakistan Alliance is for Good", *BBC News*, 10 July 2012, <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-18788452?print=true>> [Accessed 11 July 2013].

²²³ Interview with Roedad Khan, Islamabad, 10 August 2012.

getting worse day by day is wrong. I am not assuming that. The relationship is a bit down now, but I am sure that it will change.²²⁴

Hillary Clinton expressed a similar, but more concise, view that the relationship was “challenging but essential.”²²⁵

5.14 Strategic Outcomes for the US and Pakistan

A year after the shock of 9/11, the Bush administration adopted a National Security Strategy in September 2002 which set out their aims and objectives and serves as a yardstick to assess how this period of the relationship contributed to their successes and failures. This was an expansive strategy to use their unprecedented and unequalled strength and influence to make the whole world a safer and better place. First priority was to disrupt and destroy global terrorism, making no concessions or deals with terrorists, and making no distinction between terrorists and those who aided them. This priority was the pivot of relations with Pakistan but other parts of the strategy also related to Pakistan and South Asia. These included: strengthening non-proliferation efforts to prevent rogue states and terrorists from acquiring weapons of mass destruction; defusing the Indo-Pakistani conflict; and promoting market-based democracy. With no mention of Pakistan, the strategy also aimed for a strong relationship with India in creating a strategically stable Asia.

By the end of the Bush Presidency, the strategy as a whole looked hopelessly unachievable with the US bogged down in expensive, unpopular and stalemated insurgencies in Iraq and Afghanistan. The Afghan conflict exposed the Durand Line as a conceptual frontier only which could not contain insurgents on either side of it, so the fighting spread to and from Pakistan itself. The enemy became not just al-Qaeda and the Taliban but a complex and multi-layered network of militant groups, some of which were considered allies by Pakistan but as enemies by the US. This generated a mixture of friction and co-operation in which the US continued to give billions of dollars to the Pakistani military for its selective co-operation. Nevertheless, the US could claim some success in that al-

²²⁴ Interview with Hafiz Hamdullah, Quetta, 18 August 2012.

²²⁵ Hillary Clinton, cited in P.J. Crowley, “Viewpoint: US and Pakistan Alliance is for Good”, *BBC News*, 10 July, <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-18788452?print=true>> [Accessed 11 July 2013].

Qaeda was generally accepted as a shared enemy and had been considerably disrupted, if not destroyed. Despite a few scares, there had been no more successful terrorist attacks attributed to al-Qaeda on US territory but global terrorism was far from destroyed and had proliferated, notably in Pakistan.

There are multiple explanations for US failure, including a gross over-estimation of its strength and influence, but Bush's determination to see al-Qaeda and the Taliban as one undifferentiated enemy, and to ignore the advice of the more experienced Pakistanis he was conscripting as allies, was clearly a factor in making the Afghan campaign bigger and more complicated than it needed to be. By 2008, the US finally acknowledged that it had to distinguish between the two and that accommodating the more moderate elements of the Taliban was necessary. The Bush circle had correctly identified the critical nature of Pakistan's co-operation over Afghanistan, but appeared to assume they could get this with threats and inducements of aid. Given the extent to which they knew they would be heavily reliant on Pakistan it could be argued that they were negligent in not paying greater attention to their key ally and not being clearer about what it could, and could not, deliver. Whilst they may have been surprised by Musharraf's instant agreement, it would have been wiser for them to be clearer about how far they could rely on it. Bush's subsequent inability to control the Northern Alliance take-over of Kabul and the prominence of its leaders in the new government then undermined much of the strategic motivation for Pakistan to abandon the Taliban and increased its motivation for selective co-operation only.

This left Bush's strategy in a tangle and it fell to Obama to find a way of pulling out American troops. His "Af-Pak" strategy attempted to broaden US-Pakistan co-operation with economic and partnership-building measures, in addition to military aid, but it degenerated into mutual recrimination under the strain of a string of crises. This left his target of troop withdrawal by 2014 looking uncertain and the prospects for subsequent stability in Afghanistan looking precarious as militant attacks continued and the Kabul government failed to control much of its national territory.

There were failures on other parts of the Security Strategy too, in relation to nuclear proliferation, resolving Indo-Pakistani conflict and democracy promotion. As revelations over A. Q. Khan emerged, it became clear that Pakistan had not only established itself as a nuclear power but had helped Iran, Libya and

North Korea with their nuclear ambitions. At the same time, Pakistan was producing nuclear weapons faster than any other country whilst also becoming more unstable with associated fears for the security of that arsenal. New insecurities had been added to Indo-Pakistan hostility through the Afghan campaign. The US and the Kabul regime had encouraged Indian investment and presence in what Pakistan considered its space for strategic depth. This included Indian security and diplomatic personnel located near the Afghan-Pakistan border which aggravated Pakistani fears of interference in the Baloch separatist movement and created longer term concerns about Indian influence over future Afghan governments.

Democracy promotion seemed out of the picture when Musharraf was being bullied and cajoled into abandoning the Taliban. Indeed, some of the demands placed on him, such as suppressing dissent against the US, could not be fulfilled by the kind of free, democratic society that Bush sought to promote. For seven years thereafter, the US maintained Musharraf's military regime just as its predecessors had done with those of Ayub, Yahya and Zia. Some success could be claimed by Musharraf's reforms, notably easing media restrictions, and the eventual elections which deposed the General himself but, even with a civilian government, non-military institutions were weak. The military, on the other hand, had been nurtured by decades of priority budgeting and aid, and was the only effective, meritocratic institution in the country. As such it was still the main force to be reckoned with, particularly in security and foreign affairs.

There was, however, one apparent success for the US which was also a setback for Pakistan - strategic partnership with India. The agreements on defence and nuclear co-operation formed the potential for realising the long-held US ambition of making India its key regional ally. With a common rival in China, strategic interests appeared to converge along with strong economic, cultural and democratic ties to make an Indo-US nexus look durable. However, much of the early impetus built up by Bush drained away through India's insistence on maintaining independence on issues like links with Iran, diversifying its arms

suppliers, restricting commercial access, climate change and continued business with its biggest trade partner, China.²²⁶

Washington's relationship with Pakistan was another key factor holding back the Indo-US nexus, particularly Washington's inability to control Islamabad's support of Islamic militants. Obama then caused Indian resentment in his attempts to resolve Kashmir through his special envoy, Richard Holbrooke - the failure of which then caused resentment in Pakistan. Although the issue remained unresolved this created a growing acceptance in Pakistan that it was no longer possible to hang on to the idea that the US would help, as Ambassador Fatemi conceded. "To expect America, or to expect any major power, to use its influence on India to nudge in the direction of the resolution of Kashmir issue should not be expected by Pakistan. Those days are gone, they are history now."²²⁷

Beyond Kashmir, Shamshad Ahmad argued that the US-India relationship had far greater regional significance and deeper implications for Pakistan's security and its relations with the US.²²⁸ Whilst this may be true on paper, in practice it had not actually produced any great changes. In regional terms there was potential for reconfiguration with the US and India balancing against China, and possibly Russia, and with Pakistan expanding its links with China in preference to the US. However, no substantial shifts had occurred. India was still ambivalent about the US, and its aim to access Iranian energy supplies, via a pipeline through Pakistan, was unwelcome in Washington. India did more trade with China than with the US –a relationship it would not put at risk with a pivot to America. The US was committed to Pakistan so long as it needed what co-operation it could get for exiting Afghanistan with dignity and for containing terrorism thereafter. Pakistan had long recognised the US was leaving, so was taking aid while it could whilst pursuing its own longer term strategy of doing what it had always done - deterring Indian influence in Afghanistan and Kashmir. In this way, Pakistan's security was more threatened by US encouragement for

²²⁶ *Economist*, "Less than allies, more than friends", 16 June 2012, <<http://www.economist.com/node/21556935>>, [Accessed 1 October 2014].

²²⁷ Interview with Ambassador Tariq Fatemi, Islamabad, 20 July 2012.

²²⁸ Ahmad, "Pakistan's Quest for Security and Survival: US-Pakistan Relations", in Butt and Schofield, (eds.) *Pakistan: The US Geopolitics and Grand Strategies*, p. 120.

India in Afghanistan but this had been the case since 2001 when the Northern Alliance took Kabul. In terms of Pakistan's relations with the US, the Indo-US nexus was certainly viewed with concern but this was just one of many factors which had driven the relationship into crisis.

In Pakistan itself, the consequences of this phase of the relationship were keenly felt in terms of refugees, mass upheaval, internal conflict with foreign and indigenous groups, terrorist attacks and drone strikes, all of which seemed to generate more blame for double-dealing than sympathy from Washington. Musharraf initially got a clean bill of health for his regime and his nuclear arsenal but as his country got more and more entangled with the prolonged Afghan campaign, his position weakened and he gave way to an elected civilian government which, whilst tolerated by the military, was in no position to seriously challenge the ultimate power of the generals. The military still had prime influence on security and foreign policy and, in particular, had complete control over the burgeoning nuclear arsenal. Despite this, they too had lost control over parts of their national territory and were losing initiative in Afghanistan to India.

5.15 Implications for the Relationship

The pressures of 9/11 and the Afghan campaign exposed the gulf in strategic interests between the US and Pakistan rather than bringing them together. After a period of relative regional neglect the US became interested in Afghanistan again; first, as a potential conduit for Central Asian resources and then as a hostile centre of al-Qaeda activity which turned into a primary threat to be eliminated along with the Taliban regime. Pakistan's interests had remained constant against India and maintaining strategic depth in Afghanistan through supporting the Taliban. Thus, 9/11 found Pakistan on the wrong side as far as the US was concerned, so co-operation had to be conscripted. Musharraf's early willingness to help indicated his eagerness to get the benefits of US partnership, in legitimacy and aid, rather than a dramatic re-orientation of his strategic interests.

The US side appeared not to appreciate the significance of this in three ways. First, in pressuring Musharraf for support, it was not necessary for Armitage to threaten him since the implied, and unfounded, fear of US aid going

to India seemed to have had the most effect. Second, it was Taliban regime change, rather than hunting al-Qaeda, that brought the two partners into conflict. Pakistan's willingness to eliminate the foreign fighters of al-Qaeda suggests that there was a shared interest there which could have been pursued with clearer focus and co-operation without the gruelling complications of regime change. Third, once the Northern Alliance took Kabul and prominent positions in the Afghan government, it effectively meant Pakistan had to fight against its own interests to support those of the US. The longer the campaign dragged on, the more this fundamental divergence became apparent.

Another objective of the US Security Strategy suggested a shared interest in resolving Indo-Pakistan conflict but the accompanying objective of achieving strategic partnership with India did nothing to increase confidence that any resolution might be to Pakistan's advantage. That India was still the preferred regional partner became obvious with the defence and nuclear agreements, followed by US acceptance of India's refusal of third party interference in its disputes with Pakistan. Here, fundamentally, interests still diverged.

Nuclear proliferation remained a conflicting interest, but Pakistan's activities were given the customary blind eye along with the military dictatorship which presided over them. All sanctions were lifted and human rights were put back on the shelf once more. There were grounds to argue that American wilful blindness was not complete in this instance since efforts were made to encourage Musharraf to reform, but continued aid to the military meant they maintained their political pre-eminence. Obama's "Af-Pak" strategy also acknowledged the need to go beyond military aid and aimed to help Pakistan with economic and social development, but this still took second place to strategic military support. However, both the Bush and Obama administrations can be accused of wilful blindness towards the wholesale abuse of rights that took place in Pakistan's punitive campaigns in the tribal areas which, in other circumstances, would have prompted demands for restraint or humanitarian intervention. There are also grounds for arguing that the Bush administration was wilfully blind over the Northern Alliance take-over of Kabul since the evidence points to prior knowledge of the likelihood of this happening, though Bush gave Musharraf good reason to believe that it could and would be prevented.

Pakistan was also wilfully blind, notably over its own involvement in the deployment of drones, which it continued to deny even in the light of clear evidence to the contrary. There was also Pakistani wilful blindness over the activities of the militant groups linked to the Afghan Taliban which it tolerated in the border areas, though this amounted to deceit where the ISI actively encouraged them to attack NATO and Afghan targets. There is also a good case to argue that Musharraf had long been wilfully blind to A. Q. Khan's nuclear proliferation network though he made claims to the contrary.

The incidence of reverse influence in this episode of the relationship is curious because, in the beginning, Musharraf appeared not to use his geo-strategic location and intelligence assets to negotiate better terms but, at the end, the US appeared to have very little political leverage over Pakistan's unwelcome activities. The reason was that once the US and NATO were heavily engaged in Afghanistan they became increasingly reliant on Pakistan's co-operation. In evidence to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the UK House of Commons, Professor Shaun Gregory explained that whilst it was critical to NATO success for Pakistan to put serious pressure on the Afghan Taliban, it was not possible to force them to do so because of the "counter-leverage" they could apply. Up to 80 per cent of NATO's main supply lines flowed through Pakistan and they were reliant on their host for bases and over-flights. In addition, the West relied on the ISI for intelligence, particularly on al-Qaeda, and on the army to keep 60-100 nuclear weapons out of terrorist hands. Gregory concluded that the West had become too dependent on Pakistan in too many important security areas to seriously question the military or ISI, despite knowing they were duplicitous over the Afghan Taliban²²⁹ This illustrates the significance of the Bush circle's failure to appreciate just how critical its relationship with Pakistan would be and how it was actually a key stakeholder in the enterprise rather than just a bullied conscript.

It looked as though the earlier pattern of US political bias would re-emerge in this period when sanctions were removed and Musharraf was hailed as a courageous partner by the Republican administration. However, Bush's agreements with India demonstrated a clear preference in that direction, particularly in his refusal to offer Pakistan the same kind of preferential nuclear

²²⁹ House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, 2011, pp.34-35.

deal. Whilst the succeeding Democrat administration fell out with Pakistan, it had started off by trying to build a more constructive partnership with them. Relations with India had also cooled a little under Obama. Thus, it was not possible to detect any clear political bias for either Pakistan or India.

The period started with a big “trust deficit” in the relationship and ended with a bigger one. From the Pakistani side, perceptions of US fickleness were reinforced by another exaggerated switch in standards and claims of valued partnership. Previous experience indicated this was likely to be a short term expedient followed by abandonment and a reversion to condemnation and sanctions. Betrayal followed over the Northern Alliance, and also the agreements with India, causing Pakistan to work towards a longer term strategy which excluded some key US interests. From the American perspective, previous experience predicted Pakistan would be unreliable, so co-operation was achieved through arm-twisting and aid, but this was insufficient to prevent co-operation becoming selective in relation to the Afghan Taliban. This led to accusations of Pakistan playing a double game which were all the more bitter for the inability of the US to stop it. Obama and Clinton made an attempt to put relations on a more constructive footing with the Af-Pak Strategic Dialogue, but mutual suspicions were too entrenched and were reinforced by the crises that followed. By 2012, it could be argued that both sides were in conflict whilst apparently co-operating with each other. The US was making unwanted attacks on its partner’s territory and Pakistan was abetting the Afghan Taliban in its attacks on NATO and the Afghan regime. Underlying this was the fault line of mismatched strategic interests which nearly sixty years of relations had failed to resolve.

CONCLUSIONS

The crisis of 2011 was not just a product of the incidents which occurred that year. Neither was it caused just by the tensions which had grown during the ten-year War on Terror leading up to it. It was the product of a 60 year-old unequal relationship marked by disenchantment, disappointment and distrust in which each side viewed the other as unreliable but irreplaceable. This thesis set out to explore the reasons why the relationship, which had six decades to mature, was so poor. It argues that the history of US-Pakistan relations is one of opportunism in which interests have not converged sufficiently for sustained co-operation on the basis of shared aims. Instead, periods of co-operation depended on short-term wilful blindness by the US and on Pakistan's ability to use its geo-strategic location as reverse influence in the otherwise unequal relationship between the two countries. The legacy of this is a mutual mistrust but neither side has seen any advantage in breaking off the relationship altogether. This concluding chapter reviews the evidence in the research in relation to key elements of the argument: diverging interests; opportunism; wilful blindness; trust-deficit; and reverse influence. It then reviews how far the relationship has successfully benefitted the US and Pakistan in their strategic aims and identifies areas where further research could deepen understanding of the subject. The chapter concludes with a short assessment of what the history can say about future relations.

Interests

Pakistan is still attempting to deal with the traumas of the 1947 Partition and to secure its independence and Islamic identity in opposition to what is still firmly held to be a hostile India. The Indian threat comes not just from its greater military capacity but also from its possession of key water supplies which, whilst under international supervision, could be deployed against Pakistan in the form of devastating floods or droughts. The war over Kashmir, and its disputed *de facto* division, created a further grievance with India, framed as a loss. Internally, the integrity of the state has been under pressure from separatism, particularly in Balochistan, with suspicions of Indian interference. Military parity with India is

seen as essential to being able to deter aggression and for negotiating from a position of strength on these issues. These concerns are all India-centric, and India is the reference point from which foreign policy, defence and security decisions are made. This has remained a constant feature for Pakistan through to the present day.

Whilst Pakistan's concerns are regional and ideologically Islamic, the US has a global position to defend and promotes its own free market capitalism and liberal democracy. While the primary object of Pakistan's foreign policy has remained the same, in the shape of India, the primary objects of US foreign policy have altered. Up to 1989, this was communism as a whole, but China became partially excluded from 1970 and Iran was added as a new Islamic threat from 1979. After the Soviet collapse, the US focussed on Iran, Iraq and other destabilising conflicts. After 2001 its focus was global terrorism and its supporters, with a more recent concern about China. At no time has the US shared Pakistan's security interests against India. Although there were tensions between Delhi and Washington, particularly in the Cold War, the US favoured a regional partnership with India and in recent years has formed the basis for one. There were episodes when the US and Pakistan co-operated closely: the early Cold War up to 1962; US rapprochement with China; the proxy war of the Mujahidin against the USSR in Afghanistan; the War on Drugs; and the very early stages of the US Afghan campaign. Pakistan also showed a willingness to help the US to a lesser extent in the first Gulf War and with peacekeeping. However, whilst the two states shared shorter-term goals and targets in these episodes, their fundamental interests did not coincide. Indeed, with India being both Pakistan's enduring foe and the US's favoured regional partner there was always potential for conflict which surfaced in years leading up to the crises of 2011. Pakistan's enduring but lower-key relationship with China was also contrary to US primary interests until the 1970s. Although it temporarily proved an asset in relations with Washington it still contains potential for conflict as China is increasingly seen as a rival to the West and it is unlikely to be so easy to persuade Islamabad to ditch China as it did the Taliban.

Opportunism, Wilful Blindness and Double Games

With no shared fundamental strategy to cement relations, and with major shifts in US prime interests, it is helpful to view the relationship as episodic rather than continuous. At the start, the new Pakistan was under pressure to find a backer to help build its military almost from scratch as well as an ally to deter Indian aggression and help right the Kashmir grievance. What it got from the US, after Truman's reluctance, was military and economic aid but no alliance against India. This became clear in 1962, when the West went to India's help in the Sino-India border clash, and in 1965, when US even-handed suspension of aid gave the advantage to India in the war over Kashmir.

Thereafter, fluctuating episodes were mostly determined by a basic equation: on the one side was Pakistan's need for aid and international regime legitimacy; on the other was periodic US need for access to, and use of, Pakistan's geo-strategic location, intelligence and contacts. However, the US was potentially restricted by the values it sought to promote in relation to human rights and nuclear proliferation, so giving aid and legitimacy to Pakistan required a suspension of these values in the form of wilful blindness. These features made episodes of co-operation largely a matter of opportunism in the sense that they were highly dependent upon circumstances and expediency. A prime instance of this was Nixon's blind eye to the repression in East Pakistan in return for access to Yahya's connections with Mao in 1971, but the recurring themes of wilful blindness were Pakistan's nuclear programme and military dictatorships.

Accommodating Pakistan in this way required some significant and swift policy changes. After putting the elected Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto under severe pressure over the nuclear programme, and only eighteen months after suspending aid altogether, the US gave the military dictator General Zia a six-year aid package worth \$3.2 billion. This expediency was necessary to access Zia's links to the Mujahidin in order to stoke the insurgency against the USSR in Afghanistan. Despite subsequent revelations about uranium enrichment, Reagan, Bush and the majority of the US political establishment were willing to suspend belief and an even bigger six-year aid package worth \$4.2 billion was agreed in 1987. That Zia refused Carter's 1979 offer and was prepared to wait for better terms indicates he knew how the relationship now worked and was as

opportunistic as the US. Similarly, three years after sanctions were imposed over Pakistan's nuclear tests, and only twenty months after further sanctions and condemnations over another military coup, General Musharraf was given a three-year aid package of \$2.6 billion and hailed as a leader of courage and vision. In this case the US needed access to Afghanistan along with bases, logistical facilities, intelligence and an undertaking to abandon the Taliban. Thus, the price the US had to pay for Pakistan's co-operation was not just aid and recognition; it also included a large measure of wilful blindness. This was justified on the grounds that it would actually encourage Pakistan to abandon its nuclear ambition, as with the Pressler Certificates, or to embrace democracy, as with Ayub's 1958 coup. However the realisation of Pakistan's nuclear deterrent and the continual resort to military rule suggest this was, at best, wishful thinking. In addition Washington had to be wilfully blind to the consequences of its own directions to Pakistan to suppress insurgents in the Tribal Areas from 2004 onwards.

By examining the history of the relationship as a chain of transactions it becomes clear how each episode of US expediency was followed by recrimination when circumstances no longer justified maintaining wilful blindness. This drew claims of betrayal and abandonment from Pakistan. When Nixon and Kissinger were no longer able to justify aid in 1971 they were accused of failing to protect East Pakistan when they clearly considered they had protected West Pakistan. When détente rendered Pakistan of less strategic value Bhutto felt obliged to pursue an independent foreign policy which included a nuclear deterrent and drew sanctions from the US again. After 1989 the US lost interest in the region and the re-imposition of sanctions against Nawaz Sharif's elected government was interpreted as both unfair and discriminatory. This pattern established an expectation in Pakistan that episodes of US engagement would be temporary which in turn encouraged Islamabad to balance Washington's requirements with longer term strategies of their own. This drew claims of Pakistani duplicity from the US.

Pakistan first started hedging its bets in this way in the understanding it achieved with Chou-en-Lai that Pakistan would exempt China from its obligations under its Western alliances. The subsequent arms deals and development of links to help China, in contradiction to the Western alliances' anti-communist purpose, was then a reaction to Western aid to India. However, it was the nuclear

programme that generated greater duplicity. Although the US was clearly indulging in wilful blindness over this, Pakistan made it possible with denials and assurances from General Zia, Benazir Bhutto, Nawaz Sharif and General Musharraf. Later, as the US war in Afghanistan came to dominate relations, Pakistan exempted elements of the Afghan Taliban from its offensives against militants. This led to accusations of Pakistan playing a double game by supporting anti-US groups whilst claiming to be co-operating with the US campaign against them.

The history of the relationship also demonstrates how past disappointments over abandonment and duplicity created mutual expectations of future disappointment and reinforced a declining cycle of trust. By the time of 9/11 the Bush team felt it necessary to conscript Pakistan's involvement without consultation over what was achievable and Musharraf felt it necessary to hide his nuclear arsenal from the US. From this unpromising start to the episode trust degenerated further when Bush failed to keep his word on the Northern Alliance and Pakistan began its double game in the Tribal Regions.

Reverse Influence

This assessment of the relationship raises the question as to why the US continued to engage with Pakistan and to give so much aid each time a new opportunity arose. At the start there were few other regional options for the US to contain the USSR once Nehru declared India to be non-aligned, and this choice became even narrower after the Islamic Revolution in Iran. During the Cold War, then, Pakistan offered a unique asset in its geo-strategic location and a willingness to side with the West. By the time of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, Pakistan had further assets in unique access to the Mujahidin insurgents and a porous border through which they and weapons could pass to attack the Red Army. Zia used these to successfully bargain with the US not just for large amounts of military aid but also for control of the distribution of support for the Mujahidin. This helped create two more assets: a well-resourced military; and an extensive intelligence service (ISI) with influence among the militant groups and in Afghanistan. The ISI was also experienced in working with the CIA. These assets made Pakistan indispensable to Bush in his hunt of al-Qaeda. Once this

became an invasion of Afghanistan he also became highly reliant on Pakistan for logistics and supply routes. This confirms that the reverse influence which Roger²³⁰ identified was an important part of the bilateral relationship during the Cold War and demonstrates that it continued to be a feature afterwards in the context of the US-Afghan campaign. In addition, though, this research suggests that reverse influence was attributable to much more than just geo-political location. By 2011 it included military and intelligence assets as well as a stranglehold on supply routes and it was these that appeared to restrain US ability to force Pakistan to suppress the Afghan Taliban. Pakistan's ability to use this influence was temporary and could only be applied when Washington took the initiative for another episode of engagement. However, Pakistan's nuclear arsenal then became another factor for the US and it was important for this to be kept secure from terrorists or an extremist coup. Thus the US had added concern not to undermine political stability or the military establishment's control of these weapons and it could be argued that they had become a deterrent against future abandonment.

Strategic Utility of the Relationship

In terms of Cold War strategy, the relationship was a considerable benefit to the US. Pakistan joined the alliance system which helped contain communism in the region for 25 years and allowed the US surveillance facilities. Although Johnson rebuked Ayub for developing links with China, Nixon opportunistically capitalised on them to outmanoeuvre the USSR in 1971. Bhutto's foreign policy diversification had not lasted long enough to impede re-engagement once he had been removed, though there is no firm evidence that the US was instrumental in his death. After Brezhnev broke regional containment with his Afghan intervention in 1979, Reagan opportunistically capitalised on the counter-insurgency which Zia was helping to orchestrate and claimed credit for the eventual Soviet retreat and collapse. Beyond the immediate Cold War, though, the emergence of two independent centres of nuclear capability in India and Pakistan

²³⁰ Tom Roger, "A Study of Reverse Influence", in Azmi, M. R., (ed.) *Pakistan-American Relations*, Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1994).

was a setback. Whilst India's programme could help keep China in check, Pakistan's could threaten US interests in Israel and elsewhere in the Middle East. By 1998, Pakistan's deterrent was an acknowledged reality and the US had been unable to prevent it. Pakistan made small contributions to the Gulf War and peacekeeping, and helped with anti-narcotics operations, but it facilitated the rise of the Taliban who became hosts for al-Qaeda. Together, they became the new enemy which drew the US into its own protracted Afghan stalemate, in which Pakistan could only be compelled and rewarded into selective co-operation. However, through that co-operation the US was also able to establish a strategic presence in Pakistan and Afghanistan on the doorsteps of China, Central Asia and Iran.

Compared to the US, Pakistan made no gains in strategic outcomes from its US relationship. India was still the prime threat and Kashmir was nowhere near resolution. The LOC was merely a ceasefire line but it continued to split the Province for decades longer than the Berlin Wall had split the German capital. The US approach had been largely to avoid getting too involved. Kennedy may have missed the best opportunity to encourage India towards the UN-agreed plebiscite in 1962 when Nehru needed western help to ward off China. In the event he not only backed away from pressuring Nehru but also restrained Pakistan from taking advantage of its best opportunity for a military solution. Bush had restrained Musharraf's use of proxy militants in Kashmir in 2001 and Obama's attempt to mediate eight years later was firmly rejected by India. The water dispute was resolved through the Indus Waters Treaty of 1960 but this had been brokered by the World Bank rather than through US mediation. In Afghanistan, Pakistan had protected its strategic depth by sponsoring the Taliban while left to its own devices in 1989–2001, but re-engagement with the US destroyed this and India gained influence there under the new regime.

It is an indication of the ambiguity of the bilateral relationship that Pakistan's gains in strategic military capability came through both conflict and co-operation with the US. The US intermittently gave Pakistan military aid to build up its conventional forces but this failed to prevent it consistently falling behind India. Estimates from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute show that in 1988 Pakistan's military expenditure was 23% that of India, falling to 17%

in 2000 and to 15% in 2012.²³¹ However this was offset by nuclear weapons in which Pakistan had a slight edge in numbers with 90–110 warheads compared with India's 80–100 in 2012.²³² In addition to providing mutually assured destruction these neutralised the possibility of large-scale conventional Indian attack, including the option of limited nuclear strikes against concentrations of tanks and troops preparing to invade. They also provided cover for Pakistan's asymmetric warfare against India through proxies by deterring punitive action.²³³ Whilst getting this nuclear capacity was sometimes openly discouraged by the US with sanctions and rebukes it was expediently ignored at others, and nine years of wilful blindness from 1981–1990 appears to have speeded its development at a critical stage. During the same period US resources also contributed to the empowerment of Pakistan's proxy forces amongst the Mujahidin. Thus, the US had been both a help and a hindrance in helping the Pakistani military compensate for lack of conventional parity with nuclear and asymmetric capacities. All the same, this had not achieved any of Pakistan's desired strategic outcomes.

However, Pakistan's internal security was seriously damaged as a result of re-engagement with the US in its operation for regime change in Afghanistan. As the conflict spread into FATA it destabilised the social fabric and political balance in those areas and created millions of internally displaced refugees on top of the Afghan refugees already there. It also brought brutal Pakistani military actions, US drone strikes and insurgent violence along with widespread retaliatory terrorism in mainland Pakistan.

It is argued that the US stifled political development in Pakistan through its tolerance of, and support for, military dictatorships. Figures as diverse as Benazir Bhutto and General Duranni support this view. Benazir Bhutto claimed the West was at fault for, "allowing Pakistani military regimes to suppress the democratic aspirations of the people of Pakistan, as long as their dictators ostensibly support the political goals of the international community."²³⁴ General

²³¹ Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, SIPRI Military Expenditure Database, 2014, <<http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex>>, [Accessed 24 October 2014].

²³² Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, SIPRI Yearbook, 2012, <<http://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2012/07>> [Accessed 24 October 2014].

²³³ Manpreet Sethi, "Pakistan's Nuclear Doctrine and Strategy", Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, India Seminar Report, 23 August 2007, <<http://ipcs.org/seminar/india/pakistans-nuclear-doctrine-and-strategy-671.html>> [Accessed 24 October 2014].

²³⁴ Benazir Bhutto, "The Price of Dictatorship", *The Guardian*, 23 August 2006, <<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2006/aug/23/comment.pakistan>> [Accessed 25 October 2014].

Durrani went further and claimed the US preferred military dictators: “The US would be happy if you have a one window operation particularly in an environment in which Pakistan has to play a particular role. So the military or a dictatorship provides you that. You don’t have to ask anyone. I am the big man called Musharraf and I’ll take the decision.”²³⁵ In the case of Musharraf the US got a quick decision, but Zia was much less compliant and the nature of his regime was a factor restraining Carter from making a better offer. This suggests that dictatorship was no guarantee of compliant partnership. The US gave aid to Zia’s regime in 1981-1988 but Bush Snr. appears, in part, to have continued it for a further two years to encourage Benazir Bhutto’s democratic government. Sanctions applied thereafter were clearly a consequence of the military’s intransigence over the nuclear programme and the inability or unwillingness of the civilian government to rein it in. They cut military aid to the generals making it difficult to argue that this was some kind of support for them. Further sanctions were later applied in response to Musharraf’s coup and Clinton publicly rebuked him with a refusal to shake hands. Even Bush Jnr. encouraged Musharraf towards democratic reforms and elections. Thus, there are indications that the US had not always encouraged military dictators. Nevertheless, the military have either been directly ruling the country or in a position of great influence, particularly in foreign and security policy, for most of Pakistan’s history. For much of that time it has been getting aid from the US and the most intense donations occurred during the Zia and Musharraf eras. However, these two episodes were prompted by external events suggesting that support for military dictators was a product of US expediency on the one hand and Pakistani opportunism on the other. The veteran civil servant, Roedad Khan, pointed out that it was a wider, corrupt political elite that benefitted from US aid: “what [does] the poor man in Pakistan get? He gets nothing. What is [the] advantage of the American aid to Pakistan? The Americans don’t mind if the corrupt politicians and Army [are] filling their pockets because they are helping the US.” He added that this was a principal reason for popular resentment of the US.²³⁶ A full examination of this topic is beyond the scope of this thesis but the evidence suggests that an effect of US expediency was to empower the military as the best resourced and most powerful

²³⁵ Interview with Gen. Asad Durrani, Islamabad, 10 July 2012.

²³⁶ Interview with Roedad Khan, Islamabad, 10 August 2012.

national institution at the expense of civilian institutions and wider economic development, but this was driven by external events rather than a primary preference.

Further Research

This research has examined the broad sweep of the history of the bilateral relationship in order to identify the tendencies, cycles and themes that have shaped it. In addition to examining key events, decisions and turning points, this approach has interpreted the relationship also as a cumulative process in which interactions created a legacy of expectation of future behaviour on both sides. This has exposed the cumulative way in which the deficit of trust built up and became self-reinforcing over time. It helps understand the reasons why each side feels as it does and helps explain why mutual suspicion is now so engrained in the present state of the relationship. However, this approach could be enriched by further research into specific decisions points and episodes of engagement which were particularly significant. It would help to understand the roots of Pakistan's sense of betrayal to have a clearer understanding of Kennedy's decision not to press India over Kashmir. The 1981-88 period was particularly important in establishing the pre-eminence of the Pakistani military and the ISI as well as the Mujahidin so it would help to have a deeper understanding of the roles played by each side in those processes.

This research has focussed on relations between principal state actors and institutions in order to establish the basic pattern of events and interactions. This could usefully be augmented by examining the roles played by non-state agencies to assess how their activities contributed to the whole. In particular, understanding the role of the media in shaping and reflecting the view each nation had of the other might help explain how popular sentiment developed so strongly.

The context for this thesis has been restricted to the US and Pakistan with other states appearing mainly in relation to the national interests of the two principals. Whilst this allows the features of the relationship to be clearly identified it provides no indication of how exceptional they are or whether they represent a more universal experience. Thus, comparative studies could help shed light on the extent to which Pakistan's experience was similar to, or different

from, other former colonies emerging in the Cold War. They could also help identify how far American treatment of Pakistan was part of a broader pattern of behaviour, for example in the use of covert operations, or unique to that context. A comparison with Turkey, as another Islamic US ally with a strong army and conflicting regional interests, might be particularly instructive.

Lessons from History

The balance of gains from the relationship appears to strongly favour the US but there is little indication that Pakistan will give up on it in the foreseeable future. Despite American frustrations, the US would be unwise to abandon Pakistan as it did in the past since many of the circumstances favouring reverse influence will remain even after a partial withdrawal from Afghanistan. So, does the history of the relationship yield lessons for how this difficult but compelling relationship might develop?

On the Pakistan side there were two different views. First, Ambassador Fatemi considered that, “This is not a strategic relationship. We should never claim that it is strategic ... it was primarily [a] transactional relationship.”²³⁷ As such he suggested a rational, open approach in which, “we must know what the expectations are. We must also seek to identify the areas where we can work together and try to isolate the areas where we cannot work together and promote those where understanding can [be] reached.” He also urged Pakistan to stop competing with the US-India relationship which, difficult though it might be to swallow, had actually now acquired a strategic dimension which was likely to be further intensified.²³⁸ Therefore, this view recognised the realities of diverging interests, accepted the realities of US regional strategy and advocated a negotiated approach to transactional co-operation within these limits. It is an approach which has not often been present in the relationship and would require a considerable re-orientation of attitudes on both sides.

The second view is that of former ISI Director, General Duranni, who agreed that there were no common objectives, but considered this required that “countries must play double, triple games Running with the hare and hunting

²³⁷ Interview with Ambassador Tariq Fatemi, Islamabad, 20 July 2012.

²³⁸ Ibid.

with the hounds is the norm. Double games, double cross and deception are what international relations are all about. Get the maximum advantage ... We should try and get the maximum out of the US and in return give the minimum.” The answer for Pakistan was, “whenever people say that we should not play a double game, I say we must play at least a double game but play it well.” And for the US: “My advice to the US is that the world is a circus and now that you have joined it, learn to ride two horses on which your one step is on one horse and [the other] on [another] horse.”²³⁹ This view advocated little change in what the relationship had become and, as such, was likely to reinforce the status quo. History shows, however, that the status quo had delivered little strategic benefit to Pakistan and more to the US, and raises doubts over how well Pakistan is able to benefit from such a game beyond consolidating the military dominated elite. This view also weakens portrayals of Pakistan as a victim of US attentions²⁴⁰ and suggests that the Pakistani establishment has contributed to shaping the current state of affairs. Whilst Ambassador Fatemi’s approach offers an optimistic alternative it relies on a reasonable level of trust for success which would be undermined by General Duranni’s double games.

On the US side there have been two tensions in policy towards Pakistan which have bred instability in the relationship in addition to that caused by the underlying divergence of interests. First was the tension between wanting India as first choice for regional partner but needing Pakistan because of regional geopolitics. This led to a double game in which the US kept its India options open whilst engaging Pakistan and ultimately facilitated greater Indian influence in Afghanistan. In the Cold War it appeared Democrats favoured India while Republicans favoured Pakistan, but as India grew in power and significance this became a general preference for India. However, Washington’s continued reliance on Pakistan will impede relations with India and its continued espousal of India will reinforce distrust in Pakistan. The second tension was between the promotion of liberal values and nuclear non-proliferation on the one hand, and support for

²³⁹ Interview with Gen. Asad Durrani, Islamabad, 10 July 2012.

²⁴⁰ See P. Preston, “Pakistan is the real victim of Bush's great 9/11 folly”, *The Guardian*, 9 October 2011, <<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/oct/09/pakistan-bush-folly>> [Accessed 27 October 2014]; H. Yusuf, “Victimhood narratives”, *Dawn*, 30 May 2011, <<http://www.dawn.com/news/632810/victimhood-narratives>> [Accessed 27 October 2014].

illiberal regimes and tolerance of nuclear proliferation in pursuit of realist power politics on the other. In the case of Pakistan this led to sharp oscillations of policy and an expectation of mistrust, as discussed above. Unless the US can find a way of at least smoothing the change from one policy phase to the next this will remain a problem for the relationship. However, the legacy of mistrust and of popular anti-US and anti-Pakistan sentiment in each nation makes this even more difficult.

It would be rewarding to conclude that the history of US-Pakistan relations contains optimistic indications of how they might be put on a more constructive level. However, the pattern of relations has become well set over sixty-five years and shows little sign of changing. Based on fundamental interests which diverge and sometimes conflict, it has been formed and re-formed through expedient opportunism and wilful blindness with an accumulated deficit of trust and mutual antipathy. It is resentfully held together by mutual reliance for non-mutual ends. The military-dominated Pakistani elite relies on US money and arms to confront India and to maintain state integrity. The US relies on them for access to and use of their geo-strategic location and intelligence and for keeping their nuclear arsenal safe from American enemies. Thus, despite a massive power disparity between the two states, Pakistan has been able to exert considerable reverse influence on the US to keep the money and arms coming. To change this pattern would require considerable institutional and popular changes in attitudes which are well engrained. Obama's failed attempt to turn a new page in 2008 illustrates how difficult such change was to make. This suggests more of the same, unless and until an external shock shakes regional relationships into a new configuration.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Biographies of Interviewees

Lt. Genral Asad Durrani (Ret.)

General Durrani was Director General of the Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) from August 1990 to March 1992, having formerly been Director General of the Army's Military Intelligence. He was also Commandant at the National Defence College and served as Pakistan's military attaché to Germany from 1980 to 1984. After retiring from the Army he became Pakistan's Ambassador to Germany from 1994 to 1997 and to Saudi Arabia from 2000 to 2002. He is currently a commentator on intelligence and security issues on Pakistan.

Professor Tahir Amin

Prof. Amin is a political scientist, currently Chair of the National Institute of Pakistan Studies at Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad and previously Iqbal Chair at the Centre for International Studies, University of Cambridge. He studied in Canada and the US, gaining his doctorate at MIT. He researched "Reactions of the Non-Western world to the Thesis of the Clash of Civilizations by Samuel Huntington" at Harvard as a Fulbright Scholar and was later Visiting Fellow there and at the Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown University, Providence. He has written on many aspects of Pakistani politics and foreign policy, particularly on the Kashmir conflict.

Ambassador Tariq Fatemi

Ambassador Fatemi is a career diplomat currently serving as Special Assistant on Foreign Affairs to the Prime Minister since 8 June 2013. He held diplomatic assignments in Moscow, New York, Washington and Beijing. A delegate to the UN General Assembly from 1982 to 1986, he also attended Non-Aligned and OIC Conferences, while also being a member of the UN sponsored Geneva negotiations on Afghanistan. He was High Commissioner to Zimbabwe, with concurrent accreditation to Angola, Botswana, Namibia and Zambia. Later, he served as Ambassador to the United States, Jordan, Belgium and Luxembourg and the European Union. He taught at the Foreign Service Academy, the National

Defence University and the Administrative Staff College. He is also a co-author of the Brookings Institution's book: *The Future of Pakistan*.

Brigadier Agha Ahmed Gul (Ret.)

Brig.Gul is a former army officer who has served in various different departments of Pakistan's army. He commanded the Joint Services Staff College and was instructor at military training institutions and has been influential in training future military leaders. He has vast knowledge and experience and on the basis of his services he also served as the Vice Chancellor of the University of Balochistan, Quetta.

Dr. Ishtiaq Ahmed

Dr. Ahmed is a political scientist, currently Quaid-i-Azam Fellow at St. Antony's College, and Research Associate at Centre for International Studies, University of Oxford. He is also an Associate at the School of Politics and International Relations, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. He has written widely on South Asian security, the conflict in Afghanistan and US-Pakistan relations. His publications include articles for *Asian Affairs* and *Perceptions*, chapters in edited volumes by Ashgate and Routledge, and books such as *Gulbuddin Hekmatyar: An Afghan Trail from Jihad to Terrorism*. He reported on the conflict in Afghanistan as a journalist and is a commentator for Al-Jazeera, CNN, Al-Arabiya, and other international channels, newspapers and agencies. He researches on conflict resolution in Afghanistan, exploring prospects of reconciliation and regionalism.

Senator Hafiz Hamdullah

Hafiz Hamdullah is a politician, elected to the Senate of Pakistan representing the Jamait Ulema-e-Islam party in March 2012. He is chairperson of the Senate Committee on Religious Affairs and Interfaith Harmony and a member of the Committee on Government Assurances, Information Technology and Telecommunication and the Committee on Ports and Shipping. He was formerly elected as a Member of the Provincial Assembly in Balochistan and served as the Provisional Health Minister there from 2002 to 2005.

Colonel Muhammad Hanif (Ret.)

Col. Hanif is Research Fellow at the Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI), having formerly been Director of the Research and Analysis Department of the Ministry of for ten years. His research focusses on security issues of South Asia, South East Asia and China and he specializes in Pakistan-India relations. His research papers have been published in the IPRI Journal and the IPRI Book on "Eighteenth Amendment Revisited". He has also co-edited two IPRI books and he regularly contributes articles on current issues of national importance regularly in the media.

Syed Fasih Iqbal

Syed Iqbal was a well-known journalist as Chief Editor of the Balochistan Times and Zamana Quetta. He was a prominent and pioneering news editor and a former President of the All Pakistan News Paper Society the Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors. He was also elected to the Senate of Pakistan for two consecutive terms in 1985-1988 and 1988-1994 and was credited with introducing the Parliamentary Committee system. He attended the UN General Assembly as a member of the President's entourage and met George Bush Sr., Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan. He was also a human rights activist. Sadly he passed away on 13 February 2014.

Dr. Zafar Nawaz Jaspal

Dr. Jaspal is Director and Assistant Professor at the School of Politics and International Relations, Quaid-I-Azam University, Islamabad, where he teaches Strategic Studies; International Security; Nuclear/Missile Proliferation; Terrorism and Countermeasures; Arms Control/Disarmament; Domestic and Foreign Policies of Pakistan. He is also a Lead Researcher/Convener of the Program in Domestic and International Security Communication at the university. He is advisor on Non-Proliferation to the South Asian Strategic Stability Unit in SASSI, Islamabad and London, and a Course Coordinator at Foreign Services Academy Ministry of Foreign Affairs Islamabad. Prior to joining the University he had been a Research Fellow at ISSI, IPRI, Islamabad, Pakistan. He is widely published with over 85 research papers and an expert commentator on BBC, PTV, and Al Jazeera.

Nawabzada Amad Khan

Nawabzada Khan is a former politician who was Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and one of the youngest members of the Cabinet of Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani from November 2008 to March 2013.

Roedad Khan

Roedad Khan, as a politician and senior civil servant, has been a Pakistani statesman since 1951 to the present day. He was Chief Secretary of Sindh and of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa; Managing Director of the Pakistan Television Corporation; Secretary at Information & Broadcasting, Ministry of Labour, Ministry of Tourism, and Ministry of Interior; and an Advisor to Prime Ministers and Presidents. He got to know two Prime Ministers (Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif) and six Presidents (Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan, Z. A. Bhutto, Zia ul Haq, Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Farooq Leghari). He reflects that each one of them directly or indirectly contributed to his generation's anguish, sense of betrayal, loss of confidence in its rulers, and the souring of the dream of Pakistan. He is now a senior member of Imran Khan's Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf party.

Maulana Abdullah Khilji

Maulana Khilji is a religious scholar of national repute who was Advisor to President of Pakistan, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, on Religious Affairs. He was a member of the National Assembly and served on various Federal Committees. He was a member of the Council of Islamic Ideology, the Central Zakat Council and the Ulema Board of the Government of Pakistan, and was an Advisor and Minister in the government of Balochistan. He has thirty five years' experience of teaching Arabic and Islamic studies and represented Pakistan on international delegations. He has published a number of articles and appears in the media as a debater and analyst.

Professor Rasool Baksh Rais

Prof. Rais is a political scientist having been Professor of Political Science at Lahore University of Management Sciences and Professor/Director of the Area Study Centre at Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. He was Quaid-i-Azam Distinguished Professor of Pakistan Studies at Columbia University, New York in 1991-94. He gained a PhD at University of California, Santa Barbara and took

fellowships at Wake Forest University, Harvard, and Berkeley. He is widely published in books and journals on political and security issues pertaining to South Asia, Indian Ocean and Afghanistan. His current research is “Modernism, State and Challenge of Radical Islam in Pakistan”.

Ashraf Malkham

Former Chief News Editor in Pakistan Television Corporation (PTV), Islamabad, which is a state-run broadcaster of Pakistan and is a public and commercial broadcasting television network. He was previously associated with number of other private channels in Pakistan such as, The News, Geo TV and Samaa TV where he served in various senior positions.

Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi

Ambassador Naqvi is a former diplomat and served as Ambassador to Austria and the IAEA. In 2006, he was appointed to the Chairman’s Advisory Council in the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC) to advice on International Affairs, with particular focus on IAEA matters. He helped establish a center for research, study and analysis of all aspects of disarmament, arms control and current nuclear issues in PAEC. He is currently Associate Fellow at the South Asian Strategic Stability Institute and holds a Masters in International Public Policy from Johns Hopkins University, USA.

Brigadier Dr. Syed Noor-Ul-Haq (Ret.)

Brig. Noor ul-Haq has held several positions in training and education for the Pakistani military: Head of Modern Subjects at the Pakistani Military Academy; Director of Education Training and Religious Affairs for the Pakistan Army; Commandant of the Military College Jhelum, Principal of the Defence Authority College in Karachi, Professor at New Port University, and District Education Coordinator Attock, Government of the Punjab. He is an Associate Alumni of Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies, National Defense University, Washington, DC, and has published research on education, security, international relations and history, with a focus on South Asian affairs, edits the Islamabad Policy Research Institute Journal and has authored seven books, including “Making of Pakistan: Military Perspective”.

Shaukat Piracha

Shaukat Piracha is a well-known Pakistani journalist, political analyst, and a special news correspondent of AAJ TV Pakistan.

Professor Mehmood Ali Shah

Prof. Shah is a political scientist, currently Professor Emeritus at the University of Balochistan, Quetta. Before this he was Head of the Departments of Political Science and International relations, Dean of Social Sciences, Director of the Pakistan Studies Centre and Pro-Vice Chancellor at the same University. He has authored many books on Pakistan and also published articles in various reputed journals.

Ainullah Shams

Ainullah Shams is a former Minister of Health in the Provincial Assembly of Balochistan, representing Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) and is well-known member of that party.

Ambassador Ayaz Wazir

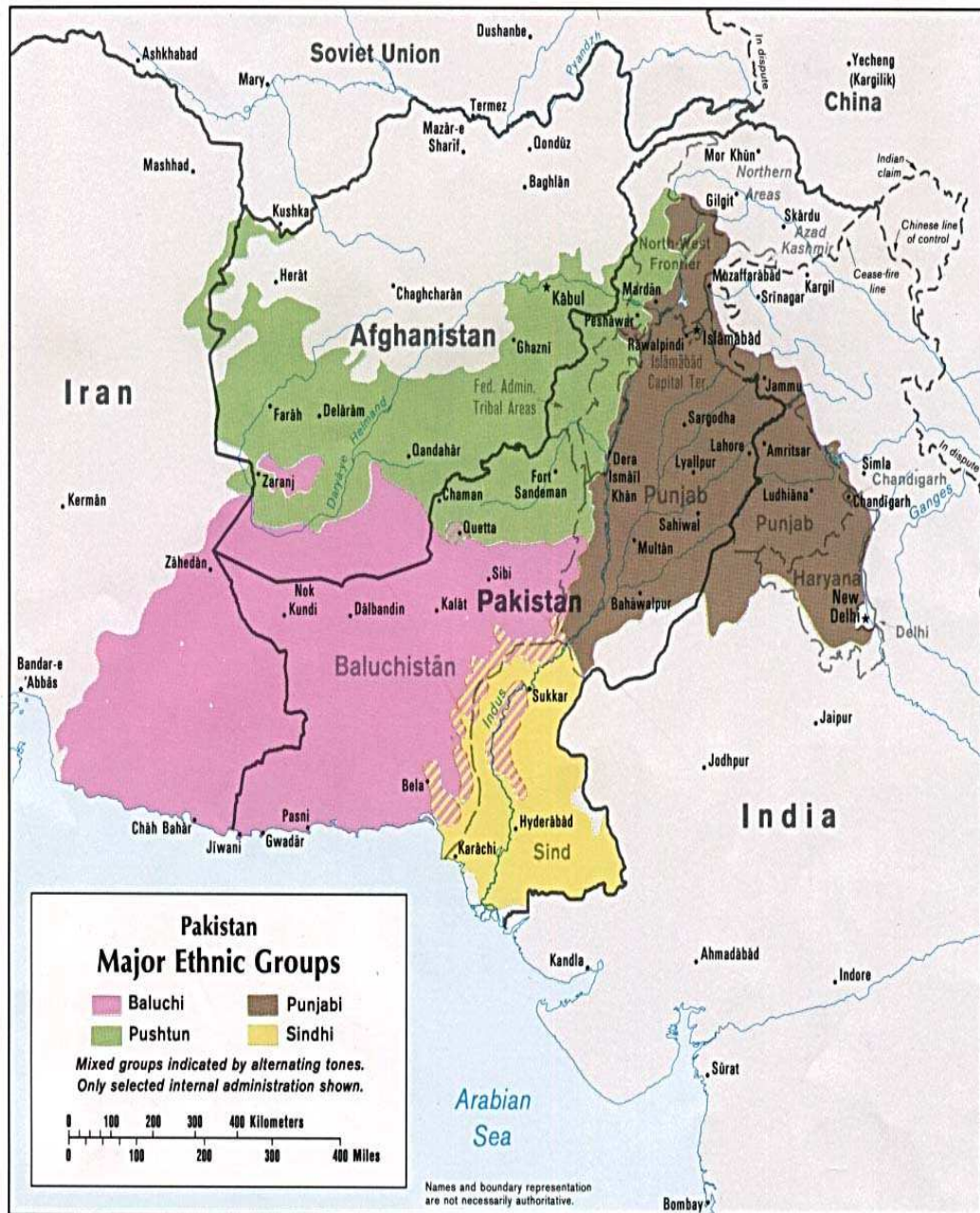
Ambassador Wazir served as a diplomat from 1975 with Pakistani missions to Vienna, Maputo, Dubai, Riyadh, Mazar-e-Sharif (Afghanistan), London, Manchester and Doha. As Director General (Afghanistan), he was a member of a Pakistani Mission engaged in shuttle diplomacy between Taliban and the Northern Alliance in 1977. He also represented Pakistan in a Pakistan-Iran Joint Mission for Afghanistan and was a member of the OIC Committee on Afghanistan. He is a member of the first Pakistan-Afghan Loya Jirga. He writes frequently for “The News” on FATA and Afghanistan and is a guest speaker at the National Management College in Lahore, the National Defence University in Islamabad, the Foreign Service Academy in Islamabad, the National Institute of Management in Peshawar, the Kashmir Institute of Management, and the Institute of Strategic Studies in Islamabad.

Appendix 2: Map of Pakistan Administrative Divisions



Source: University of Texas Libraries, *Pakistan (Administrative Divisions) 2010*, <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/pakistan_admin-2010.jpg>, [Accessed 17 November 2014].

Appendix 3: Map of Ethnic Groups in Pakistan and Afghanistan / Iran / India border areas



504491 5-80 (545359)

Source: University of Texas Libraries, *Pakistan (Major Ethnic Groups) 1980*, <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/pakistan_ethnic_80.jpg>, [Accessed 17 November 2014].

Appendix 4: Map of Federally Administered Tribal Areas (Fata) and North West Frontier Province/Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (NWFP/KPK)



Adapted from: Alan Kronstadt, *Pakistan-US Relations*, Congressional Research Service, 6 February 2009

Appendix 5: Map of NATO Supply routes to Afghanistan form NDN and Pakistan

Source: *Minding Russia*, November 16, 2012.

— Northern Distribution Network — Northern Distribution Network-Eastern — Pakistan Overland Routes



Source: *Minding Russia*, November 16, 2012, <http://3dblogger.typepad.com/minding_russia/2012/11/chokehold.html> [Accessed 13 December 2013]

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