

Convolutions and Convergence in Bilateral Relationship: A Case Study of Pak-US Relations 1947-1990

Tahir Tabassum

University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan.

ABSTRACT

This study is an attempt to explore the Pak-US bilateral relationship that has been experiencing different transformations, influences and patterns since 1947 till 1990. It is the fact that patterns of international relations are derived from agenda of interests and vision to prolong national objectives in bilateral relationship. This research paper encapsulates that how did Pakistan and US shape up their bilateral relations in first five decades since Pakistan's establishment? After the creation of Pakistan, its geo strategic location and political circumstances added value to its friendship and role of this newly born state in global political intricacies and convolutions was sought; particularly in Cold War era to check Communist expansion. This article also encapsulates that bilateral tale of Pak-US relations underwent through various unsmooth phases, inconsistent relationship and marriage of convenience in first five decades of Pakistan's history. This era is regarded as, sometimes, the period of abandonment and disregard. However, sometimes, it is also observed that regional cooperation, security pacts and strategic priorities with common and cohesive political approach brought Pak-US on one platform. The paper focuses to examine that how did Pak-US relationship since 1947 till 1990, undergo through political cooperation mutually, face US extended pressure in the form of economic and military sanctions, achieve status of a frontline state during Afghan war and transformation of US perceptions particularly after end of Cold War? What were important patterns in global politics which reshape Pak-US bilateral relations that brought both states on common regional objectives, to adopt convergence of priorities and to pursue strategic political objectives in this region?

Key Words: Pakistan, US, Convolutions, Convergence, Bilateral.

Introduction

After its creation as a newly born state, Pakistan needed good friends and reliable relationship, with other countries, in order to ensure its security, economic uplift and social development. For this purpose, the foreign policy makers focused to usher the era of strong bilateral relations with United States of America in maiden years of Pakistan's emergence as an independent state in South Asia. Pakistan sensed, right from the beginning, that it required help of super power like US to assist itself politically, economically, militarily and socially. On flipside of the coin, US sought friendly relationship with Pakistan for a number of reasons like

Tahir Tabassum

hampering communist expansion in South Asia and cooperation to protect regional political interests. US also wanted Pakistan's full support in United Nations during the North Korean invasion on South Korea in 1950 (Qureshi, 1995, p. 12-13).

Historically, both countries have experienced un-smooth and inconsistent relationship; with many ups and downs in different spans of time. Mostly, there exists a strong perception that both countries underwent convergence of interests and also experienced some periods of divergence in their bilateral relations. Although, in different periods of time, Pakistan was given the title of 'Most Allied Ally' of US in 1950s and 1980s, yet, Pakistan also faced sanctions many times; imposed by the US economically and militarily. However, US assisted Pakistan economically, militarily and Pakistan did not receive as much help and support as it needed in different periods of its history. During the time of freedom struggle and the demand of division of the Subcontinent, US was not happy on the demand of partition of India. However, US welcomed the agreement on 10th June 1947, reached among British Government, Muslim League and Congress regarding partition plan. US assumed that this agreement was the indication to end civil disorder and bloodshed in India. On the other hand, State department, in its press release on 10th June 1947, did not refer anything regarding the decision of creation of Pakistan. This argument, to some extent, lead to the fact that US Government remained tight-lipped and demonstrated unwillingness to accept the fact of Pakistan's emergence as a new state in the Sub-continent. Even, after the creation of Pakistan, US established American Embassy in Pakistan on the request of Mount batten and Jinnah. Dennis Kux writes: the US attitude towards Pakistan's creation was un-enthusiastic (Kux, 2001, p. 14-15).

No doubt, in the pattern of modern international relations, global powers always focused to prolong their agendas across the country in order to protect national interests. For this purpose, after the partition of the Sub-continent, US, soon, recognized geo-strategic and geo-political importance of Pakistan and extended hand of friendship; to seek Pakistan's role in cold war; to check communist expansion and to protect its regional interests.

Naissance of Pak-US relations

During the early days of Pakistan, in this region, different geo-strategic and geo-political transformations occurred which compelled US policy makers to turn towards Pakistan. Pakistan possessed an important and significant geo strategic location; being existed at the door step of China and former USSR. As a result of this importance, US perceived Pakistan as a country that can keep vigilant eye on Russia and China. For this purpose, William Campbell remarked that Pakistan geo-strategic value, its geographical position and strategic location; transformed it as one of the rim-land nations; that ring communist core in South Asia (Mustafa, 1989, p. 27).

Although, geo-strategic location of Pakistan transformed US policy postures, yet, Pakistan also required financial assistance, military aid and logistics

Convolutions and Convergence in Bilateral Relationship: A Case Study of Pak-US Relations 1947-1990

management support; to develop its infrastructure and to modernize state institutions. In 1950s, Pakistan's first Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan, visited the US and President Truman assured the Pakistani Prime Minister for economic support as well as military aid. Meanwhile, in 1950s, when North Korea attacked South Korea, US wanted Pakistan's full cooperation and support in United Nations. On the other hand, United States, in initial years of Pakistan's creation was hardly interested to get involved in emerging conflict in South Asian region. However, initially, in post Second World War era, US was excessively occupied for re-construction work in Japan and Western Europe because of excessive destruction during World War-II (Mehmood, 1991).

The era of alliance relationship

Pakistan needed US help to look after its security matters, economic assistance and to upgrade its military, however, US also needed Pakistan's support to check communist threat in the region. For this purpose, on 19th May, 1954, US signed the mutual defence assistance agreement between both countries to maintain global peace. Further, Pakistan also joined; the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in September 1954 as well as Baghdad Pact; which was later called CENTO in September 1955. The main purpose behind these agreements was that US wished to check the spread of communist ideology in South Asia and in the region of Middle East. (Kheil, 1982, p.5)

In March, 1959 during the era of US President Eisenhower, Pakistan and US signed the agreement of cooperation. As a result of these developments, the lull of cordiality between US and Pakistan relations started to emerge and ushered the era of Pakistan-US strong relationship.

Fluctuating relationship during Kennedy administration

Kennedy administration perceived China as a greater threat for the free world as compared to Soviet Union. This perception about China transformed US policy towards South Asia and there were also other factors; in international politics; that influenced to decrease the US economic and military assistance to Pakistan. In 1960s, there were many reasons which reshaped the international politics, like U-2 incident in 1960, Cuban Missile crisis in 1962 and existing intense rivalry between Soviet Union and US. The US administration wanted to decrease the alliance correlation with aid and new administration did not pay any heed to Pakistan's interests; regarding Pakistan's military hardware. However, US Government kept on assuring Pakistan with American assistance. On the other hand, during Sino-Indian conflict in 1962, US and Britain provided almost 120 million dollar? Military assistance to Indian administration. On the other hand, US administration, reduced the rent for Peshawar airbase and also minimized military assistance program for Pakistan. (Kissinger, 1979, p. 846)

Tahir Tabassum

Further, this US aid, during Sino-Indian conflict, raised eye brows in Pakistani administration that motivated Ayub Khan to assess cost-benefit ratio of Pakistan's alliance with the then US administration. Consequently, Pakistan tried to establish relationship with China. On the flipside of the coin, in Ayub era, in 1965, during Indo-Pak war, India received military aid from Soviet Union. However, US demonstrated selfish approach and in these difficult circumstances, China assisted Pakistan in many ways (The Time, 14 July 1965). As a result of this, Pakistani policy makers and general masses felt that US is not a reliable ally.

Thus, the era of Kennedy Administration is shaped by fluctuating relationship between Pakistan and US while leaving the lull of mistrust and feeling of uncertainty from both sides in mutual relationship; which compelled the policy makers in Pakistan to re-shift the reliance on US and to look for other friends in global politics.

Post 1965 war: a period of neglect

Although, US terminated their military cooperation and program for Pakistan during 1967, yet, it kept on using Pakistani land for spying. However, after 1965 war, between Pakistan and India, US policy entered into the era of neglect and re-shifting priorities for regional political gains. Therefore, there were different factors behind the shifting of US policy. Firstly, US decision makers perceived that the conflict between India and Pakistan diverted them from genuine regional accord which has led the wastage of US weapons. On the other hand, anti-Soviet feelings were being dried in US and it focused to held important dialogues for controlling global nuclear weapons expansion. At this juncture, strategic as well as political interests, of both Pakistan and US were hardly co-incided (Malik, 1990, p. 15).

In this era, military embargo was also imposed on Pakistan because US did not like Pak-China friendship. Infact, this military embargo was the result of those weapons which were supplied to Pakistan by the US under the signed treaties of SEATO and CENTO. Later on, in the era of 1970s, US tried to establish good relations with China which was facilitated by Pakistan's mediating efforts; leading to Secretary, Henry Kissinger's visit of China (Daily The Economist (London) 03rd December 1989).

Nixon tenure and Pak-US relations

In 1971, the Eastern Wing of Pakistan, experienced a turmoil and civil war. As a result of this, US policy makers decided to help Pakistan and supplied ammunition to Pakistani forces which facilitated to improve bilateral relations between Pakistan and US. In Pakistan, leader of Awami League, General Agha Muhammad Yahya, gained power in Pakistan over Ayub Khan. However, the Ayub led administration hardly transferred any power to newly elected Government of Yahya Khan. Resultantly, the Civil War in Eastern Pakistan and following War

Convulsions and Convergence in Bilateral Relationship: A Case Study of Pak-US Relations 1947-1990

with India in 1971 led towards the establishment of Bangladesh. On the other hand, Nixon's strategy was focusing essentially to create a new global balance of power. There was another purpose behind the US-China improved relationship; that US wanted to give a pedal to press Moscow for US-Soviet détente. (Mehmud, 1991)

In 1971, the dismemberment of Pakistan created an impression in the US policy circles that India has emerged as a pre-eminent power of South Asia. At that juncture, Pakistan not only developed its good relations with Muslim countries but also established cordial relationship with third world countries as well. Moreover, Pakistan also demanded US support during Indian aggression of 1971 which was rejected by US on the grounds; that India was not a communist state. Therefore, the membership of SEATO became absurd for Pakistan and it decided to join Non-aligned Movement, however, Pakistan continued to retain its membership of CENTO because of its strong ties with Turkey and Iran as compared to Pakistan ties with US. (Khan, p.50)

Emergence of nuclear factor

In 1974, the birth of nuclear factor, compelled Z.A. Bhutto, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan to visit US to get the arms embargo to be lifted. Infact, India conducted underground nuclear test which alarmed the security concerns Pakistani administration. In this situation, Pakistan was forced to seek nuclear weapons to match Indian nuclear capabilities. However, this became a major cause of concern for the policy makers (Dasgupta, 2004).

Keeping in view the regional security apparatus, Pakistan decided to buy nuclear re-processing plant to counterbalance India's non-conventional military superiority. US responded sharply to the situation and warned Pakistan about the horrible consequences if the later violates non-proliferation policy regarding nuclear weapons (Kux, 2001, p. 222).

It is pertinent to mention here that, in global politics, states always focused to take care of their western interests and ignore the persuasion or priorities or interests of other states. Although Pakistan became a strange client, which focused to assert more freedom and opposed the patron in various cases like nuclear program. On the flipside of the coin, Pakistan and US a working relationship in bilateral relationship. (Carney, 1989, p. 45-46)

Overall, the era of Nixon administration was the period which not only demonstrated both states' will for regional cooperation, security and strategic priorities but also minimized the influence of the US in domestic and international priorities of Pakistan. It also showed that US did not exhibit any concerns when Pakistan's security was under threat due to Indian aggression in 1965 and 1971 wars respectively. On the other hand, Pakistan ignored US restrictions and threats while making efforts to achieve nuclear capabilities to counterbalance the strategic

and security designs of India. Thus, the era of Nixon administration can be called shifting priorities and protection of states' interests in global politics.

Jimmy carter and Pak-US relations

The President Jimmy Carter, after assuming the oath of the office of President of US, in 1970, forced Pakistan to abandon its willingness to acquire nuclear capability. He also maximized the pressure on France to suspend its agreement with Pakistan regarding nuclear processing plant. US not only extended its pressure to check Pakistan's effort for nuclear capability but also squeezed the economic aid and pushed Pak-US relationship to its lowest ebb.

Further, US Congress extended its Symington amendment in 1976 related to foreign assistance act. Infact, US wanted to build excessive pressure on Pakistan through economic sanctions and cutting of aid. Even, the US discriminatory treatment; under Symington amendment, the then Senator Glenn remarked that; Pakistan is a first country on which a decisive approach is essential from US and next one would be India (Kheli, 1982, p. 135)

Later on, in 1979, there was an attack on great Mosque in Makkah which led to the rumours or mistaken belief that US was behind the attack. Resultantly, US embassy, in Islamabad, was attacked which led to the death of some embassy members and the incident brought Pak-US relations as bad as, perhaps, were with North Korea or Albania.

Overall, the era of 1970s, in Pak-US bilateral relations, is marked by US pursuance; to convince Pakistan for non-proliferation through extending pressure; while imposing economic and military sanctions. Although, China supported Pakistan's nuclear programme strongly, yet, US opposed it till the 1978 when 2nd cold war started. Hence, both countries continued the relationship as a patron and client; to cooperate in certain areas and to neglect each other's wishes on nuclear proliferation issues. Hence, bilateral relations, in 1970s were not as intense and cordial as these were experienced in 1980s with the status of frontline states and flow of excessive economic assistance and massive military aid.

Soviet intervention in Afghanistan: intensive cooperation in pack-US relations

In 1979, Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan and Pakistan security situation was lurching between East and West threats, concerns and internal instability and NWFP (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan). On the other hand, US was carefully monitoring regional political, military and strategic development; particularly, showing her deep concerns on communist expansion on East world; in the wake of USSR invasion in Afghanistan. Therefore, unfavourable geo-political changes, the geo-strategic importance of Pakistan and the need of US to have regional friends; developed bilateral intimacy between US and Pakistan; to play a role in Afghanistan War, and to counter Soviet military designs in the

Convolutions and Convergence in Bilateral Relationship: A Case Study of Pak-Us Relations 1947-1990

region. Keeping in view these regional security concerns, President Jimmy Carter contacted Pakistani Government and expressed his wishes to re-build the previous bilateral security agreements by 1959 in order to strengthen Pakistan's security against communist expansion and aggression. Therefore, US extended extensive military and economic aid package to Pakistan in order to assist Pakistan in defence. Even, in January 1980, President Carter pleaded to the extent while saying; that he asked Congress for passing; as a priority order to assist Pakistan militarily and economically to ensure its defence. (Kux, 2001, p. 245). US and Pakistan, both perceived well, the strategic and military designs of USSR to get access towards Arabian Sea; for the sake of hot water. US continued to assist Pakistan economically and militarily to support even Afghan Mujahideen and called Pakistan as a frontline state against Soviet invasion. Even in this era, Pakistan also signed an agreement with the US for providing 71 most modern air craft F-16. For that purpose, Pakistan not only paid full amount in advance but also received only 60 air craft and 11 remained with the US. Therefore, the era of 1980s is considered intensely cordial and mutually shared interests of Pakistan and US regarding Afghan invasion of USSR. It is pertinent to mention here that US was previously extending its pressure on Pakistan to abandon its nuclear program; was ignored. On the other hand, in 1980s, Pakistan received massive economic and military aid and China also supplied ballistic missile (Joseph, 2004, p. 78). President Jimmy Carter ordered to approve broader covert action program and instructed the CIA to facilitate ammunition, weapons and monetary assistance for anti-communist fighters; widely known as *mujahideen* (Kissinger, 1979).

Regan administration

In 1981, Regan assumed the office of President. Regan like Carter's term continued to cultivate closer ties with Pakistan while adopting the attitude of sympathy. In 1981, the US signed an agreement of 3.2 billion, as a military and economic aid which was extended for the period of six years (1981-1987) for Pakistan. It is estimated that average US military aid, for Pakistan was almost 1.74 billion dollars in these aforementioned six years (Azmi, 1992, p. 15-17).

Regan administration wanted to achieve three major objectives like containing Soviet Union, to minimize Indian dependence on Soviet Union and to handle the issue of nuclear non-proliferation in the region. On the other hand, Pakistan's Government was gaining its interests while obtaining sophisticated weapons to improve its defence capabilities and to handle economic problems with US aid. Although, US priorities were focusing on Afghan War to defeat Soviet yet, it gave a confidence and brave impression to Pakistani policy makers that they enjoyed the support of super power. In the wake of US aid, Pakistan also handled the burden and facilitated Afghan refugees through US economic assistance package. Although, US administration, to some extent, ignored the issue of non-proliferation, yet, the statement of the famous scientist of Pakistan Dr. Abdul

Tahir Tabassum

Qadeer Khan raised anxiety and serious apprehensions in US when he stated about Pakistan's success to enrich uranium; to have atomic weapon. Therefore, Ronald Regan, the then President of US, wrote a letter to President of Pakistan Gen. Zia ul Haq while stating clearly; that he reiterated deep concerns that nuclear issue can undermine the efforts which US is trying to achieve and it can hinder the considerable progress that the world so far has achieved on nuclear non-proliferation objectives. Resultantly, Larry Pressler, the then Senator of US expressed deep concerns over the transfer of weapons of mass destruction of South Asia to other regions of the World. Consequently, the US Congress in 1985, did some amendment in Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 which required presidential certification, for any kind of assistance to Pakistan, after assurance of the President of the US that Pakistan did not possess a nuclear weapon. However, in this period, due to the factor of Afghan War, Regan and Bush administration continued to provide certification to Congress from 1985 till 1989 to facilitate Pakistan with economic and military aid.

In this span of time, Pak-US relationship proved productive and fruitful for the regional peace, stability and to check communist expansion in the region. However, after the Geneva Accord, USSR was compelled to withdraw from Afghanistan by the 15th of February 1989. US, immediately, after Geneva Accord, reduced Pakistan's military and economic aid inspite of existed cordiality, experienced durability and shared credibility among both; Pakistan and US in 1980s.

To examine the era of 1980s, Pak-US relations were more mutually trusted and credible because Pakistan was involved in US proxy war; fought by the Mujahideen in Afghanistan against Soviet invasion; with Pakistan support, facilitation and cooperation.

During Regan administration, US, mainly focused, to protect its regional interests and considered Pakistan a frontline state in order to achieve its strategic interests in the Gulf, Middle East and South Asia. On the other hand, Pakistani policy makers also sought their strategic interests while strengthening defence to counter threats of Indian aggression and to enjoy economic, military and diplomatic support of US during Soviet aggression Afghanistan.

Transformation of US perception: after Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan

However, after the withdrawal of Soviet from Afghanistan, US emerged as a sole super power in global political system and achieved its objectives to contain communism in the Middle East and Gulf. After the achievement of regional objectives, the US emerge as a sole super power to handle unipolar political system of the world. Besides this, Pakistan's role, as a frontline state, in Afghan War, was finished and US perception about Pakistan was transformed dramatically. Now, US administration started to perceive Pakistan as a trouble maker, economically unstable which was focusing to achieve atomic weapon.

Convolutions and Convergence in Bilateral Relationship: A Case Study of Pak-US Relations 1947-1990

It is commonly believed fact in global pattern of international relations, states developed convergence and divergence of relationship in order to pursue their national interests, strategic objectives, political designs and ideological expansion in different regions. Once, US achieved its objectives of containment of communism, it shifted the policy of sympathy and assistance towards Pakistan. Therefore, the earlier negotiated military and economic assistance in 1987; under four years aid package; worth of four billion, was excessively cut off; with stopping the delivery of military hardware including F-16 for which Pakistan already paid to the US (Azmi, 1992, p. 5).

However, in December 1988, Benazir Bhutto became Pakistan's Prime Minister as a result of general elections which were held after the demise of General Zia ul Haq. Benazir Bhutto was under grave pressure domestically in order to recognize interim Government in Afghanistan. She was also aware of the impacts of Afghan Crisis on Pak-US relations. Robert Oakley, considered that the era of 1988 till 1990 is very important to understand the gamut; between Pak-US relations in order to dig deep regarding the regional development. Both countries kept on conducting bilateral dialogue in order to misunderstandings and to shun the clouds of any misunderstanding in Pak-US relations. Benazir Bhutto, spoke in her maiden press conference, after assuming the charge of Prime Minister, and expressed views that during her Government, Pak-US relations will receive special focus and importance; therefore, bilateral friendship of both countries is based on shared perceptions regarding regional peace and stability (Majumdar. 1998, p. 635). Geo-politically, at that juncture, Afghan situation was becoming threatening which remained a security convergence point in Pak-US relationship. After Soviet withdrawal, the interim Government was installed in Afghanistan. However, Afghanistan extended pressure on Pakistan; regarding overt support to *Mujahideen* and to show discern related to interim Government in Afghanistan (Lamb, 1989).

The restoration of democracy, in Pakistan, was hailed by US and the then President George Bush invited Benazir Bhutto on official visits to United States. Infact, President Bush wanted to discuss different perspective and cooperation; in order to strengthen mutual friendship with Pakistan. For this purpose, different types of agreements were signed. She visited United States in June 1989 and took President George Bush into confidence. She expressed to continue cordial bilateral relations while she remarked that new partnership between both countries is essentially important which she was looking forward (Rafiq, p. 337).

This visit of Prime Minister of Pakistan strengthened diplomatic relations between both countries. However, in February 1990, when Pakistan expressed its willingness to get nuclear power plant from France, US demonstrated serious concerns and created hurdles regarding nuclear power plan attainment. However, the problem was settled, later on, in the form of aid to Pakistan. US Congressman, Stephen Solarz, arrived in Pakistan. He was of the opinion that United States will not allow to Pakistan to go into Indian arms. However, he was talking reluctantly about US and Pakistan policy. Stephen Solarz was famous due to his strong

connections with Indian and Jewish lobbies in US Congress. Benazir Bhutto during her tenure, also let the US to directly deal Afghan resistance movement with the help of its special envoy. Meanwhile, Pakistan worked as a mediator between US and Afghanistan Mujahideen relationship.

After getting the status of frontline ally in 1980s, it was not only the change of US perception about Pakistan but also emergence of unipolar global political order that compelled Pakistani policy makers to focus on their own national interests. In order to keep its strategic interests, secure and safe, the Pakistani leadership continued its policy to develop atomic weapons for ensuring Pakistan safety and security and to counter balance India's strategic, regional and political agendas. Realistically elaborating this fact, Pakistan decided to develop good diplomatic relations with China, Middle East and Gulf States. On the other hand, US alleged Pakistan that it has enriched the uranium to the level of manufacturing a nuclear device from 1984 till 1987. However, US policy makers, during Afghan War, utilized Pakistan geo-strategic location with acute strategy and cooperation to evacuate Afghanistan from Soviet Union occupation. Hence, US, with the support of Pakistan was able to defeat communist threat and its Eastward expansion.

In Pak-US bilateral relationship (1947-90), US foreign policy, mainly, revolves around the role of Pakistan, to achieve US strategic, military, political and ideological interests in the region. For this purpose, US keeps on changing the relationship with Pakistan inconsistently. Historically, the relationship between US and Pakistan are marked by divergence and convergence of national interests. The level of friction and existence of friendship work like a cycle in Pakistan-US relationship; in that US gained more and Pakistan achieved less. Sometimes, US gave the title to Pakistan, 'the Most Allied Ally' and other time, sanctions were imposed on Pakistan to tighten its socio-economic circumstances. In Pakistan, there is a perception that US, in 1965 War and in 1971 Dhaka Debacle; leading the country into disintegration, did not play its role to assist the country. However, US imposed different penalties, military embargos as well as economic sanctions on Pakistan repeatedly. Even, in 1979, US, merely, imposed sanctions on Pakistan just on the grounds of suspicions and doubts that Pakistan was making efforts to achieve nuclear capabilities with the help of France. Later on, Pakistan played a key role in the war against communism while defeating USSR with the help of *Mujahideen*. At that juncture, from 1979 till the evacuation of Soviet from Afghanistan in 1989, as a result of Geneva Accord; Pakistan enjoyed the fruit of cordial, deep and credible relationship with the US. On the other hand, US also continued to flow economic aid, military hardware and equipment as well as helping Pakistan to modernize its defence system. However, after the achievements of the objectives, US, time and again, exhibited divergence of interests and demonstrated inconsistency in bilateral relationship. It is also observed that patron - client relationship which was ushered in 1950s after Pakistan's joining of SEATO and CENTO; transformed the dependent client into an 'Estranged Client'. Moreover, Pakistan is a client which observed freedom and opposed patron in certain issues like, nuclear program, Taliban issue and

Convolution and Convergence in Bilateral Relationship: A Case Study of Pak-US Relations 1947-1990

Afghanistan crisis because of various issues of geo-strategic interests. No doubt, various geo-strategic factors and some regional cyclical patterns of cooperation as well as estrangement also determined the relationship between Pakistan and US from 1947 till 1990. The glaring feature among Pakistan and US relationship is inconsistency. However, both countries have maintained, in even the days of divergence, some sort of working relationship to address the bilateral issues and converge themselves on commonly shared regional goals. The lull of insistency, misperception about sincerity and association with national interests, sometimes, kept both countries aloof from each other. Further, US also bestowed the status of the 'Most Allied Ally' during these years. Pakistan always required military and economic assistance from the US in order to remove economic barriers and to upgrade its military capabilities. Furthermore, Pak-US relations, inspite of apprehensions, divergence of interests and unanimity of views on several regional issues and on global conflicts; remained purposefully connected. Meanwhile, one can also assess that hopes and aspirations, from both countries, associated them, for working together for mutual benefit. Thus, Pak-US relations faced different convolutions and closeness in order to face regional political changes collectively and to assist each other in difficult time; for protecting collaborative regional interests, agendas and objectives since 1947 till 1990.

Conclusion

Pak-US relationship (1947-1990) has faced many phases of bilateral convolutions, complexities, convergence, divergence, suspicions and strategic partnership. The geo-strategic importance, global political transformations and US strategic objectives in this region also contributed to mold the pattern of Pak-US relations. Initially, after its creation in 1947, Pakistan required the help of super power like US in order to ensure its security, to develop its economy and to start its social development. Later on, the global political system underwent through ideological clashes that necessitated for the US to seek Pakistan cooperation; for a number of reasons; to check communist expansion towards South Asia. However, both countries have experienced unsmooth and inconsistent relationship with each other. Sometimes, US awarded Pakistan the status of the Most Allied Ally. However, on different occasions, US imposed sanctions on Pakistan in order to squeeze its neck and to abstain it from gaining nuclear technology. Nevertheless, geo-strategic value, geo-political regional apparatus and Pakistan cooperation with the US; transformed the former into a rim-land nation. The Era of Kennedy administration faced some bilateral fluctuation, mistrust and feeling of uncertainty. Overall, the era of Nixon administration was the period which not only demonstrated 'both states' will for regional cooperation, security and strategic priorities but also minimized the influence of the US in domestic and international priorities of Pakistan. It also showed that US did not exhibit any concerns when Pakistan's security was under threat due to Indian aggression in 1965 and 1971

Tahir Tabassum

respectively. On the other hand, Pakistan ignored, US restrictions and threats while making efforts to achieve nuclear capabilities to counterbalance the strategic and security designs of India. Thus, the era of Nixon administration can be called shifting priorities and protection of states' interests in global politics. Besides this, the period of 1970s, in Pak-US bilateral relations is marked by US pursuance; to convince Pakistan for non-proliferation through extending pressure; while imposing economic and military sanctions Pakistan. Although, China supported Pakistan on nuclear program strongly, yet, US opposed it till 1978 when 2nd cold war started. Hence, both countries continued the relationship as a patron and client; to cooperate in certain areas and to neglect each other wishes on nuclear proliferation issues. Therefore, bilateral relations, in 1970s were not as intense and cordial as these were experienced in 1980s with the status of frontline states and flow of excessive economic assistance and massive military aid.

To examine the era of 1980s, Pak-US relations were more mutually trusted and credible because Pakistan was involved in US proxy war; fought by the *Mujahideen* in Afghanistan against Soviet invasion; with Pakistan support, facilitation and cooperation. During Reagan administration, US, mainly focused, to protect its regional interests and considered Pakistan as a frontline state in order to achieve its strategic interests in the Gulf, Middle East and South Asia. On the other hand, Pakistani policy makers also sought their strategic interests while strengthening defence to counter Indian aggression threats and to enjoy economic, military and diplomatic support from US during Soviet aggression on Afghanistan.

The restoration of democracy, in Pakistan, was hailed by US and the then President George Bush invited Benazir Bhutto on official visits to United States. Infact, President Bush wanted to discuss different perspective and cooperation; in order to strengthen mutual friendship with Pakistan. For this purpose, different types of agreements were signed. She visited United States in June 1989 and took President George Bush into confidence. She expressed to continue cordial bilateral relations while she remarked that new partnership between both countries is essentially important which she was looking forward.

The level of friction and existence of friendship work like a cycle in Pakistan US relationship; in that US gained more and Pakistan less. Hence, convolutions and strategic partnership in Pak-US relationship has remained the main element from 1947 till 1990.

References

- Akhtar Rafique, Pakistan Year Book 1989-90 (Lahore: East & West Publishing Company)
- Altaf Ahmad Qureshi, (1995). Brown Tarmeem Aur Pak: Americal Taluqat Ka Naya Tanazur (Urdu). Lahore: Sahab Printers, Pakistan
- C. Dasgupta. (2004) Pakistan and the Global Strategic Environment. New Delhi: Knowledge World.

Convolutions and Convergence in Bilateral Relationship: A Case Study of Pak-Us Relations 1947-1990

- Charistina Lamb, (1989). *Old Orchestra, New Conductor: Bhutto Struggle to Rein in Some Military Adversaries.*
- Christopher P. Carney,(1989). *International Patron-Client Relationship: A Conceptual Framework, Studies in Comparative International Development* 24, no. 2.
- Daily The Economist (London) 03rd December 1989.
- Dennis Kux, (2001). *The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000.* Washington, Brookline Pvt. Ltd.
- Dennis Kux, (2001). *The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000.* Washington, Brookline Pvt. Ltd.
- Dennis Kux, (2001). *The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000.* Washington, Brookline Pvt. Ltd.
- F. Mehmud,(1991). *A History of US-Pakistan Relations.* Lahore: Vanguard Book Pvt. Ltd
- F. Mehmud,(1991). *A History of US-Pakistan Relations.* Lahore: Vanguard Book Pvt. Ltd
- Ghulam Mustafa Chaudhary, (1989). *The Dynamics of Small Power - Great Power Interaction, Pakistan Journal of American Studies*
- Henry Kissinger, *The White House Years.* London: Widenfield, 1979
- Henry Kissinger, *The White House Years.* London: Widenfield, 1979
- Iftikhar Malik, (1990) "Pak-US Security Relations: Testing Bilateralism." *Asian Survey,* 30, no. 3.
- Khan, ed., *Forty Years of Pakistan-United States Relations*
- Khuhro, Ahmir Ahmad, (2013). *Benazir Bhutto: Life & Trends in Foreign Policy.* Germany: Lambert Academic Company.
- M. Raziullah Azmi, (1992). *Pak-US Relations: Retrospect and Prospect, Pakistan Journal of American Studies, 10, No. 1.*
- M. Raziullah Azmi, (1992). *Pak-US Relations: Retrospect and Prospect, Pakistan Journal of American Studies, 10, No. 1.*
- Mathew Joseph, (2004). *Pakistan in a Changing Strategic Context.* New Delhi: Knowledge World.
- R.Majumdar, ed. *Pakistan Jinnah to the Present Day.* New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.
- Shirin Tahir Kheli, (1982). *The United States and Pakistan: The Evolution of an Influence Relationship.* New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Shirin Tahir Kheli, (1982). *The United States and Pakistan: The Evolution of an Influence Relationship.* New York: Praeger Publishers.
- The Time, 14 July 1965

Biographical Note

Tahir Tabassum is M.Phil. Scholar at Pakistan Study Centre, University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan.