

### **Pakistan Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences**

Volume 11, Number 04, 2023, Pages 4659-4673 Journal Homepage:

https://journals.internationalrasd.org/index.php/pjhss

PAKISTAN JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES (PJHSS)

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Pak-US Relations: An Overview in Historical Perspective (1947-2021)

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### ARTICLE INFO

### ABSTRACT

Article History: This comprehensive analysis explores the history of relations Received: October 12, 2023 between the United States and Pakistan from the country's Revised: December 25, 2023 founding in 1947 to the year 2021, providing valuable context for Accepted: December 27, 2023 understanding the complex nature of this diplomatic alliance. Available Online: December 28, 2023 Through the use of a historical lens, the study investigates the major occasions, turning moments, and thematic developments Keywords: that have influenced the bilateral relations between Pakistan and Cold War the US over time. Starting with the early years of diplomatic United States engagement, the examination looks at how Cold War dynamics Soviet Union affected Pakistan and the United States' alignment of interests in Communism the early post-independence era. It explores the significance of Pakistan Pakistan's role in enabling the U.S. and China to establish India diplomatic relations in the 1970s and how it affected world Afghanistan geopolitics. The research also examines times of conflict and Economic & Military divergence, such as the 1960s military aid embargo, the 1980s Soviet-Afghan War nuclear proliferation worries, and the difficulties brought on by regional conflicts. A particular focus is placed on the period Resistance following 9/11, elucidating the intricacies of the strategic alliance Refugees established within the framework of the fight against terrorism Bilateral and the consequent realignment of objectives. In addition, the Deterioration abstract evaluates the relationship's economic aspects by looking Sanctions at trade agreements, foreign aid, and how economic assistance 9/11 Tragedv shapes bilateral ties. It also takes into account how the internal Watershed Movement political climates of both nations affect the ebb and flow of their US WOT and Partnership interactions. This overview attempts to offer a comprehensive understanding of the persistent trends, difficulties, Fundina: and opportunities that have shaped Pakistan-U.S. relations by utilizing This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the a historical perspective. The study adds to a thorough public, commercial, or not-for-profit examination of the diplomatic, geopolitical, economic, and sociocultural factors that have influenced the development of this sectors. important relationship over more than seven decades by using a multidimensional analysis.

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### **1.** Introduction

In international relations, the overarching plan, attitude, and tone for the friendly connections and interdependence amongst states that form the foundation of international endeavors undoubtedly need to be established by leaders. However, the famous statement made by British statesman and two-time prime minister Lord Palmerston that there are no permanent friends or enemies in international relations, only permanent interests, is usually followed by those involved in foreign affairs (Young, 2021, January 26). One of the numerous ideas that have been used to examine the historical connections between Pakistan and the US during the Cold War is the neorealism theory. It is not, nevertheless, the only idea that has been connected to these relationships. Constructivism, Neo-liberalism, and Realism are some more theories (Schroeder, 1994). The dependence hypothesis contends that Pakistan and the US have historically had unbalanced relations in which Pakistan is treated as Pakistan's dependent or peripheral nation (M. Khan, 2020). Before Pakistan's Independence, some real facts showed the

Pakistan's Importance in front of the United States. which led the basic foundation of Pak-US relations in future. As in July 1947, memo to President Truman, Secretary of State George Marshall made reference to Pakistan, stating that the country, home to 70 million Muslims, would be the largest in the world and occupy one of the most strategically important areas (Rose & Husain, 1985).

Later on, the British Indian Empire was divided the Indian Sub-continent and Pakistan, and Pakistan emerged as an independent state on the world map on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1947 (Dalrymple, 2015, June 22). On the same day, marked the handover of power from the British to Pakistan. Both Lord Mountbatten and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah gave speeches at Pakistan's Constituent Assembly. The Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah took the oath of office as Pakistan's first governor general on August 15, 1947 (National Assembly of Pakistan). On August 15, 1947, the Dominion of Pakistan was acknowledged by the US as an independent state. In order to congratulate Pakistan on its "emergence among the family of nations," President Harry S. Truman wrote a letter to Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Governor General of the Dominion of Pakistan. Since then, Pakistan and the United States have often had a close relationship. Pakistan has traditionally supported American foreign policy, get US support against imperative threat from India and Afghanistan, particularly when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan and after the US opened up to China. The United States has made an effort to defuse the tensions that exist between India and Pakistan. The United States has given Pakistan financial assistance through loans and debt relief, and it is a significant supplier of military hardware to Pakistan (US State Department, 1976). However, in spite of these facts, there were still disagreements between Pakistan and the United States on regional and nuclear matters, which increased pressure on Pakistan in the years following the end of the Cold War. During the postcold war era, Pakistan had remained subject to the harsh sanctions by the US up till 9/11 tragedy (Sheikh, 2021, May 11).

The September 11, 2001 events served as a catalyst for the Pak-US relationship during the War on Terror, which constituted a strategic alliance with shared goals and challenging circumstances (T. Hussain, 2005). Pakistan and the United States formed a vital cooperation in the worldwide War on Terror following the 9/11 attacks. Pakistan was essential in helping the United States military conduct operations in neighboring Afghanistan because of their shared objective of taking down terrorist networks, especially those of the Taliban and Al-Qaeda. The collaboration aimed to strengthen Pakistan's counterterrorism capabilities by providing significant financial and military support from the United States. This alliance was not without its complications, though (Rehman, 2003, Autumn). As doubts about Pakistan's commitment to eliminating terrorist safe havens inside its borders increased, challenges surfaced. Relations were strained by claims of assistance for specific militant organizations, worries about the porous border between Afghanistan and Pakistan, and controversy surrounding US drone strikes in Pakistani territory. Tensions were further escalated by the unilateral American operation that killed Osama bin Laden in 2011, Pakistan saw it as an infringement on its sovereignty (Loidolt, 2022). The partnership's course was impacted by changes in Afghanistan, leadership transitions, and conflicting regional interests. The dynamics between Pakistan and the US were impacted by the strengthening connections between China and Pakistan, which gave the geopolitics of the area a new dimension. With the departure of American forces from Afghanistan in 2021, the region's future and the respective countries' roles in determining Afghanistan's course were called into doubt (Kaura, 2021).

The US-Pakistan alliance in the War on Terror was essentially a complex web of challenges, collaboration, and geopolitical concerns. Even if the alliance was successful in combating terrorism, the story was molded by ongoing hostilities and evolving regional dynamics. In order to establish the future trajectory of their relationship, both countries must manage shared interests and divergent goals in the post-withdrawal era (T. Hussain, 2005). With the US soldiers leaving Afghanistan after almost 20 years and the Taliban taking control of Kabul, the relationship between the US and Pakistan is about to enter a new stage. The civilian leaders of Pakistan want commercial and economic matters to take precedence over security concerns in their dealings with the United States. But if the US does stay in the area, it will most likely be to combat terrorism rather than to invest in or support Pakistan politically. The geopolitical terrain of Central and South Asia has changed as a result of the Taliban's victory in Afghanistan and the US military's departure from the nation after over 20 years. Although events in Afghanistan in

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August 2021 upended Islamabad's relationship with Washington, Pakistan, which has supported the Taliban both explicitly and covertly since before the US forced the organization out of Kabul in 2001, may take some pride in the success of its longtime partner. Pakistan's military and civilian leaders seemed to have grown accustomed to the status quo of the previous few years, during which the Taliban progressively gained more territory and US and NATO forces' objectives waned while they continued to be in charge of maintaining the weak government in Kabul (which they did so in part with Pakistan's help). Islamabad now has to devise a new strategy for Washington, where there is growing resentment over the perception that Pakistan played a major role in the US losing the longest war in its history, as well as for Kabul, which may emerge from the US withdrawal with a more cohesive and resolute government than it has had in a generation, complicating Pakistan's regional position (International Institute of Strategic Studies).

### **1.1.** Pakistan's Foreign Policy

After Pakistan's independence, its foreign policy was influenced by two things. First, her location, particularly her proximity to India; second, her sense of affinity for other Muslim nations (al-Mujahid, 1981). Despite being a young nation, Pakistan has assiduously entered the global arena with the self-assurance that comes from having a rich Islamic history of real-world experience (Shaheed, 2010). Today, Quaid-i-Azam's original external relations pattern remains relevant. Pakistan became a new member of the UN in September 1947. The leadership of Pakistan placed a strong emphasis on maintaining goodwill with all people, advancing harmony and peace, standing up for the world's downtrodden people, and closely adhering to the UN Charter's rules of international behavior. The Quaid, on the eve of his meeting with the special representative of the Afghan King in December 1947, indicated a strong desire to cultivate diplomatic connections with foreign states. When the initial ambassadors from Burma (January 1948), France (January 1948), the United States (February 1948), and Turkey (March 1948) submitted their credentials, similar opinions were expressed once again (Mamchii, 2023, November 2).

### The Quaid Said:

"Our foreign policy is one of the friendliness and goodwill towards the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed people of the world, and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter", (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1948, February).

The Quaid believed unwaveringly in the sincere efforts of humankind. He wanted no help or support from outsiders and had a great deal of faith in Muslims and their unwavering loyalty (I. Khalid, 2001). The Quaid further underlined how important it is for all Asians, including Muslims, to live in harmony, have a one goal, and fully comprehend one another as doing so would greatly contribute to global peace and prosperity (Mirza, 2013, April 15). On August 15, 1947, he delivered a speech to the country marking the launch of the Pakistan Broadcasting Service. Our goal ought to be both internal and external peace. We desire a tranquil existence and nice, cordial relationships with both our immediate neighbors and the rest of the world. We have no malicious intentions toward any individual. We support the United Nations Charter and will do everything in our power to promote global peace and prosperity (Constitution of Pakistan, 1947, August 11).

## 1.2. Foundation of Pak-US Relations

On August 15, 1947, President Harry S. Truman congratulated Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the Governor General of the Dominion of Pakistan, for Pakistan's "emergence among the family of nations" and the Dominion of Pakistan was officially recognized as an independent state by the United States (US State Department). According to the US President Harry S. Truman said that:

"I wish to assure that the new dominion embarks on its course with the firm friendship and Goodwill of the United State of America. He added that "emergence among the family of nations and pledge firm friendship and good will, saying, "The American people anticipate a long history of close and cordial relations with your country. We rejoice with you in the prospect for *rapid progress towards the advancement of the welfare of the people of Pakistan",* (US Embassy & Consulates in Pakistan, 2017, August 17). The Quaid-e-Azam replied that:

"I wish to express our thanks to some of the messages of goodwill and friendship that have reached me. The first one is from President Truman on behalf of their great American nation. Second is from Egypt. Third from France, fourth from Syria and fifth from Nepal our neighbour. I am sure you will all join me in expressing our cordial thanks for their friendly messages that we have received from these nations. In all, I have to conclude the proceeding of this assembly and this assembly now stand adjourned since die", (The Royal Watcher, 2022, August 14).

Since the US recognition of Pakistan, Pak-US have often had a close relationship. Pakistan has traditionally supported American foreign policy, particularly when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan and after the US opened up to China. The United States has made an effort to defuse the tensions that exist between India and Pakistan. The United States has given Pakistan financial assistance through loans and debt relief, and it is a significant supplier of military hardware to Pakistan, despite the fact that tensions between the two countries over regional issues and Pakistan's nuclear weapons development still exist (USAID, 1947).

#### **1.3.** Dual Threat for Pakistan's Sovereignty

After gaining Pakistan's independence, the Quaid-e-Azzam Muhammad Ali Jinnah sought to increase Pakistan's Armed Forces' ability to combat the combined security threats that Afghanistan and India (Unterberger, 1981). In this flawed world, the weak and vulnerable welcome assault from others, the Quaid said. At the same time that plans and techniques are developed to deal with threats that can be seen and an unfavorable scenario that is predicted, efforts are also made to instill a sense of security in the populace. Furthermore, he stated that the key components of the current international political system are understood to be power and economic inequality. Furthermore, the lack of a world government or other superior supranational institutional framework to control interstate interactions exacerbates the national security issues facing the smaller countries (Cheema, 1983). Later on, through special envoy, Quaid-e-Azzam Muhammad Ali Jinnah attempted valiantly to secure US armaments in September 1947, but received little response from the US (Unterberger, 1981).

The Joint Chief of Staff was busy developing a clear-cut strategy on US assistance to other countries from the point of national security, while the US Department of State reported that the US was still working on its appraisal of US military, political, and economic interests in South Asia. Concurrently, an extensive report by the Joint Strategic Plan Committee (JSPC) on South and South West Asia, authorized by the Joint Chief of Staff on April 29, 1947 was being examined. The report emphasized the region's strategic significance, "not only due to the presence of substantial oil reserves and processing infrastructure, but also because it provides opportunities for direct communication with our ideological adversaries (Husain, 1985). On October 21, 1947, the Kashmir dispute gave rise to the first Indo-Pak conflict, with Indian soldiers forcibly capturing Kashmir. Throughout this struggle, the Soviet Union acted impartially and indifferently (Shaheed, 2010). However, India and Pakistan's hostilities were ended with assistance from the Western Powers. In an effort to find a peaceful solution, the Kashmir conflict was also taken to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Later, the ceasefire line between Pakistan and India enforced by the UNSC became known as the Line of Control (LOC) (Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation, 2019, November 26). In addition, Pakistan's independence was challenged by the Afghan government because of the nation's territorial dispute over the Durand Line (Khalil, 2016).

### **1.4.** Major Eras of Pakistan's Foreign Policy

The threats to Pakistan's economy and security drove its attempts to build partnerships outside of the region. Pakistan particularly asked for security assistance, justifying its request with India's military engagement in Jammu and Kashmir and its violation with the terms of the split. Pakistan was thus forced to seek ways to increase its military power in order to counter the security threat. "The contours of Pakistan's foreign policy were thus shaped by the desperate need for arms to ensure the security of the new state and for funds to finance its economic development," as former foreign minister of Pakistan Abdul Sattar wrote in his book (S. M. Khalid, 2023, June 17). So, Pakistan's foreign policy can be divided into multiple phases as mentioned below:

- i. Exploration and Friendship with all Countries
- ii. Western Alignment from 1953 to 1962
- iii. Transition from 1962 to 1971
- iv. Bilateralism and Nonalignment from 1972 to 1979
- v. Afghanistan and U.S. Partnership, 1980–1990
- vi. US Sanctions on Pakistan up till 9/11

### 1.4.1. Exploring Era of Friendship 1947-1953

The primary goal of Pakistan's foreign policy is security against internal and external challenges to the country's independence, territorial integrity, and sense of national identity. Another objective of foreign policy is to establish close, brotherly relations with Muslims. The ideas of sovereign equality of nations, bilateralism, mutuality of interests, and non-interference in each other's domestic affairs are the cornerstones of Pakistan's foreign policy. Pakistan is convinced that it must adhere to the institutions and rules of the international system, but it also supports their reorganization to bring them into line with the current state of the global system. Pakistan has a strong belief in the principles outlined in the UN Charter and actively participates in debates held by the UN and other international and regional organizations. Pakistan is not exempt from the political and economic challenges faced by developing nations. Other significant foreign policy goals include promoting peace and stability through regional and international cooperation, fighting the legacies of colonialism and apartheid, peacefully resolving interstate conflicts, arms control, and nuclear non-proliferation, and supporting the right of subjugated nations to self-determination. Over time, there have been changes to the main tactics and frameworks used to achieve these foreign policy objectives. These modifications aid in defining Pakistan's foreign policy's key stages. Even while each phase is distinguished by a unique set of overarching ideas and practical approaches, these represent both continuity and change (Rizvi, 2004).

### 1.4.1.1. Pakistan's Relations with Muslim States

Pakistan's leadership sought to promote an Islamic sense of cohesion as the country came into being with a distinct Muslim identity. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the country's founder, saw Pakistan as a Muslim state, and the government worked to forge partnerships with other countries where Muslims predominate (Haider, 2011). During this time, Pakistan's foreign policy began to center on the Kashmir issue. Pakistan emphasized the religious and humanitarian dimensions of the conflict in its stance on the Kashmir dispute, seeking sympathy from the Muslim community. A number of nations with a majority of Muslims expressed support for Pakistan's stance, but the United Nations was largely responsible for mediating the dispute (BBC News, 2019, August 8). Initial tensions between Pakistan and Afghanistan stemmed from the Pukhtunistan question, which featured ethnic and border concerns. Nonetheless, throughout this time, diplomatic contacts were maintained and attempts were made to strengthen relations (Synovitz, 2006, March 24). Several Muslim-majority nations recognized Pakistan diplomatically in the years after its independence. These nations established diplomatic relations with Pakistan and recognized its status as a recent Muslim state (Bishku, 1992). Pakistan sponsored the Islamic Summit Conference in Karachi, Pakistan, in 1953. Leaders of several Muslim countries gathered at this meeting to talk about shared issues and strategies for fostering collaboration. The summit's objectives were to discuss common issues and promote solidarity among Muslim nations (S. S. Khan, 2003). Pakistan joined regional organizations like the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) that featured countries with a majority of Muslims. These memberships were a part of larger initiatives to strengthen Pakistan's security and diplomatic position as well as form regional partnerships (US State Department, 2009).

## 1.4.1.2. Indo-Pak Relations

On August 14, 1947, British India was divided into Pakistan and India, two separate countries. Mass migrations, massive acts of communal violence, and the dislocation of populations along religious lines all occurred concurrently with the process. The princely state of Jammu and Kashmir caused a conflict very immediately after independence. Due to the Maharaja of Kashmir's decision to join India, there is currently a territorial dispute with Pakistan. The First Kashmir War broke out as a result of this conflict and lasted between India and Pakistan until 1948 when the United Nations mediated a ceasefire. The Line of Control (LoC), a de facto border between the areas of Kashmir governed by India and Pakistan, was established as a result of the First Kashmir War. A truce was reached upon after UN intervention, but a long-term solution to

the Kashmir problem remained elusive (Dalrymple, 2015, June 22). Following the division, both India and Pakistan had difficulties in reconstructing their economies and providing for the refugees. Significant human misery and resource strain occurred in both countries as a result of the large-scale population exchanges and communal conflict. Early attempts at economic collaboration between India and Pakistan were made in spite of the hostility. The Liaguat-Nehru Pact was signed by the two countries in 1950 with the intention of fostering economic relations and defending the rights of minorities. Nevertheless, there was no long-term improvement in overall relations as a result of these initiatives. The region's political unrest was exacerbated in 1951 by the assassination of Liaguat Ali Khan, Pakistan's first prime minister. Following Liaguat's passing, Pakistan experienced a period of unpredictability and a leadership void (Kulik, 2023, December 1). Between 1947 and 1953, tensions between India and Pakistan persisted despite sporadic diplomatic attempts, especially around the Kashmir dispute. Future disagreements and the continuation of tense relations were made possible by the lack of a thorough and long-lasting settlement to the problems. Even with its best attempts to foster unity, Pakistan struggled to forge stable, long-lasting ties with every country where Muslims predominate. Pakistan's complex relations with different Muslim countries were shaped by domestic difficulties as well as regional and geopolitical factors (Center for Prevention Action, 2023, June 28).

### 1.4.1.3. Pak-US Relations

In accordance with US containment strategy, the US State Department aggressively promoted US national interests overseas during the Cold War. Furthermore, the US Departments planned to provide financial aid packages to underdeveloped and developing countries across the globe. August 14, 1947, saw the US become one of the first countries to recognize Pakistan. US President Harry S. Truman stated as much. The United States was among the first States to recognize Pakistan on August 14, 1947 and the US President Truman said that I want to make sure that the United States of America offers the new dominion its unwavering friendship and goodwill as it sets off on its journey (Sattar, 2010). The American people look forward to a long history of close and friendly relations with your country, he said, "emergence among the family of nations and pledge firm friendship and good will." We share your excitement about the likelihood of swift advancements in the welfare of Pakistan's populace (US Embassy & Consulates in Pakistan, 2017, August 17). The Quaid-e-Azam responded by saying, "I would like to convey our gratitude for some of the kind words and friendship that have reached me." President Truman is speaking on behalf of the wonderful American people in the first one. Egypt is the second country.

France came in third, Syria came in fourth, and our neighbor Nepal came in fifth. I'm sure you'll all join me in extending our sincere gratitude for the kind sentiments these countries have sent us. All in all, I must end the assembly's proceedings, and it is currently adjourned due to death (The Royal Watcher, 2022, August 14). The Soviet Union, on the other hand, angrily denounced the British Empire for the regional divide and refused to approve the splitting of British India. Furthermore, the Muslim League was initially referred to as a British tool by the Soviet Union. Moreover, Soviet President Joseph Stalin did not congratulate Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (Chaudhri, 1956). Pakistan formed an alliance with the United States-led Western Bloc against the Soviet Union-led Eastern Bloc during the Cold War. Pakistan's admission to the World Bank and the United Nations was also encouraged by the US. The United States gave Pakistan military and economic assistance from 1947 to 1953, which was utilized to bolster Pakistan's infrastructure and armed forces. The two countries' alliance was not without difficulties, though. While Pakistan was cautious of India's deep links to the United States, the United States was concerned about Pakistan's close ties to the Soviet Union. Notwithstanding these obstacles, Pakistan continued to receive help from the United States, and diplomatic ties were kept between the two countries (Larson, 1994).

### 1.4.1.4. Pak-Soviet Relations

In 1947, the Indian Subcontinent was divided, a move that the Soviet Union opposed. Thus, the creation of Pakistan and the division of India were opposed by Soviet leader Joseph Stalin. After the split, the Soviet Union forged friendly relations with India but rejected Pakistan. Throughout the first Indo-Pak War over Kashmir, the Soviet Union remained impartial. The Soviet Union disregarded Pakistan's plea when its foreign minister said, "Pakistan should accept aid from any source" during the UN Session of the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Far East in April 1948. Pakistan and the Soviet Union later established diplomatic ties on May 1,

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1948 (Embassy of Pakistan). The Soviet Union extended an invitation to Pakistan's prime minister, Liaguat Ali Khan, to come to Moscow in August 1949. Although he accepted the Soviet offer, he was unable to go because that same month's festivities were scheduled to honor Pakistan's Independence Day (Qureshi, 1963). Despite this, Mr. Ivan Bakulin was appointed as the first Soviet ambassador to Pakistan on November 22, 1949. The Pakistani government designated Mr. Shuaib Qureshi as the country's first ambassador to the Soviet Union in late December 1949 (Samina Ahmed, 1988). In March 1950, Mr. Ivan Bakulin met with the Governor General of Pakistan and presented his credentials. Despite Pakistan's lack of a clear stance at the time to align with any particular camp, the Soviet Union and Pakistan eventually developed friendly relations through suitable diplomatic exchanges. In 1951, Pakistan was granted permission to import leather, cotton, and jute from the Russian Federation. In mid-1952, Pakistan sold 1,50,000 tons of wheat to the Soviet Union in return for the purchase of jute (Shaheed, 2010). Following his death on March 5, 1953, Joseph Stalin brought about changes to the Soviet regime. When the Soviet Union learned of the Western intention to provide Pakistan with military support, ties between Pakistan and the Soviet Union deteriorated in late 1953 (Qureshi, 1963).

### 1.4.1.5. Pak-China Relations

On October 1, 1949, Chinese Communist Party leader Mao Zedong proclaimed the creation of the People's Republic of China. Pakistan became the first Muslim state on January 4, 1950, when it recognized the new Chinese government. China and Pakistan established diplomatic relations on May 21, 1951, with Pakistan expecting China to exert influence over India (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1948, February). Following that, Pakistan's prime minister, Liaguat Ali Khan, remained friendly with the Chinese Communist Party. In September 1951, Liaguat Ali Khan met with Mr. Hand Nianlong, the first Chinese ambassador to Pakistan, with whom he discussed many regional and international concerns. On October 16, 1951, while addressing the assembly at Company Bagh in Rawalpindi, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated. The Pakistani government was deeply divided on the nation's foreign policy after Khan's death (News, 2010, October 17). In 1952, China and Pakistan worked together cordially on a variety of projects involving trade, infrastructure development, and defense. In 1953, Pakistan and China signed the first-ever historic agreement on cultural collaboration, which created more significant opportunities for enhanced bilateral cooperation. Over time, Pakistan and China developed the strongest partnership in the world, earning the moniker "all-weather friendship." Pakistan and China coordinated militarily, strategically, and technologically to ensure regional stability (Downs, 2021, September 22).

### 1.4.2. Pakistan's Era of Alliances 1954-1962

Pakistan's foreign policy underwent a strategic realignment in 1954 and 1962 as it actively pursued partnerships to handle security issues and negotiate the intricacies of the Cold War. Pakistan formed regional and global alliances during this time, which shaped its geopolitical position and affected its internal politics (Ghori, 2007). Pakistan's involvement in two military alliances, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in 1954 and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) in 1955, was one of the major events of this era. Particularly in the years following the Korean War, these alliances were created in reaction to the perceived threat posed by the spread of communism in the area (Ghori (b), 2007, April). Pakistan's security concerns and the overall Cold War geopolitical context shaped its choice to join CENTO and SEATO. Pakistan sided with Western countries due to tensions in the region and fear of communist growth. In the event of external threats, the alliances were considered as a way to guarantee security and gather support (Ghori, 2007). Pakistan's domestic politics were significantly impacted by the alignment with CENTO and SEATO. Political division in the nation resulted from the alliances turning into a divisive topic. Some believed they were essential for maintaining national security, while others said they compromised Pakistan's independence and sovereignty. During this time, political instability was exacerbated by this internal dispute (Sohail Ahmed, 2022, July 14). Throughout the Alliance Era, Pakistan's foreign policy was centered on the Kashmir dispute. At particular, the partnerships were used to gain support for Pakistan's stance on Kashmir at international fora. Tensions in the area continued, though, as a result of the coalitions failing to bring an end to the Kashmir dispute (Sohail Ahmed, 2022, July 14). The 1956 Suez Crisis put Pakistan's allegiance to the alliance to the test. Pakistan, a CENTO member, had to strike a balance between its allegiance to the alliance and its support for the UN and nonalignment ideals while the US and the UK were involved in the issue. The episode made clear how difficult it may be to maintain several alliances. So, from 1954 to 1962, Pakistan experienced a very significant period in its history that was characterized by geopolitical concerns and strategic realignments. The alliances with CENTO and SEATO helped to resolve pressing security issues, but they also created difficulties at home and made it more difficult to navigate the intricate international Cold War dynamics. The period shaped Pakistan's foreign policy for years to come and established the country's place in regional and global affairs (Sohail Ahmed, 2022, July 14).

### 1.4.3. Transitional Era from 1962-1971

In Pakistan's history, the years 1962–1971 were a crucial time of transition during which the country saw profound political, economic, and social transformation. Changes in government, military rule, economic hardships, and, in the end, the tragic events that resulted in East Pakistan's secession were the hallmarks of this era. Analyzing this time frame sheds light on the intricacies that influenced Pakistan's course during these tumultuous times (US State Department). The start of the era marked the upholding of Ayub Khan's government, which had been established by a military takeover in 1958. Ayub Khan instituted several economic changes, dubbed the "Decade of Development" and "Basic Democracies." Although these measures were intended to modernize the nation, they also increased the influence of a small number of people, which fueled political upheaval and public dissatisfaction (Pardesi, 2012). Inspired by the achievements of comparable initiatives in other nations, Pakistan launched the Green Revolution in the 1960s. Through the introduction of high-yielding seed varieties, contemporary agricultural practices, and enhanced irrigation systems, the government sought to modernize agriculture. The extensive use of high-yielding crop types, particularly rice and wheat, was one of the main tactics. These cultivars were created via scientific investigation and were intended to yield more when the conditions were right. The government made investments to upgrade and expand the infrastructure for irrigation. This entailed building canals, tube wells, and dams to provide a more dependable supply of water for farming. Multiple farming seasons and higher cropping intensity were made possible by improved irrigation. Tenancy arrangements and land concentration were addressed through the implementation of land reforms. The intention was to encourage a more equal land distribution, giving small and marginal farmers more access to resources for their crops (Shahzad, 2018, March 7). The usage of chemical pesticides and fertilizers as well as the promotion of contemporary farming methods occurred during this time. The purpose of these inputs was to promote agricultural productivity by improving soil fertility and safeguarding crops from pests. Mechanization of agriculture was attempted in an effort to reduce labor-intensive activities and increase efficiency.

In some areas, tractors and other contemporary farm equipment became more common. Pakistan's agricultural output increased significantly as a result of these agricultural development programs. A certain level of food production self-sufficiency was attained and general economic growth was facilitated by increased production of staple crops like rice and wheat (Shahzad, 2018, March 7). Pakistan's agricultural output increased significantly as a result of these agricultural development programs. Enhanced yield of staple crops such as rice Despite the favorable results, the Green Revolution was not without difficulties and detractors. Concerns were voiced about things like unfair benefit distribution, the use of chemicals raising environmental issues, and the replacement of conventional farming methods. Eat and rice helped achieve a certain level of food production self-sufficiency while also contributing to overall economic progress (Zahra, Shah, & Badeeb, 2023).

The Tashkent Agreement, mediated by Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin between India's Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistan's Ayub Khan, was a momentous occasion in this era. After the 1965 war, the agreement temporarily stopped hostilities between India and Pakistan, but it left some unsolved concerns, most notably the Kashmir conflict (Raikar, 1966, January 10). The gains from development were not shared equally, even with economic reforms. Social unrest resulted from widening economic inequities. East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) became even more estranged from West Pakistan as a result of the economic power concentration in the region, which exacerbated regional imbalances and fueled calls for more autonomy (Rafiq, 2022, June 10). When the Awami League, led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, rose to prominence in East Pakistan, the political landscape saw a dramatic change. The party, which reflected the profound linguistic, cultural, and economic divide between the country's two halves, supported autonomy for East Pakistan. Key demands for autonomy were stated in the 1966 Six-Point Movement (Rafiq, 2022, June 10). An important turning point came with Pakistan's first democratic elections following the

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1958 coup, the general elections of 1970. In East Pakistan, the Awami League secured a majority in the national parliament with a resounding victory. But when the Awami League was not given authority, a political crisis arose as West Pakistan consolidated its hold on power. With the outbreak of the Bangladesh Liberation War in 1971, the political deadlock turned into a humanitarian catastrophe. There were many crimes and fatalities as a result of West Pakistan's military assault on East Pakistan. As a result of the conflict, the undivided Pakistan was dissolved and the independent state of Bangladesh was established. The events of 1971 continue to be a sad chapter in Pakistan's history, highlighting the necessity of equitable development, peaceful relations with neighboring countries, and inclusive governance for any country to remain stable (Naeem, 2020, December 7).

A pivotal period in Pakistan's diplomatic history, the years 1972–1979 saw a move toward bilateralism and a more sophisticated approach to nonalignment. This period saw shifts in leadership and geopolitical dynamics as it took place against the backdrop of the Bangladesh Liberation War, which saw the foundation of Bangladesh. Pakistan adjusted its foreign policy throughout this time despite navigating a challenging international environment under a number of different regimes. The Bangladesh Liberation War's aftermath required Pakistan to reevaluate its foreign strategy. Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's new administration aimed to mend diplomatic ties, especially on a bilateral basis. Through bilateral discussions, the Simla Agreement of 1972 with India addressed post-war difficulties and laid the groundwork for restored relations. In the local vicinity, Pakistan took a more bilateral approach, but in the larger global context, it remained committed to nonalignment. Pakistan has to tread carefully in order to maintain equilibrium because of the diplomatic dynamics affected by the Cold War tensions between the US and the USSR. Pakistan's foreign policy has been based on nonalignment, which permits flexibility in international interactions (H. Khan, 2023).

Pakistan actively participated in the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) during this time and worked to improve relations with nations where Muslims predominate. The Lahore Islamic Summit in 1974 reaffirmed Pakistan's dedication to Islamic unity. Through bilateral interactions, Pakistan was able to take advantage of member countries' common interests and concerns within the framework of the OIC (Ali & Sultan, 2023). Pakistan's foreign relations have become more complex as a result of its pursuit of nuclear capability. The international response to Pakistan's nuclear program was largely managed through bilateral negotiations, especially with the US and China. Protecting national interests at the time needed skillful diplomacy due to the strategic calculus (Shaikh, 2002). Changes in leadership occurred in the mid-1970s when Prime Minister Bhutto was executed and General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq took over. Zia's government maintained the nonaligned and bilateral strategy while modifying its policies to take into account changing geopolitical conditions. The Soviet-Afghan War alliance with the United States demonstrated Pakistan's practicality in defending its interests. During this time, difficulties remained, including as the complicated relationship with India and regional conflicts. Longstanding issues were attempted to be resolved diplomatically, with the Kashmir problem remaining a central focus. Concurrently, Pakistan aimed to broaden its diplomatic network by establishing connections with nations outside its immediate neighborhood. The Zia's policies and strategies significantly shaped Pakistan's position especially regarding international perspective for many years to come and established the groundwork for later diplomatic approaches (Sattar, 2010).

### 1.4.4. Pak-US Partnership during 1979-1989

A significant chapter in the history of Pakistan-US ties was written between 1979 and 1989 when both countries developed a strategic alliance in reaction to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. During the Cold War, this alliance was formed out of common geopolitical objectives and had a big impact on the area and beyond. A complex combination of geopolitical calculations, ideological concerns, and the pursuit of national interests characterized the Pak-U.S. alliance throughout the Soviet-Afghan War. Following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, a global response was launched, with Pakistan emerging as a major actor in the struggle to stop Soviet expansion. In order to offset the Soviet presence in Afghanistan, the United States looked for friends because it saw the Soviet move as a threat to regional security. To oppose the Soviet takeover, Pakistan, led by General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, strategically allied itself with the United States. The United States of America gave Pakistan significant financial and military support, and Pakistan in turn helped the Afghan mujahideen rebels who were battling the Soviet army. This support came in the form of financial aid, training, and weapons and was administered

by the CIA. The empowerment of the mujahideen and fortifying the Afghan resistance were significantly aided by U.S. help. The United States' Stinger missile proved to be a game-changer, countering Soviet air superiority and strengthening Afghan forces' resolve. The alliance made a substantial contribution to the Soviet Union's final troop withdrawal in 1989 (Petrov-Yoo, 2019). Although the expulsion of Soviet soldiers from Afghanistan was the immediate purpose of the Pakistan-US alliance, it had long-lasting effects on Pakistan. Unintentional consequences included the flood of Afghan refugees, the rise in weapons and militancy, and the radicalization of some social groups. The internal dynamics and security environment of Pakistan have been influenced by the Afghan conflict for a long time (Mir, 2021, November 9). The Pak-US alliance wasn't without its challenges. Pakistan's relations with the Soviet Union and its neighbor, India, were strained by its alignment with the United States. There were also continuous difficulties in handling regional politics and coordinating the many groups within the Afghan resistance (Kronstadt, 2023, May 22). The alliance between Pakistan and the United States during the Soviet-Afghan War was a crucial period in the history of both countries and significantly influenced South Asia's geopolitical environment. Even though the partnership met its short-term goals, it had long-term effects on the area that included the rise of extremist organizations and instability in Afghanistan. This cooperation is an important aspect of the intricate fabric of international relations since its legacy continues to shape regional dynamics (Lafrai, 2012, April 18).

### 1.4.5. Pakistan's Dilemma up till 9/11

When Soviet forces left Pakistan in 1989, the relationship between the two countries entered a new stage. The political vacuum that followed in Afghanistan and the tense relationships between Afghan factions paved the way for the region's ongoing instability, which ultimately gave rise to the Taliban and the post-9/11 era (Nguyen, 2020). Following the conclusion of the Cold War, Pakistan faced a number of difficulties and obstacles during the crucial period from 1990 to 2001. After global realignments, the geopolitical environment changed, forcing Pakistan to perform a precarious balancing act as it attempted to reevaluate its strategic priorities, deal with internal problems, and negotiate complex regional dynamics. The bipolar world order of the Cold War era disintegrated with the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, bringing in a new age of multipolarity. Pakistan has to reevaluate its geopolitical standing and adjust its foreign policy in response to the shifting circumstances following the end of the Cold War (Nguyen, 2020). Pakistan experienced political unrest and economic difficulties on the inside. An unstable internal climate was exacerbated by the aftermath of the Afghan conflict, refugee inflows, and the proliferation of armaments. Pakistan's problems at this time were made worse by concerns about governance and economic constraints. The long-standing Kashmir dispute remained Pakistan's main focus in international relations. Notwithstanding attempts at bilateral negotiations and steps to foster confidence, a settlement remained elusive. Pakistan's regional predicaments were made worse by its complicated ties with India and the sporadic outbreaks of conflict in the area (Ejaz, 2016).

Reevaluating its strategic priorities was Pakistan's response to the conclusion of the Cold War. When the United States shifted its focus away from the region during the Afghan conflict, the conventional alignment with the country needed to be reevaluated. Pakistan made an effort to broaden the scope of its international alliances by establishing connections with nations like China and the Muslim world (Memon, 1994). Concerns about nuclear proliferation and scrutiny of Pakistan's nuclear program were present at this time. Pakistan had diplomatic difficulties after gaining nuclear capability in the 1990s as it attempted to strike a compromise between its strategic goals and non-proliferation standards and international expectations. The emergence of extremism and militancy in Pakistan presented a serious threat to domestic security. Concerns concerning Pakistan's commitment to combating terrorism were raised by some terrorist groups' engagement in regional conflicts, such as those in Afghanistan and Kashmir, which affected Pakistan's relations with the international community. Pakistan remained involved in the war in Afghanistan after the end of the Cold War. The Soviet exit created a power vacuum that resulted in a protracted civil conflict in Afghanistan. Pakistan faced both possibilities and challenges as a result of its backing for particular factions and its influence on the course of events in Afghanistan. The decisions taken during this time highlighted the complex geopolitical environment at this pivotal period and laid the groundwork for later events, such as Pakistan's involvement in the worldwide war on terror after the events of September 11, 2001 (National Security Achieve, 1978, April).

#### 1.4.6. Pak-US Partnership Post-9/11

The extremist organization al-Qaeda carried out a number of well-planned terrorist assaults in the United States on September 11, 2001, which is known as the 9/11 attacks. Four commercial aircraft were taken over by 19 terrorists, who then crashed two of them into the World Trade Center Twin Towers in New York City and one into the Pentagon close to Washington, D.C. United Airlines Flight 93, the fourth aircraft, crashed in Pennsylvania following a valiant attempt by passengers to retake control from the hijackers. Nearly 3,000 people died as a result of the attacks, which shocked the world and prompted the US to launch the War on Terror, which included an invasion of Afghanistan to destroy al-Qaeda and remove the Taliban regime that was supporting them. The 9/11 attacks left a lasting mark on international geopolitics, security strategies, and public opinion (Bergen, 2023, December 28). Following 9/11, Pakistan and the US have maintained a close alliance characterized by a complex interplay of geopolitical, strategic, and internal factors. The world changed drastically after the events of September 11, 2001, and alliances and relationships had to be reconfigured as a result. At the intersection of the Middle East and South Asia, Pakistan has become an important ally in US efforts to fight terrorism and bring stability to the region. This paper investigates the dynamics of the Pak-US cooperation, looking at its successes, setbacks, and changing character (Ali & Sultan, 2023).

From 2001 to 2021, the US-Pakistan partnership was marked by a complicated interaction between obstacles and collaboration. Despite this, United States' efforts to destroy Al-Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan centered on Pakistan, a crucial ally in the fight against terrorism. There was military, intelligence, and diplomatic cooperation between the two countries. Pakistan is an essential ally in the effort to stabilize the area because of its close proximity to Afghanistan and its past ties to the Afghan Taliban. Pakistan received financial and military support from the US to strengthen its counterterrorism capabilities (T. Hussain, 2005). Later on, multiple challenges and tension emerged between Pak-US, which led trust deficit regarding Pak-US Partnership during the US WOT. There were times when the collaboration was strained, most notably during the US's unilateral operation that resulted in Osama bin Laden's death in Pakistan in 2011 and the episodes that followed, which raised concerns about openness and confidence. The two nations kept up their military cooperation and diplomatic exchanges in spite of these obstacles. Economic relations also came into play, as the US is Pakistan's largest trading partner and a major source of funding for development initiatives. But the partnership remained vulnerable to changes in regional dynamics and geopolitics, especially when it came to India-Pakistan ties and the war in Afghanistan (Mir, 2021, November 9). In 2021, the alliance is still navigating these complications as it works to resolve shared problems, promote peace in the area, and cooperate on security and economic issues. The history of relations between Pakistan and the United States illustrates the complex nature of international alliances in a changing geopolitical environment by reflecting a combination of common interests and opposing agendas (Mir, 2021, November 9). Notwithstanding their common goal of combating terrorism, the Pak-US alliance encountered many difficulties. The porous border between Afghanistan and Pakistan made it easier for terrorists to travel around, making counterterrorism activities more difficult. The United States' use of drone strikes inside Pakistani territory caused diplomatic tensions and public indignation. The cooperation was also put to the test by worries over Pakistan's purported support for some militant organizations active in the area (Council on Foreign Relations, 2023, December 14). Changes in leadership over time have affected policy in Pakistan as well as the United States. Relations were strained when Osama bin Laden was killed in Pakistan in 2011 because the US carried out the operation without first informing the Pakistani government. The Pak-US collaboration was also impacted by competing interests and regional forces, such as the changing dynamic between China and Pakistan (Akhtar, 2011). The fundamental concern in Pak-US ties continues to be the state of affairs in Afghanistan. Concerns over the involvement of the Taliban and differing strategies for achieving peace and stability in Afghanistan affected the relationship between the two countries. A pivotal moment was reached in 2021 when American forces left Afghanistan, casting doubt on the region's future and the Pak-US alliance's ongoing significance (Threlkeld & Easterly, 2021).

Post US withdrawal from Afghanistan, the Taliban taking control of Kabul, relations between the US and Pakistan are about to enter a new era. The civilian leaders of Pakistan want commercial and economic matters to take precedence over security concerns in their dealings with the United States. But if the US does stay in the area, it will most likely be to combat terrorism rather than to invest in or support Pakistan politically. The geopolitical terrain of Central and South Asia has changed as a result of the Taliban's victory in Afghanistan and the US military's departure from the nation after over 20 years. Although events in Afghanistan in August 2021 upended Islamabad's relationship with Washington, Pakistan, which has supported the Taliban both explicitly and covertly since before the US forced the organization out of Kabul in 2001, may take some pride in the success of its longtime partner (Kronstadt, 2023, May 22). As of May 2023, Pakistan faces a number of challenges, including those pertaining to energy and climate change, severe political instability, a crisis in the country's economic balance of payments, a rise in threats to domestic security and terrorism, diminished diplomatic influence, and other issues. Some analysts have dubbed this situation a "polycrisis." There is a good chance that US-Pakistan relations will continue to be primarily transactional, with some areas of shared interest in the Afghan peace process. According to former US officials, Washington is now less dependent on Islamabad for counterterrorism efforts in the US-Pakistan relationship as a result of the withdrawal of US coalition forces from Afghanistan (Z. Hussain, 2021, June 2).

# 2. Conclusion and Recommendations

The history of relations between Pakistan and the United States from 1947 until 2021 illustrates the intricate interplay of strategic alignments, geopolitical upheavals, and difficult times of collaboration. The partnership, which was first established during the Cold War, went through several stages as the two countries balanced opposing agendas and common interests. The main ideas and characteristics that characterize the Pak-US relationship during this long time are summarized in the conclusion that follows:

- In summary, the seven decades of ties between Pakistan and the United States have been marked by a dynamic interplay between collaboration, alignment, and friction. Pakistan fostered military and economic relations as a strategic partner in the U.S. containment strategy against the Soviet Union during the Cold War. This alliance was strengthened during the Soviet-Afghan War, when both countries worked together to oppose Soviet occupation. But deteriorating relations following the end of the Cold War and Pakistan's 1998 nuclear tests resulted in periods of sanctions and diplomatic deadlock.
- Following 9/11, there was a resurgence of cooperation as Pakistan emerged as a key player in the worldwide fight against terrorism. Pakistan's counterterrorism efforts were supported by significant military and financial assistance from the United States, especially in Afghanistan. However, obstacles surfaced, such as doubts regarding Pakistan's dedication to eliminating terrorism, claims of endorsement for specific extremist organizations, and the haphazard American operation that claimed Osama bin Laden's life within Pakistani borders.
- Through differences over regional plans and sporadic disruptions in military supplies, tensions continued into the 2010s. Recalibrating regional dynamics was aided by Pakistan's growing connections to China and conflicting interests in Afghanistan. A pivotal moment was reached in 2021 when the United States withdrew from Afghanistan, bringing with it more difficulties and doubts regarding the future of the area.

## 2.1. Recommendations

A comprehensive strategy covering diplomatic, security, economic, and regional issues is needed to improve US-Pakistan relations. The following suggestions are meant to improve and steady the relationship:

- Encourage lines of communication that are clear and transparent in order to solve issues and foster trust. Further, frequent high-level diplomatic contacts can aid in the management of misconceptions and stop them from getting worse. To effectively combat terrorism, strengthen the procedures for exchanging intelligence.
- Work together on international and regional counterterrorism projects to solve common security issues. Recognize the value of a stable neighbor for both nations and work together to advance peace and stability in Afghanistan.
- To strengthen economic ties, promote investment, bilateral trade agreements and look at ways that both countries can profit from cooperative economic development projects.
- Encourage development programs and humanitarian endeavors to enhance living standards and advance stability in Pakistan. Moreover, work together on health and education initiatives to strengthen interpersonal relationships.
- Adhere to international norms and engage in diplomatic discourse to address concerns around nuclear proliferation. Further, encourage cross-cultural understanding through

research and educational collaborations as well as exchange programs. Promote interpersonal relationships to cultivate a favorable understanding of each other's cultures.

- Work together on regional security projects to tackle common issues. Organize initiatives to enhance and stabilize relations throughout South Asia, especially with emerging powers. Moreover, work together on climate change mitigation, environmental projects and address common environmental issues together for the good of both nations.
- Respect and acknowledge each other's internal issues and sovereignty. Strive for mutual understanding and refrain from taking any unilateral steps that can damage your connection. Strong and cooperative ties between Pakistan and the United States need consistent work, respect for one another, and a dedication to tackling common issues. Future ties can become more stable and fruitful through diplomatic efforts and constructive interaction.

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