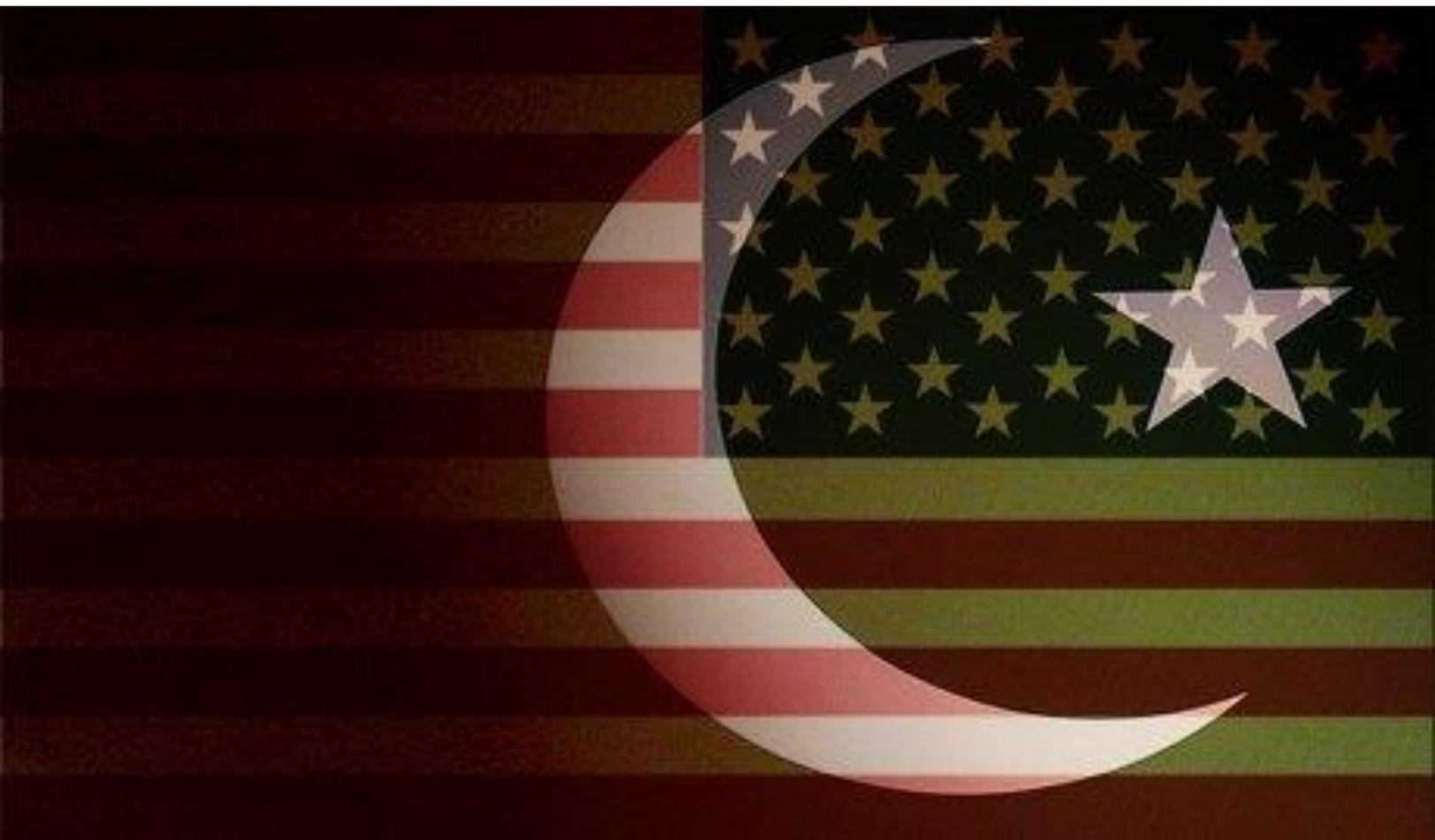


The United States and Pakistan:

A Relationship Tainted by U.S. polarized Interests



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Abstract

This thesis addresses contemporary American imperialism and the role it has in the relationship between Pakistan and the United States. The period between the mid-1950's and the mid-1960's and the period commonly referred to as the Global War on Terror will be considered most extensively in this thesis. The definition of contemporary American imperialism will be the political influence of a strong nation over a weaker nation to spread the views held by the stronger nation often motivated from a national security standpoint which can lead to the creation of economic ties between the two nations. The result of this type of imperialism is an interactive relationship between the U.S. and Pakistan which is based on an imbalance of power. This thesis will then explain how the relationship is dictated by U.S. interests and disregards the interests of Pakistan, allowing for a quick shift in the relationship based on the whims of the United States, often to the disadvantage of Pakistan.

Introduction

The relationship between the United States and Pakistan is one with an extremely fickle nature. Historically, the two nations have had an interesting relationship to say the least. The two countries have evolved from relatively unrelated, to Pakistan being a steadfast ally, to Pakistan as a threat to the United States, and, since the last 15 years, to Pakistan as a problematic friend. History shows us that the relationship is dictated by U.S. interests. The imbalance of power in the relationship causes quick shifts in the relationship to the disadvantage of Pakistan. Whenever the interaction between the U.S. and Pakistan has intensified, it has done so in the form of a donor relationship. These donor relations are generally in the interest of the donor and not the receiver as we will see in this thesis. Even in times when Pakistan was still in need of U.S. assistance, the U.S. withdrew this assistance when their interests in the relationship dwindled. The relationship would not have been possible had it not been for Pakistan's willingness to ally itself with the 'free world', yet the relationship has, throughout its history, been dictated by the United States. I will aim to show that whenever Pakistan's geostrategic relevance to the United States declined the U.S. was quick to change its policy towards Pakistan, without a concern for the effects this would have on their ally.

This fickle relationship between the two is partially due to the imperialist nature of the United States. While, in our everyday understanding of the word imperialism, we may say that the term does not suit the U.S, the Cold War era and the Global War on Terror prove the imperialist nature of the U.S. We must make a distinction here between our everyday understanding of imperialism and the type of imperialism that is portrayed by the United States. Contemporary American imperialism should be understood in terms relevant to the concept. It is distinct from European imperialism as it does not depend on the conquest of land or direct military control in foreign lands. Instead, contemporary American imperialism is unique. It has grown out of the U.S. position as savior, and the desire for the U.S. to protect its national security. The following chapters will investigate contemporary American imperialism and the way in which it has influenced the relationship between Pakistan and the United States, and, as a result, has affected Pakistan. In understanding the U.S.-Pakistan relationship we may be able to apply our understanding to other global relationships in the world.

In this thesis I will aim to answer the following questions:

What is contemporary American imperialism, and how does it feature in international relations, particularly in the U.S.-Pakistan relationship, during key moments such as the Cold War and the Global War on Terrorism?

More specifically, I will look at:

What are the key elements of contemporary American Imperialism, and how do they deviate from the everyday understanding of imperialism?

And:

In what way does American Imperialism feature in the U.S.-Pakistan relationship, especially in the period between the mid-1950' to the mid-1960's and the period since 9/11, and what has American imperialism meant for Pakistan?

The aim of these questions is to set out a clear framework for contemporary American imperialism and to see how this type of imperialism expresses itself in international relations and foreign policy. I have chosen to limit my scope by looking at the relationship between the United States and Pakistan. Theirs has been tumultuous and depicts the manner in which American imperialism creates American interests abroad. Looking into this relationship is relevant due to the ongoing relationship that the U.S. and Pakistan have. Furthermore, Pakistan has throughout the years been seen as the gateway to Asia and the Middle East. Considering the current fight against IS it will be interesting to investigate the relationship that the U.S. has to this so-called gateway country.

I will take into consideration two specific moments in history to address the questions mentioned above. Namely the Cold War, with a focus on the years between the mid-1950's and the mid-1960's and, the Global War on Terror. The time that really shaped the U.S.-Pakistan relationship is the time during the Cold War. My focus will lie on this era as it shows the way in which Pakistan sought out the relationship with the U.S. yet, the U.S. was the more powerful agent in the relationship. My research will show how quickly the U.S. was able to shift the terms of the relationship with a complete disregard for the needs of Pakistan. The United States had very specific interests in the relationship with Pakistan at this time. Odd Arne Westad addresses the relationship in his book *The Global Cold War*, in which he describes the pull that the Soviet Union and the United States had on the newly decolonized countries in Asia. He states that

“Moscow’s and Washington’s objectives were not exploitation or subjection, but control and improvement” (Westad 5). Westad is an important scholar in this field and he puts a focus on the ideologies that were present in the Cold War era. I feel that ideological thinking was present in the U.S.-Pakistan relationship and will shortly address this in the following chapters.

The U.S.-Pakistan relationship during the Global War on Terror is a continuation of the type of partnership the two nations shared during the Cold War era. This thesis will show that the way in which the United States acts towards Pakistan has not changed and, is unlikely to alter in the future, though doubts exist over the possibilities of its continued existence. It is wise to look at this period as it may give us an insight into the way in which the alliance can evolve and, it can help set out ways in which it may be improved. The last chapter will show that the United States has missed chances of creating a strong bond with Pakistan, which could have become one of the United States’ most trustworthy partners had the relationship evolved differently, on a more equal, considerate basis.

This thesis will, to a large extent, follow the theories of realism. One scholar who discusses the relationship between imperialism and realism is Campbell Craig who states that “American realists believe that international relations are dominated by a political power struggle among sovereign nation states” (Craig 143). He also suggests that international conflict is based on insecurity and fear. I agree with the theory that international relations generally exist in order to protect a country’s national security, in realist terms security refers to the protection of a nation’s power. Realists state that states are the main actors in international relations. I prefer the theory of classical realists who considered ideas alongside material power (Nye, Welch 62). In this thesis I will align myself with the theory of ‘defensive realism’ as, in my opinion, the main concern of the U.S. in international relations and international conflict is national security, not global dominance. I do, however, also lean slightly towards the theory of constructivism. Though I believe that states play the most important part in international relations, I do agree that states can be influenced by individuals. In the case of the United States we observe a strong sense of certain ideologies. An example that cannot be missed is the idea of ‘freedom, liberty, and equality’. This is part of U.S. identity and shapes their foreign policy. It is because of this that I feel a complete focus on realism would take away from the interpretation of the U.S.-Pakistan relationship.

Imperialist America

Imperialism is a highly contested term in the scholarly world, especially in applying this term to the United States. Until a few years ago the notion of America as an imperial nation was denied by many scholars. More recently however, the term imperialism has been applied to American international relations both past and present. The hesitance to call the United States imperialist most likely comes from the connotations the word holds. In our everyday understanding imperialism is still, in its most simple term, violence at the cost of indigenous people. Throughout this section I will aim to define imperialism in terms of America. The research I have conducted will be highlighted below to show a difference in European imperialism and contemporary American imperialism. We must keep in mind that, throughout the years, imperialism has been defined in many different ways and to address all of them is simply impossible. Imperialism is a fluid term and must be understood as a “a dynamic and shape-shifting process” (Mattingly 6). In this chapter I will briefly look into the origins of imperialism, general imperialism and the United States as an imperial nation. I will do so through my own analysis of the works of several scholars amongst which are Johan Galtung, Charles Maier, and Emanuele Saccarelli.

1.1 General Imperialism

Though the term imperialism has been around for centuries, as it “dates to Roman expansion” (Chilcote 81), the term really took shape in modern times. Saccarelli and Varadarajan for example state that imperialism “emerged in the late nineteenth century and has since the manifested itself in the interactions among nation-states, ranging from the seemingly amicable [...] to the openly inimical” (Saccarelli, Varadarajan 26). It is a difficult term to explain once we move beyond the oversimplified understanding that imperialism is one nation ruling over another through colonization or, through the use of direct military force. Numerous scholars, amongst which Thomas Weiskopf, Norman Etherington and Ronald Chilcote, have written on the subject, each with their own interpretations. Galtung, for one, interprets imperialism as “a dominance relation between collectivities, particularly between nations” (Galtung 81). While Weiskopf explains imperialism as a national government using “power [or the threat of power] to establish or maintain a relationship of domination or control over the government or the people of another nation [...] over which the imperialist government has no traditional claim to sovereignty”

(Weisskopf 42). In sum, though each interpretation varies the element of dominance of one nation over another features in the works of all scholars.

The term ‘general imperialism’ is one I use to describe the manner in which imperialism tends to be viewed in everyday understandings. It derives from the manner in which European imperialism is understood, and has held on to its connotations of violence and claiming land. What we must remember though, is that every term is a fluid one and that the meaning of the word imperialism is multi-layered. One way in which a change has been highlighted is by Saccarelli and Varadarajan who claim that imperialism has transformed from “an unapologetic drive toward territorial acquisitions in its early history to less direct mechanisms of political control” (Saccarelli, Varadarajan 26). In this sense we can agree that early imperialism, such as the time in the 1800’s when the British, French and Portuguese claimed land in Africa, Asia and South America, was indeed violent. The last few decades, however, have not seen the claiming of land, instead we can notice a shift towards political influence over smaller nations. This is especially the case for American imperialism as will be discussed below.

1.2 Early American Imperialism

Though numerous scholars have written about imperialism in general, it has only been the case since a few years that the term has been applied to the United States. According to Maier terms such as imperialism and empire used in relation to the U.S. have been rejected by scholars as “somehow un-American” (Maier 2). The United States supposedly did not undertake conquest of land yet, when we look at the early years of the United States, all the way back to when it was still the New World, we cannot deny that conquest was part of everyday business. Maier questions however, “was New World expansion so different from that of other major countries? Don’t many large states originate in a program of imperial conquest of people and regions within their own national borders?” (Maier 2). In asking these questions, Maier is not wrong as many nations did indeed come into existence through imperial conquest. The creation of the New World was based on Europeans moving to the America’s and conquering land that originally belonged to the Native Americans. While Maier is not wrong in stating that most large nations originated in the same manner it is incorrect to state that this behavior is un-American. In order to show American imperialism that is more relevant to this thesis we must look at American behavior in later moments.

Odd Arne Westad addresses American imperial behavior when he states “in the 1890’s [...] the United States for the first time prepared to colonize peoples outside of the North American continent” (Westad 8). He is referring to the Spanish-American war in which Spain ceded the Philippines, at that stage still part of the Spanish East Indies, to the U.S. in 1898. This shows us that the United States did, in the past, gain territory through war, something we can consider imperial in the terms we have mentioned under general imperialism. Before this time the U.S. grew exponentially. “During Jefferson’s presidency the United States consisted of roughly 800,000 square miles – by 1848 the figure was 3 million square miles, and in 1867, after the acquisition of Alaska from Russia, it was more than 3.5 million” (Westad 12) According to Westad all but the acquisition of Alaska were a result of war or the threat thereof. It is clear that in the time before the twentieth century America did indeed share some of its imperial tendencies with those of European countries. The difference however, can be seen in American criticisms of European imperialist behavior and their ideologies of being ‘the land of the free’. What we observe in American policies after the Second World War is a shift from expansionism to interventionism. It is at this time that we start to observe what I shall call contemporary American Imperialism.

1.3 Contemporary American Imperialism

Contemporary American imperialism, unlike the type of imperialism displayed by the U.S. in the late nineteenth century is specific to the United States. To understand contemporary American imperialism we must look at the different types of imperialism that exist. Johan Galtung describes 5 different types. Economic, political, military, cultural and communication imperialism. Economic imperialism is highly popular in articles on imperialism and relates imperialism to economic gain. Especially modern imperialism has been connected to the capitalist system. Political imperialism entails one nation creating a sphere of influence in another, usually weaker, nation. Military imperialism where the military of the economically stronger nation is overpowering. The economic welfare in the imperialist nation allows it to create a strong military. Cultural imperialism, which is one that has gained a lot of attention since the end of the Second World War. Lastly, communication imperialism. He claims that wealthy nations are always trying to “develop the latest in transportation and communication technology” (Galtung 92). These nations can in turn sell their previous forms of communication or

transportation to the, as Galtung calls it, Periphery nations thus holding on to their position of power. In terms of the type of imperialism that is relevant for the U.S. we can consider political imperialism. The influence of American politics on other nations is undeniable. Also, cultural imperialism, though this second form is not relevant for this thesis. As we will see in the following two chapters political imperialism is highly relevant in the U.S.-Pakistan relationship.

While Galtung looks into the types of imperialism, Weisskopf addresses the motivations a nation may have to be imperialist. He considers three major reasons. One is that imperialism is simply undertaken “to increase the *aggregate economic gains* accruing to the imperialist nation from its economic relations with other nations” (Weisskopf 45). A second reason is that nations have a “generalized *urge to dominate*” (Weisskopf 45), implying that imperialism is part of human nature. Lastly, he states that imperialism is undertaken to “enhance *national security*” (Weisskopf 43). Though some economic motivations are almost always present in international relations, I do not agree with Weisskopf’s stance that nations are imperialist to realize economic gains. Oftentimes America, as an imperial power, will enter into a relationship with a weaker nation that is based on a donor-recipient situation in which the U.S. will supply financial aid. In that way there is little to no financial gain for the U.S. which, in my opinion makes this point irrelevant. The generalized urge to dominate is somewhat underdeveloped. To some extent the U.S. has aimed to spread its ideologies and products far and wide, however, this has been done through cultural markets. Products like Coca-Cola or McDonald’s have become a well-known item in cities across the world. Though this is relevant in terms of cultural imperialism, contemporary imperialism does not present the U.S. as a nation with an inherent need to dominate the world. Finally, the item that I believe is most relevant to contemporary imperialism is the enhancement or protection of ‘national security’. National security from a realist standpoint is based upon the idea of the protection of power. When we consider the Cold War, for example, it is clear that the continued spread of Communism would have been disastrous for the balance of power observed in the world during the Post WWII years. It is through this example and other historical moments that I believe national security weighs heaviest in imperial behavior for the United States.

Returning to Galtung we find an interesting interpretation of imperialism based on the idea of Center and Periphery nations. He states that “imperialism will be conceived of as a

dominance relationship between collectivities, particularly between nations. It is a sophisticated type of dominance relationship which cuts across nations” (Galtung 81). What is striking about his interpretation is that he sees imperialism as a unique relationship between two nations, a Center nation and a Periphery nation. In his interpretation Galtung leaves room for the possibility in which this relationship can, at times be beneficial to both parties. There must be an active interaction between the nations or in the words of Galtung, “some type of social causation in interaction relation and interaction structure which will have to be demonstrated, over and above simple correlation” (Galtung 83). The idea within this theory is that the relationship between the two nations cause a harmony of interest in some areas and a conflict of interest in other areas. He believes that a relationship is possible if there is a greater harmony of interests than a disharmony of interests. America does show that the relationships it has with weaker nations are based on active interaction. Though the U.S. as leader of the world will have the upper hand in the relationship, interactions such as the one between Pakistan and the U.S. are based on an interplay between the needs of one nation and what the other nation has to offer. More on this will be explained in chapter two and three.

Lastly, Weisskopf, who is of the opinion that “in the postwar period the United States has been a formidable imperialist power” (Weisskopf 41), believes that an imperialist nation must also display the desire to be imperialist. Considering that America was somewhat launched into the position of world leader and, almost immediately looked upon to become a savior for war torn Europe, the initial steps that the U.S. undertook in contemporary imperialism were not a matter of choice but a matter of responsibility that came with the powerful position of the United States. At the end of the nineteenth century the idea of the United States as a protector of freedom and independence came about (Westad 14). This was the turning point for American imperialism. The U.S. could not expand any further within its own borders without creating conflict with the British over Canada or having to include the Latino’s who were viewed as inferior (Westad 15). The renewed ideology within the United States as protector of the free world combined with the situation in war torn Europe in the First World War and the Second World War created a situation in which the U.S. was called upon both militarily and financially. The U.S. had, at this stage, let go of its desires to behave imperially in an expansionary fashion yet it was catapulted into a new role. In this sense we cannot speak of a ‘desire to be imperialist’.

The relationship between Pakistan and the U.S. does not show a 'desire to be imperialist' either, though this situation is based on a 'perceived' threat to American national security.

Though America may have shown some examples of expansionist imperialism in the early years of the New World, it was not the only nation that came into existence with the help of imperialism. The way in which contemporary American imperialism has developed itself is unique and consists elements particularly relevant to American politics. . The main aim of this chapter was to look into American imperialism in terms of the type of imperialism that has come into place since the Second World War. Since that moment the United States has become a world leader and has been looked upon to be responsible in solving global issues. In my opinion imperialism is the political influence of a strong nation over a weaker nation to spread the views held by the stronger nation often motivated from a national security standpoint which can lead to the creation of economic ties between the two nations. America has moved away from the type of imperialism which was forced upon other nations and has moved towards an imperialism that calls for interaction between the two nations. I have decided to leave the discussion regarding a possible capitalist motivation for imperialism out of my analysis. There is an abundance of literature to be found regarding this possible motivation but, I do not feel that capitalism is part of the U.S.-Pakistan relationship, which is the relationship that the following two chapters will focus on.

Pakistan and the U.S: The Creation of a Partnership

The geo-strategic benefits of Pakistan to the U.S. created an in for Pakistan and caused a relationship that was of crucial importance to the United States during the Cold War and, would become relevant again after the events of 9/11. Authors such as Hussain Haqqani and Feroz Ahmed have written about the U.S.-Pakistan relationship during the Cold War years. Both of these authors show a completely different interpretation of events. The first feels that Pakistan is the main instigator of the alliance, the latter feels that the United States continued the role of the colonial British in Pakistan. In geographical terms Pakistan formed “the crossroads between the Middle East and South and Central Asia” (Leake 783). The geo-strategic benefits of Pakistan to the United States in the Cold War are undeniable but the relationship was powered by more than geography. The United States felt threatened by Soviet interest in the newly decolonized Southeast Asia, while Pakistan was in need of financial and military aid while seeking a stronger position in its own regional troubles. In this chapter I will try to find the middle ground between the works of Ahmed and Haqqani and show how the American imperial mindset featured in the relationship with the United States’ most allied of allies.

Though Pakistan sought out a relationship with the United States from its creation in 1947 the true starting point of active interaction between the two countries can be traced back to the 1950’s. Pakistan and the U.S. became partners through a system of promises and aid programs that were dependent on the needs of the time. While the U.S. was undeniably the stronger of the two nations the partnership that the two nations shared was desired from both sides. Though Pakistan sought out the relationship for financial gain “the primary objective of the U.S. in Pakistan has been strategic” (Ahmed 23). In geographical terms Pakistan formed “the crossroads between the Middle East and South and Central Asia” (Leake 783). The geo-strategic benefits of Pakistan to the United States in the Cold War are undeniable but the relationship was powered by more than geography. The United States felt threatened by Soviet interest in the newly decolonized Southeast Asia, while Pakistan was in need of financial and military aid while seeking a stronger position in its own regional troubles. We need to look at this situation in order to understand the fickle relationship between Pakistan and the U.S. The different interests held by the U.S. and Pakistan have caused a complicated interplay in the alliance, complicated even further by the imbalance of power between the two nations. In this chapter I will aim to show

how this imbalance of power allowed the U.S. to apply quick changes in the relationship, which were devastating for Pakistan as Pakistani concerns were not taken into consideration.

2.1 Geographical Relevance

The relationship between the United States and Pakistan is, on the one hand, a result of the geo-strategic possibilities that Pakistan held and, on the other hand, the financial and regional needs of Pakistan. The partition of the Indian subcontinent led to the creation of Pakistan in 1947. Pakistan consisted of two areas of land initially forming East and West Pakistan. East Pakistan, which would later become Bangladesh, shared a border with India and Burma, West Pakistan shared its border with India, the People's Republic of China and, Afghanistan. Afghanistan was the only country separating Pakistan and the Soviet Union. Furthermore, West Pakistan was located at the edge of the Arabian Sea, an important area for trading between Europe and the Far East (Khan 62). Whilst the United States was relatively unconcerned with Pakistan in the years after its creation as they felt the area was at low risk of communist invasion, their interest grew "following the establishment of the PRC in October 1949, the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950, and the intervention of Chinese military forces in the Korean conflict" (McMahon 133). The occurrences in 1949 and 1950 showed the U.S. that there was a definite threat of Communism spreading in this part of Asia. At this point the Truman Administration shifted their focus from India, which held on to its policy of non-alignment, to Pakistan. Whilst the nation was newly established, had very little economic power and did not possess a stable governing power it was the U.S's best bet at gaining a pro-American following in Southeast Asia. With the growing communist presence in the area, both the Pakistan states "were viewed as key players in checking the influence of communist threat emanating from both Soviet Russia and China" (Khan 62). Pakistan's geo-strategic relevance to the U.S. and their willingness to support the U.S in their cause made the country a logical ally in the Cold War era.

Pakistan's geographic relevance to the United States at the time of the Cold War has been discussed by many scholars such as Feroz Ahmed, Elisabeth Leake and Jehangi Khan. An element of the relationship that is often undiscussed however, is Pakistan's interest in the alliance. After separating from India Pakistan had to start anew. Due to the redrawing of the borders Pakistan was left with very few means of production causing the industry to halt. Economically speaking, Pakistan pulled the shortest straw in the partition of the Indian

subcontinent. All in all the new Pakistan was a weak nation that needed the support of a stronger nation. Liaquat Ali Khan, Pakistan's first Prime Minister, sought out the support of the United States, the U.S. however, was not interested in Pakistan until the latter showed a pull towards the Soviet Union, as will be shown below. Pakistan was mainly interested in allying with either of the global powers in order to guarantee some form of financial aid. Pakistan's industry needed a boost in order not to collapse completely and the country did not have the means to realize this by itself. Added to the financial struggles faced by Pakistan, the country also feared its stronger neighbor India. The partition had caused a shift in the balance of power, Pakistan was clearly the weaker party and needed to attract financial, but also military aid, in order to attain a level of comfortable national security. Pakistan thus sought out aid to protect itself militarily against its neighbor India (Haqqani 51). Pakistan's main motivation for an alliance with the United States was derived from the same thinking pattern that we can observe in U.S. foreign policy at the time: national security.

Pakistan's geographical position was both a blessing and a curse. The United States was trying to contain the spread of Communism and found a willing, geographically advantageous partner in Pakistan. Pakistan had its own interests in allying with the United States and it allowed the U.S. to create airbases near Badabher in return for financial aid. Pakistan's geographical location, however, also caused issues for the new state and, in the end, also for the relationship between Pakistan and the United States. Pakistan had a troubled relationship with India, its neighbor which formed a constant threat as they held the economic and military advantages. The two nations had a restless relationship over the Kashmir area and Pakistan felt it needed to "compensate for its economic and military disadvantages" (Haqqani 9). A second threat came from the side of Afghanistan in the debate over the Pukhtunistan area. Pakistan was once again the vulnerable nation and needed military aid from the U.S. to protect itself from attacks by Afghanistan. The unrest in the nation, however, caused doubts within the U.S. over Pakistan's ability to stand with America. The United States, at the same time, did not want to push India or Afghanistan into the arms of the Soviets and was therefore unwilling to support Pakistan in terms of regional conflict meaning that "US officials handicapped their position in the region and allowed tensions to persist" (Leake 800). The relationship between Pakistan and the leader of the Western world only increased tensions in the area and America's refusal to help their ally allowed for wars with both India and Afghanistan. The U.S.'s reluctance to commit fully to their

ally would turn out destructively for Pakistan as their regional troubles increased and their financial situation would not improve.

The United States' main interest in Pakistan lay in Pakistan's geographic relevance and Pakistan's willingness to ally itself with the U.S. This meant though, that once Pakistan became less geostrategically relevant the U.S. was quick to withdraw its financial and military aid plans from the region. As the United States was the more powerful partner in the alliance they were able to dictate the level of partnership the two nations shared. When Pakistan's location was no longer relevant in the protection of U.S. national security, the fact that Pakistan was willing to be an ally to the 'free world' was of no benefit to the U.S. At moments like these, when U.S. interests in Pakistan dwindle, we see an abrupt shift in U.S. policy towards Pakistan. Despite the relationship being an interactive one, we see that Pakistan has relatively little influence on the United States and it is clear that Pakistani interests tend to be unaccounted for.

2.2 The Creation of an Alliance

Even though the Pakistani states were initially considered low risk areas and the U.S. focused mainly on creating a bond with India, Pakistan had started working towards a situation in which the U.S. would be interested in supporting the newly independent nation. Initially, India, which still had some economic and military power after becoming independent from Britain, seemed to hold the best options for the U.S. in gaining influence in Southeast Asia. American policymakers visited India but the country remained hesitant of American motives for wanting to create a sphere of influence in the region. President Nehru of India was a firm believer in non-alignment and was not interested in allying with the United States. When India did not condemn China for their intervention in the Korean War the United States lost hope of India aiding them in their Cold War strategy. Pakistan entered into the United States' view when Soviet ambassador Ali Aliev, secured an invitation to the Soviet Union for Liaquat in 1949. The loss of India as a possible ally and the Soviet interest in Pakistan combined with the continued need for a pro-Western following in the area set "the stage for the Pakistani-American alliance of 1954" (McMahon 133). Although Pakistan had relatively little to offer in terms of their military or economy, their promise "to cooperate with Western-sponsored defense arrangements for the Middle East [along with] their strong support for U.S. Cold War policies" (McMahon 136) was a breath of fresh air after the defiant stance that India had shown.

In exchange for their support Pakistani leaders Iskander Mirza and Ghulam Muhammed demanded military and financial aid which they would receive through various programs and agreements. At this stage the situation in Korea was of serious concern to the United States and they started working towards “including Pakistan in a Middle Eastern Defense Pact” (Leake 789). The start of the relationship was marked by the Wheat Aid Act which “marked the first major success in Pakistan’s wooing of America” (Haqqani 57). The United States felt it was necessary to provide Pakistan with wheat so as to avoid a famine after the U.S. mission which had been sent to examine the situation in Pakistan concluded that it was in the security interest of the U.S. to send food (Haqqani 57). The first shipment, of a total of one million tons of wheat, was sent to in June 1953. Pakistan was also to become part of the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), which was originally created to protect Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam from the continued spread of Communism. John Foster Dulles, as part of the Eisenhower administration, pushed for the inclusion of Pakistan in the treaty. SEATO consisted mainly of Western nations amongst which were the U.S., Australia, France and Britain and the Philippines and Thailand. Inclusion of Pakistan was problematic as “East Pakistan [...] was distant from the region where SEATO was designed to provide security, whereas West Pakistan was even farther” (Haqqani 70). As a result of the looming spread of Communism the U.S. tried to protect their ally Pakistan in programs that were not initially created to do so. Had the United States not feared for their own national security it would not have created this complicated relationship with Pakistan.

The Middle Eastern Defense Pact that the U.S. had been working towards came into existence in the form of Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), originally the Baghdad Pact, in 1955. The pact, based on NATO, was created by the United Kingdom along with Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Pakistan. It called for cooperation and protection between the different countries and included a policy of non-intervention between the different nations. CENTO would turn out to be relatively useless in preventing the spread of Communism in Asia and it became a tell-tale narrative for the relationship between the United States and Pakistan. The type of relationship that can be observed between the United States and Pakistan became very clear during the Indo-Pakistani war of 1965. While Pakistan had promised the U.S. to help protect the ‘free world’ from the spread of Communism, the U.S. was not interested in supporting Pakistan in their hour of need. As war broke out between Pakistan and India, Pakistan asked the United States for help,

however, the U.S. turned Pakistan down as the war between India and Pakistan was not related to the containment of the Soviet Union. CENTO was of no help either as this treaty also had been created to prevent the spread of Communism. Pakistan was prohibited from using military or financial aid it had received in their fight with India and was thus at a significant disadvantage. While Pakistan had become an ally to the United States the latter nation had not become an ally to Pakistan. This situation would become a familiar one in later years when it became clear that the United States was preoccupied with meeting their own goals and was not afraid of disregarding the needs of Pakistan when it felt the latter country had nothing to offer them.

The years between the mid-1950's and 1965 signified the most important years in the shaping of the type of relationship that the U.S. and Pakistan would have from that point onward. Pakistan had been "avidly courting the United States ever since partition. The Korean War gave the Pakistani's the opening they had been seeking" (McMahon 136). The United States so desperately sought an ally in an area that they perceived as high risk that they did not take into consideration the local issues that could, and would, seriously affect the bond between the nations. Pakistan wholeheartedly promised the U.S. to be anti-communist in the early Cold War years and claimed it would support the U.S. in the proxy wars that were fought in the Cold War but realistically speaking it had very little to offer. Though both nations doubted what the other could mean for them the relationship was continued and "between 1954 and 1959 \$425 million in American aid had been pumped into Pakistan's military [...] on top of \$855 million in economic assistance over the same period" (Haqqani 83). The results that the two nations were seeking were too different for this relationship to function in a productive manner. Pakistan sought out the relationship with the U.S. "as a means of consolidating the fledgling Pakistani state" (Haqqani 54), while the U.S. sought a strong ally to contain Communism. In hindsight it is clear that the two were not the right match for the goals they wanted to meet. Due to America's immense desire to contain Communism and Pakistan's understandable need to guarantee the survival of its country an unbalanced partnership was created.

The developments I have highlighted here show the extent to which the relationship between Pakistan and the U.S. was driven by U.S. interest. The type of imperialism the United States displays in this relationship is far from colonial or oppressive yet the imbalance of power between the nations is undeniable. The eventual decision undertaken by the United States to

enter into an alliance with Pakistan was based largely on external factors, while the doors to an alliance were opened by Liaquat's desire to attain financial aid. What we can observe here is a form of a donor relationship in which the relation is undertaken mostly in the interest of the donor and not of the receiver, in this case Pakistan. Though the imbalance of power between the two countries is clearly detectable, I do step away from the interpretations held by Ahmed who calls the relationship neocolonial. The United States did not hold direct military control over Pakistan. Instead the relationship was based on an interplay between the needs and desires of both nations. The United States did not show an interest in claiming territory, it aimed to spread its own ideology of a 'free world'. The U.S. did indeed have more leverage in the relationship, though that does not mean that the partnership was one-sided. We must keep in mind that Pakistan sought out the relationship long before the United States started exploring the alliance.

2.3 U.S.-Pakistan Relations in the Late Cold War Years

According to scholars such as Elisabeth Leake, relations between Pakistan and the U.S. changed in the 1960's and she states "relations between the United States and Pakistan significantly cooled after the 1965 war" (Leake 800), though this cooling did not mean the end of the U.S.-Pakistan relationship. Pakistan had started to become disillusioned with the relationship with the U.S. The U.S. had refused to help Pakistan with its regional troubles and in 1962 had decided to send aid to India. The United States had decided to support India "both military and economically and at the same time asked Pakistan to provide assurance to India that the former will not create problems for the latter during her war against China" (Khan 67). The new relationship between India and the U.S. worried Pakistan who now felt that "the West was now intent on building India into the main anti-communist bastion in Asia and felt pressured to look for alternative sources of military supplies" (Kemenade 4). Pakistan now started looking towards China for military supplies as they felt they needed to protect themselves from the increasingly strong military power of India. Though the partnership between Pakistan and the U.S. had indeed been on the backburner for some time the U.S. did call upon the help of Pakistan in trying to mend the relationship with China. America planned a visit to China under the Nixon administration and used Pakistan's ties to China to their advantage "Henry Kissinger's secret July 1971 visit to China was being prepared through Pakistani channels" (Kemenade 11).

While the relationship between the two countries took on a less active form a clear partnership had been created. The continued relationship between the two countries seemed to sour even more after the second Indo-Pakistan war in 1971 when the United States once again veered away from helping their ally. The U.S. looked away as East Pakistan was dissolved and “US economic and military aid was stopped” (Khan 68). A shift can be observed, however, in 1979. At this time “Soviet forces rolled into Afghanistan under the pretext of invitation from the Afghan government” (Khan 68). Even though Pakistan had been creating a nuclear program and was heavily criticized for doing so by the U.S. the relationship between the two nations was revived. This change in policy once again highlights the unstable relationship between Pakistan and the United States. At times when the United States felt that Pakistan could be of importance to them aid and communication rose, however, the United States was unconcerned with the problems Pakistan faced. In times when the geo-strategic importance of Pakistan was raised the U.S. was even prepared to overlook issues that it was highly opposed to such as Pakistan’s nuclear program. President Reagan decided that “winning a war against the Soviet forces in Afghanistan was a vital strategic objective of the US that could not be overlooked” (Khan 72). It was not until the end of the Cold War in 1990 that U.S. interest in Pakistan died down and the U.S. no longer overlooked the issues it had with Pakistan. The United States even went as far as putting Pakistan on the “watch list of states accused of sponsoring terrorism” (Khan 73). It was clear that the U.S. no longer needed the alliance of Pakistan in containing Communism.

The United States’ fickle relationship with Pakistan, which was especially observable in the later Cold War years, once again depicts the measure to which the alliance was powered by U.S. interests. Even though the alliance was only possible due to Pakistan’s willingness the U.S. remained unconcerned with Pakistani interests outside of Cold War concerns. The imbalance of power between Pakistan and the United States caused a quick shift in the relationship to the disadvantage of Pakistan. The regional unrest faced by Pakistan was partially caused by the alliance it had formed with the United States. The latter did not address these issues nearing the end of the Cold War, instead leaving Pakistan to, once again, fend for itself. The fickle nature of the alliance had destructive effects on Pakistan who would be left with an unstable economy, dysfunctional political system, and regional unrest as the United States pulled the plug on financial and military aid. Though a continued relationship between the two countries could have

been beneficial to both sides, the United States has been unable to consider the partnership outside of times when national security was –perceived to be- at stake.

2.4 Imperialist Tendencies

The relationship between Pakistan and the U.S. during the Cold War era showed some clear signs of contemporary American imperialism. As mentioned in the previous chapter my stance on American imperialism is that it is the influence of a strong nation over a weaker nation to spread the views held by the stronger nation, often motivated from a national security standpoint, which can lead to the creation of economic ties between the two nations. Though scholars such as Hussain Haqqani and Feroz Ahmed are highly opinionated on the relationship between America and Pakistan their work misses a sense of informed middle ground. We can see from the developments in the relationship between the two nations that national security was a big element in the partnership. The United States which, after the Second World War, had become one of two leading powers in the world, along with the Soviet Union, created a relationship with Pakistan, a much weaker nation, in order to protect the power the United States held at the time. The partnership between the two was based in its entirety on a perceived threat to the United States. The U.S. felt it was crucial to set up a pro-Western sphere of influence in the unstable region of Southeast Asia and after exhausting their options in India set up this sphere of influence in Pakistan. Using a weaker nation in this sense is clearly a form of imperialism.

Ahmed describes U.S. involvement in Pakistan as “a neocolonial situation” (Ahmed 24). He views the relationship in a highly negative light and does not take into consideration the level of participation that Pakistan had in this exchange. Haqqani on the other hand tends to focus too much on the Pakistani part in this partnership when he says “amid frequent Pakistani charges of American betrayal, few Americans remember that Pakistan initiated the US-Pakistan alliance” (Haqqani 9). A realist perspective shows that the relationship was based on the imperialist behavior of protecting national security and an interactive relationship between two nations. Although the United States was clearly the stronger party in this interaction it did not dictate the entire relationship nor did it gain territory through invasion. The partnership, though unequal, was based on a desire on the American side and a need on the side of Pakistan. The Wheat Aid Act, for example, showed a need that Pakistan had. The U.S. met this need. The exchange

between Pakistan and the U.S. undeniably shows that both sides had a say in the relationship. Pakistan demanded items such as military equipment and finances in return for their alliance, and although the U.S. had the upper hand in the partnership one cannot speak of an unwanted relationship from the side of Pakistan. This exchange fits in perfectly with the concept of contemporary American imperialism.

Pakistan-U.S. Relations in the Post-Cold War World

“For more than five decades, it [Pakistan] has loomed large in one form or another, as either staunch ally, a troublesome friend, or even a threat. Now, for the first time, it is all of these things” (Hussain 2). Touqir Hussain describes perfectly the way in which the United States has viewed their ally Pakistan during their tumultuous relationship. The period between the mid-1950’s and the mid-1960’s and the renewed alliance during the Global War on Terror earmark some of the most hectic periods in the U.S.-Pakistan relationship. Though the title of this chapter refers to Pakistan and the U.S. in the post-Cold War world my focus will lie on the time since 2001. I have made the decision to only briefly discuss the period between 1990 and 2000, the period viewed as the end of history by the likes of Francis Fukuyama. The decade leading up to the events of 9/11 shaped the terms in which Pakistan and the U.S. would re-engage in an alliance yet it is not as telling as the War on Terror. What this period shows us is the fickle nature of the relationship between Pakistan and the U.S., the way in which this fickleness affected Pakistan, and how fast the relationship between Pakistan and the U.S. changes, mostly based on U.S. interests.

3.1 The Post-Cold War Period

The end of the Cold War, in the years 1989 to 1991, brought about a change in the world “while one Cold War superpower collapsed, the other went on to become the hyperpower of our times” (Westad 403). Sometimes change comes about very quickly as can be seen in the Pakistan-U.S. relationship. The fall of the Soviet Union meant the end of the threat of Communism and thus the loss of strategic importance of Pakistan to the United States. Containment had been successful and the Southeast Asian region was no longer at risk of falling into the hands of Communism. The United States, once again, showed that it had, for the most part, maintained relations with Pakistan because of its geostrategic location. The relationship, in terms of U.S. interest, had come into existence as a result of national security fears. As the Soviets had begun to set up relations with the decolonized nations in Asia Pakistan had presented itself as a perfect ally to the United States. As I showed in the previous chapter Pakistan formed the “crossroads between the Middle East and South and Central Asia” (Leake 783). Now that the United States no longer needed to protect the ‘free world’ from communist ideologies it lost its interest in an alliance with Pakistan. Geopolitically, the U.S.-Pakistan relationship has seen some

major upheaval. From significant geopolitical importance in the Cold War's containment strategy when Pakistan was an ally, to relative geopolitical insignificance in the years following the Cold War, in which Pakistan was perceived as a possible threat, to another period of geopolitical significance in the years after 2001, having shifted into the position of a troublesome friend to the United States.

A significant shift that can be observed in the relationship between Pakistan and the United States is the complete halt of financial aid at the end of the Cold War. Throughout this thesis it has been clear that the relationship between Pakistan and the U.S. was generally directed by United States interests. Kashif Muntaz also addresses this when he states that "foreign aid has always been determined largely by donor states' strategic, diplomatic and commercial interests" (Muntaz 3). The United States no longer needed Pakistan as an ally, and thus financial aid, in the way it was distributed during the Cold War period, was no longer justified. Pakistan, however, did not suddenly lose its need for financial and military aid nor its need for a larger nation's support. Pakistan's poor economic status had not yet been addressed. In the Cold War years Pakistan had become dependent on U.S. financial aid and the complete halt of this aid meant a reversal to a highly unstable economic situation in the country. The imbalance of power between Pakistan and the United States caused a quick shift in the relationship to the disadvantage of Pakistan. The U.S., as the donor nation, was mainly concerned with its own interest and not with the interests of Pakistan, the country which had previously been its loyal ally.

The halt of financial aid was part of a set of sanctions placed on Pakistan as a reaction to Pakistan's nuclear program (Hussain 4). Though the United States was highly opposed to the existence of nuclear programs in non-approved nations, the U.S. had withheld from placing sanctions on Pakistan during the Cold War. The United States had chosen to overlook Pakistan's nuclear program in the 1970's and 1980's despite signing the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1968, as the U.S. had, at this time, felt that containment in Southeast Asia was more urgent. A change can be observed in 1990 when, as a result of the Pressler Amendment, all economic and military assistance to Pakistan was cut off. This halting of military aid also included an embargo on military equipment, including "F-16 aircrafts, for which Pakistan had already paid" (Akram 117). In 1998 further sanctions were imposed on Pakistan after they conducted nuclear testing. The U.S. was no longer allowed to supply Pakistan with foreign aid yet exports to Pakistan were

unaffected by the sanctions as can be seen in Dinshaw Mistry's article when he states "American wheat sales to India and Pakistan were almost immediately exempted from sanctions" (Mistry 755). The Pressler Amendment once again depicts the imbalance of power in the U.S.-Pakistan partnership. In removing aid to Pakistan the country was left with "an underdeveloped economy, a poor educational system, unsure civil society, and simmering international tensions" (Hussain 6).

Pakistan had not only not progressed during the Cold War years it had been launched into an undeniably strenuous spot with its neighboring countries. Pakistan's regional troubles had not disappeared with the fall of the Soviet Union, in fact, certain regional issues had become more serious during the Cold War era. India and Pakistan, who had been enemies since the partition of the Indian subcontinent and had engaged in several wars, had not yet created friendlier ties. In fact, the financial and military aid that India had received from the United States in the 1960's had soured the relationship even further. The Indian military was more powerful than the Pakistani military allowing for the continued balance of power struggle between the nations. The ever looming threat of India, and Pakistan's inability to gather military equipment without the help of the United States meant that Pakistan once again faced doubts over its continued existence. Entering into the alliance with the United States was ultimately devastating for Pakistan. When it lost American aid the country was left out in the cold not having progressed much further than when it had initially become independent in 1947. By leaving Pakistan behind after the fall of the Soviet Union the United States allowed the country to fall into disarray leaving the Pakistani's with a feeling of abandonment which would affect the relationship for the years to come.

The years following the Cold War are a clear sign of U.S. disregard for Pakistan in times when the United States was not subjected to a threat on their national security. The relationship between the two countries is clearly subjected to geopolitical interests of the United States. Though Pakistan needed the support of the U.S. in both the Cold War and beyond the relationship was marred by the imbalance of power which caused a quick shift in the relationship during the last decade of the twentieth century. At the end of the Cold War Pakistan had not evolved into a stronger nation, and in terms of regional and financial troubles the alliance with the United States had been devastating for Pakistan. Contemporary imperialism shows an

interactive relationship between on one side hand a strong, leading nation, and on the other, a weaker nation. In order to rise above imperialism the U.S. should take into consideration the interests of the weaker nation, had it done so after the Cold War it could have gained a stronger position in Southeast Asia and perhaps been able to steer Pakistan into a better global position. In only considering donor interests the United States has missed an opportunity to shape Pakistan into a trustworthy ally, instead of a troublesome friend.

3.2 9/11 and the Pakistan-U.S. Relationship

The events of September 11, 2001, once again launched Pakistan into the center of American foreign policy. Resembling the interaction the two countries shared during the 1950's and 1960's, the relationship between the United States and Pakistan in the years following the attacks on the Twin Towers was not just based on U.S. interests but was also powered by Pakistan's desire to improve financially and attain a higher global status. Had it not been for President Pervez Musharraf's desire to elevate Pakistan's global status to a higher level and improve the situation within Pakistan the renewed alliance would have been impossible. President Musharraf, who came to power in 1999, had been seeking to democratize Pakistan, address the continuing regional troubles faced by the nation and rule out the widespread corruption and terrorism in the country. Pakistan was not so much concerned with the Global War on Terror as it was concerned with rebuilding the country's global status. Thanks to "the president's vision for a tolerant, progressive, and democratic Pakistan" (Akram 116) Pakistan once again became a willing ally to the U.S. cause. Pakistan's own pull towards their old partner, the United States, unmistakably shows that the relationship between the two is one of active interaction.

Pakistan's growing importance to the United States after the terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers was "a reflection both of Pakistan's pivotal geostrategic position in the region and the Islamic world, and of the key decision made by President Pervez Musharraf to join the international coalition against terrorism" (Akram 117). The events of 9/11 made painfully clear the extent to which radicalism had grown. Pakistan was immediately perceived as being pivotal in the fight against terrorism, partially because of Musharraf's willingness to, once again, comply with U.S. terms, partially because the two nations already had a history of alliance, and as many scholars have mentioned Pakistan's geographic relevance (Akram 2002, Akhtar 2012, Hussain

2005). The United States almost immediately put the blame on the Taliban and demanded the surrender of the brains behind the 9/11 attack, Osama Bin Laden. Unsurprisingly, the Taliban refused. The Taliban was not a new organization but had existed since 1994, however, it had not yet posed a significant threat to the United States as most of their attacks, up until 2001, had been carried out on Afghan soil. After it had become clear that Osama Bin Laden had settled in Afghanistan, the United Nations permitted the use of force against Afghanistan. Considering Pakistan's close proximity to Afghanistan it was a logical move for the United States to try and revive the relationship the two countries previously enjoyed. Pakistan offered the United States the chance to gain influence in the area through the use of Pakistani airbases. A loss of Pakistan to the Taliban, which was not unlikely since Afghanistan was able to influence its neighbor to a much larger extent than the United States through its sheer proximity, would mean the loss of a country with a nuclear program to extremism. One major objective of the War on Terrorism has been the eradication of terrorism from the world but, the prevention of nuclear weapons falling into the hands of terrorists has been on the minds of every Western policymaker. We cannot deny that the reasons for the U.S. to enter into this relationship were once again based on national security concerns. The U.S. saw a chance in winning over the hearts and minds of the weak country of Pakistan through a system of financial aid, thus being able to gain the upper hand in the historically imbalanced relationship.

As was the case during the Cold War the renewed alliance between Pakistan and the U.S. was based on a system of demands and promises. The terms of the new agreement asked Pakistan to do the following;

“(1) cut ties with the Taliban government in Afghanistan; (2) be helpful, with respect to U.S. and coalition plans to attack and occupy Afghanistan; (3) counter anticipated extremist (anti-American) fallout within Pakistan; (4) reduce domestic sectarian violence; and (5) curb alleged state support for jihadi and/or terrorist activities related to the Kashmir issue” (Kennedy 109)

Musharraf, against the will of a significant number of Pakistani's, complied almost immediately. The U.S. also made certain promises in return. As I have already mentioned, Musharraf was extremely concerned with the improvement of Pakistan's global status. The United States promised to help Pakistan improve this status, especially in financial terms (Kennedy 109). The

United States had also been pressuring Pakistan to democratize but lowered pressure to meet this demand. The most striking promise made by the United States was that they would “not target Pakistan as a facilitator or harbor for international terror, as long as it complied with the U.S. global war on terror” (Kennedy 109).). In terms of global politics based on an ongoing War on Terror it seems strange, to say the least, to set up a relationship with a nation that had itself had strong ties with the Taliban and suffered from a high level of domestic terrorism. Though the United States was fighting a Global War on Terrorism it was willing to ignore Pakistan’s perceived role in terrorism to achieve ‘national security’.

When Pakistan promised its cooperation in the Global War on Terrorism “all sanctions on Pakistan were waived by [the] U.S.A. under Brownback II” (Akhtar 207). This option became available in 1998 under the India-Pakistan Relief Act of 1998. Pakistan had a lot to offer the United States in their fight against terrorism. Strategically speaking Pakistan is located directly next to Afghanistan, the country that was perceived as the Taliban’s home base. In aiding the United States in the fight against terrorism “Pakistan has sealed of its western border and has made two naval bases, three air force bases, and its airspace available to the U.S. military” (Hussain 6). This gave the U.S. a huge advantage in the area as they had gained the use of friendly territory. Pakistan was also a major factor in gathering intelligence and the capture of terrorists. “In Operation Enduring Freedom, Pakistan shared intelligence with the United States” (Akram 118). Pakistan, in addition to supplying intelligence and military bases, also supplied manpower for the War on Terrorism. Pakistan’s commitment to the relationship with the United States is clearly visible in the losses the country has suffered. Shabnaz Akhtar, who wrote on the Pakistani-U.S. relationship in 2012, states that “since September 2001, 21672 civilian[s] and 2795 soldiers lost their lives” (Akhtar 207). Musharraf’s desire to improve the situation within Pakistan and Pakistan’s dire economic situation meant that they were the perfect candidate for an alliance with the United States. As the U.S. supplied financial aid it was able to demand and receive a lot from its ally in the War on Terror.

The United States’ fluctuating interest in the relationship with Pakistan has caused “Pakistani’s [to generally view] the U.S. as an unworthy ally who would discard Pakistan as soon as its interests had been served” (Muntaz 6). American misuse of their position as the stronger party in the relationship has led to a distrusting Pakistani people. This general feeling of

distrust has had a lasting effect on the Pakistan-U.S. relationship. Charles Kennedy suggests that the “U.S.-Pakistan anti-terrorism entente is a temporary instrumental arrangement” (Kennedy 111). Though Kennedy’s prediction, which he made in 2005, that the relationship would not last the decade did not come true, he is not mistaken in doubting the continuity of the relationship. The U.S. has also become doubtful of Pakistan’s role in fighting terrorism. Several moments in the relationship have weakened U.S. trust in Pakistan, such as “the A.O. Khan affair” (Hussain 4), as Touqir Hussain describes it. Khan is a nuclear scientist who aided North Korea, Iran and Libya in their nuclear programs. He was pardoned by Pervez Musharraf who promised the U.S. that the Pakistani government had no idea of Khan’s actions (Akhtar 209). Perhaps the most troubling development in the Global War on Terror, however, was the capture of Osama Bin Laden in Abbotabad, Pakistan in 2011. The discovery of America’s greatest enemy at the time in the country that was supposedly their ally caused great concerns for the U.S. The event created serious concern for the U.S. regarding Pakistan’s intent in the Global War on Terror. Though the developments did not cause a halt to the U.S. Pakistani relationship they did create more mistrust.

The sudden revival of the relationship between Pakistan and the United States shows clearly the extent to which the partnership is ruled by American interests. Certain decisions undertaken by the U.S. are illogical in terms of ideological thinking. After the A.O. Khan affair the U.S. should have stopped all humanitarian aid under the Non-Proliferation Treaty, but they turned a blind eye to the affair. Had the U.S. not had such a strong interest in the relationship with Pakistan at this point the Khan affair would have undeniably led to further sanctions, yet donor interests overruled these concerns. The switch from non-alliance to alliance is remarkable, especially the short time it took to for a complete overhaul of the relationship to occur. Though the relationship is based on both U.S. and Pakistani interests, the interests of the U.S. stand out and so far no special consideration has gone towards the specific needs of Pakistan. The receiver in this donor relationship is at the losing end. Were the U.S. to pull out of the alliance like it did at the end of the Cold War there is no guarantee that Pakistan will be better off that it was in 1947 or the 1990’s.

3.3 Imperialist Tendencies

The renewed relationship once again showed signs of U.S. imperial behavior. The partnership between the two countries was, and still is, dependent on the desire of the United States, in this case to eradicate terrorism, and the needs and desires of Pakistan, which had not changed much from the needs they had in the 1950's. President Pervez Musharraf wanted to lift Pakistan to the next level and realized that allying with the U.S. would give him the necessary tools to reach this goal. The United States was undeniably the more powerful agent in this exchange, as it had been in the Cold War, and an opening for Pakistan would have been unlikely had the events of 9/11 not occurred. Had Musharraf not needed the financial aid of the United States though, the U.S. would not have been able to gain a sphere of influence in the region they so direly needed to influence. The common conception of imperialism that still exists among the American public is that of an imperial power gaining territory through conquest. This idea is backdated and incompatible with notions of American imperialism. American imperialism is based on an interactive relationship between the U.S. as the leading, powerful nation, and a weaker nation, in this case Pakistan. The U.S. does not possess unchallenged power over Pakistan and is unlikely to take on this position regardless of its status as leader of the world.

A scholar that addresses the idea of American imperialism in current events, the years since 2000 to be precise, is Campbell Craig. He takes the approach of looking at imperialism from the perspective of a realist. He claims that "insecurity and fear are the root causes of conflict and war" (Craig 144) and he claims that the U.S. is highly imperial in that it "bullies smaller nations and defies international law whenever it chooses" (Craig 150). I feel that this approach is too limited and in danger of being shortsighted. Though I personally follow the realist mindset to a large extent and do believe that national security is based on a concept of global power I feel that more is at play. I do not agree with Craig that the U.S. bullies smaller nations. Looking at the behavior of the United States towards Pakistan we see a high level of disregard for the latter outside of moments in which U.S. national security is perceived to be at stake. Evidence of 'bullying' however, has not presented itself in my research, instead we can perceive a form of favoritism in times when the U.S. had interests in the relationship with Pakistan, such as the lack of sanctions being put in place after the A.O. Khan affair. This immediately brings us to Craig's second point, and remaining with the A.O. Khan affair we

cannot deny that the U.S. does indeed refrain from adhering to international law when it sees fit to do so. While I agree with Craig that the United States continues to portray elements of imperialism, I feel his understanding needs to be nuanced, as I have done above.

Conclusion

In this thesis I have explored the questions: What are the key elements of contemporary American Imperialism, and how do they deviate from the everyday understanding of imperialism? And: In what way does American Imperialism feature in the U.S.-Pakistan relationship, especially in the period between the mid-1950's to the mid-1960's and the period since 9/11, and what has American imperialism meant for Pakistan? I have shown how contemporary imperialism, which presents itself as the political influence of a strong nation over a weaker nation to spread the views of the stronger nation often motivated from a national security standpoint which can lead to the creation of economic ties between the two nations, deviates from our everyday understanding of imperialism. In my explanation of contemporary American imperialism I have aimed to clarify that it features heavily in the choices the United States has made in relationships it has with other countries, in the case of my thesis the relationship it has with Pakistan. The main argument of my thesis is that, despite common denial, the United States is an imperialist nation which has an interactive relationship with Pakistan that is flawed by an imbalance of power. This imbalance of power has allowed for the occurrence of quick shifts in the relationship, often at the disadvantage of Pakistan, as the interests of the United States outweigh the interests of Pakistan.

Furthermore, I have looked at the U.S.-Pakistan relationship and have aimed to show how it was shaped in the mid-1950's to the mid-1960's, and carried through to this day. This thesis has described how the alliance was made possible as a result of Pakistan's willingness to ally itself with the U.S. This willingness originated out of a need for financial and military aid due to the regional issues in Pakistan. This need combined with Pakistan's geostrategic position allowed for the creation of a bond between the two countries. The United States had different interests in the relationship namely, the creation of a sphere of influence in the newly decolonized area in Southeast Asia and the containment of Communism. U.S. interest would shift towards the fight against terrorism in the twenty-first century. Geostrategically Pakistan had a lot to offer the U.S. in the two timeframes that I have set out. However, outside of these moments, when Pakistan's position was less relevant, U.S. interests in the country dropped. As a result of the abrupt change in the relationship financial and military aid were halted and Pakistan suffered greatly in terms of economy, education and global status. What I have aimed to portray

is the devastating results that this fast changing relationship has had on Pakistan and how little concern went out to Pakistani interests at this time.

Though I have tried to be as extensive as possible in this thesis I have had to take into consideration certain limitations in my research. Certain elements that could be considered more extensively in a less constricted setting timewise could be the role that capitalism has played in the imperialist nature of the United States. Several of the scholars which I have discussed in this thesis, amongst which Thomas Weisskopf was the most vocal on the subject, have implied that the nature of imperialism can be traced back to capitalism. According to Weisskopf himself the only type of imperialism that is not related to capitalism is imperialism related to national security. I have deliberately left out this element as it does not feature in the U.S.-Pakistan relationship in the way in which Weisskopf has explained it. The U.S.-Pakistan relationship is not based on financial gain or the acquisition of overseas financial markets. The economic aspect of this relationship that is most relevant is that of financial aid for Pakistan. Though there is a small export market to Pakistan, in the form of the sale of wheat, it is not relevant to investigate this further. Perhaps follow-up research could take into account the element of capitalism as a possible motivator.

The two moments in history that are addressed in this thesis are very specific to the US.-Pakistan relationship. This thesis has focused on the developments that have occurred in the two timeframes mid-1950's to mid-1960's and the period between 2001 and 2015. Though the research undertaken here was concerned with the developments within the U.S.-Pakistan relationship at this time, this thesis could benefit from a broader focus. A possibility would be to look at the actions of the Soviet Union in Southeast Asia during the Cold War or, Afghanistan during the Global War on Terror so as to gain a better understanding in why the United States and Pakistan made particular choices during their alliance. In sum, taking into consideration that this thesis is limited by space and time a focus on either the Cold War or the Global War on Terror would have allowed for a broader focus on the global situation at these times. Instead, I have looked at both moments to provide a sense of developments in the relationship and to be able to contrast times of intense partnership with times of relatively no interaction. In this way I was able to outline the manner in which U.S. behavior towards Pakistan changed.

This thesis can help clarify the role of imperialism in U.S. foreign policy and help in finding ways to improve current and future international relations. This thesis has highlighted some clear issues in the U.S.-Pakistan relationship. In realizing these issues they can be addressed and, eventually changed. Especially with the upcoming presidential elections it will be interesting to see how the future U.S. President, whether it is Donald Trump or Hillary Clinton, will deal with the issues of international relations. As of January 20, 2017 either of these two candidates will be the new President of the United States and the question remains how they will allow contemporary American imperialism to structure their policies. At this time we are witnessing a growing threat from extremist organization IS, which will most likely also affect future foreign policy. All in all, the American imperialism debate is highly relevant today as we are noticing a change in the global landscape and are awaiting the election of the new leader of the 'free world'.

Future research into this area could be conducted in the region of Pakistan's position as a crossroads to the Middle East. As we are noticing a trend of ever growing extremism further research could look at the ways in which the U.S-Pakistan relationship can address this global issue and how Pakistan can perhaps form itself into a mediator between the Western and the Islamic world. This research will have to also look at the ways in which the U.S-Pakistan relationship can be improved. At the moment it is marred by distrust and difficult past interactions. A change in the approach to the relationship could help elevate it to a more successful level. It is important to look towards creating stronger international bonds if the United States want to remain a global leader and wants to instill its ideologies of freedom, liberty and equality in the world. Further research could aid in setting out ways that could achieve these stronger international bonds. Drawing on the already existing U.S.-Pakistan relationship can guide research into new insights regarding international relationships and U.S. foreign policy.

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