

# ***Pak-US Relations: An Historical Overview***

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## **Abstract**

*Global powers shape politics of the world for their self interests. United States is the most influential power in the world today, therefore, US foreign policy and its relations with other nations, especially with Pakistan in the South and West Asia is a prominent theme of international politics. This study helps to understand the nature of US relationship with Pakistan i.e. a cyclical pattern of cooperation and estrangement. This also enables us to understand the internal and external forces, which determine the cyclical pattern of relationship between the two countries during cold-war, post cold-war and post 9/11 2001 relations and expected future path of interaction.*

## **Introduction**

Historically Pak-US relationship has never been consistent. It went through many ups and downs in different periods. It was because of convergence and divergence of national interests that kept on switching both nations from friendship to friction. The dominant perception in Pakistan has been, US gained more during the times of convergence of interests, but periods of divergence outweighed the former. Although, Pakistan earned the title of 'most allied ally' of US in 1950s, 1980s and after the September 11, 2001, however,

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it is also the most sanctioned country in the world. By depending on US for military and economic assistance Pakistan gained less as it was not given the required support by US when needed the most.<sup>1</sup>

The relationship between US and Pakistan developed from some diplomatic exchanges in 1940s to close relationship in 1950s. This was the time when both nations entered into a Client-Patron relationship that was based on a clear asymmetry of military and economic power. Pakistan was completely dependent on US for defense against threats emanating from India, and Afghanistan.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, Pakistan was bound to serve the security interests of US in the region and could not exercise its autonomy in pursuance of its interests while interacting with US, especially during wars with India.

With this backdrop, the study will trace the evolution of US-Pakistan relations and elements of inconsistency as a glaring feature of the relationship. It answers how Pakistan, as a weak nation, pursued its security and economic interests once it became significant for US policies for the region and beyond? This study starts with pre-partition period and also discusses variation in the relationship during cold war era, post cold-war period and expected future path of relationship.

### **Pre-Partition of Sub-Continent**

Pak-US relations are as old as Pakistan itself. The roots of these relations can be found in the pre-partition period. Initially the then American administration was against the idea of a divided India. The reason behind this opposition was the civil war in China, where the US supported nationalists against the communist elements. Washington

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1 Lecture of Dr. Tahir Amin at Department of International Relations, Quaid-i-Azam University in September 2009. In 1971 war with India, US did not support Pakistan as it was expected due to "SEATO" and "CENTO".

2 Syed Hussain Shaheed Soherwordi, "Pakistan-US Relations during the War on Terror: Converging Alliances, Diverging Objectives for a Changed Patron-Client Bond", in *Pakistan's Foreign Policy*, ed., Ijaz Khan (Peshawar: University of Peshawar, 2010), 132.

wanted to avoid yet another major area of turmoil in Asia. Therefore, Americans were not ready to bear with the idea of a separate Muslim state. A veteran US Diplomat, William Phillips, writes in his memoirs: "The more I studied Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan, the less it appealed to me as the answer to India's communal problem, since to break India into two separate nations would weaken both and might open Pakistan, at least, to the designs of ambitious neighbours."<sup>3</sup>

US media was also hostile towards Pakistan Movement. For instance, *The Times* gave caption, "His (Jinnah's) Moslem tiger wants to eat the Hindu cow." *The Times* commented on the rise of Jinnah as "a story of love of country and lust for power, a story that twists and turns like a bullock track in the hills."<sup>4</sup>

Some Pakistani scholars harbour the view that the US changed its policy once Pakistan came into existence. The US President, Harry S. Truman and Secretary of State, George C. Marshall warmly welcomed the birth of Pakistan. The United States was the first country that extended diplomatic recognition and sent an official delegation to attend the formal ceremonies. US also supported Pakistan's application for membership to the United Nations.<sup>5</sup>

However, certain evidences go in opposition to this argument of the US support for creation of Pakistan. The fact is that the US was not happy over the division of the sub-continent. First, the agreement on June 10, 1947 reached between Congress, League and the British government was welcomed by the then US government on the basis of an assumption that it would end civil disorder in India and avoid further bloodshed. However, the State Department did not refer to the decision of the creation of Pakistan in its press release on June 10, 1947. This shows that the US government was unwilling to accept this new fact

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3 Dennis Kux, *The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies* (Washington DC.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2001), 7.

4 Kux, *The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000*, 9.

5 Rais Ahmed Khan, ed., *Forty Years of Pakistan United States Relations* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1990), 16.

(Pakistan).<sup>6</sup> The statement commented only, “The future constitutional pattern is a matter to be determined by [the] Indian people themselves and whatever that pattern may be the US government looks forward to continuance of [the] friendliest relations with Indians of all communities and creeds.”<sup>7</sup>

Secondly, on July 2, 1947, when Quaid-i-Azam was anxious about the recognition of the new state by the international community, he asked the US Embassy officer in Delhi, Howard Donovan about US Diplomatic representation. The diplomat responded that he was not authorized to discuss such issues. Thirdly, even after recognition and establishment of American Embassy in Pakistan, on the request of Quaid-i-Azam and Mount Batten, Kux writes, “the US attitude towards the creation of Pakistan was unenthusiastic”.<sup>8</sup>

### **The Early Period**

In the early years, the relations between the two countries were not cordial because of four important reasons. First, the US had its global interests and its foreign policy had a global reach. It was the early phase of Cold War and the US was engaged in the containment of Communism. Therefore, priority was given to China and Japan and it had no major foreign policy concerns in South Asia. US policy makers were also of the opinion that Britain would play predominant role in South Asia.<sup>9</sup>

The second reason was a natural desire of Pakistan to cultivate brotherly relations with the Muslim countries. In this connection, Quaid-i-Azam frequently criticized western policy towards Palestine opposed the creation of Israel in 1948.<sup>10</sup> Thirdly, Pakistan also wished to keep itself out of the big

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6 Kux, *The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000*, 14.

7 State Department Press Release, June 10, 1947, cited in Kux, *The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000*, 14.

8 Kux, *The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000*, 15.

9 Kux, *The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000*, 16.

10 Kux, *The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000*, 20.

powers' conflict. The then Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, announced immediately after the emergence of Pakistan that the country would not be party to any conflict of ideologies between the nations.<sup>11</sup> Six months later, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah affirmed, "Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all nations of the world".<sup>12</sup>

Fourthly, in the early days of emergence, Pakistan had to face numerous tribulations, such as, deprivation of economic and military assets, war on Kashmir with India, influx of refugees, 1000 miles long hostile Indian territory between East and West Pakistan, threat from North West Frontier because of Durand Line issue, and the scarcity of funds to meet the expenses of the government. These problems made Pakistan fix its priorities to the internal or regional issues, rather than paying attention to global conflicts of super powers.

It was a time when Pakistan needed economic and military aid so as to overcome the critical security situation it had been plunged into. Pakistan made request of economic aid to US. However, the request of \$2 billion military and economic assistance, met a cold response from US and a meagre amount of \$10 million was offered from its relief fund.<sup>13</sup> Instead of giving military aid, on March 11, 1948, for the first time US imposed embargo on the export of military hardware to both the countries under the plea of Pakistan-India tension on Kashmir issue.<sup>14</sup>

### **Cold War and Revisited US Policy**

The Chinese revolution in 1949 alarmed US and compelled it to reconsider its Asian policy. *The Times of London* wrote, "In many ways it was greater in its cumulative effect than the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, for then Russia was alone and

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11 S. M. Burke, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: An Historical Analysis* (London: University Press, Ely House, 1973), 147.

12 Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, *Speeches as Governor General of Pakistan 1947-1948*, 65, cited in Burke, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy*.

13 Kux, *The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000*, 21.

14 Kux, *The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000*, 21.

weak, whereas the mass of China is now added to Russia and China is grown strong".<sup>15</sup> Moreover, this alarming situation was multiplied when China entered into thirty years friendship alliance and mutual assistance with the Soviet Union.

This development in the region improved the position of Pakistan in the eyes of American policy makers because of its geo-strategic location, being at the doorsteps of the former USSR and China. Of course, Pakistan could help US to keep a vigilant eye over Russia and China. William Campbell comments, "The most significant aspect of Pakistan's geo-strategic value for the US was its strategic and geographical position and Pakistan is one of the "rim-land" nation that ring communist core in Asia".<sup>16</sup>

The significance of Pakistan may also be assessed from the fact that the then Joint Chief of Staff Committee on March 4, 1949 wrote that most of South Asia had little value to US, except the countries in the vicinity of the USSR (Afghanistan and Pakistan). "These offer the possibility of ideological and intelligence penetration of the USSR" because people of Soviet Central Asia have closer ties with the people of South Asia. The committee report also illuminated the need of Pakistan "for air operation against central USSR and as a staging area for forces engaged in the defense or recapture of Middle East oil areas".<sup>17</sup> Therefore, on March 29, 1949 the US administration decided to lift embargo on the sale of arms to India and Pakistan.

Though, India was the first preference of US because of its size and population, but despite every effort by US, India showed her commitment for neutrality in the global conflict between two blocs and decided to establish closer relationship with China. The only remaining option was to

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15 *London Times*, May 17, 1954, cited in Khan, ed., *Forty Years of Pakistan-United States Relations* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1990), 21.

16 Ghulam Mustafa Chaudhary, "The Dynamics of Small Power – Great Power Interactions," *Pakistan Journal of American Studies* 7 (March 1989): 27.

17 Khan, ed., *Forty Years of Pakistan-United States Relation*, 22.

win cooperation from Pakistan; therefore, US extended an invitation to Pakistan.

The then leadership of Pakistan was conscious to commit alliance with the West without a security guarantee not only against the Soviet Union but also *vis-à-vis* India.<sup>18</sup> The third external challenge that influenced Pakistan's foreign policy was a threat from Afghanistan because it refused to accept the North West Frontier Province (NWFP; now KP—Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) as a part of Pakistan and voted against Pakistan's admission to the UN and kept reiterating its position on various other occasions.<sup>19</sup>

Under such precarious conditions, the then Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan visited the United States in May, 1950.<sup>20</sup> Instead of Cold War orientation, the Prime Minister's trip was of a goodwill salesman.<sup>21</sup> He did stress in his speeches that Pakistan and the United States share many common values such as democracy, freedom, equality and right of private ownership. On trip, Pakistan was given anti-tank and anti-personnel mines for Pakistan Army.<sup>22</sup>

The overall relations were not as warm as they would be in the coming years. An evidence of this low profile relationship was the Korean War in 1950-51, in which Pakistan refused to send troops, and only extended political support to the UN cause. However, in February 1951, under Four Point Program, the US sanctioned economic assistance of \$600,000 to Pakistan.

### **Period of Eisenhower**

In 1953, Eisenhower assumed power and announced his doctrine of 'Massive Retaliation' that led US Administration to establish the new "Northern Tier of Defense" as an early

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18 Hassan Askari Rizvi, *Pakistan and the Geo-strategic Environment* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 10, 15.

19 A. Z. Hilali, "Determinants and Goals of Pakistan's Foreign Policy," *Pakistan Defence Review* 3 (December 1991): 27.

20 Quoted in Kux, *The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000*, 32.

21 Kux, *The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000*, 35.

22 Kux, *The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000*, 35.

goal of the administration. Basically, the aim of Eisenhower administration was to reduce US involvement in other Korea-type operations, and build up instead the indigenous fighting capability of countries such as Pakistan, Iran, Turkey and Iraq—the frontline states. The administration realized that Pakistan could be more helpful in establishing favourable relationship with the Muslim World. Therefore, the new administration showed great affinity for Pakistan than India.<sup>23</sup> In order to strengthen US relations with Pakistan, in December 1953, the then Vice President of US, Richard Nixon, visited Pakistan. On that occasion, he stated, “In the years to come the US will be proud of stand by Pakistan in industrial development and also against any danger to its security.”<sup>24</sup>

Initially the relationship between Pakistan and US was not a sort of friendship but a patron-client relationship. One, it was the time when Pakistan was fully dependent on US for defense against India and Afghanistan. Second, during cold war period Pakistan was a crucial military factor for US in South Asia. Third, the Patron-Client nature of relationship between Pakistan and US was well-known arrangement to other nations around the world.

Patron-Client relationship established when Pakistan signed Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement with US in May 1954. Pakistan was initially reluctant to join, but agreed after the Turks and the Iraqis had convinced Ayub Khan that membership would entail no new security obligation. This agreement was signed for building friendly cooperation in the economic, technical, and defense fields. By this time, Pakistan joined another defense alliance with US, which was known as South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) in September 1954. Thus, Pattern-client relationship formally established. The main objective of this alliance was to block

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23 Kux, *The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000*.

24 Noor A. Hussain and Leo E. Rose, eds., *Pakistan-US Relations: Social, Political and Economic Factors* (Berkeley: Institute of East Indian Asian Studies University of California, 1988), 54.

the advancement of Communism in Asia.<sup>25</sup> Pakistan became the most allied ally of United States in Asia. It provided US with the facility to establish surveillance and communication post near Peshawar.

In return, US provided nearly \$17.5 million military and \$60 million economic aid to Pakistan that strengthened its ill-equipped armed forces enabling them to effectively cope up with the Indian threat. Although, both the countries had different motives for entering into the security relationship, but the alliance proved satisfactory to both in the short run.

### **The Period of Kennedy**

After honeymoon period of relationship, the fluctuation started in Pak-US relations. Actually, in 1960 there was a new turn in the international politics. The U-2 incident of May 1960, and the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962, compelled both US and Soviet Union to realize the intensity of the rivalry. Both adversaries endeavoured to achieve rapprochement to diminish the looming danger of war. The Kennedy administration regarded China as a greater threat to the free world than the Soviet Union.

It was also the time when US administration tried to reduce the rent, it paid for the Peshawar base and decreased military assistance program. Pakistan joined the alliance system in order to have advantage over its adversary, India. On the other hand, during the Sino-Indian conflict 1962, US and Britain decided to give \$120 million military assistance to India. This development under the Kennedy administration decreased the alliance co-relation with aid. The new administration took less interest in Pakistan, and instead of military hardware, it extended only verbal assurances of American assistance.<sup>26</sup>

American military aid to India changed the balance of power in the sub-continent. Pakistan believed that American military aid to India would not be used against China but

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25 Shirin Tahir Kheli, *The United States and Pakistan: The Evolution of an Influence Relationship* (New York: Praeger Publishers 1982), 5.

26 Henry Kissinger, *The White House Years* (London: Weidenfeld, 1979), 846.

against Pakistan. During the Sino-Indian conflict, US urged Pakistan not to take advantage of India's troubles; and pledged to facilitate the solution of Kashmir problem. However, it failed to get any breakthrough in solving the Kashmir issue. Ayub Khan began to assess the cost-benefit ratio of Pakistan's alliance with US, and consequently established relations with China and the Soviet Union.

US selfish approach led Pakistan to move closer to China. On March 2, 1963, Pakistan signed a boundary agreement with China. US, which was already pursuing the policy of containing China, was not, of course, in line with Pakistan's new approach. In retaliation, the US State Department announced suspension of promised \$4.3 million aid to Pakistan.<sup>27</sup>

During the Pak-India war of 1965, US imposed embargoes on both Pakistan and India. Pakistan suffered more as a result of this situation than India did, because the later was already receiving arms from the Soviet Union. At this stage, China helped Pakistan.<sup>28</sup>

### **Shift in the US Policy**

At the end of 1965 War, US policy towards Pakistan entered into a period of neglect. There were several reasons for this shift in US policy. Firstly, the decision makers of US decided that Indo-Pak conflict had diverted both the countries from genuine regional accord, and the American arms were being wasted. Secondly, it was a time when *détente* between two global powers was growing. The anti-Soviet passions were dying down and US was engaged in crucial dialogue on the control of nuclear weapons. During this period the strategic and political interests of Pakistan and US failed to coincide with each other.<sup>29</sup>

Though Americans terminated their military program for Pakistan in 1967 but they still used Pakistani land for spying

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27 *The Times*, July 14, 1965.

28 *The Times*, July 14, 1965.

29 Iftikhar Malik, "Pak-US Security Relations: Testing Bilateralism." *Asian Survey*, 30, no. 3, (March 1990): 15.

purposes. They used to monitor the Soviet Union from a base situated in Peshawar through spy planes. In 1968, Pakistan sent a notice to US to close its monitoring base at Peshawar, after the expiry of ten (10) years lease period.

### **The Period of Nixon**

In 1971, Henry Kissinger made a secret trip to China via Islamabad that paved the way for the Sino-US détente. It reduced US security concerns in South Asia and improved Pakistan's relations with US. At the same time, India and the Soviet Union signed the treaty of friendship and cooperation. India intervened in East Pakistan in 1971 that prompted the third Indo-Pak War, resulting in the dismemberment of Pakistan. During this war Pakistan invoked security pact of 1959 for support against the Indian aggression, but US turned down the request on the ground that it did not consider India as a Communist State.

The dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971 led US recognize India as the preeminent power in South Asia. Pakistan too re-oriented its foreign policy and evolved good relationship with the 'Third World' countries by articulating their grievances against their former colonizers. Pakistan also stressed in its ties with the Muslim World under Pan-Islamism. The links with the Islamic states were designed to compensate for the loss of support from Washington.

The event of 1971, practically made Pakistan's membership in SEATO absurd and, thus it joined Non-Alignment Movement. It continued its membership in CENTO, more in respect to its ties with Iran and Turkey, than because of its relationship with US.<sup>30</sup>

In 1974, India tested its nuclear device that aroused a sense of insecurity in Pakistan. The then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, visited America in 1975, to get the 1965 arms embargo lifted. Bhutto successfully managed to get lifted the arms embargo; however, US ignored Indian nuclear test and also gave assistance to India that raised

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30 Khan, ed., *Forty Years of Pakistan-United States Relations*, 51.

concerns in Pakistan. Pakistan signed an agreement with France on March 18, 1976 to buy a nuclear fuel reprocessing plant in its quest to offset India's conventional and non-conventional military superiority. US reacted sharply against this contract under the policy of non-proliferation. US indirectly threatened Pakistan to make it an example for others.<sup>31</sup>

It is concluded that, firstly, what fits in the interest of global powers, is that they pursue their own vested interests, without even taking care of friendly states interest. Secondly, it was a situation where Pakistan as a client became as an 'Estranged Client'. Though, both the nations, as patron and a client, maintained a cooperative relationship. Nevertheless, Pakistan as a client asserted relatively more freedom and opposed the patron in certain cases like Pakistan's nuclear program. However, their constant concern remains to maintain at least working relationship between them.<sup>32</sup>

### **The Period of Jimmy Carter**

In 1979, President Jimmy Carter took office in the US. He emphasized on nuclear non-proliferation. Therefore, the Carter administration not only forced Pakistan, not to acquire nuclear capability, but also pressurized France for the suspension of its agreement with Pakistan on sale of nuclear processing plant. In this period the discontinuation of economic aid also put Pak-US relations at the lowest ebb.<sup>33</sup>

Further, in pursuance of non-proliferation towards Pakistan, US Congress passed Symington Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act. Responding to Pakistan's charges of discriminatory treatment under Symington Amendment, Senator Glen stated that Pakistan happened to

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31 Kux, *The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000*, 222.

32 Christopher P. Carney, "International Patron-Client Relationship: A Conceptual Framework," *Studies in Comparative International Developments* 24, no. 2 (Summer 1989): 45-46.

33 Carney, "International Patron-Client Relationship".

be the first one on which a decision needed to be taken; the next one was to be India.<sup>34</sup>

Moreover, in 1979, a mob under mistaken belief that America was behind the attack on the Great Mosque in Makkah burnt down American embassy in Islamabad in which some of the embassy members died. In the wake of this incident, the US relations with Pakistan became “about as bad as with any country in the world, except perhaps Albania or North Korea.”<sup>35</sup>

### **New Intensity between the two Global powers**

The December 1979 Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan and the Islamic revolution in Iran caused marked changes in US foreign policy towards Pakistan. Soviet intervention in Afghanistan created for Pakistan a two-front security situation i.e. East and West. Along with external threat, Pakistan had to face internal political instability as its two provinces, NWFP (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and Balochistan had common border with Afghanistan. This whole stretch of common border was particularly vulnerable to foreign subversion, especially when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. Due to these unfavourable regional conditions, US needed Pakistan as a front line state because of its geo-strategic importance. US President Carter called Zia and told that US wanted to rebuild bilateral security agreement of 1959 with Pakistan to strengthen its security against communist aggression.

On January 21, 1980, President Carter pleaded for necessary aid to Pakistan in his message to Congress: “I am asking Congress, as the first order of the business, to pass an economic and military aid package designed to assist Pakistan defend itself.”<sup>36</sup>

The US government offered Pakistan \$400 million economic and military assistance. President of Pakistan

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34 Kheli, *The United States and Pakistan*, 135.

35 Kux, *The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000*, 245.

36 Kux, *The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000*, 245.

Gen. Zia-ul-Haq termed that offer as peanuts. He said, "Pakistan will not barter its security for \$400 million... the assistance must be commensurate with the size of the threat".<sup>37</sup>

### **The Reagan Administration**

After the completion of Carter's term, President Ronald Reagan took office in 1981. The Reagan administration had three major objectives in South Asia:

1. To contain Soviet Union
2. To lessen Indian dependence on the Soviet Union
3. Nuclear non-proliferation

President Reagan tried to cultivate closer ties with Pakistan. The new administration adopted more sympathetic attitude towards Pakistan than the previous one. US signed an agreement of \$3.2 billion assistance for Pakistan in 1981, which was extended over a period of six years (1981-87). The average US military aid was more than \$1.74 billion.<sup>38</sup> In the spring of 1986, another package of \$4.2 billion for the period 1988-93 was sanctioned. This aid package included the sale of sophisticated aircraft like F-16.

US revived its relations with Pakistan, primarily to find an ally in Southwest Asia for protection of its strategic interests in the Gulf and Middle East.

As far as Pakistan's security interests were concerned, it obtained sophisticated weapons from US, which strengthened its defense capability. Secondly, Pakistan's policy makers felt confident that they enjoyed support of a super power. Thirdly, US connection enabled Pakistan to overcome its economic problems and bear the burden of Afghan refugees.

Despite the priority of the Afghan War in US policies, the nuclear issue remained as important as it was. The statement by nuclear scientist Abdul Qadeer Khan that

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37 Kux, *The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000*, 245, 249.

38 M. Raziullah Azmi, "Pak-US Relations: Retrospect and Prospect", *Pakistan Journal of American Studies*, 10, no. 1 (Spring 1992): 15-17.

“Pakistan had succeeded in enriching Uranium to weapons grade” stimulated the American anxiety. As the Congressional apprehensions mounted, US President Ronald Reagan wrote a letter on September 12, 1984 to president Zia, “I must reiterate my deep concern that the nuclear issue may undermine all that we are trying to achieve and the considerable progress we have made so far.”<sup>39</sup>

A group in the US Senate, led by Larry Pressler, showed their concern about the transfer of weapons of mass destruction from South Asia to other volatile regions. Consequently, in 1985, the US Congress passed Pressler Amendment to Foreign Assistance Act 1961. This amendment required presidential certification for any assistance to Pakistan that it did not possess a nuclear device. Due to the Afghan War, the Reagan and Bush administrations provided required certification to the Congress from 1985 to 1989.

After the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in 1989, US achieved its major objective, the containment of communism. This transformed the world system from bipolarity to a transitional period. Under the new international system US enjoyed the status of a sole super power and Pakistan ceased to be a frontline state. Pakistan’s cooperation was no longer required; rather, it was seen as a source of regional instability and a nuclear troublemaker. It was in this backdrop, that in September 1990, President George W. Bush refused to certify that Pakistan did not possess a nuclear device. As a result all economic and military aid to Pakistan, negotiated in 1987, under a four-year package worth \$4 billion was cut off, and the delivery of military hardware including 28 F-16s, was stopped, though Pakistan had already paid for them.<sup>40</sup>

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39 Kux, *The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000*, 276.

40 Azmi, “Pak-US Relations: Retrospect and Prospect”, 5.

## **Conclusion**

After reviewing the relationship between Pakistan and the US during different phases one reaches the conclusion that relations between them have always been marked by convergence and divergence of national interests, resulting in a cycle of friendship and friction. The US gained more during the times of convergence of interests but periods of divergence outweighed the former. Although, Pakistan earned the title of 'most allied ally' of US, it is also the most sanctioned country in the world. By making complete dependence on US, Pakistan gained less as it was not given the required support by the US when needed. The US left Pakistan high and dry not only during the 1965 War but also during the 1971 War, which led to the disintegration of the country. In fact, US later imposed severe penalties, embargoes and sanctions on Pakistan. This unholy practice of sanctions was repeated in 1979 owing to nuclear related suspicions and again in 1990 after the successful culmination of Afghan War in which Pakistan played a key role in defeating erstwhile USSR.

Moreover, it is also observed that the Patron-Client relationship that started in 1950s with the admission of Pakistan in SEATO and CENTO transformed from dependent client to an 'Estranged Client'. Despite this, both the nations maintained a cooperative relationship like Pakistan army served American interests in Somalia under the umbrella of UN. Nevertheless, Pakistan as a client asserted comparatively more freedom and opposed the patron in certain cases like Taliban in Afghanistan, Kashmir issue and nuclear program. This paved the way for further transformation in patron-client relationship between US and Pakistan in years to come especially under the Trump Administration in the context of the growing India-US and Pakistan-China strategic alliances.