

PAKISTAN FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION, 1947-65:

**An analysis of institutional interaction between
American policy making bodies and the Pakistan Army.**

By

Syed Hussain Shaheed Soherwordi

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
School of History and Classics
University of Edinburgh

Year of submission: 2009

This thesis is dedicated to my Parents-
my Papa **Syed Maqsood Ali Pirzada**
and my lovely Ammi (late) **Hasnain Khatoon**.
Both of them always wanted to see me at the zenith of my education.
Their aspiration remained a confidence boost for my academic achievements.

Abstract

This thesis examines through the use of archives and oral evidence the role of the Pakistan Army in the context of Pakistan's domestic politics and foreign policy. Its main purpose is to explore the autonomy of the Pakistan Army in shaping national and foreign policy between the years 1947-1965. Focusing on its independent relationship with three instruments of policy-making in the United States – the Department of State, the White House and the Pentagon – the thesis argues that the relationship between the Army and these policy-making bodies arose from a synergistic commonality of interests. The Americans needed a country on the periphery of the Soviet Union to contain Communism while the Pakistan Army needed US military support to check Indian regional military hegemonism in South Asia. This alliance was secured to the disadvantage of democratic political institutions of Pakistan. The Army, which became stronger as a result of US military and economic support, came progressively to dominate domestic politics. This led not only to weakened civilian governments in the period I am examining, but in 1958 to the military seizure of political control of the country itself. The infringement of the Army into civilian spheres of government further caused a deterioration in relations between East and West Pakistan. The increasing clout of a US-backed Army whose elite officers had a bias against the eastern wing of the country, the thesis argues, thus indirectly resulted in the dismemberment of Pakistan itself.

To explain the Army's ascendancy its transformation from British colonial army into a national political actor, is documented. The thesis explores the influence of the martial-race theory and of *Punjabisation* in the Army as it developed in the colonial era. Secondly, it reconstructs how provincial politics weakened the Federal Government and allowed the Army to usurp political power to a disproportionate degree. Thirdly, the thesis considers the extent to which the US-Army relationship influenced and even took precedence over decision-making within the government itself. It details the military pacts made between the two countries to contain the USSR in this period. Finally, it explores where and how the interests of the US and Pakistan Army diverged, in particular concerning their respective relations with India. The complications arising in Indo-Pakistan relations in consequence of an abrupt tilt of the US towards India after the Sino-Indian war in 1962 are also examined. In reaction to this new Indo-US nexus, it is argued the Pakistani military junta leaned towards China and in 1965 endeavoured to make use

of it advanced, US-supplied weaponry before – as they saw it – the strategic balance was to be irrecoverably lost in favour of India.

In conclusion, the thesis argues that the period under consideration saw a complete failure of the US policy of containing communism whilst at the same time avoiding war between its allies in the region, and that this had tragic consequences for the future of democracy in Pakistan.

Declaration

I confirm that this thesis is entirely of my own composition and represents my own original research.

Signed:

Syed Hussain Shaheed Soherwordi

Acknowledgements

Alhamdulillah, at the outset, all praise be to Allah for granting me courage and help for accomplishing this project. It would not have been possible without His spiritual support. My most respectful thanks, then, go to the ever-patient and pleasant Crispin Bates for going through the editing and production stages of the thesis most diligently. Though very busy in his fellowship in Japan and presenting papers at international conferences, Crispin helped me in making changes in the text, scanning maps, and editing. I am indeed also thankful to Markus Daechsel for his help and guidance. Markus, in spite of the considerable demands on his time and attention made by his teaching classes at the Royal Holloway and conferences, helped with valuable suggestions. Both of them ensured their help not only with regard to my project, as and when required, but also in my broader academic grooming. I must not forget Marina Carter for her generous help in reading the entire thesis and editing the text. For this she deserves a big thanks.

Several of my friends were very encouraging and supportive and provided a critical perspective on my work. Gajendra Singh, Muhammad Asif, Julie Hartly, Kim Wagner, Saif Shah and my brother-in-law Syed Saleem Zafar top this list and hence are thanked a lot. A large number of friends were making earnest inquiries about the thesis throughout the period I was writing it. Their interest was most encouraging and spurred me on to complete it. Hence, I am especially grateful to Rashid Chughtai, Ms. Nasreen Ghufuran, my brothers Ali, Masoom Ali, Makhdum Pirzada, Ashok Malhotra, Aqeel Omer, Kavin Ross, Shehzad Hanif, Tim Siddons, Khawar and Sarah.

I am also grateful to quite a few serving military officers in Pakistan who provided witnesses and their opinion on the historical and present situation in Pakistan. As they requested anonymity, I am thanking them without their being named. I am also thankful to all those who allowed themselves to be interviewed or conversed with me on the subject. They have all been credited at appropriate places in the text.

My PhD study would not have been possible without the generous help of funding agencies and the indulgence of my own and adoptive university. I am, therefore, thankful to the University of Peshawar, the University of Edinburgh, Higher Education Commission of Pakistan, and the Carnegie, Charles Wallace, and Newby Trusts for the generous support given to my research project.

This thesis has been delayed by my daughter's Laiba's sudden illness which necessitated her hospitalisation. However, I am grateful to Allah for His return of Laiba to us twice during my thesis writing.

Last but not the least; it gives me immense pleasure to mention the versatile and generous support given to me during the long period that it took to finish the thesis by my wife, Reena Soherwordi. She not only took care of Laiba and our infant-son Abdullah but also managed household affairs entirely on her own, while I was away in my study office or in the library for days on end. Thank you so much Reena.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	i
Declaration	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
List of Maps	vii
List of tables/illustrations	viii
Acronyms	ix
Glossary	xi
Map of South Asia before 1971	xii
Map of Pakistan	xiii
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1	
Advent and Evolution: The Pakistan Army from the British Indian Army 1857-1947.	
1.1 Introduction	12
1.2 The Advent of the British Indian Army	13
1.3 Post-1857 Regional Recruitment Shift– The Evolution of <i>Punjabisation</i>	17
1.4 <i>Punjabisation</i> with Caution – The Fallout of the Bengal Mutiny	22
1.5 The Indigenous Indian Army and the British	25
1.6 Social and Psychological Influences on Indigenous Soldiers	30
1.7 ‘Indianisation’ of the British Army	33
Conclusion	41
CHAPTER 2	
Weak Political Institutions and The rise of the Army in Pakistan: 1947-58.	
2.1 Introduction	44
2.2 Indo-phobia, Islam and the Creation of Pakistan	47
2.3 Civil and Military Relations	49
2.4 Weak Democratic Institutions	51
2.4.1 The Punjab	51
2.4.2 The NWFP	55
2.5 Pakhtoonistan	58
2.6 FEDERATION vs. THE PAKISTAN ARMY	65
Conclusion	92
CHAPTER 3	
American Policy Making Bodies and the Pakistan Army: Towards Military Alliances 1947-57.	
3.1 Introduction	94
3.2 Importance of Pakistan and the US Global Priority List	96
3.3 US Proposed South Asian Unity	99

3.4 Power Bloc Theory (PBT) of India	102
3.5 US Support to Pakistan for Leadership of the Muslim World	103
3.6 Pseudo-War Crisis between India and Pakistan 1951.	106
3.7 Mid-East Defence Organization (MEDO)	108
3.8 A Shift in US Policy: From MEDO to Military Alliances	114
3.9 Institutional Alliance in the Offing	116
3.10 The British displeasure over growing Institutional Alliance.	123
3.11 Offers and Pressures from the Soviet Union	135
3.12 Pak-US Cooperation with Other Middle Eastern Countries and Egypt's Aspiration of Muslim Leadership	138
Conclusion	141

CHAPTER 4

Military rule in Pakistan and India as a Factor in Straining the Pak-US Institutional Interaction: 1958-62.

4.1 Introduction	143
4.2 MILITARY RULE IN PAKISTAN: 1958-62.	144
4.2.1 Military Rule and Ethnic Problem	153
4.2.2 Military Rule and the Country's Legal System	156
4.2.3 Military Rule and the Plight of Foreign Services of Pakistan	159
4.3 INDIA AS A FACTOR IN STRAINING PAK-US INSTITUTIONAL INTERACTION: 1958-62.	161
4.3.1 The US Fear of Communism in India	161
4.3.2 Growing Indo-US relations	164
4.3.3 India's annexation of Goa	169
4.3.4 Further Dips in Pak-US Relations	170
4.3.5 Sino-India War and the Beginning of the End of Institutional Interaction	175
Conclusion	179

CHAPTER 5

Allies at Loggerheads: The US and the Pakistan Army 1962-65.

5.1 Introduction	183
5.2 The Kashmir Dispute and the Triangular Relationship between Pakistan, India and the US	183
5.3 Harriman's Mission Impossible to the South Asia	186
5.4 Pakistan Drifts towards Communist China: Troubled Pak-US Relations	190
5.5 Popular Anti-US Sentiments in Pakistan	195
5.6 Post-Nehru India	197
5.7 The US Assistance to Pakistan and India	198
5.8 President Ayub's Visit to China, March 1965.	207
5.9 The Pakistan Army and the Domestic Politics	210
Conclusion	215

CONCLUSION	217
Bibliography	239

List of Maps

Map of Pakistan	12
Map of South Asia showing East and West of Pakistan before 1971	13
Map of India in 1929 depicting Regional Recruitment.	37
The Pushtoonistan Map	73
Northern Tier and the Middle East.	145
Baghdad Pact Nations: The Northern Tier in 1956	149
Disputed Territory of Kashmir	201
Map of Tribal Areas- Waziristan	246

LIST OF TABLES/ILLUSTRATIONS/FIGURES

1. Three armies of the East India Company and their recruitment areas in the second half of the 18 th Century.	28
2. Four commands of the Indian Army and their areas of recruitment in 1895.	30
3. Areas of Recruitment 1929.	37
4. Contribution of India to the Great War – Recruitments up until armistice.	38
5. Defence expenditure -- financial year 1927-28.	40
6. The expenditures on Military Services 1914-1947 in India.	45
7. VCOs equivalent to KCOs.	46
8. Annual Numbers of Indians to (Royal Military College) Sandhurst.	51
9. Summary of vacancies for Indians at Sandhurst (till 1929).	51
10. Organizational chart of Baghdad Pact, February 6 1958.	151
11. Pledged military and economic assistance to Pakistan, 1948-1965.	213
12. Loans and grants made to Pakistan under the Agency for International Development and predecessor agencies.	214
13. Development loans made to Pakistan.	214
14. The American sectoral allocations for the second and third five-year plan.	215
15. World Bank commitments to Pakistan during 1961-65.	216
16. Failure of the US foreign policy in South Asia.	239

Acronyms

ANF	Anti Narcotics Force
BD	Basic Democracies
BHCK	British High Commission in Karachi
BL	British Library
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
C-In-C	Commander-In-Chief
CMLA	Chief Martial Law Administrator
CRO	Commonwealth Relations Office
DC	Deputy Commissioner
DIK	Dera Ismail Khan
DOD	Department of Defence
DOS	Department of State
DSR	Department of State Record
EBDO	Elective Bodies Disqualification Order
FCR	Frontier Crimes Regulations
FO	Foreign Office
FOA	Foreign Operations Administrator
FPS	Frontier Public Safety
FRUS	Foreign Relations of United States
FY	Fiscal Year
GHQ	General Headquarters
GRDS	General Records of the Department of State
ICP	Indian Communist Party
IDA	International Development Association
IOR	India Office Record
ISI	Inter Services Intelligence
KCO	King's Commissioned Officers
MAAG	Military Assistance Advisory Group
MAP	Military Assistance Programme
MEDO	Middle Eastern Defence Organization
MI	Military Intelligence

NAL	National Archives London
NAI	National Archives Islamabad
NARA	National Archives and Record Administration
NATO	North Atlantic Treat Organisation
NEA	Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs
NIE	National Intelligence Estimate
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NSC	National Security Council
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
PBT	Power Bloc Theory
PRO	Public Record Office
RAW	Research and Analysis Wing
ROSAA	Records of the Office of South Asian Affairs
Rtd	Retired
SANACC	State-Army-Navy-Air Force Coordinating Committee
SANSA	Special Assistant for National Security Affairs
SEATO	South East Asian Treaty Organization
SOA	Office of South Asian Affairs, Department of State
USIS	United States Information Service
VCO	Viceroy's Commissioned Officers
WS	War Staff (Series)

Pashto-Urdu-English Glossary

<i>Angraiz</i>	English man
<i>Dosti</i>	Friendship
<i>Farangi</i>	English people
<i>Fauji</i>	Soldier
<i>Gora Sahib</i>	Mr Whiteman
<i>Harkala Rasha</i>	Most Welcome
<i>Hukm</i>	Order
<i>Jagir</i>	Grant of land
<i>Jangi Lat Sahib</i>	C-In-C
<i>Jawan</i>	Youngman (Soldier)
<i>Khuda</i>	God
<i>Khudai Khidmatgar</i>	Servants of God
<i>Muhajir</i>	Migrant
<i>Mulk</i>	Country
<i>Mulki Lat Sahib</i>	Viceroy
<i>Nijat</i>	Salvation
<i>Rah</i>	Path
<i>Rast</i>	Right
<i>Sarkar</i>	Government
<i>Sawar</i>	Rider
<i>Sur Posh</i>	Red Shirts
<i>Tahreek</i>	Movement
<i>Taliban</i>	Students
<i>Zamindar</i>	Landholder
<i>Zindabad</i>	Long Live



Map of South Asia showing East and West of Pakistan before 1971

© 2001 Houghton Mifflin Company



Map of Pakistan

Source: http://pakistan.spe.org/images/pakistan/setup/clear_pakistan_map2.gif (23-11-2009)

INTRODUCTION

Background

In the closing years of the British Raj a limited form of democracy - provincial self-government - based upon a restricted franchise was introduced by the colonial government in the Indian subcontinent according to the terms of the Government of India Act of 1935. Following independence, India soon expanded upon this to introduce a constitution and an electoral system based upon universal suffrage. Elections were held in 1951 and democratic governance was established. For Pakistan, however, this transition to full democracy proved elusive. The first constitution was not introduced until 1956 and was challenged soon after. Power was shared amongst a small feudal elite and governments proved to be unstable. Eventually democracy was abandoned altogether with the commencement of the first of successive periods of military rule in 1958. And in 1971, the country fell apart altogether, with the eastern half, breaking away to form the separate state of Bangladesh.

In the more than sixty-two years since independence, Pakistan has enjoyed democratic government for less than three decades. The constitution has been rewritten on numerous occasions, and the transition between regimes has been determined more often by the military than it has been by the ballot box. There have been numerous attempts to explain this both in terms of personalities (the founder of Pakistan, Mohammed Ali Jinnah died within two years of independence) and through studies of the huge structural, economic, strategic, and financial problems faced by Pakistan at the time of independence.¹ But although there has been considerable speculation as to why the governments of post-independence Pakistan proved to be so unstable, there has been no detailed empirical study of exactly how this came about, and particularly how it was that the military came to assume such a dominant role within the Pakistani state. Any satisfactory explanation must consider both internal and external factors. In this thesis therefore the attempt is made to explain the reasons for the instability and weakness of the central government, and how it was that the military came to assume such a dominant role in determining the foreign policy of

¹ For details see, Ayesha Jalal, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia: A Comparative Historical Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Pakistan and ultimately in the government of the country itself. In this process, foreign policy, it is argued, had a crucial role to play.

Although the break-up of Pakistan is beyond the period considered in this study, it is our contention that the crucial developments which led to this tragic outcome, as well as repeated conflicts with India, and the continuing dominance of the military in Pakistani life can all be located in the years between 1947 and 1961. For a professional army, trained by the British to serve politicians, the assumption of political power was an extraordinary development. It was the peculiar and self-interested use of this power which then led to so many of Pakistan's later difficulties. Quite how this came about will be explained with careful reference to developments within the army in the years leading up to and immediately after independence. The thesis considers the causes of instability within the central government, arising from the self-aggrandisement of provincial politicians. It then proceeds to examine the unique and special relationship that was established between the Pakistani military and the US foreign policy making and influencing institutions- the Department of State, the White House and the Pentagon (henceforth called the institutional interaction/relationship), which allowed the army such a commanding voice in matters of foreign policy, and ultimately a controlling influence in the governance of the country itself. This relationship, it is argued, was widely accepted, as it apparently solved so many of the country's short-term financial and strategic problems. It was also especially helpful to the Americans, as Pakistan became a tool in the global war of attrition against Soviet power: a policy of containment that became known as 'the Cold War'. The consequences for the long-term, in Pakistan, were however disastrous, with embarking upon a trajectory of authoritarian, military rule, to the neglect of the developmental needs of the country as a whole, which Pakistan has struggled to escape from ever since.

The study of Pak-US Institutional Interaction during the 1950s and 60s is especially pertinent for the contemporary politics of Pakistan. The Army thus still exercises the same old tactics of the 1950s and 60s to secure power and govern the country with international connections. General Ayub Khan exploited the US need for the containment of the Soviet Union by joining SEATO and CENTO. Domestically, he introduced the idea of 'Basic Democracy' to prolong his rule. His focus on support for US policies annoyed East Pakistanis which later resulted in the debacle of Pakistan in 1971. He was followed by his immediate junior- General Yahya Khan. In the

1980s, General Zia-ul-Haq exploited the US policy of containment in the Cold War and fought a proxy war against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. The US was supportive of General Zia's role in the war against Afghanistan that brought a Kalashnikov and drugs culture to Pakistan. Pak-US institutional interaction helped him prolong his dictatorial rule. He also gave his own version of democracy – 'Islamic Democracy' – to quench the thirst of democratic trends in the country. Finally, it was 9/11 that gave a chance to the military to extend its rule via international connections with the same old master, the US. General Pervez Musharraf fought the US proxy war against terrorism at great cost to his own country. Support for the US brought Pakistan to the forefront of terrorist activities as well as terrorism. Interestingly, General Musharraf offered a new term for his rule – 'Real Democracy' – to satisfy his subjects. 'Basic', 'Islamic' and 'Real' never accommodated what in true words may be called a democracy – the voice of the people. Hence, Generals Zia and Musharraf followed the path of General Ayub Khan, whose period of influence is under study in this thesis. The history of Pakistan during 1947-65 is firstly the history of a civil-military hybrid (1947-58) and secondly the history of military rule (1958-65) supported by an international connection i.e the US. It is a history in which America plays a very active role in serving its own as well as the Pakistan Army's interests by weakening political democratic institutions. Thus the history of Pakistan is the history of the political role of the Pakistan Army.

Literature Review

Research on the Pakistan Army so far has not systematically looked at its relationship with US policy making institutions. The existing literature on civil-military relations as a driving force behind institutional hegemony, democracy and the rise of military to power has not explicitly covered the relations between the Department of State, the White House and the General Headquarters (GHQ) of the Pakistan Army. To date, no cogent and systematic theoretical and empirical analysis of the rise of military, based on its autonomous disposition especially in foreign policy towards the US during the 1950s and 60s, has been published.

Arguments concerning the political role of the army have been most elaborately developed by Stephen Cohen, who urges that military strength was the dominant reason for its assertive role in the country's politics. Cohen is particularly

concerned with the army's organization, its training, and the role of Islam in the military setup especially during General Zia's era.² He provides an institutional and strategic policy analysis of the army within a broad socio-political and security framework. Hasan Askari Rizvi blames fragmentation of political forces, weak civil structures and lack of institutionalization of democratic currents in Pakistani society for the military intervention.³ He completely ignores the Pakistan Army-US nexus for their short and long term gains and consequences. Ayesha Siddiqua Agha reflects upon the controversial assessment of the Pakistan military's role in the domestic economy. She exposes the Pakistani military's ubiquity in the country's economy and points to evident motives for its continued position of privilege in Pakistani society.⁴ However, she touches only very briefly on the 1947-65 period. Her work is mostly limited to the economy of the Pakistan Army rather than its interaction with the US. Brian Cloghley⁵ ignores the initial history of the Pakistan Army. He fails to cover the British Indian colonial social and military legacy that later on would affect the *modus operandi* of the Pakistan Army. He looks at the Pakistan Army from an organizational performance point of view rather than its political and international role. Mazhar Aziz analyses the role of the military in the context of political developments in Pakistan.⁶ His work establishes that it is the 'institutional interests' of the military that are the major determinant of the military intervention in politics.⁷ However, he looks at the issue from a purely theoretical perspective. Dennis Kux in *The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies*, gives a concrete analysis of the history of Pak-US relations, discussing the history of the relationship in general terms. Though he writes about institutional benefits, no specific space is given to an in-depth investigation of the Pakistani Army and its interests in cultivating relations with the US policy making bodies. Moreover, Kux takes an elite-centric approach, focusing on upper echelon decision makers with political agendas. My approach is based on subaltern interviews, investigating the perspectives of lower ranking officers as less

² Stephen P. Cohen, *The Pakistan Army* (Karachi: OUP, 1984), pp.5-31 & 86-104. See also, by the same author, *The Idea of Pakistan* (Lahore: Vanguard, 2005), pp.97-130.

³ Hassan Askari Rizvi, *Military, State and Society in Pakistan* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 2003), pp.57-81 & 89-113. See also, by the same author, *The Military and Politics in Pakistan 1947-86* (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1987), pp.45-47.

⁴ Ayesha Siddiqua-Agha, *The Military Inc.* (Karachi: OUP, 2007), pp.58-82 & 175-219.

⁵ Brian Cloghley, *A History of the Pakistan Army: Wars and Insurrections* (Karachi: OUP, 2000), pp.52-63 & 79-124.

⁶ Mazhar Aziz, *Military control in Pakistan, the parallel state* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp.24-37 & 38-54.

⁷ *Ibid*, p.23.

politicised observers interacting with policy at the operational level. In contrast to Kux, who follows a chronological structure, my approach is to take an issue based approach focusing directly on the US role in supporting military rule during the era in question. Ayesha Jalal in her book *The State of Martial Rule* covers pre-partition events but those are mostly looking at political and administrative legacies rather than the British Indian Army and its further development into the Pakistan Army. As she focuses on 1947-58 era, she discusses initial problems of Pakistan vis-à-vis India and the Pak-US relations without highlighting any particular Pakistani state institution. She explores the period 1947-58 but most of her research is on the soaring defence budget and the national economy.⁸ Jalal also looks at the State-Centre relationship with respect to provincialism.⁹ However, she fails to show the background currents during 1947-58 that resulted in the break up of Pakistan later in 1971. Jalal in another book, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia* focuses on the failure of party politics as a reason for the failure of democracy in Pakistan.¹⁰ This thesis fills the gap left by Jalal. It takes the study of the Pakistan Army and its relationship with the US beyond 1958. It shows how the institutional relationship between the Pakistan Army, State Department, White House and the Pentagon developed and worked in the later years and how their interaction resulted in the rise of dictatorship in Pakistan. I not only take Pak-US relations from an international perspective but also look at the institutional collaboration between the two countries. In some instances, I find that such institutional cooperation of the two countries was stronger than the state-to-state relations between them. I also focus on the frustrations of Bengalis with the Pakistan Army due to the US bias against East Pakistan. Though in terms of sources- the National Archives of the US, National Archives London, India Office Library, and Public Record Office- my work shares something in common with that of Jalal, I have gone beyond these sources. The recently opened CIA archive in Washington DC is the latest contribution to such study. Here, I found some very interesting material which further strengthened my arguments regarding institutional interaction of the two countries. The range of interviews from the Pakistan Army officers was also an excellent input that dispelled numerous weak notions and braced new research.

⁸ Ayesha Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

⁹ Ibid, pp. 60-93 & 222-235.

¹⁰ Ayesha Jalal, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia*, pp.48-63.

The Pakistan Army influenced the country's foreign policy in favour of US policies (formed by specific foreign policy making bodies) on the periphery of the Soviet Union. In return, US policy making bodies' support to the Pakistan Army encouraged military rule and weakened democratic political institutions. Both of these arguments make this study different from earlier works on the role of the Pakistan Army in the country's domestic and foreign policy. While the political role of the Pakistan Army is over-researched, there is no study based exclusively on the Army's independent relations with American foreign policy making and influencing bodies – the State Department, the Pentagon and the White House. The bulk of the work done thus far looks at the political role of the Army, its organizational strength and the swelling defence budget. This work focuses on the Army, and its internal and external dynamics in the pursuit of power to influence domestic policies. It documents and analyses how and why the Pakistan Army entered politics, weakened political institutions and formed international connections for prolonging its rule. The study also looks at how and why a professional army in strict British colonial traditions was transformed, later on, into a national political actor.

Why Study the Period 1947-65?

Acting upon inherited trends of the British colonial Army, right from the inception of Pakistan, the Pakistan Army was an autonomous and authoritarian unit of federation within the state structure. Its strength and autonomous dictatorial nature was so great that it declined to obey the orders of the founder of Pakistan. In October 1947, Jinnah had himself been slighted when the Pakistan Army chief, the British General Douglas Gracey, disobeyed his order and refused to send troops into Kashmir.¹¹ According to Aitzaz Ahsan, 'the question often asked is: how did the civil and military bureaucracy wrest power from the politicians at the very outset of Pakistan's creation? The answer has to be that it never relinquished it'. The authoritative and autonomous institutional role passed from the British Indian Army to its successor, the Pakistan Army. The period in focus was the result of the blunt practice of trends that the Pakistan Army inherited from the British Colonial Army. The first two Commanders-in-Chief (C-in-C) were both British. Generals Sir Frank

¹¹ Aitzaz Ahsan, Meghnad Desai, (henceforth Ahsan, Desai), *Cross-border Talks: Divided by Democracy* (New Delhi: Roli Publications, 2005), p. 98.

Messervey and Sir Douglas Gracy, besides reporting to the Government of Pakistan, also turned for guidance to their superior, Field Marshall Sir Claude Auchinleck.¹² This naturally created a duality of authority and control.

During 1947-58, frequent changes of political governments on the instructions of the bureaucracy of the civil-military hybrid broke the backbone of nascent democracy in Pakistan. Though direct military rule started in 1958 with the declaration of martial law, the power of democratic political institutions was already severely circumscribed by the hybrid. The first Pakistani C-in-C, General Ayub Khan, was appointed to that office in January 1951. A year later, riots broke out in the Punjab against the minority sect of *Ahmadis* – the followers of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of *Qadian*¹³. The civil administration called in the military. It imposed regional martial law, Pakistan's first military rule in any area.¹⁴ It immediately restored law and order. This would be normal in any democracy: a military commander obeying civilian orders. But the local military commander used the cover of martial law to do much more. He clamped down on the markets, freezing prices and enforcing improved hygiene measures. He arrested the smugglers and hoarders of essential commodities. The army thereby enhanced its position in the polity. During a weak and divided civilian administration and government, such steps were sufficient to give a confidence boost to the army.¹⁵ It also earned a four year extension in the tenure of Ayub Khan's service.¹⁶ The way the army took care of Lahore during martial law enhanced his personal stature, authority and influence in the state structures. He also developed a personal friendship with Governor General Ghulam Muhammad. This provided Ayub with an opportunity to see the weaknesses and hollowness of democratic political institutions. After Jinnah's death and Liaquat Ali Khan's assassination, there was a leadership gap that none was large enough to fill. Ayub was aspiring to fill the gap. However, he needed foreign support to strengthen the army to heighten his bargaining position.¹⁷

¹² Ibid, p. 100.

¹³ For details see, Abulhasan Ali Nadvi, Zafar Ishaq Ansari, *Qadianism: A Critical Study* (Lucknow: Academy of Islamic Research and Publications, 1967).

¹⁴ K.B.Saeed, *Politics in Pakistan: The Nature and Direction of Change* (New York: Praeger, 1980), p.38.

¹⁵ Interview with Senator Gulzar Khan, a veteran leader of the Pakistan Peoples Party from D.I. Khan (Lahore: 13-06-07).

¹⁶ Ahsan, Desai, p.101.

¹⁷ Interview with Senator Gulzar Khan.

An important theme of the time period under review was the troubled and often deeply suspicious relationship between the central state and East Pakistan. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) archival material shows that the Bengali idea of separation from West Pakistan was initiated during the period in focus. The democratic nature of the East Pakistanis propelled them towards non-alignment rather than support for the US in a period of global tension between the East and the West. Their democratic nature was taken as support for Communism. Bengalis, who had no fear from India and had no common borders with any communist state, were uninterested in US security pacts. West Pakistan, in contrast was dominated by Punjabis - who constituted a majority in the army and civil bureaucracy – and were the strongest stake holders in the country’s policy making process. Moreover, the Army, with a majority of Punjabis, harboured a direct animosity against India due to the Kashmir border issue. Because the army recruitment area also bordered with India, India emerged as a personal threat to the institution of the Pakistan Army. As the Pakistan Army was responsible for providing the security umbrella for the nascent country, animosity towards India was expressed in institutional rather than national terms. Hence anti-India feelings in the Punjab as well as in the Pakistan Army were understandable. For their protection against India, they aligned themselves with the US sponsored security alliances. No such currents ran through East Pakistan. The anti-India and pro-US policies thrust from the West Pakistan to the East of Pakistan were not acceptable to the Easterners. Such reaction of the Easterners has been detailed in chapters three, four and five. To express their loyalty to the US, the Pakistan Army became anti-East Pakistanis and sceptical about their loyalty to the State. During 1947-65, immense American support to the Army (to curb communist trends) further biased them against the Easterners. It was the discriminatory attitude of the Army that compelled the Easterners to think about Bengali nationalism rather than a unified Pakistani nationalism. The development of a regional Bengali nationalism resulted in the later dismemberment of Pakistan.

Research Methodology, Source material, Research Limitations and Compensation

This research is mainly based on archival documents, public records, diplomatic correspondence, and oral testimonies. Official documentation on the

Pakistan Army and its influence on the country's foreign policy is difficult to obtain. In Pakistan, the Foreign Ministry or Military related departments do not release confidential documents to researchers. In the US, the correspondence between the Pentagon and the General Head Quarters (GHQ) Karachi/Rawalpindi is not voluminous. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, most of the archival research was conducted in the National Archives London, the US National Archives, Maryland, and the National Archives Peshawar. Data was also acquired from the Library of Congress, the Harriman papers, and the US State Department's documentary series, *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS)*. Colonial sources in the UK are held at the National Archives, Kew, and India Office Records at the British Library in London. The extraordinary diplomatic correspondence found in the National Archives, London and the US National Archives, Maryland was particularly useful for this study. Some invaluable material concerning the beginning of the Cold War, and the US and British foreign policy interaction with Pakistan was unearthed, including files concerning US-Pakistan Army relations, the first military take over, and the US and British reaction, as well as policies in the later years. In the US National Archives, Maryland, the CIA archival section was opened recently, and a number of pertinent documents for this research were consulted. The files detailed the trend of US foreign policy towards the Pakistan Army via military aid and support to the military dictator of the time. By the time their foreign policies drifted apart, the Pakistan Army had established itself as a bargaining institution in the power-share with other political units in the country's domestic politics.

Diplomatic correspondence between Karachi, London and the Department of State and the White House was of much relevance to this work. Material located in the CIA Archives, British Library, and National Library of Scotland have been used to highlight and underscore similarities and differences of the *modus operandi* of the US policy making institutions on the one hand and the Pakistan Army on the other. From this documentation, a vivid view of the direction of the Pakistan Army's way of thinking in its dealings with India emerged, and details of how the Army tried to use US military and economic assistance card against India have been highlighted.

The Islamabad National Archives was a wonderful place to study old newspapers and relevant microfilms, despite deterioration of some materials and poor cataloguing. However, staff were unable to produce declassified documents of the 1950s and 60s. One of the staff members said: 'the government will not keep any such

historical official document that may become a source of trouble for today's army'¹⁸. It was possible to counteract the lack of such documents from memoirs of concerned people and interviews. Some official documents found in the National Archives of Peshawar were also utilised in this research, particularly those regarding the recruitment of *Pakhtoons* in the Indian Army. Some of them are written in Pashto, others in Urdu.

In the Islamabad Archives, I could not find anything substantive for my work nor could I get any archival document that could help me in proving my argument. The reason was that such documents did not exist there. The staff of the archives was very hospitable and kind to me as, according to them, I was the first researcher who visited them in the last six months. Upon my request to see the declassified documents of the 1950s and 60s, I was told that there is no such thing as declassified material in the archives. One of the staff members said: 'the government will not keep any such historical official document that may become a source of trouble for today's army'¹⁹. The director of the archives told me that the country was newly born so everything that is secret was like a 'national secret and a part of national security'. The material that I was asking was related with the Pakistan army. He said that, over and above, any material related with the army was '*O my God, it is top secret as any confidential paper of the army is a national secret*'. His way of expression was continuously very sarcastic about the Army. However, the lack of such documents and witnesses regarding Pakistan were recompensed by studying the memoirs of concerned people and interviews. This helped me in linking the chain of events with archival documents that I secured from the UK and the US.

After gathering the archival material, making an argument and reading the published material, including memoirs, and parliamentary proceedings, I turned to find answers to my queries via interviews. More than fifty interviews were conducted in English, Urdu, and Pashto. The interviewees included retired military officers, subalterns and retired diplomats. However, I believe the lower ranks in army generally followed the ethos and policy laid down by higher ranks. For acquiring oral witnesses on the internal politics of the country and the Army's influence, politicians, journalists, clerks in the concerned ministries, political party workers, Khans of the

¹⁸ The fieldwork was undertaken in 2007 during the rule of General Pervaiz Musharraf, the fourth military ruler in Pakistan.

¹⁹ I must mention here that I am talking about my fieldwork in 2007 during the period of General Pervaiz Musharraf, the fourth military ruler in Pakistan.

tribal area in NWFP and academics were also interviewed. In addition, a wide range of secondary sources, government publications, journals, magazines and daily Urdu and English newspapers published in Pakistan and abroad were also consulted. While the research focuses on the 1947-65 period, sometimes source material published after this period is also cited. However, the reader should judge its relevance only within the context of the period mentioned above. Over and above, the archival documents with the interviews; conducted with concerned people and memoirs are woven together in a completely new form to prove the thesis argument.

There have been various methodological problems associated with using oral testimony and its reliability. It was indeed important to keep in view who was being interviewed, what was his background, his political affiliation in that specific era, his loyalty with the Pakistan Army and his family stakes in political crisis of the country. Genuine analyses were possible only by cross-checking. Therefore, numerous interviews were cross-examined by others' opinion as well as archival documents. However, where cross-examination was not possible, oral testimony was deployed as an opinion of the interviewee rather than a 'fact'. Wherever possible, it had been reliably cross-checked and the nature of this cross-checking was made clear in footnotes. Most of such opinions were analysed in the conclusions of chapters.

The recent declassification of a number of relevant documents regarding the institutional interaction demands a pertinent, consistent and in depth exploration of the period 1947-65. It is the first time that the new CIA archival work (it has been very recent that the CIA documents have been declassified and placed in a separate archival section) is used in explaining the undue interference of the Pakistan Army in domestic and foreign policies of the country. The study concludes that the Army's suspicious glare to Bengalis resulted in their defiance much before the debacle of 1971. To explore further, I was very keen to visit Bangladesh and interview the ex-army officers as well as some of their policy makers. This would have given me a chance of having their views vis-à-vis the Pakistan Army and its dealing with the Easterners (people from East Pakistan). The reason to visit them is that one of my discoveries in this thesis is the hostile attitude of the Pakistan army towards the East Pakistanis that later on resulted in the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971. However, due to a lack of funding and time, I could not do so. This limitation was compensated by the archival documents from the US archives. Diplomatic correspondence between

American Consulate Dhaka and the Department of State remained very useful and supportive to my thesis arguments.

Searching archival materials and interviewing people who were in the hub of affairs during 1947-65, whilst living in the UK, and immersing myself in existing literature helped me to answer the questions I posed to myself. The main aim of this study is to provide a wider context of discussion to probe Pak-US institutional interaction. My research further aims to act like a mirror on the past which may hopefully highlight mistakes in the future and contribute to their avoidance.

Structure of the Thesis

Chapter one describes how the British punished the Bengal area by reducing the army's recruitment from there and rewarded the Punjab by increasing recruitment in the wake of the 1857 mutiny crisis. It explores the autonomous nature and *Punjabisation* of the British Indian Army. This resulting major recruitment area- the Punjab- is ceded to Pakistan after partition. This constitutes an important factor in the rise of the army as a national political actor.

Chapter two contextualizes the civil-military bureaucracy with the rise of military rule and the fall of democratic institutions. It is argued that provincial politics weakened the Federal Government and allowed the Army to usurp political power to a disproportionate degree. To make the point that the existence of the military as a political actor persisted during the 1950s, the chapter will test the extent to which American policy making bodies were supportive of the military leadership, especially General Ayub Khan. This chapter also focuses on the sceptical approach of the Army towards the East Pakistanis' loyalty to the state.

Chapter three highlights the Pakistan Army's influence on foreign policy in order to develop direct links with the US administration. It also provides evidence of US support for the military-oriented policies in Pakistan. This chapter further focuses on the Pakistani army's keen desire to align itself with the US sponsored security alliances – SEATO and CENTO- and the East Pakistanis' opposition to such alliances.

Chapter four analyses the US's increased political and regional expectations from the military junta in Pakistan and contemporaneous accommodation with India. This chapter will be supported with dichotomous opinions reflected in interviews of

military generals and subalterns on the institutional alliance of 1950s and 60s. Biased treatment of the Army towards the East Pakistanis is also discussed.

Chapter five provides evidence for the Pak-US institutional alliance. It begins with oral testimonies which include interviews with high ranking army officers as well as subalterns. The major events – the loss of public support by the Pakistan Army, its estrangement from the US, and its becoming an object of censure between 1962-65 – are discussed in this chapter.

In conclusion, the thesis establishes that it was control over the foreign relations of the country especially with the US that provided encouragement for the rise of the Pakistan Army in politics. The increasing clout of a US-backed Army, whose elite officers had a bias against the eastern wing of the country, the thesis argues, indirectly resulted in the dismemberment of Pakistan itself. The study further argues that the period under consideration saw a complete failure of the US policy of containing communism whilst at the same time avoiding war between its allies in the region, and that this had tragic consequences for the future of democracy in Pakistan.

The principal aim of this study has been to provide a wider context of discussion to probe Pak-US institutional interactions. It is hoped that this research will serve as a mirror on the past which may hopefully highlight mistakes (developing relations with the US at the cost of regional countries, encouraging military's independent relations with the US foreign policy making bodies etc) in the future and contribute to their avoidance.

CHAPTER 1

Advent and Evolution: The Pakistan Army from the British Indian Army 1857-1947.

1.1 Introduction

This chapter will seek to show the trends of organisation, regionalised recruitment policy, and institutional unification of the British Indian Army and how these trends were reproduced by the Pakistan Army after 1947. Previous studies on the British Indian Army such as Menezes' *Fidelity and Honour: The Indian Army from the Seventeenth to the Twenty-first Century*¹ and Byron Farewell's *Armies of the Raj: From the Mutiny to Independence*² have approached the study of the British Indian Army in relation to the shifting relationship between the governing (conquering) army and the common man in the Subcontinent. Whilst they have provided valuable insights into the literature of the period, they have ignored the fact that the way the British Army worked autonomously under the British Empire was transferred to the post-colonial Pakistan Army. This work seeks to contextualise the trends and transformations from the British to the Pakistan Army and especially its autonomous nature within the state. It will also correlate the recruitment policy shift from Bengal to the Punjab after the Mutiny war of 1857 to the imbalanced dominance of one part of the country over the rest of Pakistan after 1947.

The British Indian Army was the strong armed wing of the British Raj. Its main purpose was to quell internal disturbances and counter external aggression in the Subcontinent. However, the Mutiny war of 1857 exposed many weaknesses of the army. This resulted in its complete change and reorganisation. More powers were granted to the officers to address and avoid any repetition of such an uprising in future. This further concentrated their influence on administration and government. The most drastic effect of the 1857 Uprising was the regional recruitment shift in the British military. Recruitment focus shifted from Bengal to the Punjab and North West Frontier Province NWFP of the Subcontinent. The shift resulted in the de-

¹ S.L. Menezes, *Fidelity and Honour: The Indian Army from the Seventeenth to the Twenty-first Century* (New Delhi: Viking, 1993), pp.124-143.

² Byron Farewell, *Armies of the Raj: From the Mutiny to Independence, 1858-1947* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1989), pp.15-19 and pp.57-64.

Bengalization and the Punjabisation of the Indian army – a punishment for the Bengal region that rebelled and a reward to the Punjab that suppressed the Uprising. This era also heralded the colonial theory of divide and rule on the basis of martial race policy. Hence, the martial race policy is also contextualised in the broader framework of the historical debate on colonialism and ‘race’ in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The last part of the chapter deals with the Indianisation of the Commissioned Army.

During the partition of 1947, the Pakistan army was created from the division of the colonial Indian army. The political role of the Pakistan army is frequently correlated with teething problems of Pakistan especially after the first Kashmir war of 1948.³ Whilst this may have been true in certain cases, the assertive role played by the Pakistan Army during the 1950s and 60s can be traced to the evolution of the colonial Indian army. This chapter develops this analysis by exploring the historical background and evolution of the British Indian Army.

1.2 The Advent of the British Indian Army

Major Stringer Lawrence,⁴ who formed the first military units of the East India Company in Madras in 1748, is regarded as ‘the father of the Indian Army’.⁵ He organized the British Indian army which was divided into three presidencies: Bengal,⁶ Madras⁷ and Bombay.⁸ The three presidencies formed their own armies which later on constituted the Indian Army: the Bengal Army (eventually developed into the largest army); the Madras Army (a combination of companies of doorkeepers and watchmen); and the Bombay Army (that arrived as a detachment when Bombay passed to the British as part of the dowry that Catherine of Braganza brought to her marriage to Charles II).⁹ The first British regulars, the 39th Foot, arrived in India in 1754 under the command of Colonel John Adlcrcon.¹⁰ He began the amalgamation of the East India Company’s Indian Army (European and Indian troops) and Royal

³ See Ayesha Jalal, *the State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan’s Political Economy of Defence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp.25-48; Ayesha Siddiq-Agha, *The Military Inc.* (Karachi: OUP, 2007), pp.62-8; and Stephen Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan* (Lahore: Vanguard, 2005), p.121.

⁴ In 1752, he became the first army officer to be appointed Commander-in-Chief (C-in-C) of all the East India Company’s forces in India.

⁵ S.L. Menezes, *Fidelity and Honour*, p.7.

⁶ Papers relating to the Bengal Army, Public Record Office (PRO) 30/9/4/3; PRO 30/12/33/7, PRO.

⁷ Ibid, PRO 30/12/30/11, PRO.

⁸ Ibid, PRO 30/9/4/47, PRO.

⁹ Byron Farewell, *Armies of the Raj*, p.25.

¹⁰ Ibid, p.26.

British regulars (rented from the Crown and constituted the British Army) in India. Until this time all – British and Indian, Company and Royal troops – were officered by Britons.¹¹ The armies based in Madras, Bombay and Bengal functioned as three distinct entities. Training, discipline and professionalism were the primary requirements for Indian soldiers. Intensive training with an emphasis on discipline and efficiency and their separation from the fragmented Indian society turned the Indian soldiers into a professional, united and autonomous fighting force. Their loyalty was to their ‘homogeneous military units’ for which they served ‘full time, long term’ rewarded with a secure pay and pension system.¹²

At the end of the 18th century, the Company started sending troops on overseas voyages. Due to the reluctance of the Hindu soldiers to serve overseas, the troops were given options for such expeditions on a voluntary basis.¹³ In 1846 and 1849, two important frontier forces, the Sindh Frontier Force (SFF) and the Punjab Frontier Force (PFF),¹⁴ were created. The SFF was to deal with the Baluch tribesmen and was part of the Bombay Army. The PFF was raised for keeping order on the North Western border. It was to serve on the frontier and only in special cases elsewhere. Later on, the Gurkha Regiment was also added to the PFF. The Frontier Force was under the control of the Foreign Department of the Government of India through the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab. In 1886, this was brought under the operational control of the C-in-C, India, as part of the Bengal Army. It continued to maintain its separate character until 1903, when it was incorporated into the Indian Army.¹⁵

The East India Company administered India until 1858,¹⁶ through three Presidencies each with its own army. These armies consisted of British and Indian regiments commanded by British officers. The Bengal Army (being the largest) had a distinct position as its C-in-C was also the head of the Company’s other armies. His powers were very nominal over the armies of Madras and Bombay. He was supposed

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Stephen P. Rosen, *Societies and Military Power: India and its Armies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp.173-77.

¹³ S.T. Das, *Indian Military: Its History and Development* (New Delhi: Sagar Publications, 1969), pp. 83-85. Also see Raymond A. Callahan, *The East India Company and Army Reforms 1783-1798* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1972), pp.12-14.

¹⁴ S.L.Menezes, *Fidelity and Honour*, p.22.

¹⁵ T.A. Heathcote, *The Indian Army: The Garrison of British Imperial India, 1822-1922* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1974), pp.27-29.

¹⁶ 30/29/21/7, From John Crawford’s presentation to the House of Lords... asking for direct British rule in place of the East India Company, 13 February 1858. PRO.

to exercise supervisory control over them. Prior to 1886, he had no authority over the Punjab Irregular (later Frontier) Field Force – known as the ‘Piffers’ – on the North West Frontier, which was controlled by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.¹⁷ Also, of course, he had no direct control over the armies of the Princely states. In fact, no officer exercised control over all of the Indian land forces.¹⁸

Table 1: Three armies of the East India Company and their recruitment areas in the second half of the 18th Century.

Army	Recruitment Areas
Bengal Army	Bihar, Oudh, Agra, Punjab, Nepal. (Caste based recruitment)
Madras Army	Madras, Hyderabad, Central Provinces, Burma. (Supra-caste, religion & class recruitment)
Bombay Army	Bombay, Sindh, Rajputana, Aden. (An army without any distinction on the basis of caste, class or religion)

From the second half of the eighteenth century, the Bengal Army recruited from the communities which had served the Muslim dynasty in the past. Recruitment focussed on high caste Hindus, mainly from Bihar, Oudh and Agra. The Gurkhas and the Punjabis were also recruited. It was a high-caste ethnic army.¹⁹ The Madras Army concentrated for recruitment on Madras, Hyderabad, and the Central Provinces, and later, Burma while the Bombay Army’s focus was on Bombay, Sindh, Rajputana and Aden. Unlike the Bengal Army, both of these armies’ recruitment was supra-caste and supra-religion.²⁰

With the British Government taking over the reins of the East India Company, the shape of all the three armies was completely changed. In August 1858, the British Government introduced a major shift in their organisational setups. For such drastic changes, the Peel Commission (1859)²¹ and the Eden Commission (1879)²² played a

¹⁷ S.L.Menezes, *Fidelity and Honour*, p.76.

¹⁸ Byron Farewell, *Armies of the Raj*, p.27.

¹⁹ Seema Alvi, *The Sepoys and the Company: Tradition and Transition in Northern India 1770-1830* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp.39,45-46,49.

²⁰ Many authors have given details of the armies of the East India Company including S.L. Menezes, *Fidelity and Honour*, pp. 11-12,14.

²¹ (Major General) Jonathan Peel Commission Report, Report from Commissioners: 1859, *Organisation of Army (Indian)*, Volume 5. (Peel was then the Secretary of State for War) [hereafter Peel Commission Report], National Library of Scotland (NLS).

²² Report of the special commission appointed by His Excellency the Governor-General in Council to enquire into the organisation and expenditure of the Army in India [Eden Commission]. Simla: Govt of India, 1879; Appendices to the report, Simla/Calcutta: Govt of India, 1879-80. 4 volumes. IOR/L/MIL/17/5/1687, 1879-1880, British Library (BL).

major role. The Commission reports stressed the need to maintain a disciplined, professional and loyal trained army. All three armies were retained, but the position of the C-in-C was braced with more powers. The strength of the British troops was raised to 80,000; of which 50,000 were for Bengal, 15,000 for Madras, and 15,000 for Bombay. They were also given total control over artillery and some other branches of the Army. Additionally, according to the Peel Commission, Native forces were not to bear a greater proportion to the European, in Cavalry and Infantry, than two to one for Bengal, and three to one for Madras and Bombay respectively.²³ All such developments were the after-effects of the Mutiny War of 1857.

The homogenous nature of the Bengal army was one of the factors that contributed to the outbreak of the Mutiny. Hence, in future, the British maintained distinction and separateness of castes and class in the army. No single caste or class was allowed to dominate or command another caste or class. To avoid unity amongst native soldiers, the Peel Commission Report recommended that 'the Native Army' should be composed of different nationalities and castes, and as a general rule, mixed promiscuously through each regiment'.²⁴ However, local regiments were also limited to their respective areas of recruitment except in case of emergency.²⁵

The separation of the three armies in India was usually debated by the British Administration at different points. The Eden commission recommended the 'endeavour ... to carry out the principles of segregation'.²⁶ However, it was in the year 1895 that all the three armies were amalgamated to create the Indian Army, headed by a C-in-C. Under the C-in-C there were four commands: the Madras Command, the Bombay Command, the Bengal Command and the Punjab Command, each headed by a Lt. General.²⁷ The former Bengal Army was split into Bengal and

²³ Peel Commission Report, p.9.

²⁴ Ibid, p.14.

²⁵ The army in India adopted different organisational systems: 1. The general mixed composition system: each company in a regiment consisted of different races and castes which were mixed together irrespective of caste and creed. 2. The class company system: each company in a regiment has soldiers of one caste and social class. In this way, each company was pure; different castes and classes were kept separately at the company level. 3. The class regiment system: the whole regiment comprised men of one distinct social class or caste. At times, a regiment could have soldiers enlisted exclusively from one district/region.

²⁶ Report of the [Eden Commission]. Simla: Govt of India, 1879; Appendices to the report, Simla/Calcutta: Govt of India, 1879-80. 4 volumes. IOR/L/MIL/17/5/1687, 1879-1880. BL.

²⁷ Memorandum by His Royal Highness the Field-Marshal Commander in Chief on the proposed formation of the three Presidential Armies of India into one army under one Commander-in-Chief divided into four Army Corps, each under a Lieutenant-General. War Office, 31 Oct 1882. IOR/L/MIL/17/5/1705, 1882. Also, Report by the Military Committee, India Office, 27 Mar 1882. IOR/L/MIL/17/5/1704, 1882.

Punjab Commands. The title of Indian Army began to be used officially from 1 January 1903. In 1911, George MacMunn recalls the Indian Army as one which became one of the marvels of modern times, and for which the people of the Subcontinent used to say:

Khalk-i-Khuda
Mulk-i-Sirkar
*Hukm-i-Sahiban Alishan.*²⁸

Table 2: Four commands of the Indian Army and their areas of recruitment in 1895.

Command	Recruitment Area
Punjab	Punjab, NWFP
Bengal	Assam, Bengal, the United Provinces, parts of Central Provinces and Central India
Madras	Madras Presidency, the Garrisons in Hyderabad and Maysore, and Burma
Bombay	Bombay Presidency including Sindh, Aden, Baluchistan, Rajputana, and Parts of Central India and the Central Provinces

1.3 Post-1857 Regional Recruitment Shifts – The Evolution of *Punjabisation*

The 1857 Mutiny or the War of Independence was a major upheaval for the colonial masters. From the military's point of view, the main responsible factor in the outbreak of the mutiny was the Bengali soldier. His ethnic majority in the Indian Army and his defiance resulted in a war between the Indian soldiers on the one hand and the British troops and their loyalists, such as Punjabis, on the other. Therefore, the British military policy needed a structural overhauling, a well-organized, systematic and planned British Indian Army. But for the British, the recruitment strategy needed a major shift from the defiant Bengalis to the loyalist Punjabis. Hence, recruitment from 1857 onwards shifted to the North and North Western regions of India (present-day Pakistan) at the expense of other regions, especially Bengal. As a result, during the first half of the twentieth century the army was dominated by the soldiers from the North and North West of India. Gurkhas from Nepal, the Punjabis and the Pathans were preferred. The number of Punjabis increased gradually. The main 'martial races'

²⁸ Mankind belongs to God,
The land to the Government,
And power to the powerful Sahibs.
See George F. MacMunn, *The Armies of India* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1911), p.220.

of the west Punjab recruited were the Tiwanas, Noons, Gakkhars, Janguas, Awans, Baluchis, Khattars, Khokhars, and Sials.²⁹

The British Army's senior officers believed that certain classes and communities in India were warrior races – Martial Races. Such classes and communities were believed to prove better and braver soldiers and to be more suitable for army service. The Eden Commission reported in 1879 that the Punjab was the 'home of the most martial races of India' and that it was 'the nursery' of the best soldiers.³⁰ Michael O'Dwyer, who was the Governor of Punjab at the time of the fateful Jhallianwala Bagh massacre, endorsed the praise and appreciation of the Punjabi soldier expressed by such authorities as Lords Roberts and Kitchener. He said that their argument "was ... irrefutable ... that if India could only afford a small army of seventy-five thousand British (now reduced to under 60,000) and one hundred and sixty thousand Indian troops for the protection of a subcontinent of over 300 millions of people, it would be unwise to take any but the best Indian material and this was to be found mainly in the Punjab".³¹

The martial race theory helped to bring about an end to the Peel Commission recommendation that 'the (regional) armies must balance each other'³². According to Field Marshal Frederick Sleigh Roberts, the so-called 'balance' was discarded in the 1880s.³³ The Mutiny brought about a search for a martial race which would not turn against the British once again. The crux of the matter of the 'martial race theory' was that some races were superior to others.³⁴ All natives were not equal in soldierly qualities.³⁵ Roberts boldly asserted that 'no comparison can be made between the martial values of a regiment recruited amongst the Ghurkhas of Nepal or the warlike races of Northern India (Punjab and NWFP), and those recruited from the effeminate peoples of the South'.³⁶ The Punjab's population accounted for less than 10% of

²⁹ Denzil Ibbetson, *Punjab Castes. A reprint of "The races, castes and tribes of the people"* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1916), pp.166-67.

³⁰ *The Eden Commission*, IOR/L/MIL/17/5/1687, 1879-1880. BL.

³¹ Michael O'Dwyer, *India as I knew It: 1885-1922* (London: Constable & Company Ltd, 1926), pp.213-14.

³² Peel Commission Report, p.14.

³³ Field Marshal Lord Frederick Sleigh Roberts of Kandahar, *Forty-one years in India: From Subaltern to Commander-In-Chief*, Vol. II (London: Richard Bentley & Sons, 1897), pp.441-2.

³⁴ *The Military Papers of Field Marshal Roberts, 1876-1893* (London: Alan Sutton, 1993), Field Marshal Roberts to C-In-C Stewart, 30 June 1882, p.257.

³⁵ *Ibid*, p.258.

³⁶ Field Marshal Roberts, *Forty-one years in India*, II, p.442.

British India,³⁷ but contributed over half the entire Indian army. The British accommodated communities like Punjabis and Pakhtoons in the Army more than others. It was the beginning of establishing the trend whereby the future security and strategy of the subcontinent would be concentrated in the Punjab and not in Delhi, the capital of the subcontinent.

The reasons for the British tilt towards Punjabis were further substantiated by the perceived Russian threat to the British Empire. The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed a security and strategic peril from the North West – the Russian threat to North-Western India. The Russian Empire expanded in Central Asia, and, by 1850, it was about a thousand miles from the British Indian Empire.³⁸ Soon, it had to touch the tribal belt of NWFP, thus making Afghanistan a buffer between the two empires. Keeping Russians out of Afghanistan, or extending British influence over it, became a principle of British foreign policy.³⁹ The policy became more assertive after Lord Lytton arrived in India as viceroy in April 1876.⁴⁰ ‘The British had already fought two wars with Afghanistan and expected a third in which there might also possibly be Russian involvement’.⁴¹ According to Field Marshal Roberts, the presence of a ‘European army near our frontiers’ had ‘completely changed’ the position.⁴² Thus more focus was given to filling the deficiencies in the Indian Army by concentrating on recruitment from the areas closer to these borders, namely the Punjab.

If the British needed the Punjabis’ loyalty in the post-Mutiny period, the Punjabis, for the solution of their personal financial problems, also needed the British. The personal economy of the peasantry contributed greatly to military recruitment from the Punjab. The availability of man-power, but no jobs, was an imbalanced equation in the region’s economy. It was an agrarian land, but due to shortage of water, soil fertility, erratic rainfall, and shortage of personal finances, the common peasant was facing acute poverty. The memories of the famines of 1753, 1759 and 1783 were still haunting the people.⁴³ In the meantime, the struggle between Sikhs, Afghans and Mahrattas in the Punjab had further aggravated the situation. The

³⁷ *Statistical Abstract from British India, 1931-32*, Table 1, pp.2-3, Asia and Africa Collection, (BL).

³⁸ S.L.Menezes, *Fidelity and Honour* p.86.

³⁹ *The Military Papers of Field Marshal Roberts*, p.291.

⁴⁰ Field Marshal Roberts, *Forty-one years in India*, II, pp.86-87.

⁴¹ Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj 1849-1947* (Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1988), p.43.

⁴² Field Marshal Roberts to C-In-C Madras, Arbutnot, 6 April 1889, *The Military Papers*, p.393.

⁴³ *Administration of the Punjab: The Land of Five Rivers, 1921-22*, Volume 1 (Lahore: Government Printing, Punjab, 1923) p.08 (NLS).

desolation which Ahmed Shah's army carried out on its route was expressed by the saying that was still current throughout Punjab: 'What one eats and drinks is one's own; the rest is Ahmed Shah's'.⁴⁴ During the 'great famine' of 1783, the country was depopulated, peasants abandoned their villages and died of disease and want in thousands; the state of anarchy was almost inconceivable. So many died of starvation that 'bodies were thrown into wells unburied, mothers cast their children into rivers, and even cannibalism is said to have been restored'.⁴⁵ In the circumstances, army service was a blessing in disguise. It provided them with an alternative to agricultural income. These peasants-turned-soldiers who until now were malnourished, under-paid and maltreated by the rich feudal class were more committed, hardworking, disciplined, and willing to take assignments with more rigor and vigour. The army provided everything: salary, uniform and prestige, as they were working directly with the colonial masters. A large number of them came from the salt range and the Potwar (Potohar) regions of Northern Punjab (especially the districts of Jhelum, Rawalpindi, and Attock) and the adjoining region of NWFP where the peasants were also facing serious economic problems.⁴⁶ Indeed, military service provided a guaranteed salary while the peasant class working in the fields was faced with poverty and an uncertain source of income. The new recruitment policy aimed at exploiting the socio-economic life of the Punjab. As a result, the Raj concentrated more on the rural population and discouraged the urban and town-city dwellers. Recruitment focus on rural population was another lesson learnt from the 1857 Uprising.

The Punjab was the first province where an Act restricting land transfers was introduced. It was called the 'Punjab Alienation of Land Act'.⁴⁷ Its aim was to prevent the money-lender from exploiting the cultivator. To gain the support of the peasantry, several other legislative measures were also passed. The cultivator in the Punjab was undergoing great hardships owing to the exploitation of the money-lender. In nutshell, purpose of the Act was that the peasant should get some relief. The Act limited the transfer of landed property only among the agricultural classes.⁴⁸ Moreover, now the peasant could not be evicted by a civil court without the intervention of the revenue

⁴⁴ Ibid, p.9.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p.10.

⁴⁶ David Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj: The Indian Army, 1860-1940* (London: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 49-52.

⁴⁷ *Administration of the Punjab*, p.132.

⁴⁸ Satya M. Rai, *Partition of the Punjab, A Study of its Effects on the Politics and Administration of the Punjab (I)*, (London: Asia Publishing House, 1965), pp. 27-28.

authorities.⁴⁹ The Act had a three-pronged effect: it restored confidence in the British and encouraged peasants to join their ranks; the non-agricultural class was forced to join the armed forces to save their prestige, while even the landowning class sent their sons to join the British Army.⁵⁰ If they already enjoyed a high eminence in the society, military service granted them a more certain way of keeping their social status.

Granting rewards in return for loyalty was a very traditional and old tool of British domestic and international policy. This contrivance was applied in the North. Those who joined the British Indian Army were previously peasants. For them the best and the biggest reward was the allotment of land. The British used to allocate land to the soldiers in return for loyalty, gallantry, and on their retirement. Such land awards made the army service an attractive profession amongst the peasant-soldiers. It improved their socio-economic status. The policy of granting agrarian land as a reward for military service also encouraged recruitment. The British Indian government began construction of a new work of canals, their branches and distributaries in the plains of the Western Punjab. This process was initiated in 1885 and continued intermittently until the end of the British rule which brought large tracts inhabited by semi-nomadic peoples, under cultivation. There were nine such areas, called the Canal Colonies, where land with sufficient canal water became available.⁵¹ The British Indian government distributed this land mainly on political considerations, that is, to reward people and communities for services to the Raj.⁵² Substantial tracts of the colony lands were allotted to ex-servicemen, both officers and other ranks,⁵³ which enhanced the attraction of army service for peasants. Land was also granted for horses, camels' breeding, and other animals for the supply to the army and taking care of them. Substantial allotments of land were made to the veterans of World War I.⁵⁴ No other field of work was pledging such a great return in the North than joining the Army.

⁴⁹ *Administration of the Punjab*, p.132.

⁵⁰ Lord Curzon's Imperial Cadet Corps in 1901 was for the feudal and rich classes of society. It will be discussed in detail in the forthcoming pages.

⁵¹ *Administration of the Punjab*, pp.167-176.

⁵² Imran Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism, 1885-1947* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp.109-126.

⁵³ Imran Anwar Ali, 'Business and Power in Pakistan', article in *Power and Civil Society in Pakistan*, edited by Weiss and S. Zulfiqar Gilani, (Karachi: OUP, 2003), p.104.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

1.4 Punjabisation with Caution – The Fallout of the Bengal Mutiny

The events of 1857 were unforgettable for the British officers. The south Indian soldiers (the Bengal army) were in the forefront in the mutiny. The Punjab had no such quarrel with the British. Rather the British were grateful to the Punjabis for their role in suppressing the rebellion.⁵⁵ As a result, the Bengal Army was gradually replaced. One lesson learnt from the mutiny was the danger of allowing any one part of the army to attain a vastly preponderating strength over others. The Mutiny was the Bengal Army's 'homogeneous' 'fusion into one huge body of soldiers'.⁵⁶ Accordingly, 'the post-mutiny Bengal Army was reconstituted in practically two separate bodies: one comprising the old Hindustani element; and the other carved out of the Punjabi levies which had been raised to put down and overpower the mutinous Bengal *sepoys*'.⁵⁷ However, the regional recruitment shift was about to repeat the same mistake that was committed in the Bengal army – a vast homogeneous fusion of soldiers of the Punjab. Therefore, to avoid repetition of the Bengal of 1857, the British divided the Punjab. In 1901, the Viceroy Lord Curzon, adopting and modifying an idea of Lord Lytton, created North-West Frontier Province out of the Punjab. The NWFP was administered by a Chief Commissioner with headquarters at Peshawar who was responsible directly to the Government of India.⁵⁸

The post-Mutiny period saw distinct parts of the Bengal Army (Hindustani and Punjabi) coming gradually into closer contact with each other. The Hindustani regiments were distributed over the whole Presidency, and the Punjab regiments were employed in Bengal and the North Western Provinces. This practice was opposed to the policy that insisted on the importance of keeping each part of the army in its own country during peace time. Military service not too remote from his home was much more popular with the *sepoy* than service at a distance and in a climate to which he was unaccustomed.⁵⁹ The policy had deeper roots in the divide and rule principle than

⁵⁵ Edwin Henry Hayten Collen, *The Indian Army – A Sketch of its History and Organisation*. Reprinted from the third edition of the 'Imperial Gazetteer.' (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), p.19.

⁵⁶ *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire, Vol. IV: Administrative*, New Edition, (Oxford, 1907), pp.347-53.

⁵⁷ Accounts and Papers 14: 63 Volumes. East India, *Proposed Changes in the Indian Army System*. Dispatch No. 172, 2nd November, 1892. Session 31 January 1893-5, March 1894. Vol. LXIII, p.254. NLS.

⁵⁸ *Administration of the Punjab*, p.22.

⁵⁹ Accounts and Papers, p.254.

anything else. 'If troops were brought together in peace time, class feeling and *esprit de corps* would become stronger than natural race antagonisms. However, if the two classes were kept apart, then, should one of them show signs of wavering in its loyalty, the other might be trusted to come in as a foreign and to a certain extent antagonistic body, and over-awe it. This was what happened in the mutiny, which the Punjab troops so effectively assisted the British troops in putting down'. Until then, principles of segregation had been more carefully observed. Similarly, the Hindustani and the Punjabi troops 'chiefly served within the areas which embraced their recruiting grounds'⁶⁰.

In 1857, the Punjabis constituted about 44% of the Bengal Army and the Punjab Frontier Force, but only a quarter of the entire Armed forces. By June 1858, of the total 80,000 'native' troops in the Bengal army, 75,000 were Punjabis.⁶¹ In 1893, the Punjab, which also included the NWFP until 1901⁶² and Nepal, formed 44% of the entire Indian Armed Forces. This further increased to 57% in 1904.⁶³ This is the point where one can see a sharp under-representation of other regions. The other castes and classes, as well as areas, were practically ignored in the new army recruitment policy adopted in the post-1857 period. So much so that in 1929, 62% of the whole Indian Army was Punjabi.⁶⁴ Now the chemistry of conscription was such that, in Bengal, there were 7,117 combatant recruits out of a total population of 45 million; whereas Punjab offered 349,689 out of a total population of 20 million.⁶⁵ One out of 28 males was mobilized in Punjab⁶⁶; this ratio was one to 150 in the rest of India.⁶⁷

At the outbreak of the First World War, there were 100,000 Punjabis serving in the army, of whom 87,000 were combatants. 380,000 were enlisted during the war, of whom 231,000 were combatants. This made a total of 480,000 who served from the Punjab.⁶⁸ According to another estimate, the Punjab supplied 54% of the total combatant troops in the Indian army during the First World War and, if the 19,000

⁶⁰ Ibid, pp.254-55.

⁶¹ The Peel Commission Report, Organisation of the Army (Indian) Report, 1859. Appendix 71, Evidence by Lt. Col. Durand.

⁶² In 1901, the North-West Frontier Province was separated from the Punjab. See *Administration of the Punjab Report*, 1921-22, Vol. 1, p.22.

⁶³ David Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj*, pp.10, 15, 19.

⁶⁴ *Reports from Commissioners, Inspectors, and Others*: [Hereafter RCIO] Ten Volumes. Vol. 4. East India Continued. Session: June 1929-August 1930, p.96. NLS.

⁶⁵ *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, Vol. 1, Survey, RCIO, (Calcutta: Official publication of the Government of India, 1930), p.61.

⁶⁶ RCIO, p.67.

⁶⁷ *Administration of the Punjab*, p.28.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

Gurkhas recruited from the Independent State of Nepal was excluded; the Punjab contingent amounted to 62% of the whole Indian Army.⁶⁹

Map 1.1 Map of India in 1929 showing Regional Recruitment ⁷⁰

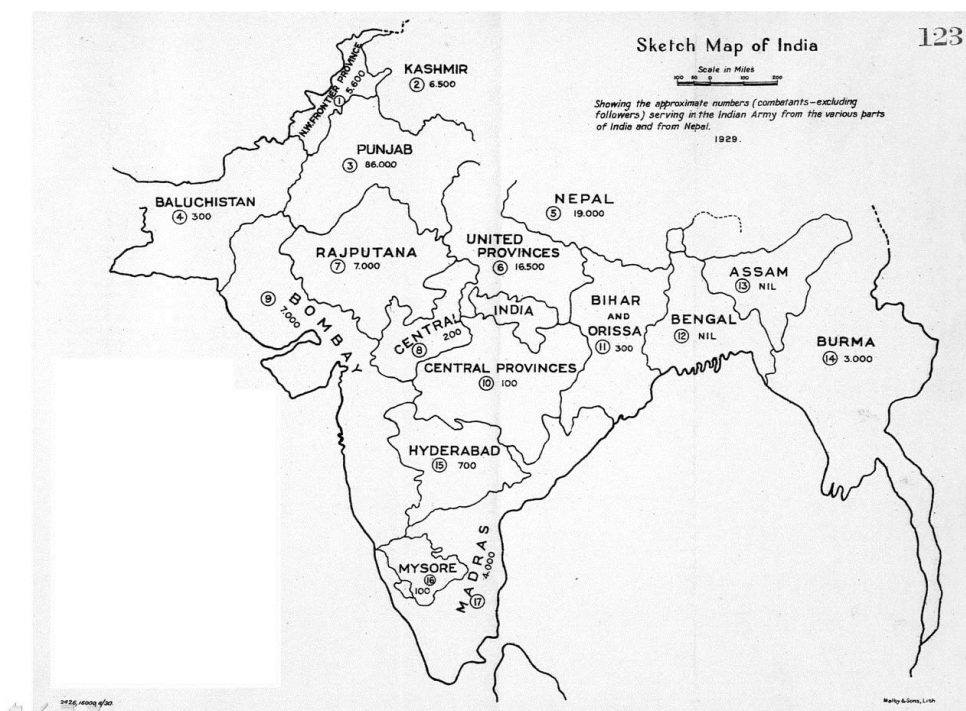


Table 3: Areas of Recruitment 1929.

Number	Area	Recruits
1.	Punjab	86,000
2.	<i>Nepal</i>	<i>19,000</i>
3.	United Provinces	16,000
4.	Bombay	7,000
5.	Rajputana	7,000
6.	Kashmir	6,500
7.	North West Frontier Province	5,600
8.	Madras	4,000
9.	Burma	3,000
10.	Hyderabad	700
11.	Bihar and Orissa	300
12.	Baluchistan	300
13.	Central India	200
14.	Central Provinces	100
15.	Mysore	100
16.	Assam	Nil
17.	Bengal	Nil
18.	Miscellaneous	1,900
	TOTAL	158,200

⁶⁹ RCIO, 4th Volume, East India Continued, p.96.

⁷⁰ RCIO, p.123. (Map figures are shown in a chart- table 3)

During the late 1920s, Bombay and Madras furnished only 13,000 troops; on average, the Central Province, Bihar and Orissa provided 500 each; and Bengal and Assam offered none at all.⁷¹ Before 1857, the British Indian Army was called the Bengal Army. By 1929, the same Bengal region was contributing none in that army. It was the revenge of the British from the region called the Regional Recruitment Shift. Whatever the recruitment, NWFP and the Punjab kept their numerical lead.

During the First World War, despite the emergency, the recruitment number was sharply contrasted between the regions. Bengal, with a population of 45 million, provided 7,000 combatant recruits; the Punjab, with a population of 20 million, provided 349,000 such recruits.⁷² NWFP, with a population of 2.25 million,⁷³ contributed 32,181 combatant recruits.

Table 4: Contribution of India to the Great War – Recruitments up until armistice.⁷⁴

No.	Province	Combatant Recruits enlisted	Non-Combatant Recruits enlisted	Total	Percentage
1-	Madras	51,223	41,117	92,340	
2-	Bombay	41,272	30,211	71,483	
3-	Bengal	7,117	51,935	59,052	
4-	United Provinces	163,578	117,565	281,143	
5-	Punjab	349,688	97,288	446,976	40.72%
6-	NWFP	32,181	13,050	45,231	4.12%
7-	Baluchistan	1,761	327	2,088	0.19%
8-	Burma	14,094	4,579	18,673	
9-	Bihar and Orissa	8,576	32,976	41,552	
10-	Central Provinces	5,376	9,631	15,007	
11-	Assam	942	14,182	15,124	
12-	Ajmer- Merwara	7,341	1,632	8,973	
	TOTAL	683,149	414,493	1,097,642	

1.5 The Indigenous Indian Army and the British

The military is the ultimate guarantor of a country's sovereignty and freedom. It is the custodian of a state's borders and secures internal order for the rulers.

⁷¹ *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, RCIO, p.61.

⁷² RCIO, 4th Volume, East India Continued, p.96.

⁷³ *Report of Indian Statutory Commission, Area and Population, 1921 Census*, Appendix 1. p.108.

⁷⁴ RCIO, p.97.

According to Umer Hayat Khan, a member of the Committee to enquire into the administration and organisation of the Army in India in 1929, 'It [the British Indian Army] is the only instrument in the hands of the [British] Government to maintain internal peace and to cope with external aggression'.⁷⁵ The British Raj, therefore, wanted a stable, strong and well-equipped army loyal to them. The army, though yet not *Indianised*, was shaped in such a fashion that the British kept a firm control on the institution with central powers in their own hands.

Generally, an army is maintained in the country for external defence. However, soldiers in barracks are also regarded as the last resort to deal with domestic disturbances with which policemen cannot cope. However, this was not the case with British India. Troops were employed in the country many times a year to prevent internal disorder and, sometimes, to quell it. The use of the army for the purpose of maintaining or restoring order was always on the increase. Even after its preponderant position was firmly established, the army regularly undertook internal security duties in order to foil any bid to challenge British authority and to maintain peace and tranquillity.⁷⁶

Amongst the situations that the colonial rulers needed to prepare for were revolts, violent attacks, guerrilla activities, banditry, peasant revolts, lockouts, labour unrest, and Hindu-Muslim communal riots. According to an estimate, the troops were used for internal security duties on 46 occasions during 1860-79. The use of troops in such a way was increased many fold by the end of the nineteenth century, when they were called out 69 times between 1899 and 1901.⁷⁷ Sometimes the excessive use of force was employed to curb the independence movement. The Jhallianwala Bagh incident of 13th April 1919 was one such occasion. During this incident, troops opened fire on a protest meeting without any warning and killed 379 people.⁷⁸ After a couple of days, martial law was imposed in Amritsar and Lahore along with a few more districts of the Punjab.⁷⁹ It was the first Martial Law in South Asia in the twentieth century.

⁷⁵ Report of the Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for India to enquire into the administration and organisation of the army in India, Annexure II, Minutes by Umer Hayat Khan, (printed and published by Her Majesty's Office London, 1920), p.105, BL.

⁷⁶ Hassan Askari Rizvi, *Military, State and Society in Pakistan*, p. 42.

⁷⁷ David Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj*, p. 216.

⁷⁸ *Administration of the Punjab Report, 1921-22*, p.30; also O'Dwyer, *India As I knew It*, pp.283-86.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, O'Dwyer.

With regard to external defence, India had to provide against dangers on her North-West frontier. This contrasted with the situation of most of the Dominions of the British Empire in other parts of the world. The 3000 miles of land frontier which separated Canada from the US were undefended by a fort or a gun, and armed conflict with her neighbour was unthinkable.⁸⁰ Australia, New Zealand, and Ireland were islands; the union of South Africa was equally unlikely to be invaded. The withdrawal of British troops from such self-governing areas and indigenous recruitment had become the norm. The following table shows that only a fraction of British revenues was spent on maintaining local forces in these countries.⁸¹

Table 5: Defence expenditure -- financial year 1927-28.

(Pensions are not included)

Figures in thousands of pounds

<u>Country</u>	<u>Central Expenditure</u>	<u>State or Provincial Expenditure</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Net Defence Expenditure</u>	<u>% of Central Expenditure*</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
Australia	82,121	113,847	195,968	4,733	5.8%	2.4%
Canada	65,700	31,300	97,000	2,785	4.2	2.9
Irish Free State	31,473	-	31,473	2,264	7.2	7.2
New Zealand	24,945	-	24,945	969	3.9	2.9
South Africa	22,841	10,635	33,476	809	3.5	2.4

Source. Compiled from the *Reports from Commissioners, Inspectors and others: 1930* data.

* From the League of Nations Armaments Year Book.

Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, and the Irish Free [Republic of Ireland] were all self-governing. Therefore, in the light of war preparations of 1914-1918, they developed immensely powerful uniform armies of the highest fighting quality under the stress of emergency. But in peace time, these countries had no such organized scheme of national defence, as they had no threatening borders and no serious internal movements of dissent which they needed to suppress. In contrast to this situation, India throughout history experienced incursions by foreign invaders via the North West. It was the difficult and necessary role of the Army in India to guard against a repetition of these dangers. Therefore, 60,000 British troops and 150,000

⁸⁰ RCIO, p.93.

⁸¹ RCIO, pp.93-94.

Indian troops (as well as 34,000 reservists) were organized into a Field Army, into covering troops, and into a garrison for internal security, with this task amongst others constantly in mind.⁸²

In peace time, the duty of the covering troops, assisted by frontier levies of various kinds, was to prevent the independent tribes on the Indian side of the Afghan frontier raiding peaceful inhabitants of the plains below. Behind and beyond this belt of unorganized territory lay the direction from which, throughout the ages, the dangers to India's territorial integrity had come. None of the states behind India (especially Soviet Union) were members of the League of Nations. Hence, a strong though expensive military presence for the defence of the British Raj was necessary. Indian political leaders raised the question of the enormous cost of the British Army in India (one British soldier was estimated to cost between three and four times as much as an Indian soldier). They argued that the replacement of the British by Indians would not only save costs but also involve the indigenous people in the defence of their land, making them more loyal to their land and people. Indigenous recruitment would result in an increase in the British Indian Army along the North-Western borders but at much less cost.⁸³

The perceived Soviet threat to India was one of the major reasons for indigenous recruitment from the Punjab and NWFP. Keeping a very cautious country-Afghanistan- in view, Russia was the prime fear of the British Empire from the North West. The Soviet-Afghan cordiality was not only threatening to India but also to the entire empire.⁸⁴ The Simon Commission of 1930 observed: '*The North West frontier is not only the frontier of India; it is an international frontier of the first importance from the military point of view for the whole empire*'.⁸⁵ Therefore, Russians were kept at bay by the British by their defensive arrangements on the border and by maintaining Afghanistan as a buffer zone. In 1886, the Punjab Frontier Force which was looking after this part of the international border of India was transferred from the Punjab government to the C-in-C.⁸⁶ A border demarcation agreement was also signed

⁸² RCIO, p.94.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Interview with Wali Ghazzanavi. (Edinburgh, 12-10-08).

⁸⁵ *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, 1930, Vol. 2, p.173.

⁸⁶ Accounts and Papers: 63 Volumes. East India, *Proposed Changes in the Indian Army System*. Dispatch No. 172, 2nd November, 1892. Session 31, January 1893- 5 March 1894. Vol. LXIII, p.254, NLS.

with the Afghan government in November 1893; the Durand Line,⁸⁷ to stabilize bilateral relations. Various developments showed the weakness of the Russian empire: the Russo-Japanese War 1905⁸⁸, the Bolshevik Revolution⁸⁹ and the early withdrawal of Russia from the First World War,⁹⁰ which reduced British fears from the North. However, they continued indigenous recruitment from the region. Later on, one fear was replaced by another, Marxist ideology, and hence they maintained a strong profile on the North Western frontier⁹¹ (two detailed security plans were designed by the British government to contain the ‘Russian military menace’ in 1927 and 1931. The first was called the Blue Plan (1927) asking for an army advance towards Afghanistan from the NWFP and Baluchistan to Kabul.⁹² The second plan was called the Pink Plan (1931) giving a limited military action in the bordering areas of Afghanistan⁹³).

Besides fears from Soviet Union and Afghanistan, the British were facing a series of skirmishes with Pakhtoon tribes in tribal areas of NWFP bordering Afghanistan. The purpose of the division of NWFP into tribal and settled areas was to break the backbone of such armed resistance. Lord Curzon created a separate province NWFP in 1901, which was divided into settled – Peshawar, Kohat, Hazara, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan – and tribal areas along the Durand line. Owing to its geo-strategic location, its proximity with an international border (Durand Line) and the fighting nature of tribesmen, the tribal areas were placed under direct control of the government of India with very little administrative interference.⁹⁴ Situated between the two countries, keeping tribal areas peaceful was a difficult task. Tribal areas are/were composed of numerous tribes- Afridis, Shenwaris, Mahsuds, Wazirs, Burkis, Mohmands etc- each headed by its own chieftain. In Pashto language, a dictum defines the tribal Pakhtoons propensity for fighting. It says: *when you see an unhappy Pakhtoon; it means he is not fighting.*⁹⁵ According to one interviewee, ‘the British

⁸⁷ O’Dwyer, *India As I Knew It*, p.104.

⁸⁸ WO 32/7560, National Archives London (NAL).

⁸⁹ FO 538/2, Documents illustrating the more political aspects of the Bolshevik Revolution, NAL.

⁹⁰ GFM 33/2334, World War I: General HQ: Treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest, June 1917 - Sept 1918. NAL. Also see *Administration of the Punjab*, p.28.

⁹¹ N.C. Sinha and P.N. Khera, *India’s War Economy – Supply, Industry, and Finance* (Official History of the Indian Armed Forces in the Second World War, 1939-45, general editor, Bisheshwar Parasad) (New Delhi: Orient Longmans, 1962), pp.15-16.

⁹² War Staff ‘WS’ Series Files: File WS 3048: IOR/L/WS/1/281, 1920-1934, BL.

⁹³ WO 33/1266, Plan of Operations in the event of War with Afghanistan, 1927, NAL.

⁹⁴ Ijaz Hussain Peshori, *Humaray Kaba’ili Hurria-tpassand* [Our Tribal Freedom-Fighters], (Peshawar: Khyber Press, 1949), Vol. 1, Section 7.5, p.34, National Archives Peshawar (NAP). The volume is mostly based on recorded interviews.

⁹⁵ Interview with Wali Ghaznavi.

government used different tools to pacify them like official bribery to the tribal chieftains, the golden and experienced principle of Divide(ing the tribes) and Rule, arresting one in place of another from the family, and blatant use of force'.⁹⁶ A local militia or *khasadar* force was set up, contributed by the tribesmen loyal to the Raj. Each Chieftain had a quota of his tribe to contribute to the militia. The bigger the quota, the more awe of the Chieftain in the society and hence more loyalty to the British.

Soon the *Khasadar* force became a kind of police of the area.⁹⁷ The regular troops were limited to key strategic army fortifications for reinforcing the militia (in local language, the militia was/is called *Khasadars*).⁹⁸ It was reported that there were 72 expeditions against these tribes from 1850 to 1922, an average of one expedition per year.⁹⁹ The major army operations included 'Chitral 1896, Malakand 1897, the Waziri tribe 1901-2, 1919 and 1937, the Mahsuds 1925, and the Mohmands 1933'.¹⁰⁰

Army expeditions in the tribal areas demonstrate that the military in general and the indigenously recruited military in particular provided not only external security but also internal order to prolong and firm the establishment of the British Raj. Indeed, it was a difficult task for the civilian administration to keep order and stability without employing the British Army against the challengers. Hence, to keep order, the civilian administration had to use militarized civilian powers. An average of one expedition per year showed that it was not a novel practice for the civilian administration to control internal disturbance by the use of British military might. In the past, 'the Company's dominance in North India was based on its superior military power'.¹⁰¹ The force that kept the British in India was the army.

1.6 Social and Psychological Influences on Indigenous Soldiers

An army recruited, trained and disciplined in military ethos was a strong support for the British military campaigns – at home as well as abroad. Influenced and

⁹⁶ Interview with Malik Nadir Khan of Derra Adam Khail. Mr. Khan, former MNA, remained chief of his tribe during 1950-90. The interview was conducted in Pashto, the local language of tribal area. (Kohat, 16-03-07)

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ James W. Spain, 'Political Problems of a Borderland', in Ainslie T. Embree (ed.), *Pakistan's Western Borderlands* (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 1977), pp.1-23. He also mentions this militia in another paper, 'The Pathan Borderland', *The Middle Eastern Journal* (Vol. 15, No.2, Spring 1961), pp. 165-177

⁹⁹ RCIO, p.94

¹⁰⁰ Ijaz Hussain Peshori, *Humaray Kaba'ili Hurriyat-passand*, p.34.

¹⁰¹ Seema Alvi, *The Sepoys and the Company*, p. 3.

impressed by the British traditions, norms and values, the recruits looked up to their foreign military leaders. Their mental calibre and approach to life was also influenced by foreign expeditions. Punjabis fought in nearly all arenas of the [first] Great War: France and Belgium, Gallipoli and Salonika, Aden and the Persian Gulf, Mesopotamia, Egypt, East Africa, North China.¹⁰² They were exposed to a new and different world beyond their cloistered village. They saw lands and technological advances that they had never envisioned. Their perspective was enlarged. This opened them to a new world, one greater than and different from the peasantry class under the *Zamindar* (landholder) of their villages. They saw Western civilization more closely during their service in Europe. The colonial master also showed himself more splendidly in London. Peasant-soldiers were impressed by the magnificent civic life of London and Paris. Their interaction with the educated class, especially women,¹⁰³ led them to reflect on the comparisons between the life of a woman in Europe and in their respective villages in the Punjab. High levels of cleanliness and sanitation;¹⁰⁴ wax statues at Madame Tussaud's¹⁰⁵ museum and their amazement at the London underground¹⁰⁶ train network all left an impression on the Indian soldiers, as collections of their letters reveal. They were immersed in new thoughts and concepts when they returned to their bullock-cart, plough, and indebtedness after the War was over. They had many stories to tell. The soldiers on leave home or after retirement provided useful propaganda for the '*Gora Sahib*' [Mr. Whiteman], giving a good impression to the civil society for the British.¹⁰⁷ One Punjabi Muslim wrote from Boulogne in his mail: 'When one considers this country and these people in comparison with our own country and our own people one cannot but be distressed. Our country is poor and feeble and its lot is very depressed... In fact they [the British] have a real moral superiority'.¹⁰⁸ Their exposure to the outside world also brought with it prosperity and a positive change in soldiers' lives. In a time-and-land-locked

¹⁰² *Memorandum on India's Contribution to the War in Men, Material, and Money. August 1914-November 1918*, p.03, Asia and Africa Collection, BL.

¹⁰³ *Censor of Indian Mails, 1917-18*, [henceforth called *CoIMs*], part 6, p. 757, no.1, 30 December 1917, Asia and Africa Collection, British Library (Censored correspondence of Indian troops in World War I. Not all letters in the censor's reports gave details of the names of correspondents, the places they were in, or the date, nor was every letter numbered. All were English translations.)

¹⁰⁴ *CoIMs, 1914-15*, part 1, p. 26, 18 January 1915.

¹⁰⁵ *CoIMs, 1914-18*, part 2, p. 338, no.12, 18 April 1916.

¹⁰⁶ *CoIMs, 1915-16*, part 7, p. 1198, no.32, October 1915.

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Malik Nadir Khan.

¹⁰⁸ A Punjabi Muslim serving as a packer in the Indian Base Post Office in Boulogne to a friend in Rawalpindi, *CoIMs, 1914-15*, part 1, p. 49, no.1, 02 February 1915.

social capsule, this much traveled “cosmopolitan” rose to a new social status and acquired a new influence in society. Folk songs of the time reflected their growing social status and importance: “*Vasna fauji de naal, paanway boot sanay lat maaray*” (I will live with a soldier even if he kicks me with his boot on).¹⁰⁹ Therefore, given that two-thirds of the Indian Army was recruited from within [Punjab’s] borders the Punjabi soldier was the chief recipient of societal awe.¹¹⁰

Salary, living conditions, facilities for the soldiers’ families, post-retirement benefits and rewards were offered with distinction (*Jagirs*-grants of land- were sanctioned annually)¹¹¹ so that the military service would remain attractive to forthcoming generations. The British Empire in return, gained the security and control of the ‘Golden Sparrow’ – India. By now the primary focus of the Raj was to keep firm control over India, so that very little attention was given to the social and developmental civilian sector. As stated earlier, colonial control of India was via the Army. Hence, more and more funds and resources were available for the single largest item in India’s annual budget- Defence Expenditure.

Table 6.

The expenditures on Military Services 1914-1947 in India(in Rupees)¹¹²		
1914-15	306.5 million	
1918-19	640.7 million	Rise
1920-21	873.8 million	Rise
1931-32	517.6 million	Fall
1936-37	454.5 million	Fall
1933-34	£1,500,000	British government began to contribute to India’s military expenditure every year
April 1939	£2,000,000	British contribution per year increased.
September 1939- 1944-45	4583.2 million	Steep rise due to World War 2 (excluding British Contribution)
1945-46	3953.2 million	End of the war eased the financial Burdon
1946-47	2096.1 million	Still higher than the pre-war expenditure

¹⁰⁹ Ahsan, Desai, *Divided by Democracy*, p.92.

¹¹⁰ Rajit K. Mazumder, *The Indian Army and the Making of Punjab* (New Delhi: Pauls Press, 2003), p.30; Also Malcolm Lyall Darling, *Wisdom and Waste in the Punjab Village* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), p. 331. Darling made two tours across the whole Punjab province in 1928-9 and 1930-1. His first book describes his reflections during his first tour to the Punjab province titled: *The Old Light and the New in the Punjab Village* (London: OUP, 1930).

¹¹¹ Field Marshal Roberts, *Forty-one years in India*, II, p.443.

¹¹² The figure is prepared after taking data from N.C. Sinha and P.N. Khera, *India’s War Economy – Supply, Industry, and Finance*, pp. 293-302, 320-339.

The British controlled and defended the entire Subcontinent by focusing and working on only one section of the society - the Army. The Army provided a security umbrella against any kind of threat to internal peace or external aggression. Hence, heavy spending on the Army was an investment for long term goals. The significant sums expended for the defence budget became a tradition that continued even after partition of 1947 by the successor states. India and Pakistan's defence budgets continued to grow.

1.7 'Indianisation' of the British Army

No Indian was allowed to become a direct commissioned officer until the end of the First World War. They could become Viceroy's Commissioned Officers (VCOs) or junior commissioned officers. The highest rank an Indian could achieve was that of Subedar-Major.

Table 7: VCOs equivalent to KCOs

VCOs	KCOs
Jemadar	Second- Lieutenant
Subedar	Lieutenant
Subedar- Major	Major

The VCO was a promoted cadre from the lower ranks and served as a middle rank between the ordinary soldiers and the Commissioned officers, called King's Commissioned Officers (KCOs), at the Company level, but the holder of a 'Viceroy's Commission', whatever his experience and length of service, was lower in rank and command than the most newly joined British subalterns.¹¹³ Below the KCOs and VCOs, the Indian Army had a series of non-commissioned officer positions Rifleman (private), Lance-*naik* (Corporal), *Havildar* (Sergeant), *Havildar Major* and quarter master *Havildars* of various levels. As the British were keen to keep an Indian aristocratic class on their side, Lord Curzon introduced the ICC (Imperial Cadet Corps) or ISC (Imperial Service Corps¹¹⁴) in 1901, in which the sons of Princes and the wealthy classes more generally could assume officer ranks. It was designated 'His

¹¹³ RCIO, p.129.

¹¹⁴ Percival Spear, *A History of India*, Vol. 2, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1968), p.175.

Majesty's Native Indian Land Forces'.¹¹⁵ Their training was wholly conducted in India. However, they were not at *par* with the KCOs, which were still the domain of the British. By 1911, 78 Indians had joined the ICC.¹¹⁶ The role of the ICC was essentially ceremonial. These officers did not have any power of command over British personnel. In the Indian Army, they could not rise above the level of squadron or company officer. It was not surprising that the total number was dropped gradually to 11 by 1914. But it was, as Bryon Farewell says, the first small step towards the 'Indianisation' of the Indian Army officer corps.¹¹⁷

There was no concept of an indigenous army in British India until the late nineteenth century. The First World War proved the worth of the Indian soldier. The Indianite ranks in the British Army were also a demand by political parties of India. The blunt demand in this respect was found in the 'Report of the Committee appointed by the All-Parties Conference, 1928, to determine the principles of the constitution for India,' which was commonly called the 'Nehru Report'. Though no passage is found in the Report itself, or in the sketch of recommendations in Chapter 7 of the document, the Army matter was touched upon in the introduction. It states that the authors recommend the transfer of control over the Indian Army to Ministers. The authors of the Report quoted, 'Self-Government without an effective Indian Army is [an] impossibility, and no amount of protests or demonstrations or denunciations of the Imperial Government can avail to alter that fact'. Criticising the statement, they added: 'This is true but we do not accept the constitutional position that without an Indian or Dominion army, India cannot obtain Dominion status. In the first place the Indian Army has not to be created; it exists there already. In the next place historically the position taken by our critics is not correct'.¹¹⁸

The First World War compelled the British to take drastic steps in regard to the colonies. One such change was in August 1917 when the Secretary of State for India Edwin Montagu, in his famous statement on 'increasing association of Indians

¹¹⁵ S.L.Menezes, *Fidelity and Honour*, p.224.

¹¹⁶ Correspondence regarding the Imperial Cadet Corps &c. India Office Mil Dept, 1911. IOR/L/MIL/17/5/1749 1911; also IOR/L/MIL/17/5/1750. BL.

¹¹⁷ Byron Farewell, *Armies of the Raj*, p. 217.

¹¹⁸ *All Parties Conference (Nehru) Committee 1928: Report. Allahabad; All India Congress Committee, 1928* IOR/V/26/261/14 1928. Asia, Pacific and Africa Collections, British Library. Also *The Nehru Report: An anti-separatist Manifesto/the committee appointed by the All Parties Conference 1928*, (New Delhi: Michiko & Panjathan, under the auspices of the Indian Institute of Applied Political Research, 1975); First ed. published on 12 August, 1928 by the All India Congress Committee, Allahabad, under title: *Report of the Committee appointed by the Conference to determine the principles of the Constitution for India*.

in every branch of the administration’, announced admission to the commissioned cadres for Indians.¹¹⁹ The Montagu-Chelmsford Report was written during the Great War. In the three paragraphs (328-330) which it devoted to the subject of the Army, the way in which the services of the Indian Army in various theatres of war had been and would be recognised was discussed. The authors mentioned the announcement of His Majesty’s Government that the bar which had hitherto prevented the admission of Indians into the commissioned ranks of His Majesty’s Army should be removed. It further declared that this decision had established the principle that an Indian soldier could earn the King’s Commission by his military conduct. This apparently referred to promotion from the ranks. The Report went on to say that other methods of appointment had not yet been decided upon, and emphasized ‘the necessity of grappling with the problem’. As discussed in the earlier paragraph about the demand of Indian leadership for the commissioned ranks for Indians, the Report stated “it is impossible to deal with this large question in connection with our present proposals. The war is yet not over... The requirements of the future will very largely depend upon the form of peace which is attained. We, therefore, leave this question for consideration hereafter, but with the note that it must be faced and settled”¹²⁰.

The authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report admired the services rendered to the common cause by Indian arms. They contented themselves with noting the urgency and importance of the Army question that would emerge after peace had been restored. However, no concrete steps were taken for the general commissioning of Indians. Therefore, the start of the *Indianization* of commissioned ranks was rather slow. Under the pressure of the Montagu-Chelmsford proposed reforms, ‘in 1918 a change was made [according to which] the Indians became eligible for the first time to hold the King’s Commission. Ten vacancies were annually reserved for Indian cadets for competition amongst themselves at the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst’.¹²¹ Completion of the course here was a must to get the King’s Commission for an Indian. Keeping in view the colonial legacy and loyalty to the Raj, the Indian government selected the candidates preferring favourites of the Raj- sons of loyal and politically influential families. The debut Commissioned Indian batch that

¹¹⁹ Anirudh Deshpande, *British Military Policy in India, 1900-1945: Colonial Constraints and Declining Power* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2005), pp.90-91.

¹²⁰ Montagu-Chelmsford Report Para. 328, Mss Eur F170/36, April 1918, Asia, Pacific and Africa Collections, BL.

¹²¹ RCIO, p.129

passed out from Sandhurst was posted in Infantry and Cavalry in 1920.¹²² A cadet college was also opened in Indore in 1918 which granted permanent commission to its 32 graduates in 1919.¹²³

Many factors contributed to Indians' lack of interest in getting their sons admitted to or commissioned from Sandhurst. Very tough *modus operandi* of selection, huge expenses, travel to England, and a weak academic record as compared to the British students discouraged Indian cadets. It further contributed to their high rate of failure (30%) in the early years as compared to their British counterparts (3%).¹²⁴ As there was some criticism in British circles regarding the Indianization of Commissioned ranks, 'an Eight Unit Scheme was introduced by the then C-in-C Lord Rawlinson in 1923'.¹²⁵ According to the scheme, it was obligatory for every Indian KCO to spend his first year with the British regiment in India before he was posted on a permanent basis in one of eight units selected in 1923 for complete Indianization.¹²⁶ Indian officers holding commissions in the Indian Army were to be transferred and posted to these eight units. In this way they could fill up the appointments for which they were qualified by their rank and by their length of service. The purpose of such a scheme was four fold: to limit Indian KCOs to these Units; in due course such units would be entirely officered by Indians; to keep the British Officers to command Indian Officers; and to accelerate the pace of *Indianization*. As the senior officers retired and junior officers acquired seniority and were promoted, the time could have come when each of these Indian Units would be commanded and completely officered by Indians. However, it was a very lethargic process based on slow progression. The process could not be completed 'until the year 1946 at the earliest, since in the Indian Army promotion was regulated by a time scale'.¹²⁷

International relations between the two world wars brought about further changes in the British approach towards its colonies. It had to introduce positive

¹²² Major General Iskander Mirza, Governor General (1955-56) and President (1956-58) of Pakistan belonged to the first batch of Sandhurst.

¹²³ General K. M. Cariappa, first Indian Army Chief of the Indian Army (1949-53) got the King's Commission in 1919 after graduating from the Indore College.

¹²⁴ Collection 430/49 Part 1 Reports on examination of Indian candidates for Sandhurst, May, September 1923, May 1924, September 1925. IOR/L/MIL/7/19058 1923-1926. Also see Collection 430/49 Part 2, 1927-1928. IOR/L/MIL/7/19059 1927-1930, BL.

¹²⁵ RCIO, p.129.

¹²⁶ Indianisation of the Indian Army. CAB 24/190, 20 December 1927. BL. The Eight Unit Scheme was comprised of following Units that were selected for induction of Indian Officers: 7th Light Cavalry, 16th Light Cavalry, 21 Madras Pioneers, 4-19th Hyderabad Regiment, 5th Maratha Light Infantry, 1-7th Rajput Regiment, 1-14th Punjab Regiment, and 2-1st Punjab Regiment.

¹²⁷ RCIO, p.102.

measures to keep the empire from disintegration. Hence, during the inter-war period, not only were reforms introduced but various recommendations were put forth for the increase of Indians in the British Army. General Henry Rawlinson the British C-in-C in 1921 recommended an increase in Indian Officers.¹²⁸ In March 1922, a pre-cadet college – the Prince of Wales Royal Indian Military College – was established in Dehra Dun to prepare young men for Sandhurst.¹²⁹ A committee was appointed in June 1925 under Major General Sir Andrew Skeen (at that time, it was popularly known as ‘Indian Sandhurst Committee’ but later on called ‘Skeen Committee’) to establish a military college along the lines of Sandhurst in India and to discuss prospects to increase the number of Indian candidates for the King’s Commission.¹³⁰ The committee visited different military institutions which included: England, France, Canada and the US and were given briefings from the officers and trainers alike.¹³¹ At the end of the study tour and following long deliberations, the committee submitted a report in 1926. It recommended an increase in the pace of Indianisation; induction of Indians to the commissioned ranks in the technical branches of the Army as well as the Air Force; abandonment of the Eight Units Scheme, and the establishment of a military college in India.¹³² The first two recommendations were accepted by the British government. Instead of the last two recommendations, the government increased the Indian quota at Sandhurst to twenty-five. It also created six vacancies per year at the Royal Air Force College, Cranwell, to train Indians as pilots, and six places at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, to train Indian officers for the artillery.¹³³ Regarding the establishment of a military college in India, Indians were not yet filling all the 10 vacancies annually at Sandhurst. The following figure shows the annual number of Indian Cadets admitted to the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, since 1918, and their disposal. The result was disappointing. Therefore, the

¹²⁸ 430/35 Part 2 Formation of Royal Indian Military College, *Dehra Dun* for preparing Indians for commissions: terms of service of masters, matron, commandant, etc. IOR/L/MIL/7/19043, 1926-1940, Asia, Pacific and Africa Collection, BL.

¹²⁸ 430/36 Part 1 Indianisation of Indian Army report and recommendations of committee appointed to examine question in India. IOR/L/MIL/7/19044 1921-1943.

¹²⁹ 430/35, IOR/L/MIL/7/19043, 1926-1940, BL

¹³⁰ RCIO, p.102.

¹³¹ Riaz Ahmed, ‘Quaid-i-Azam and Indianisation of Officer Ranks of Army’, *Pakistan Army Journal* (Vol. 35, No.3, Autumn 1994), pp.3-21.

¹³² 430/62 Indianisation: Government of India proposals on Indian "Sandhurst" committee's report. IOR/L/MIL/7/19092, 1927-1928.

¹³³ 430/55 Appendix 1 Indian "Sandhurst" committee's report: Legislative Assembly debates. IOR/L/MIL/7/19084 1927.

recommendation for the establishment of a military college in India was declined by the British Government.

Table 8: Annual Numbers of Indians to (Royal Military College) Sandhurst.¹³⁴

YEAR	Number of vacancies for Indians at Sandhurst	Number of Indians admitted to Sandhurst to fill such vacancies	Number of Indians ultimately commissioned
1918 (first half)	5	5	1
1919 (first half)	5	5	4
1919 (second half)	5	5	2
1920 (first half)	5	5	3
1920 (second half)	5	5	2
1921 (first half)	5	5	4
1921 (second half)	5	4	3
1922 (first half)	6	4	4
1922 (second half)	6	6	3
1923 (first half)	6	6	5
1923 (second half)	7	6	6
1924 (first half)	6	6	4
1924 (second half)	6	5	4
1925 (first half)	7	5	4
1925 (second half)	8	2	1
1926 (first half)	12	8	7
1926 (second half)	8	8	8
1927 (first half)	7	7	7
1927 (second half)	5	3	3
1928 (first half)	7	3	2
1928 (second half)	10	7	-
1929 (first half)	11	11	-
1929 (second half)	10	10	-
TOTAL	157	134	77

Up to and including the first half of 1928, vacancies were filled by nomination, after that date by examination.

Table 9: Summary of vacancies for Indians at Sandhurst (till 1929).¹³⁵

	Number
Total number of vacancies	157
Total number of admissions (including 3 VCs nominated in 1928 & 1929 but not shown in the figure above)	134
Total number commissioned	77
Died or resigned from illness	03
Failed to receive commissions (prior to 1927)	22
Presently, the number of cadets at Sandhurst (1929)	22

¹³⁴ RCIO, p.104

¹³⁵ Ibid.

It was first decided to admit Indians and Anglo-Indians to Woolwich in 1928, and, by 1929, nine vacancies were offered. But there were only two successful candidates. Similarly, the first examination for Cranwell was held in November 1928 and, by the end of 1929, twelve vacancies had been offered but only six filled.¹³⁶ Ayub Khan was also chosen for training as a commissioned officer at Sandhurst. He did remarkably well, securing the top position among the Indian cadets. Among his colleagues was General J. N. Choudhry who later became C-in-C of the Indian Army.¹³⁷

The demand for the Indianisation of the forces did not end with the submission of the Skeen report. The issue was taken up once again during the Round Table conference when its sub-committee on military affairs made a demand on similar lines, including setting up a military college in India on the Sandhurst model.¹³⁸ Finally, the struggle was accomplished in the shape of the establishment of an Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun in October 1932.¹³⁹ Its first batch, commissioned in 1935, was called Indian Commissioned Officers (ICOs).¹⁴⁰

After the Second World War, the Eight Unit Scheme was brought to an end, and all the branches of the army were opened to Indian officers. Training facilities at Dehra Dun were expanded. A large number of officers were recruited on short and long courses (short and emergency commissions). By early 1947, out of 9500 Commissioned Officers, about 500 were pre-war KCOs and ICOs.¹⁴¹

Only nine Indians (five non-Muslims, four Muslims) reached the senior rank of Lt. Colonel during World War II. Out of four Muslim Lt. Colonels, one was appointed temporary Colonel and one acting Brigadier. A few days before independence, the acting Brigadier Muhammad Akbar Khan was promoted to the rank of Major General. Promotions were given on similar lines to others in the substantive ranks below that of Lt. Colonel. The officers recruited during the war period were in

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Altaf Gauhar, *Ayub Khan: Pakistan's First Military Ruler* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. xxxiv.

¹³⁸ Memorandum, CP 179 (31), *Indianization of Indian Army*, Wedgwood Benn, Records of the Cabinet Office, Papers Nos. 151(31) - 204(31), 29 / 0029, CAB 24/222, 17 July 1931.

¹³⁹ Expansion of Prince of Wales Royal Indian Military College, Dehra Dun, IOR/L/MIL/7/19133, 1923-1933.

¹⁴⁰ 430/106 Report on quality of cadets at Indian Military Academy; reports on final passing out examinations. IOR/L/MIL/7/19145 1934-1941.

¹⁴¹ Hassan Askari Rizvi, *Military, State and Society in Pakistan*, p.49.

junior positions.¹⁴² Ayub Khan was then a Brigadier in the Indian Army and was attached to the Boundary Force, under Major General Rees. In January 1948, five months after Independence, he was posted as General Officer Commanding (GOC) of 14 Division in East Bengal.¹⁴³

The army was always a very special and private concern of the British in India. They kept it away from any kind of politics. Rather, in case of any clash between the country's politics and security, they favoured the latter. Even as late as 1946, the Viceroy's civilian Executive Council had no powers over defence and the defence budget. The British Indian Army was kept free from a strong influence on Indian politics as there was no synthesis between the two. Defence had nothing to do with the politics of the country. Thus the British-Indian Army proved an autonomous entity. Their training (discipline and professionalism) and separation from the society strengthened their organisational ties and loyalty to the British authority. The army's administrative and professional powers were concentrated in the hands of the Army chief, who after the Curzon-Kitchener dispute emerged autonomous in military affairs. This was the beginning of the exclusion of army matters from civilian control. The contest between the *Mulki Lat Sahib* [Curzon] and the *Jungi Lat Sahib* [Kitchener] weakened forever the once great influence of the Viceroy of India.¹⁴⁴

It is interesting to note here that most of the Governor Generals and Viceroys of India were formerly military officers. One Governor – Robert Clive¹⁴⁵ (Dec. 1756-Feb. 1760, April 1765-Jan. 1767) – and three Governor Generals – Lord Cornwallis¹⁴⁶ (Sept. 1786-Oct. 1793 and July 1805-Oct. 1805), the Marquis of Hastings, Lord Francis Moria (Oct.1813- Jan. 1823), and Lord William Bentinck¹⁴⁷ (1828-35) – functioned as C-in-Cs. Field Marshal Sir Archibald Wavell, C-in-C, 1941-42, 1942-3¹⁴⁸ was promoted to the post of Viceroy in 1943,¹⁴⁹ a position he held until March 1947. At this time, few could have imagined that this trajectory would later be used by junior officers as a short path to become military rulers of the future state in the North-West of the Subcontinent.

¹⁴² Hassan Askari Rizvi, *The Military and Politics in Pakistan*, pp.31-32.

¹⁴³ Altaf Gauhar, *Ayub Khan: Pakistan's First Military Ruler*, pp. xxxiv, xxxv.

¹⁴⁴ Walter Roper Lawrence, *The India We Served* (London: Cassell & Company, Ltd, 1928), pp.246-47. NLS.

¹⁴⁵ PRO 30/53/8/126, GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE, 1681-1772.

¹⁴⁶ PRO 30/11/270; 30/11/269, 'Letters to Lord Cornwallis from many important people'.

¹⁴⁷ PRO 30/9/4/12.

¹⁴⁸ CAB 64/44/31, NAL.

¹⁴⁹ PREM 5/532, NAL.

Indian politicians made several demands for legislative control over defence forces, the defence budget and foreign policy during the 1920s and 30s.¹⁵⁰ Any such control by the politicians would have been a British nightmare. Politicising the British Indian Army was the last thing the British could ever imagine.¹⁵¹ The Esher Committee (1919-20) maintained that the Indian Army was a unit in the security system of the British Empire and that its administration could not be dissociated from the total armed forces of the empire.¹⁵² There had been many political activities which proved acid tests for the army, but the Army personnel held on to their professional ethos and stood by the British administration. The Punjab, with its hardy and martial rural population of peasant proprietors, had, since its inclusion in the Empire, been rightly regarded as the “Shield”, the “Spearhead” and the “Sword-hand” of India. ‘It earned such proud titles due to its association with the British Army and help in every Eastern campaign from the Mutiny down to the present day’.¹⁵³ A colonial army had to serve colonial masters. The autonomous nature of the colonial army chief and military affairs remained unchanged even after the independence of Pakistan.

Conclusion:

This chapter has provided a historical overview of currents and trends of the British Indian Army. These developments transformed a segment of the British Indian Army into the Pakistan Army. The impact of the 1857 Uprising on regional recruitment to the British military played a large part in the *de-Bengalisation* and consequent *Punjabisation* of the Colonial Indian Army; a punishment for Bengal as a region that rebelled and a reward to the Punjab that suppressed the Uprising. As a result, it is argued that this shift gave military leadership to the Punjab after the partition, which contributed to Punjabi dominance over other provinces following independence.

The post-partition Indian security threat to the newly carved out Pakistan as well as the first Kashmir war of 1948 resulted in an increase in Pakistan Army’s strategic importance in the country. Security against India became the *raison d’etre* of

¹⁵⁰ *The Nehru Report: An anti-separatist Manifesto/the committee appointed by the All Parties Conference 1928* (New Delhi: Michiko & Panjathan, under the auspices of the Indian Institute of Applied Political Research, 1975).

¹⁵¹ Interview with General (Rtd.) Kamal Matinuddin (Islamabad, 23-03-07).

¹⁵² *India in 1920* (Official publication of the Government of India), pp. 16-17. NLS.

¹⁵³ Michael O’Dwyer, *India As I Knew It*, p.213.

the Army. The military leadership and political administration considered it necessary to strengthen the army against any potential security threat. The political forces of the country, due to the fear of India, also accommodated the Army in the national and international decisions of the government. This encouraged it to increase its political influence. Historically, 65 to 75% of the Pakistan army was drawn during the 1950s and 60s from the same areas of the Punjab where the British used to recruit.¹⁵⁴ This was the culmination of the *Punjabisation* of the Army initiated by the British during and after the Mutiny war of 1857. However, even after independence, the Pakistan Army was still following the trend set in colonial times - recruiting more Punjabis and discouraging Bengalis. That is one of the main reasons why despite constituting 56% of the total population of Pakistan, Bengalis made up less than 7% in the Pakistan Army during the 1960s.¹⁵⁵ The Pakistan Army always demonstrated a lack of trust towards Bengalis, as had the British, and doubted their loyalty to the state. This further alienated them from the ranks of governmental administration.

The Pakistan Army borrowed numerous other autonomous features from the British Army. Intensive training with an emphasis on discipline and efficiency and their separation from the fragmented Pakistani society turned the Pakistani soldiers into a professional, united and autonomous fighting force. However, they formed a force parallel with the government of Pakistan. As the country was a security oriented entity, any important decision taken by the initial governments of Pakistan needed a nod from the Army's General Headquarters (GHQ). The meeting of the Corps Commanders turned into a kind of a domestic and foreign policy reviewing committee. Sought in the name of Islam and democracy, Pakistan was moving closer to the trends of military dictatorship.

During colonial rule, the swelling defence budget was a prerequisite for keeping a strong British Army against internal and external threats. However, this practice was continued by the Pakistan Army at the cost of the development of civilian sectors. The defence budget grew in the name of a perceived Indian threat. If the nation could not provide enough for development of the Army, military alliances were signed with the US to muster more resources. Whatever the plight of the nation,

¹⁵⁴ Interview with Brigadier (Rtd.) Inam-ul-Haq Afridi, (Peshawar, 20-06-07)

¹⁵⁵ Air Chief Marshall (Rtd) Mohammad Asghar Khan, '*Tareekh say kuch nahin sikha- Siyiyasat aur Afwaj-e-Pakistan*' (We learnt nothing from history: Politics and Pakistan Army) An autobiography (Karachi: OUP, 2005), p.21.

the Army remained a well-developed, well-nourished, well-trained, well-equipped, well-organized, united and well-off autonomous institution of Pakistan.

The way the British Indian Army was groomed in the province of Punjab ultimately enormously affected Pakistan. At the time of partition, relatively but significantly speaking, Pakistan had neither a bourgeoisie, nor a strong middle class. It lacked a business class. The Punjab was the power centre of the country, but it lacked an industrial establishment. Aitzaz Ahsan contends that the British intentionally kept the Punjab industrially backwards as it might have affected recruitment if other means of livelihood, except agriculture, were available to the Punjabis.¹⁵⁶ The absence of a bourgeoisie increased the influence of feudal elites. The landowning aristocracy were in favour of the British due to the benefits they received from them in exchange for contributing *Jawans* and *Sawars* to the Army.¹⁵⁷ Thus, the tradition of British military recruitment in the North West of the Subcontinent (Punjab and NWFP), was a major factor in the emergence of Pakistan as a quasi-militarized country. It was a country with a weak political structure, feeble political parties and politicians, but a strong feudal class and civil and military bureaucracy. This naturally ‘consolidated the linkages between the military service, agricultural land and political power’.¹⁵⁸ Hence the Muslim League, due to its weak control within the newly created country, had to abdicate in favour of a strong giant, the Pakistan Army. With the strong support of the feudal class, more agricultural land under its domain, and with its organisational and professional culture, the Pakistan Army began to assert its political role at the hub of the country’s politics. The irony of fate is that it lacked political training. Hence, the Army ran the country like a defence establishment by increasing the defence budget, having defence pacts, and appointing defence services people in the policy making bodies of the country.

¹⁵⁶ Ahsan, Desai, *Divided by Democracy*, p.94.

¹⁵⁷ Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History* (London: Hurst & Co, 1998) pp.43-44.

¹⁵⁸ Imran Anwar Ali, ‘Business and Power in Pakistan’ article in *Power and Civil Society in Pakistan* p.104.

CHAPTER 2

Weak Political Institutions and The rise of the Army in Pakistan: 1947-58.

2.1 Introduction

The military had an authoritative and autonomous role during the period of British rule in South Asia. The end of the colonial period in Pakistan ushered in a new era of hope and expectation: an era of participatory democratic governance. Nationalist leaders like Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan had infused a spirit of militant nationalism in the interests of obtaining a separate homeland in which to practice democratic, federal and Islamic principles. They envisioned self-rule based on strong political institutions and participatory governance. But the post-colonial era also brought fears of secessionist and separatist movements that could result in the break-up of the newly created country. The ruling civilian elite preferred to rely on a pre-established military bureaucracy to counter their fears of separatism. This authoritarian impulse found its natural ally in the military and worked to weaken democratic institutions. At the same time provincialism developed in reaction to the extreme nationalism of the Centre. Security and the centrifugal urge to keep the country integrated suffocated the different peoples of diverse sub-nationalities in Pakistan, especially in the Eastern wing. Hence the same nationalist leadership that was the cause of independence began to treat its own people in an authoritarian manner. This caused instability at the Centre in the governance of Pakistan.

Unstable governance provided the army with the opportunity to advance its political interests. 'Principally because the country was newly created, the security issue became of paramount importance for the government and so the military was accommodated within it without any official or constitutional pronouncement'.¹ It was a time when no dividing line was drawn between the government servants and the public office holders of the State. Hence, when 'the Commander-In-Chief (C-IN-C) Ayub Khan was appointed as the defence minister of the country in 1954', the armed forces were shown the path to political power.²

¹ Interview with Major (Rtd) Sibghatullah Khan, (Nowshera: 26-01-07).

² *The Dawn*, October 31, 1954, National Archives Islamabad (henceforth NAI).

The justification for military rule in Pakistan was founded upon the perceived differences existing between the political parties and the elites (the party leaders) that ran them.³ A military-run state depends on a group of civilian collaborators. In the case of Pakistan during 1947-58, military leaders and a group of politicians formed a Gang of Four. Always fearful of the disintegration of the country, they tried to suppress provincial feelings and to magnify federation. As they already controlled the Centre, differences amongst the politicians (provincial as well as inter-Central) helped them prolong their government. The Gang of Four, comprising of non-elected civil and military officers, always tried to subvert and weaken political institutions to make the elected members of the government subservient to them.

Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema in his book, *The Armed Forces of Pakistan* says that the perception of the military's organizational discipline and leadership qualities when compared with the inefficiency of political institutions has been one of the major legitimations for the army's political role.⁴ Indeed the involvement of the military in the country's governance was considered a mark of its contribution towards nation-building, while its role in politics was considered a measure of the incompetence of the political leadership. Major General (Rtd) Fazal Muqeem Khan in *The Story of the Pakistan Army*, writes:

The military is above politics and parties. The performance of its officers and *Jawans* and the basis of its traditions spring from their readiness to serve the state and the nation in the best way they can do... it [the Pakistan Army] has acquired a unique spirit and sense of purpose and has proved itself Pakistan's greatest stabilizing force.⁵

However, Cheema and Khan do not explain how the situation was reached where it became possible for the Pakistan Army to assume a political role. Drawing on new archival sources from the CIA, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), National Archives London, and interviews undertaken in Pakistan's two provinces, Punjab and NWFP, this chapter explores the role of the Army in weakening civilian political institutions during the 1950s. It further examines the political wrangling and person-oriented political party system in the early years of

³ Ayesha Jalal, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia*, pp.50-53.

⁴ Pervez Iqbal Cheema, *The Armed Forces of Pakistan* (Karachi: OUP, 2002), pp.135-36.

⁵ Major General (Rtd) Fazal Muqeem Khan, *The Story of the Pakistan Army* (Karachi: OUP, 1963), pp.239-40

Pakistan. In this regard, the politics of the provinces of Punjab and NWFP have been highlighted as case studies. It also charts the fall of democratic institutions as well as politicians and the rise of the military, undertaking a schematic analysis of the weak political institutions during the years under consideration. This will establish a first understanding of the Army's links with domestic and foreign policies of the country. The chapter further explores how political institutions were weakened by the militarization of the government of Pakistan even when the army was not in power. Lastly, the chapter discusses the unequal treatment of East and West Pakistan by the military. Bengalis were purged as their democratic nature proved a growing threat to the military clique.

Stephen Cohen in *The Idea of Pakistan* says that it was the lax control over the army of the founding father of the nation, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, that made the military more prominent than other democratic players.⁶ Similarly, Ayesha Siddiqua-Agha in *The Military Inc.*, says that Jinnah was unable to take firm control of the armed forces during the early days.⁷ However there have been instances when Jinnah himself declined to accept the supremacy of the army in the initial days of the creation of Pakistan. A conversation between an army general and Jinnah quoted in the biography of Air Chief Martial (Rtd.) Asghar Khan can be cited here as an example. According to Asghar Khan:

On 14th of August 1947, I [Asghar Khan] had the opportunity to meet Jinnah for the second time and to hear his opinion on some very important issues. The reception was given on the green pasture of the Governor General house in Karachi. Lt. General Akbar Khan also joined us. He asked me to have a chat with Jinnah. Jinnah while just moving around the guests also reached us. General Khan took the opportunity to talk to him, 'We are very happy that you have succeeded in your struggle to establish an independent sovereign state and we hope that under your command and guidance our capabilities will be fully utilised. But we are disappointed to know that British officers have been appointed as high ranks (heads) of armed forces' and our future is still in their hands. Jinnah who was very calmly listening to all this raised his finger and said, 'Don't forget that you are the servants of the nation. Policy making is not your job. It's our job- I mean representatives of the people. Accepting the orders of the elected representatives is your responsibility.'⁸

⁶ Stephen Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan*, p.102.

⁷ Ayesha Siddiqua-Agha, *The Military Inc.*, p.63.

⁸ Air Chief Marshal (Rtd) Asghar Khan, '*Tareekh say kuch nahin sikha*', p.3.

This conversation clearly demonstrates that Jinnah had full command over the army and was never ready to surrender any part of civilian responsibilities to them. The irony is that the same army general was later involved in attempting to overthrow Liaquat Ali Khan's government in a military conspiracy termed the 'Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case'.⁹ The conversation between General Akbar Khan and Jinnah was indicative of the relationship between the civilian and military branches of government. Underpinning Jinnah's policy, however, was a more general statement of the redefinition of Pakistan's political institutions and the intrinsic link between the military and politicians in Pakistan during the 1950s and 60s. Indeed Jinnah was so cautious of the military's role in the newly created Pakistan that he posted General Ayub Khan as General Officer Commanding in the East Bengal (East Pakistan) during his attachment with the Governor General due to his dictatorial nature.¹⁰ However, after the death of Jinnah, he made his way back to the capital, Karachi, to become the first military ruler of the country in 1958.

2.2 Indo-phobia, Islam and the Creation of Pakistan

Pakistan owed its existence to a deliberate act, undertaken at Jinnah's insistence,¹¹ to keep Indian Muslims away from the Indian National Congress (INC) Party due to its biased policies against the Muslim League.¹² The prospect of INC rule, based on a Hindu majority in decolonised India, in perpetuity, was so abhorrent to the leadership of the Muslim League that almost any sacrifice seemed worthwhile to escape it. The result of the fear of a majority political party over the minority was an Indo-phobic Pakistan.

In the light of the study and oral testimonies conducted during the fieldwork, three factors or fears are important to consider while observing a typical Pakistani soldier's feelings about his country during the 1950s and 60s vis-à-vis India:

The first factor was a continuing rejection of Hinduism. This ever-renewed distaste was psychologically needed because without it the immense and painful task

⁹ Hassan Zaheer, *The Time and Trial of the Rawalpindi Conspiracy, 1951: The First Coup Attempt in Pakistan* (Karachi: OUP, 1999), preface. Also Tariq Ali, *Can Pakistan Survive? The Death of a State* (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1983), p.56.

¹⁰ Interview with Major (Rtd) Sibghatullah Khan, (Nowshera: 26-01-07).

¹¹ His full name was 'Mohammad Ali Jinnah'. He was called 'Quaid-e-Azam' - the greatest leader, by Muslims of the subcontinent during the independence movement of Pakistan.

¹² Crispin Bates, *Subalterns and Raj: South Asia Since 1600* (London: Routledge, 2007), p.174.

of creating Pakistan would seem supererogatory. Anti-Indianism not only justifies the nation's creation but also served to block any effort that might be attempted to return to the Indian fold.

The second was a continuing rivalry with India and her diplomatic achievements. India's skill in extracting aid from all quarters without incurring any commitments; her massive industrial advance with its military implications, and her ability to achieve a responsible form of democracy were sufficient for the development of envious feelings in the Pakistani Army. The fear of Indian intentions to re-integrate Pakistan was just an excuse and a curtain behind which such feelings were masked.

The third and last factor was a profound attachment to Islam. It was a unifying factor and a refuge from the appalling conditions in which the masses of Pakistan lived without any encouragement towards self-improvement. It also inspired a healthy dislike and distrust of Communism.¹³ But this proved a bluff in successive years when successive leaders sidelined Islam, avoiding constituting religion as a basic principle of the country's constitution. The country, sought in the name of Islam, was governed as a secular state.

All three factors contributed to institutional animosity of the Pakistan Army against India. However, Islam remained a political slogan only. Ayub Khan's era proved the last nail in the coffin of the *Islamisation* of Pakistan. Islam was limited to a 'healthy dislike and distrust of communism'. J.M.C James, a British diplomat in Karachi, remarked:

Pakistan like other Muslim countries was plagued by the patent inadequacy for modern purposes of the social side of Islam. It also suffered from its share of reactionary, heresy-hunting and Christian-baiting Muslim divines – “*the turbaned kind*”, as Gertrude Bell once called them, “*whom I would like to seal into a bottle*.”¹⁴

Because Pakistan came into being as a result of a political rivalry between the INC and the Muslim League, and because Islam did not suit a modern state such as Pakistan, it was proving a hard task to construct a satisfying national identity for the country. Islam was kept as a slogan for the creation of Pakistan. The nascent State did

¹³ DO 196/128, 7023970, SEA 48/6/1, June 6, 1962, PRO.

¹⁴ Ibid.

not care for Muslim unity of the Subcontinent or that it was not Islam which was to be the bottom-line of the country's creation in future. Had it been the case, more than half of the Muslim population would not have been left in post-partition India. Islam never remained a vital sign of the country's national character in forthcoming history. Pakistan proved to be a Muslim majority state with secular governance. This secular tendency facilitated the nation's rapprochement with Western allies rather than the Muslim world.

The refusal to accept India's stability, and political and economic development was in itself a weakening factor in the political fabric of Pakistan and a strong argument to make Pakistan a security-oriented state with its defence of paramount importance. Fear of India forced Pakistan to join US sponsored military alliances. This resulted in the rise of military leadership as a national political actor. Army rule was proclaimed in 1958 due to insecurity from the Eastern borders, but it was also a fact that the army was already ready to rule the country having gained from the US military support.

2.3 Civil and Military Relations

Civil and military relations always remained the hub of domestic politics in Pakistan. A fragile political government is always at the mercy of the military. It needs to woo support of the military in order to bolster its political position. This paves the way for military interference in the political affairs of the government. Just after independence in 1947, the civilian government of Pakistan increasingly relied on the military bureaucracy to solve the problems of partition, notably the dilemma of how to re-settle the millions of refugees.¹⁵ The more a government is dependent on the military for management of the country, the less is its ability to exercise its control over its army. The dependency handicaps the ability of the government to take a political initiative. Yet weak governments always seek support of the Army to make political policies. This has the effect of weakening them further.

The heavy dependency of the government on the military to sustain its legitimacy results in four problems. Firstly, it exposes the weaknesses of the government which encourages military commanders to play an undue role in the

¹⁵ Chaudhri Mohammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan* (Lahore: University of Punjab, 1983), Chapter 16.

policy making process. As they are the supporters of a weak government, they find themselves part and parcel of the ruling Junta and hence obliged to provide input from time to time. This, after some time, is adopted as an institutionalized practice. For a military leadership, such a period is like a nursery where it can learn lessons of governing a country. In the meantime, the security of the country becomes more important than its governance. Therefore, the defence budget swells more than the national budget. The weak governing Junta has either to submit to the strong opposition or to agree with the military's *diktat*. In the political arena, people usually become egoistic, and, hence, they choose the latter. Pakistan's first decade was the story of such a problem. With independence in 1947, war clouds loomed over the subcontinent. The first Indo-Pak war occurred in 1948. A country born along with war made politicians security-oriented. They invited the military to shoulder with them the responsibility of defending the country. The military found the opportunity to prove that the security of the country lay not with politicians but with soldiers. While working with politicians, they judged the hollowness of political institutions. With preference of security over governance, 'the military [emerged] as a source of stability'.¹⁶ Secondly, the dependency of government on the military encourages the latter to take control of the country. In this way, the army runs the country according to the security parameters required by external defence. Thirdly, such dependency also gives a very inferior picture of politicians who for their vested interests remain busy in leg pulling. Their divisiveness and weaknesses add to the political influence of the army. From a soldier's point of view, it becomes an immediate threat to the survival of a country.¹⁷ Fourthly and finally, as it is a matter of governance and endurance, the army deems it a threat and considers it their moral and professional duty to 'defend the motherland' by taking reins of government into its own hands.

Against the background of these four problems, politicians seek support of the military to remove a civilian/ elected regime. This brings a weak group of people into the government backed by the strong national army. This weakens democracy in the country. In a third world country, weak democracy means more chances of a military takeover. The military's position is already very strong as every state is confronted

¹⁶ For more theoretical details, see Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968), pp.201-202; also Adam Przeworski and Fernando Lomangi, 'Political Regimes and Economic Growth', *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 7, no.3, summer 1993, p.55.

¹⁷ Interview with Brigadier (Rtd) Inam-ul-Haq Afridi, (Peshawar, 20-06-07)

with serious security problems. It boosts the bargaining power of the military vis-à-vis politicians. If the insecurity-phobia is enhanced, the military top-brass influences the foreign and domestic policy of the country at their whims. Hence, democratic political institutions are weakened, politicians are cornered and the military rules the country in letter and spirit.

2.4 Weak Democratic Institutions

Any fruitful analysis of the weak evolution of democratic institutions in Pakistan requires a discussion about how provincial politics proceeded with respect to the Central government. In this context, it is useful to explore how provincial leaders carried out their political activities in their respective provinces. This is done by following here the examples of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP). East Pakistan is not discussed here as it had very strong provincial democratic institutions. Unfortunately Easterners were discriminated against by the Pakistan Army. This will be discussed in the last three chapters of this thesis.

2.4.1 The Punjab

In Punjab, provincial politics was a blunt demonstration of stubbornness by local politicians. Every day, an inconsequential event shook the province. The crisis of instability started ‘on November 3, 1948 when the Governor Sir Francis Mudie suddenly announced that he accepted the resignation of the Cabinet of Punjab Chief Minister Khan Iftikhar Mamdot and charged him to form a new cabinet in accordance with the instructions received from the Governor General of Pakistan’. The announcement threw the Mamdot Cabinet into complete chaos as none of them had even contemplated submitting their resignations.¹⁸ The resignation had been forced upon Mamdot after three telephone calls, a sharp note and a summon to the Government House. In the Government House, the decision to widen and strengthen his team was taken, by getting rid of the notoriously corrupt and inefficient Sheikh Karamat Ali, the Minister of Education and Industries, and the inclusion of ‘better men’. However, Mamdot was too lethargic to make any change to his Cabinet.

¹⁸ American Consulate General Lahore to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, November 17, 1948, NND 765024, Pakistan US Consulate, Lahore, Classified General Records, 1949-61, The US National Archives and Record Administration (henceforth NARA).

Karamat was the only minister who stood by him in the early summer cabinet crisis which resulted in the resignation of two other ministers, Daultana and Shaukat Hyat.¹⁹ Daultana and Shaukat Hyat were very strong members of his cabinet, over-shadowing Mamdot's persona as the Chief Minister.

Instead of setting his house in order, reducing the number of men of little talent and getting rid of notorious people like Karamat from his cabinet, Mamdot started a series of journeys to Karachi. He wanted to gain the support of the Centre via Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan. He was accompanied by five editors from the leading Urdu papers of Lahore. The support of the newspapers was a very effective tool for blackmailing or pressurizing a public office or a political party. His goal was to ease the pressure on his government. Khan Mamdot's tactic of masterly inaction worked in as much as Governor Mudie was unable to keep up with him owing to the effects of an operation. Khan was to keep his cabinet intact except for Karamat Ali who would be replaced by the speaker of the West Punjab Assembly. Interestingly, the Speaker had already stated publicly that he would not accept a place in the Cabinet, preferring to remain as the Speaker, a slightly less arduous job as the Assembly had not met for over six months. In effect, Khan picked Chaudhry Fazl-e-Elahi,²⁰ a 44 year old lawyer from Gujrat in the Rawalpindi District to replace Karamat.²¹

The Punjab was practising person-oriented politics. Khan Mamdot had a very strong grip on the organization of the Provincial Punjab Muslim League, and he was, therefore, too strong to be ignored by the wider government of Pakistan. He inherited such a hold on the party from his father's friendship with Jinnah. Jinnah, until his death, 'through political gratitude to the Mamdot family for early support of the Muslim League, continually defended Mamdot'. There was immense pressure from the Centre to include two new ministers, Malik Feroz Khan Noon and Mian Mumtaz Daultana. But they may have proved too strong, too intelligent, and too independent if they removed Mamdot as they would undoubtedly try to do. Both of them were from the business class rather than landed gentry. However, it was precisely on the *Zamindars* that the Muslim League depended for funds and support. Mamdot ran the party as his personal property. No one cared for party discipline within the Muslim

¹⁹ Ibid, October 29, 1948.

²⁰ Mr. Elahi became the president of Pakistan during the 1970s.

²¹ US Consulate, Lahore, 1949-61, NND 765024, October 29, 1948, NARA

League. Every one was waiting for a mistake to be committed by the leader so that those in junior positions could exploit it. Noon and Daultana issued declarations against Mamdot to the press giving their side of the story. They also claimed to represent the common man by accentuating patriotism, nationalism and their love for Islam. Daultana compassionately stated:

Six months ago I left the Mamdot Cabinet because I could not see eye to eye with its head about certain fundamental matters. I considered his lack of policy, his weakness and hesitation, his casualness in shelving vital matters, such as the rehabilitation of refugees, the reform of blatant economic injustice, etc.

After a recital of the recent manoeuvres Daultana continued:

Therefore it is my duty as it is the duty of every citizen of Pakistan to demand from their Ministry an improvement in their present slipshod, inefficient and unrighteous methods of work. Full pressure of public opinion must be exerted to remedy and suggest improvement in the mechanism of Government. ...Masses must be enthused and organized to stand impregnable against any threat to their national existence. ... It is our duty to plan boldly and with imagination and in a spirit of economic justice and social equality which would be worthy of Islam.²²

Noon in a similar tone also criticised Mamdot:

Iftikhar Hussain [Mamdot] as a person deserves no loyalty or cooperation from anyone. My having consented to serve in his cabinet [in the past] was inspired solely by the desire to serve the MAN IN THE STREET and not Iftikhar Hussain who only six months ago was told by the Quaid-e-Azam that he was unfit to hold the office.²³

According to Governor Mudie, Mamdot's only quality was 'a sort of low animal cunning'. Internal wrangling and the incompetence of leadership was apparent from their approach of opposition for the sake of opposition.

The matter of the West Punjab cabinet moved to the forefront of the political agenda once more at a critical moment of party elections. On November 28th 1948, Mian Mumtaz Khan Daultana was elected as President of the West Punjab Muslim League. The election was fairly close and some fancy finagling had been done to produce the result. At the last moment Abdussatar Khan Niazi, Convenor and candidate of the *Khilafat-e-Pakistan* group (also known as The Shariat Law Party) withdrew his candidacy in favour of Daultana. Niazi persuaded his group to support

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

him ‘as the League organization should not be allowed to play second fiddle to a lethargic Ministry which requires close vigilance by the parent organization’. The opposing candidate, Alauddin Siddiqui, claimed that the contest reflected the ‘eternal conflict between the rich and the poor and the regime of the feudal lords must end’. In any case the Provincial League Council gave Daultana 198 votes to 176 for Siddiqui. 42 members of the West Punjab Legislative Assembly, who were ex-officio members of the Council voted for Daultana and only 22 legislators favoured his rival.²⁴ Daultana's cause was also favoured by a blast from Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, leftist proprietor of the newspaper the Pakistan Times.²⁵ Mian remained the president of the League last year but was also blamed with the misuse of the party's funds. Therefore, he called for an impartial enquiry, which of course was calculated to hit Siddiqui, who had been Secretary General of the League the previous year.

Voting is only one way to measure political sympathies. It may in fact be a poor way under a majoritarian system where there is evidence of tactical personalized voting. One individual's political stubbornness supersedes others. The election of Daultana decidedly moved the Mamdot Cabinet to the forefront. His election proved that Mamdot had lost his grip on provincial legislators and in the League council. Such internal squabbling was a fact but also the beginning of the loss of the politicians' prestige. Everyone knew that Mandoot, Daultana, Siddiqui, and Mian were sycophants. Their immature aptitude gave a weak political picture. The *Pakistan Times* in its 29th November 1948 editorial gave a detailed note of their inefficiency. It stated: ‘If one is an embodiment of inaction and the fountainhead of inefficiency the other is a past master in intrigue and an artist in political chicanery’. Complaining that neither faction had any definite program or political objective other than personal preferment the editorial goes on, ‘The unsuccessful candidate had no political past of any description to boast of except the reflected ingloriousness brought on his head by the Mamdot ministry. As for the new Provincial President his conduct during the last year leaves the most unpredictable chameleon in the shade...’. Out of the two discredited factions, one was already in possession of the provincial government. And the other was in possession of the Provincial Party. The former made an effort to

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Interview with Sharif Farooq, a veteran newspaper Journalist and owner of the daily *Jehad*. He also worked with *the Pakistan Times*, during the initial days of his career. The Pakistan Times was considered as a thorn in American flesh as it was extremely anti-American, and its approach was disliked by the American Embassy Staff. (Peshawar, 12-02-2007)

capture both and failed which was a good thing. The latter managed to step into the breach which was a bad thing. Neither politics, nor people had a look in'. Editorial sums up its disgust by saying, 'And now in the words of the philosopher-bard, 'Whither should thy simple hearted folk turn, O Lord?'²⁶

There is much that can be criticised, not least that national politics and identity were more malleable than personal or provincial identity imply and that national identities and political behaviour did not so neatly intersect.

2.4.2 The NWFP

The situation in NWFP was not much different from the Punjab. NWFP was the province where, in the name of patriotism and loyalty to Pakistan, the opposition was purged on a vast scale. A bill of Frontier Public Safety (FPS) was passed by the Provincial Assembly on 20th October 1948. According to Chief Minister (CM) Abdul Qayyum Khan 'the measure was not aimed at curtailing the civil liberties of the people, but to see that these liberties were properly used'. However, FPS was passed in order to deal with anti-Pakistan activities carried out by Ghaffar Khan and his Red Shirt Organization (*Sur-Posh*). Due to their anti-Pakistan activities and pro-Congress stance, *Sur-Posh* were arrested on a mass scale. They still believed in the one-nation theory and were carrying on propaganda for a united India with an autonomous entity of Pakhtoonistan.²⁷ Their non-acceptance of Pakistan can be judged from the fact that Ghaffar Khan openly described Pakistan as a 'bridge of sand'. Hence, *Sur-Posh* members were purged in the name of Pakistan. CM Qayyum Khan stated that as soon as the Government feels an appreciable change in the attitude of *Sur-Posh*, they would be brought out of jails.²⁸

Qayyum Khan's hostile attitude towards *Sur-Posh* mustered hatred not only for himself but also for the entire country. The nationalist *Sur-Posh* conceived the Muslim League, Pakistan and the State as a single, unified entity which had resulted

²⁶ *The Pakistan Times*, November 29, 1948, NAI.

²⁷ US Consulate, Lahore, 1949-61, NND 765024, October 29, 1948.

²⁸ *The Civil and Military Gazette*, October 20, 1948, NAI.

in the marginalization of their political role. One of the family members of Ghaffar Khan (henceforth called OFMGK),²⁹ while elaborating this point, said:

*Bacha Khan*³⁰ was not against the country but he had difference of opinion with Muslim League as a party and its leadership and it was his democratic and birth right to keep a difference of opinion. But unfortunately, recently Pakistan was created and the nationalism and party were the governing points of rulers. They considered the Muslim League and Pakistan one and the same thing. Like *Bacha Khan*, anyone talking against Jinnah was a traitor. Anyone having a different opinion from the Muslim League was actually differing from Pakistan and its sovereignty and eventually he was declared an Indian Agent.³¹

The dominance of single party rule boosted the rulers' confidence in relying upon the military. Their leaning towards the military made them addicted to the notion that one had to use military generals to sustain democracy. It was a paradox. This notion was criticised by OFMGK when he commented on his grandfather's policies:

Bacha Khan wanted a profound system based on democracy and evolution and not static as was the case with those days Pakistan and its leadership. He was scared that soon such a static system would collapse. National leaders were not mustering support from the people but from the Armed forces. The country was tilting more towards national security provided by the military than to the security provided by the democracy. Very soon the time came when a serving general was given a seat in the Cabinet. *Bacha Khan* was against all such mess. Look! Eventually, what happened? Politics was usurped by military Junta for decades to come and the country was broken into two pieces, later on, in 1971.³²

Although it could be argued that OFMGK's statements indicate his political metamorphosis before 1988, when he and his family joined the provincial government of NWFP, his argument is an adequate commentary on the divergent political views of politicians. His comments are just the opposite to what Ghaffar Khan, his grandfather, demonstrated and practised during Pakistan's early period. Ghaffar Khan opposed the creation of Pakistan, and he asked his followers to abstain in the

²⁹ Interview with One of the Family Members of Ghaffar Khan (henceforth OFMGK). The name of the interviewee is kept concealed due to political reasons. This interview was conducted in Pashto. (Charsadda, 17-02-07).

³⁰ Ghaffar Khan was affectionately called 'Bacha Khan' by the people of the NWFP.

³¹ Interview with OFMGK, (Charsadda, 17-02-07).

³² Ibid.

referendum held to decide whether Pathans wished to join Pakistan or India. He wanted a third choice: independence.³³

The nationalist *Sur-Posh* found CM Qayyum Khan's denunciation of them vindictive. OFMGK expressed his reservation about Qayyum Khan's intention to reduce the gap between Jinnah and Bacha Khan. He was of the view that the Muslim League tried to impose itself in NWFP where already the nationalists were in the majority. Leaguers were trying to convert the *Sur-Posh* majority into a minority- a sham practice against the true spirit of democracy. He says:

I remember Bacha Khan saying that there was a time when Jinnah during his visit to Peshawar showed his desire to visit Charsadda. The spirit behind such desire was to have direct negotiations with Bacha Khan. Bacha Khan was also informed of this development. He replied '*Pa Duwaro Istargo*' (Come on my both eyes), '*Harkala Rasha*' (Most Welcome). Arrangements of his visit got final. My Mom said that she had already prepared very traditional home-made food for Jinnah and his delegation. But no one knew what happened that at the nick of time, the visit stood cancelled.

My (OFMGK) father says that 'that was the moment of frustration'.

OFMGK further says:

It was CM Qayyum Khan who stood between Jinnah and Ghaffar Khan [Bacha Khan]. Had there been a breaking of ice, there would have been a marginal role for Qayyum Khan in the Provincial politics. The nationalists were in majority. In case of relaxation of tension between the nationalists and Jinnah, Qayyum Khan had to wind up his shop of politics. After cancellation of Jinnah's visit to Charsadda, distances increased further and misunderstandings took birth in shape of *Pakhtoonistan* which furthered the space between Karachi and Charsadda. Thus the idea of *Pakhtoonistan* turned into a full-fledged movement.

OFMGK thought that the Muslim League was a pseudo-party that had no roots in the masses. According to him it was the party of elites and opportunists. He says:

If I speak more broadly, the Muslim League, after partition, was a party confined to Karachi. With the partition, League had lost its power base in India. East Pakistan was under the charismatic leadership of Suhrawardy. Punjab was a province which had always welcomed the successive rulers. Punjabi had the instinct to follow. He was not a good leader but a great follower. From the Sikhs down to the Mughals era, they always welcomed

³³ Richard V. Weekes, *Pakistan: Birth and Growth of a Muslim Nation*, (New York: The Asia Society, 1964), p.246.

every newcomer. Therefore, I can't say that the Muslim League was also famous in the Punjab. Punjabis were ready to mint as much benefit from the Muslim League as possible and the reason was it was not only a political party but also a governing party right from the inception of Pakistan.

During the entire interview, OFMGK was very contemptuous and cynical towards Punjabis. He thought the creation of Pakistan a Punjabi conspiracy to govern and impose its rule on the rest of the Muslim-majority provinces. A somewhat similar opinion was expressed by the American Consulate General in Lahore in 1949 who on returning from a visit to NWFP said, 'Pathans already complain that Pakistan seems to have been created for the benefit of the Punjabis'.³⁴ OFMGK's views were representative of the nationalists' belief in the Punjabis' dominance and military's governance. Pakistan was composed of provinces which were not trusting each other. If Pakhtoons were traitors for Punjabis, Punjabis were conspiring to govern the entire country without giving rights to other provinces.

Before examining the politics of the Centre in Pakistan in detail, the Pakhtoonistan issue needs close examination. It will be relevant to highlight this issue here as much of its inspiration was received from Charsadda Wali Bagh, the residence of Khan Ghaffar Khan and support from Afghanistan.

2.5 Pakhtoonistan

Pakhtoonistan³⁵ is the idea and demand of an independent country constituting the Pakhtoon dominated areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan lying on both sides of the Durand line (the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan).³⁶ *Sur-Posh* believed that their Pakhtoon motherland was divided in 1893 by drawing a boundary line between British India and Afghanistan. The ultimate demand was the union of both parts of the Pakhtoon areas and an autonomous status independent of Pakistan.

During the independence movement in the subcontinent, the *Pathanistan*³⁷ cry was first raised by Gandhi, who tried at the time of partition to persuade Lord

³⁴ US Consulate, Lahore, 1949-61, NND 765024, February 25, 1949, NARA.

³⁵ See map of Pakhtoonistan on page 73, www.khyber.org.

³⁶ O'Dwyer, *India As I Knew It*, p.104.

³⁷ Pukhtoonistan, Pushtoonistan, and Pathanistan is one and the same thing. Different spellings have been used in different places. Therefore, they have been used as it is.

Mountbatten that a Pathan State should be established.³⁸ A close associate of Bacha Khan and a veteran *Sur-Posh* leader, Baz Muhammad Khan says:

There was a well-defined understanding between Gandhi and Bacha Khan for the establishment of Pukhtoonistan. Both leaders discussed the issue numerous times on several occasions. Gandhi always had this idea that a divided or undivided India would be accompanied by an Independent Pakhtoonistan. The Big Partition occurred but unfortunately, no Pukhtoon State was created.³⁹

Pakhtoonistan was not only a cry from *Sur-Posh* of NWFP. People living in the Pakhtoon ethnic-majority areas in Afghanistan were equally demanding a separate land for Pakhtoons living on both sides of the Durand line. According to them, the Pakhtoonistan boundary stretched to the border line between NWFP and the Punjab Province, i.e. Attock.⁴⁰ When, in 1949, the US Consulate General, Hooker A., Doolittle, asked Arbab Sher Ali Khan, headman or *malik* of the *Khalil* tribe of the Lower *Mohmads*, what Afghans had in their mind for NWFP, he replied, ‘They want Attock’.⁴¹ Attock was and is a great bridge across the Indus River where one leaves the Punjab and crosses over into the NWFP. However, historically, the Pakistan Army always rejected such a demand. This can be substantiated by a conversation quoted from an archival document. While discussing *Pathanistan* theory in 1949 at the home of Major General Muhammad Yusuf, the new Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan forces in the NWFP, himself an Afridi from Kohat, the remark was passed amid general

³⁸ Memo, Sir Zafrullah Khan Foreign Minister of Pakistan in a meeting with NEA. Mr. McGhee, April 5, 1950, Box 12, Lot 54D341.

³⁹ Interview with Baz Mohammad Khan, a senior nationalist leader of *Khudai Khidmatgar*, (Akora Khattak, January 25, 2007).

⁴⁰ Interview with Musa Khan Shinwari, an Afghan asylum seeker in London, (12-12-2008).

⁴¹ US Consulate, Lahore, 1949-61, February 25, 1949, NARA.



2.1 The Pakhtoonistan Map

(This map shows Pakistan’s western border which it shares with Afghanistan. Gray area signifies Pakhtoon populated territory on both sides of the Durandline)

laughter that ‘Afghanistan could accede to Pakistan any time they wished’.⁴² General Yusuf’s comment was the official reaction to the question of Pashtoonistan. *Sur-Posh* strongly supported the idea of unification with Afghanistan and the creation of Pashtoonistan, by joining Afghanistan rather than vice versa. They used to say, *Khyber kho yo talo ratlo layara da, pakhtoon duwaro taraf yo da*⁴³ (Khyber Pass is merely a way but the Pakhtoons on both sides are the same).

It was Ghaffar Khan’s non-violence movement and true affinity with the cause of Pakhtoonistan that earned him the title of ‘*Frontier Gandhi*’ and ‘*Bacha Khan*’. Phillips Talbot, head of the American Mission to India, on his return from a visit to NWFP gave his wonderful reaction about Bacha Khan:

Noble-faced Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the man who taught the Gandhian principles of non-violence to so many rifle-carrying Pathans, directs the *Servants of God* with the peculiarly personal guidance that is characteristic of Indian leadership. With his brother Dr. Khan Sahib, the Congress premier of the Frontier Province, he long ago became the nationalist spokesman of the Frontier, to be seriously challenged by Indians only when the Muslim League grew strong. His burning statement against British is matched only by his devotion to Gandhi. It is odd to see this giant of a man, broad-shouldered, long-legged, and physically hard, sitting next to the little, and stooped, unhandsome ascetic. Yet probably the central Gandhian ideal has few more devoted supporters than the man who himself came to be called the Frontier Gandhi⁴⁴.

Pakhtoons of NWFP were nationalists but very sensitive towards their religion. ‘The moment communal violence erupted in India in 1946-47, League politicians in NWFP stimulated Muslim clannishness’. In the name of Islam, they turned pro-Pakistan while remaining nationalist. They had an instinct for religion. They believed in the fundamentalist Islamic doctrine. The whole Pathan community was agitated by the Muslim massacre in general and the deaths of Pathan labourers in particular. Stories of Muslim victims in Bengal intensified the anti-Hindu upsurge.⁴⁵ With people in this mood, the Frontier Muslim League found a great opportunity to convince people against Congress – ‘a Hindu Party’. It was the religion-card that

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Interview with Khaista Khan, a veteran nationalist local leader (Peshawar, 10-02-2007).

⁴⁴ Phillips Talbot, American Mission Bahawalpur House, India (henceforth AMBHI), to Walter S. Rogers, Box 12, Lot 54D341, November 30, 1946.

⁴⁵ Interview with Khaista Khan.

played its role during the referendum of 1947 in NWFP. ‘Strangely, people, while remaining Pakhtoon nationalist as well as Congressite, cast their vote in favour of Pakistan’. In the entire province of NWFP, Pir Sahib of Manky Sharif was in the forefront to use religion for gaining pro-Pakistan sentiments’.⁴⁶ His cry was very simple, but direct and blunt: *Islam is in danger. Muslims will be slaves in the Hindu Raj. Organize before you are crushed.*⁴⁷ A spiritual leader like the Pir of Manky knew the Pakhtoons’ weakness for religion which he fully exploited for the Pakistan cause. He had a growing army of disciplined Pakhtoons. But unlike *Sur-Posh*, they were violent followers. ‘It was a rumour in those days that the attack on Nehru was organized and planned by his followers in the Malakand Agency. Khan Abdul Wali Khan (son of Ghaffar Khan) was a strong believer of this theory’.⁴⁸

A religious nationalist nation decided to go for Pakistan without giving any attention to its western borders with Afghanistan. In the referendum in 1947, the people of NWFP decided to join Pakistan.⁴⁹ Afghanistan exploited common language, culture and ethnicity to attract NWFP as part of its mega project – Greater Pakhtoonistan. King Zahir Shah demanded that the people of NWFP be given a choice of independence besides options of joining India or Pakistan in the referendum held in 1947,⁵⁰ but all such efforts from across the western border failed. None of the three stakeholders in the Subcontinent, Hindus, Muslims or British, were interested in listening to King Shah.

When the Afghan administration failed to score marks in having a say in the referendum of 1947 in NWFP, they demanded ‘a reasonable degree of autonomy’ for the Pushto-speaking peoples of Pakistan without fragmentation of either Pakistan or Afghanistan. Later on, ‘it could have been accompanied by real elements of rapprochement and cooperation, such as Customs Union, a common system of defence, and the fullest degree of cultural and economic cooperation between Afghanistan and the autonomous portion [tribal areas of NWFP] of Pakistan. Such cooperation would be a strong bulwark against the advance of Soviet interests in that

⁴⁶ Interview with Baz Mohammad Khan.

⁴⁷ Phillips Talbot, AMBHI, Box 12, Lot 54D341, November 30, 1946, NARA

⁴⁸ Interview with Khaista Khan.

⁴⁹ HO 421/2, NAL. Also ‘The Referendum in NWFP 1947: A Documentary Record’, Compiled by Saleem Ullah Khan, National Documentation Centre, Cabinet Division, (Islamabad: 1996), British Library.

⁵⁰ Interview with Baz Mohammad Khan.

area'.⁵¹ It appeared that the Afghans wanted to avoid an assimilation of Pathans into Pakistan. This could have been possible by the establishment of 'Pathanistan' which might eventually join forces with Afghanistan due to its proximity, common language, culture, and race and make the latter a strong power in the area. In this case there would be a complete redefinition of Afghan hegemony and interests; it was indeed an anti-Pakistan idea with an emphasis on a strong Afghanistan as a buffer against USSR. At the same time, 'a reasonable degree of autonomous Pushtoonistan' would also be a buffer between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Afghans had gone to such an extent that they wanted 'a distinct entity and identity' and 'complete political and administrative autonomy' for territory West of the Indus river comprising NWFP, the Northern part of Baluchistan, including the Khyber Pass, Peshawar and Quetta (see map of Pashtoonistan on page 62). They also wanted the Government of Pakistan to give the Pathans 'a free hand to conduct their relations with Afghanistan'. While having a meeting with Afghan Representative, Najibullah, Jinnah urged the prompt establishment of diplomatic relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan, saying that any issue between the two nations could be sorted out later on via diplomatic channels. Najibullah still insisted on assurances that an autonomous Pathan State would be created eventually. Jinnah during an official meeting disclosed that Najibullah wanted his government to be in a position to tell the tribes that Afghanistan had gained a victory over Pakistan, and that the creation of a Pathan State was wholly due to the efforts of Afghanistan. Hence, during his meeting with Najibullah, Jinnah flatly rejected the idea of a Pathan State.⁵² Due to ethnic affiliation, any such Pakhtoon State would have been a parasite and a satellite state of Afghanistan. Strangely, a country formed in the name of nationalism was asked to rip itself apart for the benefit of others. The Muslim League was already very sensitive towards its territory and nationalism. Such demands were like a joke for them.

Great powers had their own policies towards Afghanistan and its sponsored issue of Pukhtoonistan. British policy regarding the Durand Line was very clear.⁵³ They considered it 'an international boundary' and any negotiation on such a non-

⁵¹ Memo Kabir Khan Ludin, Afghan Minister for Education, December 23, 1947, Box 12, Lot 54D341, NARA.

⁵² SOA, Memo, 15 January, 1948, Box 12, Lot 54D 341, NND 867242, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, 1939-53, NARA.

⁵³ The Durand Line is the name of the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan, drawn in 1893 between the Government of Afghanistan and British India.

issue was a waste of time for them.⁵⁴ However, the Americans were very hesitant to discuss the issue. When Sir Zafrullah pointedly asked the US Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian, and African Affairs Mr. George C. McGhee, ‘Are you prepared to support the British view; are you prepared to express a view about the Durand Line?’, Mr. McGhee replied, ‘We are not prepared to do so at this time’.⁵⁵ Similarly, on another occasion, Sir Zafrullah asked the Director of South Asian Affairs Division Mr. Elbert Mathews about the policy of the State Department as to the recognition of the Durand Line as a valid international frontier. Instead of a direct reply, he gave a very vague answer by saying, ‘the point of difference between the US and Pakistan in this connection was that the US had much greater hope that discussions between Afghanistan and Pakistan would lead to a good result’.⁵⁶ Such an unclear answer reflected that the US policy makers tried to keep everyone happy to counter and contain their sole enemy, the USSR. At the least, they wanted Afghanistan to be a buffer state between Pakistan and USSR and therefore a vague policy on the Durand Line was the prerequisite for any such whim.

Like the US, India had a very confusing policy towards Pukhtoonistan. Mostly, its support for Pukhtoonistan was a source of encouragement for ‘*Charsadda Wali Bagh*’.⁵⁷ But Indian Ambassador to the US, Mr Asif Ali considered the controversy over the status of the Durand Line a joke. He termed it a permanent border dividing Afghanistan from the Northwest Province [NWFP].⁵⁸

The issue of Pakhtoonistan took a turn in the mid-fifties when Afghan diplomats in Karachi talked about a federation of the two countries. They expressed the desirability of the federation of the two countries, expressing their willingness for the moment to drop the Pushtunistan issue but the Afghan representative in Karachi, Mr. Atik, strangely asked Sir Zafrullah that the idea of federation not be made public and that Pakistan and Afghanistan continue to maintain a public posture of unfriendliness with exchange of hostile radio propaganda, etc.⁵⁹ Indeed, it was

⁵⁴ Memo, November 18, 1950, Box 12, Lot 54D341 NND 867242, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State (Henceforth GRDS), 1939-53, NARA.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Conversation between Sir Zafrullah and Mr. Elbert G. Mathews, Director of South Asian Affairs Division of Department of State, February 14, 1951, Box 12, Lot 54D341, NND 867242, RG 59, GRDS, 1939-53, NARA.

⁵⁷ Residence of Ghaffar Khan.

⁵⁸ Memo, July 9, 1947, Box 12, Lot 54D 341, NND 867242, RG 59, GRDS, 1939-53, NARA.

⁵⁹ Memo, October 20, 1954, Box 3, Lot 57D462, NND 903085, Records of the Director, SOA Regional Conference and Country Files, 1951-54, NARA.

incomprehensible and a difficult basis on which to make real progress in terms of cultivating friendly relations between the two nations. On one hand, such desire in terms of making a federation and, on the other, continuing hostile propaganda was inexplicable. Eccentric Afghan demands went further when on 12th October 1954 Prince Naim of Afghanistan met with Henry Cabot Lodge, the US representative in the UN, and expressed his country's desire for Afghanistan's merger with Pakistan. Even a day before, Prince Aly Khan met with Mr. Lodge and told him in the utmost secrecy that the merger of Afghanistan and Pakistan was all agreed to and would soon be made known.⁶⁰ But in view of Pakistan's Foreign Office, 'it would be better to start with a more modest approach – for example cooperation in some joint economic and scientific progress. Pakistanis believed that Afghanistan still required stability for such a great policy step' of federation or merger of the two countries.⁶¹

The Government of Pakistan was ready to take any deal or to go to any extent to secure territorial integrity vis-à-vis Afghanistan. Pakistani PM M. Ali, during a meeting with the US ambassador Hildreth, said that 'if Afghan Government would publicly renounce claims to territorial or sovereign rights in the Pushtoonistan area, Karachi might even agree to the use of the name Pushtoonistan [for the province of NWFP and tribal areas], as desired by Kabul'. This was in response to the Afghan Minister Atiq's meeting with Ambassador Hildreth saying that 'Afghanistan was willing to confirm publicly, and in writing, that it had no territorial claims on the area'.⁶² If Atiq was speaking with the authority of his government, rather than personally, there was hope for the settlement of this seven-year-old dispute. However, there is no record of any such statement in any of the papers in Pakistan's Foreign Office, nor was it made directly to Pakistani government. But the concession of using the name Pakhtoonistan for the tribal areas clearly specified that the tribal territory would definitely remain under Pakistan's jurisdiction.

Afghanistan added a new dimension to the Pakistan Army's threat perception in the name of Pushtoonistan. Issues such as Pushtoonistan and Kashmir were sufficient to provide a security threat to the Army. Hence, with the inception of Pakistan, security became of paramount importance for policy makers and practitioners.

⁶⁰ Ibid, Memo, November 8, 1954, GRDS.

⁶¹ Ibid, Memo, October 20, 1954, GRDS.

⁶² CIA-RDP79T00975A001800580001-8, January 7, 1955, CIA Archives, NARA.

Examples like Punjab, NWFP and issues like Pushtoonistan turned political harmony into turmoil. Inter and intra-provincial harmony was the needs of the time, but provincial leadership was shining only with provincial prejudice. Divergent and minor regional interests and prejudices restrained politicians from taking a unified stand on Pakistan. It made the political fabric too weak to combat other internal undemocratic forces aspiring to govern the country.

2.6 FEDERATION vs. THE PAKISTAN ARMY

The post-Jinnah period was dominated by Liaquat Ali Khan who drew powers to the office of the Prime Minister. Khan was accentuating unity, the enduring establishment of Pakistan, its character as an Islamic State and its defence. This was in order to inspire a feeling that he was the spiritual heir of the Quaid-e-Azam and that he was trying to instil the public with the same feelings of nationalism and loyalty to the nation. He was second to Jinnah. Therefore, after his death, Khan could either become Governor General or strengthen his office of Prime Minister. He went for the latter. The choice of Nazimuddin for the office of Governor General also permitted him to keep control of the reins of power and exercise his talent as an administrator. The role of Governor General became dormant after Jinnah while that of Prime Minister became active. Khan had the opportunity to practice political management as well. His top priority was defence. While visiting Lahore on 30th September 1948, during a meeting with Governor Sir Francis Modie, Khan gave assurances to the Armed Services Chiefs that, if necessary, the 70% of revenue now absorbed by those forces would be raised to 100%. He also told Sir Modie that ‘he had no intention of being pushed into any adventures by public clamour’ and that ‘before such a thing could happen he would resign’.⁶³ On another occasion, Liaquat Ali Khan said: ‘the defence of the state is our foremost consideration. It dominates all other governmental activities’.⁶⁴

Liaquat Ali Khan, after assassination in October 1951,⁶⁵ was succeeded by Khawaja Nazimuddin. By now, Khan had drawn so much political power to the office of the Prime Minister that Nazimuddin was attracted to it. He left the office of Governor General and became the PM of the country. The post of Governor General

⁶³ September 30, 1948, NND 765024, 1949-61, NARA.

⁶⁴ *News Chronicle*, 9 October 1948.

⁶⁵ CIA-RDP79-S01011A-000500060007-2, October 18, 1951, NARA.

was given to a Punjabi, Ghulam Muhammad. Commenting on the situation of filling top offices, Zahoor Butt a veteran eye-witness of the time responds:

The rift between the East and West Pakistan was getting sharper. It was thought that the Prime Minister office, which by then had become strong due to strong personality of Liaquat Ali Khan, be filled by a Bengali and Nazimuddin, being the senior most Muslim Leaguer, was the best candidate at that moment. Hence, Nazimuddin himself took lead in doing so. But at the same time, Punjabis were also having strong stakes in the Centre. Therefore, Nazimuddin appointed Ghulam Muhammad as the Governor General. Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, a close confidant of Ghulam Muhammad, was appointed the Minister of Finance. It was the era when Ghulam Muhammad was enthralled by the armed forces.⁶⁶

Ghulam Muhammad, like the military top-brass, was a secular-minded, Indo-phobic, and defence-oriented man. He was a bureaucrat from the Accounts department who had also formed the budget for the British Army until Partition.⁶⁷ Therefore, when he assumed the office of Governor General, he found himself closer to like-minded people – the Army rather than politicians. Nazimuddin, ‘by reason of his inefficiency, lack of interest, and tendency to defer to elements who would like to have seen Pakistan turned into a reactionary and theocratic Islamic State,’⁶⁸ was allowing Pakistan to drift dangerously, against the approach of the Governor General and the Army. There was already a rift between the Governor General and Nazimuddin. He already sniffed a kind of ‘a deep contact between the Governor General and military officers like Iskander Mirza and General Ayub Khan’. Nazimuddin like his predecessors was a democrat, and did not appreciate intimate links between the army and political institutions. ‘There had been instances when, on a couple of occasions, they [Nazimuddin and Ghulam Muhammad] had slight grudges about General Ayub’s frequent visits to the Governor General house’.⁶⁹ It was on April 17, 1953 that the Governor General took matters into his own hands and dismissed Nazimuddin, making Muhammad Ali Bogra Prime Minister in his place. Nazimuddin’s biggest handicaps were his tilt towards Islam, his failure to keep the Muslim League united and a personal dislike of Ayub’s close contacts with the Governor General and not

⁶⁶ Interview with Zahoor Butt, (London, 17-03-08).

⁶⁷ Interview with General (Rtd) Kamal Matinuddin, (Islamabad, 23-03-2007).

⁶⁸ DO 35/6654/7023970, UK High Commissioner in Karachi to CRO, 22 July 1953, PRO.

⁶⁹ Interview with Kamal Matinuddin.

with himself. 'He was also against the Ahmadiya group and disliked Sir Zafrullah Khan, the Foreign Minister of his own cabinet'.⁷⁰

Nazimuddin's contempt for Zafrullah had a history. A meeting of Anjuman Ahmadiya, Karachi, was advertised to be held in Jehangir Park, Karachi, on 17th and 18th May 1952, and Zafrullah Khan was mentioned as one of the speakers. Although the meeting was held under the auspices of Anjuman Ahmadiya, it was a public meeting as any member of the public could be present to hear the proceedings. A few days before the meeting, Prime Minister Nazimuddin expressed his disapproval of Zafrullah's intention to attend a sectional public meeting. Zafrullah, however, told the PM that he was committed to the Anjuman but that, if he had been advised earlier, he would have refrained from attending the meeting. In view of his commitment, he said, he felt it his duty to speak at the meeting and that if the Prime Minister insisted on his not attending it, he could have his resignation.⁷¹ Thus bad blood was created between the two at this moment. The fact that Zafrullah was competent overrode the concerns that Nazimuddin had over the fact that he was from Ahmediya.

A clear groupism was developing – at one end conservative Nazimuddin and at the other the secular-minded and nationalist group of people supported by the Army: the Gang of Four-Ghulam Muhammad, Iskander Mirza, General Ayub Khan, and Sir Zafrullah Khan. It was not only a like-minded group but also a pro-American civil-Military cluster. Later on, it became clear that Nazimuddin's dismissal was planned and accomplished through the combined efforts of the Army leadership (specifically Defence Secretary Iskander Mirza and C-in-C Ayub Khan) and the Governor General himself.⁷² When the Governor General asked for the resignation from the PM and his cabinet, 'Sir Zafrullah promptly offered his resignation'.⁷³ Being a member of the Gang of Four, he had to show his loyalty more than the other ministers of the cabinet. While speaking with the American *Charge d'Affaires*, J. Emerson, Zafrullah said:

⁷⁰ Interview with Zahoor Butt.

⁷¹ Report of the court of inquiry constituted under Punjab Act II of 1954 to enquire into the Punjab disturbances of 1953, (Lahore, Government Printing, Punjab, 1954), p.75.

⁷² American Embassy Karachi to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, April 20, 1953, Foreign Services Post of the Department of State, Pakistan, Karachi Embassy, Supplemental Classified General Records, 1950-55, Despatch No. 1582, NND 842430, Box 40, NARA.

⁷³ Memorandum of Conversation between Sir Zafrullah and John Emmerson, April 18, 1953, Despatch No. 968, NND 842430, Box 40, NARA.

I already suspected some plan in [the] mind of [the] Governor General when latter inquired about his constitutional prerogatives. It became quite clear during augmented Cabinet session last week (attended by [the] Governor General at his own insistence) that change of government was desired.⁷⁴ He also emphasised that the Governor General's constitutional position was quite clear, that he had the authority under section 10 of the Government of India Act, which was still in force, to dismiss his ministers since they served "at his pleasure".⁷⁵

On his dismissal, Nazimuddin immediately contacted the UK High Commissioner Sir Gilbert Laithwaite to request the Queen to dismiss the Governor General. Sir Gilbert replied that he could not intervene in this situation since his responsibility was to the Queen as sovereign of the UK, whereas the PM's relationship was to the Queen as the Queen of Pakistan. 'If PM desired, he could get in touch with the Queen directly'. Nazimuddin was then reported to have attempted to telephone the private secretary of the Queen in London. The American Embassy staff, Paul Hoffman and John K. Emmerson, *Charge d'Affaires* say that they had learned from other sources that the military had taken control of the switchboard and intercepted the PM's attempted call.⁷⁶ Mr. Beack, the Governor General's Comptroller, said that Nazimuddin's first words to him after he was ousted were to help him 'find a house'.⁷⁷

The tussle between the Governor General and the PM was not just an incident for the time being. They had a long history of grudges and jealousy against each other. The Governor General had been after the PM to resign, and vice versa. The Governor General's Military Secretary said that the PM (Nazimuddin) questioned Churchill as to what had to be done to remove a Governor General. The Military Secretary and Inspector of Police Adul Hassan and a reporter of *The Dawn* newspaper, while having a conversation with the US embassy staff, said that 'if the Governor General had not acted, he would have found himself removed at the hands of Nazimuddin'. The Governor General forced the issue by acting first. Immediately a heavy military guard was placed at the Governor General's residence.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Telegram to Washington DC, April 20, 1953, Despatch No. 1582, NND 842430, Box 40, NARA.

⁷⁵ Memorandum of Conversation between Sir Zafrullah and John Emmerson, April 18, 1953, Despatch No. 968, NND 842430, Box 40, NARA.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Memorandum of Conversation Mr Miller to Mr. Emmerson and Mr Withers, April 25, 1953, Despatch No. 1582, NND 842430, Box 40, NARA.

⁷⁸ Memorandum of Conversation, PriMin Change, Despatch No. 350 PAK, NND 842430, Box 40, NARA.

During all this time, the US embassy staff was very content with the proceedings of the crisis. This is reflected in their writings that they sent back to Washington. In one of its telegrams, they state, 'Frustration which the Embassy has reported over the past few months grew to exasperation at weakness and vacillation of Nazimuddin'. The Embassy also expressed its satisfaction with the declaration of Martial Law in Lahore. The telegram further says: 'Without any doubt, action by Iskander Mirza, in concert with Ayub Khan, to declare martial law in Lahore on March 6 in spite of PM's objections saved country from what might have become a national disaster'. Such statements prove that the Martial Law in Lahore was not imposed with the consent of the civilian government. Coming back to the fall of Nazimuddin's administration, although the decision to oust him was taken by the Governor General himself, Mirza and Ayub Khan apparently remained in close contact with the Governor General. Mirza kept the US embassy abreast of every development. Perhaps no one except Mirza and Ayub knew about the change of government.⁷⁹

The Easterners (people from East Pakistan) were very sensitive to acquire their share of power in the country. After the suspension of Nazimuddin's ministry, the fundamental question affecting the development of Pakistan as a country had been the necessity of harmonizing and preserving a balance between the interests of the West and East Pakistan, separated by over 1000 miles of Indian territory. The population of East Pakistan (42 million) was greater than that of West Pakistan (33.5 million); though in geographical terms East Pakistan was much smaller.⁸⁰ The economic interests of the two parts by no means coincided, and these differences were naturally reflected in the political tension at the Centre. To overcome such stress, the Governor General selected Muhammad Ali of Bogra, a Bengali, due in part to the Government's wish to demonstrate that it represented Bengal. Over and above, he was liked by Washington.

Bogra enjoyed great success as ambassador in Washington which made him the right person to make and discharge the foreign policy of Pakistan in closer military and economic accord with the US. He was known for his excessive praise of everything American. He was so enthusiastically pro-American that during one of his conversations with Dulles in Karachi the new PM jokingly acknowledged the

⁷⁹ Telegram to Washington DC, April 20, 1953, Despatch No. 1582, NND 842430, Box 40, NARA.

⁸⁰ DO 35/6654/7023970, UK High Commissioner in Karachi to CRO, 22 July 1953, PRO.

common rumour that he was ‘controlled’ by Washington.⁸¹ He brought to his office an awareness of world problems gained from his recent ambassadorial services abroad. His eager entrance into American life had supplied him with a fresh sense of democratic practices which could point the way for the development of Pakistan. The only field in which he was lagging behind was in the domestic politics of the country. But this was a blessing in disguise for the Gang of Four. The cabinet was selected by the Governor General and was gifted to the Prime Minister Bogra. Bogra had spent most of his political career in Bengal or as an envoy abroad. There was a sense of alienation prevailing between himself and his Cabinet.

On the other hand, Ghulam Muhammad was a solid man of politics of the Centre. The majority of the Cabinet members were Punjabis who were always around the Governor General. Thus many important decisions were taken by the Governor General and his “kitchen cabinet”.⁸² Later on, such decisions were communicated to the Prime Minister via the Governor General.⁸³ The scheme of the division of political powers between the offices of the Prime Minister and Governor General that Liaquat Ali Khan had created was altered. Now the Prime Minister had become a ceremonial head of the Cabinet while the Governor General was the most powerful entity.

Every power struggle has its reasons and its legacies; one never disentangles the past from the present with ease. The power struggle of the past between Nazimuddin and Governor General Ghulam Muhammad repeated itself again in the present. This time the Army played a more confident role in the crisis. Soon the offices of Governor General and Prime Minister were to challenge each other’s authority. It was very easy to see that the government was based on two tiers: One tier was headed by the Prime Minister Bogra struggling to strengthen his own office. The other was the Governor General-Military alliance – the real power-centre. Bogra wanted social development, while the Governor General’s group wanted a developed and sophisticated army to deal with the threats from Afghanistan and India. Security and not economy was their priority concern.

⁸¹ Documents relating to foreign affairs of the United States are now published. Each volume covers a certain area and time span. These documents are entitled: Foreign Relations of the United States. Each volume carries its number and the years it covers. These volumes were published by the US government printing press office in Washington DC. This series will be hereafter referred to as *FRUS* with volume and year specified. See Memo of conversation between Dulles and Mohammad Ali, and others, May 23 1953, *FRUS*, 1952-54, 0, pt. 1:124, (Washington: US Government Printing Press, 1972).

⁸² Henceforth Gang of Four- Ghulam Mohammad, Iskander Mirza, Ayub Khan, and Zafrullah Khan.

⁸³ Interview with Jamshed Swati, a senior Muslim Leaguer (Abbottabad, 26-03-07).

According to a CIA report, there was only one instance when the Pakistan Army and its officers' confidantes realised the poor economic condition of the nation and thus:

It [the Army] planned to reduce the army strength to between 30,000 to 40,000 men. It was abolishing some posts in the east as high as the brigadier level. It granted long leaves to officers at reduced pay and was also reducing line of communications units and installations to the danger point through the discharge of troops. The Combat Units had not been deactivated but that their efficiency had been certainly reduced. The actual plan was to cut the overall military strength by about 20%.⁸⁴

The report was a clear indication of the seriousness of Pakistan's economic problems. Such a reduction of troops also presupposes a firm government decision to take no military action against India over the Kashmir issue or any other question which might not be satisfactorily settled during the forthcoming talks between PMs Nehru and Bogra. Such policy of lessening forces showed the government's willingness to take drastic measures to improve the situation in the region. But no such plan of reductions in military spending was implemented. 'Such plans never reached to the GHQ for consideration. A reduction of 20% of forces was like a suicide for the Pakistan Army in those days'. The country was governed in the name of defence against India. There was a parallel government in the shape of the Pakistan Army. 'The military as an autonomous institution did everything it liked but analysed anything that the Government of Pakistan asked them to do. The army accepted any command from the government that fitted into their frame of reference; otherwise, the command was ignored outright'.⁸⁵ In fact, the government was sandwiched between the Governor General and the GHQ, pressed from both sides. The Governor General's kitchen cabinet in the shape of the Gang of Four and the autonomous nature of GHQ were stumbling blocks in the way of running a smooth democratic government. Prime Minister Bogra kept democratic principles as the highest priority of the government, saying that 'we are all directly responsible to the people in the absence of a legislature'.⁸⁶ But such emotions were contrasted by his Interior Minister Mirza's statements (a member of Gang of Four):

⁸⁴ CIA- RDP79T00975A001200180001-8, July 12, 1953, NARA.

⁸⁵ Interview with Major (Rtd) Jamil Farrukh, (Peshawar, 15-03- 2007).

⁸⁶ *Dawn*, 31 October, 1954, NAI.

The masses of this country are overwhelmingly illiterate. They are not interested in politics. They are bound to act foolishly sometimes... people of this country need controlled democracy for some time to come.⁸⁷

It was indeed strange that a minister of the cabinet was countering his own Prime Minister. Mirza, a retired military officer, was representing the Army in the government. Though a minister in Bogra's cabinet, he was more answerable and connected to the Governor General.

Bogra's extensive experience of dealing with Americans was not utilized. He was informed and not consulted in the Pak-US relations. The army's direct links with the US, supported by the Governor General, were fairly noticeable. Very soon, Bogra realised that he was standing nowhere as far as Pakistan's policy towards the US was concerned. He was cornered by the country's foreign affairs, and the lead was taken by the army and its coterie of politicians – 'a few good men'.⁸⁸ On 13th September 1953, General Ayub Khan stated that during his visit to Washington he would discuss a bilateral military pact and implied that Pakistan would make military bases available to the US.⁸⁹ This raised the question as to whether or not he was speaking for his government. Contrary to that, PM Bogra on 22nd September told the American *Charge d'Affaires* in Karachi: 'General Ayub has no policy mission to carry out for his government when he would visit Washington on September 28'.⁹⁰ The Prime Minister merely wished Ayub to become acquainted with American officials and to exchange ideas with them. The military and civilian spheres of Government were poles apart. Such contradictory statements were inflicting injury to the credibility of the PM, weakening the democratic political institutions. Similarly, many decisions were made and steps were taken to form policy towards the US without consulting the PM. General Ayub's visit was followed by Ghulam Muhammad's visit to Washington where 'Pakistan announced its willingness to negotiate an air-base deal provided the US will supply arms for Pakistan's 250,000-man army'.⁹¹ Ghulam Muhammad was assisted, during these talks, by Foreign Minister Sir Zafrullah and Syed Amjad Ali, Pakistan's Ambassador to the US – all three pro-army and pro-American politicians. Such a deal and cooperation was already finalized in detail during General Ayub's

⁸⁷ CIA- RDP79T00975A001200180001-8, July 12, 1953.

⁸⁸ General Ayub Khan, Governor General Ghulam Mohammad, Interior Minister Iskander Mirza, and Foreign Minister Zafrullah.

⁸⁹ CIA-RDP-79T-00975A-001300110001-4, 24 September 1953, NARA.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ CIA- RDP70- 00058R- 000100080025-5, 12 November, 1953, NARA.

visit to Washington prior to Ghulam Mohammad's arrival. If not broken, the confidence was shaken between the Army and the Prime Minister. Former Ambassador, Hamidullah says:

In those days, Foreign Office kept fasting while the GHQ was working. We were working for policy formulation towards the entire world except the US and India. Relations of these countries with Pakistan were discussed through GHQ. Pakistan's foreign policy towards them was formed by the uniformed military officers and not by diplomats like me.⁹²

The Foreign Office was hesitant to join US sponsored military pacts,⁹³ while the GHQ was pressing to go for it. The beleaguered Foreign Office issued foreign policy terms with prior permission of the GHQ. If cooperation with the US was a dichotomous matter for the Foreign Office and the GHQ, there was the same problem between the Pentagon and the State Department. 'Against the Pentagon's enthusiasm for pushing the Alliance[s] was the State Department's concern over the Indian reaction'.⁹⁴ This issue will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

Future relations with the US were exclusively planned by the GHQ and General Ayub Khan himself. The US had first become interested in the strategic possibilities of Pakistan more than a year before when Adm. Arthur W. Radford, now Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from Pentagon, visited Pakistan as Commander in Chief of the Pacific Fleet. He visited GHQ Rawalpindi, conferred with General Ayub Khan, and came away 'deeply impressed'.⁹⁵ The GHQ and the Pentagon relations strengthened with every passing day. The months of September and November were very important for both centres of power. General Ayub and Ghulam Muhammad visited Washington and reaffirmed to the Department of State and the Pentagon every support in exchange for a military aid package. Before leaving for the US, General Ayub Khan met a US embassy official and told him that he 'was not going to the US for pleasure or sightseeing'. He also said that 'he never believed in MEDO⁹⁶ conception... but considered bilateral agreement better way'. Upon asking as to what would be the benefits of the Pak-US agreement of any kind, he replied,

⁹² Interview with Ambassador (Rtd) Hamidullah Khan, (Islamabad, 19-03-2007).

⁹³ South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). Both organizations and their formation will be discussed in detail in the forthcoming chapter.

⁹⁴ CIA- RDP70- 00058R- 000100080025-5, 12 November, 1953, NARA.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Middle Eastern Defence Organization.

‘agreement with Pakistan would be surest way [to] get Nehru on US band wagon’, and that ‘he could give any assurances [the US] wants, that [the US supplied] arms would not be used against Ind[ia] unless latter attacked Pak[istan]’. He constantly followed the line that ‘Pak [istan’s] best friend [was the] US’. By now General Ayub himself, and the US administration had learned one thing: he was ‘the strongest individual in Pakistan’,⁹⁷ along with his group- Iskander Mirza, Ghulam Muhammad, and Zafrullah. He was also awarded Legion of Merit decoration.⁹⁸ On his return from the visit, he undertook exploratory conversations with US officials on closer military cooperation on a personal basis. The civilian government of Pakistan led by PM Bogra was ignorant of any such foreign policy development.

Easterners were the first to raise their voices against the politics of alliances- SEATO and the Baghdad Pact (later on the Baghdad Pact was renamed as CENTO)- and the US intimate military relations with Pakistan. ‘They were unhappy with Karachi due to its dictatorial policies and undemocratic nature, and over and above the *Bengla-Urdu* language controversy. The Army’s tilt towards the US was not acceptable to them’⁹⁹, especially institutional interaction between the State Department, Pentagon, and the White House and the Pakistan Army. As mentioned before, the Easterners’ democratic nature demanded a popular foreign policy rather than a dictation from the GHQ.

Internally, the government was further weakening in Karachi. The overwhelming victory of the United Democratic Front in the East Bengal provincial elections in early March 1954 marked the first real defeat for the Muslim League government since it came to power in 1947.¹⁰⁰ The League had suffered a schism, but the huge defeat in East Bengal was due primarily due to local issues. The Bengalis resented what they felt was their ‘colonial’ status vis-à-vis West Pakistan. Bengali students, the driving force in the United Front’s Campaign, agitated violently against Karachi’s reluctance to make the Bengali language official and at *par* with West Pakistan’s Urdu language.¹⁰¹ They also asserted that East Bengal’s economic

⁹⁷ American Embassy Karachi to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, September 15, 1953, Despatch No. 230, NND 842430, Box 40, NARA.

⁹⁸ American Embassy Karachi, Quarterly Review, October 17, 1953, Despatch No. A-73, NND 842430, Box 40, NARA.

⁹⁹ Interview with Barrister Zahoor Butt.

¹⁰⁰ East Pakistan and East Bengal is one and the same thing. However, wherever East Bengal is used in the Archival documents, it has not been changed to East Pakistan.

¹⁰¹ CIA-RDP79-00927A0002000190001-1 April 2, 1954, NARA.

development had been slighted by Karachi.¹⁰² Due to a sense of deprivation, any country that strengthened and supported Karachi was disliked by the Bengalis. Hence, America was on the top of the list.

The Leader of the Awami League, Maulana Bhashani, denounced Pakistan's 'slave Pact' (a cynical term for the Baghdad Pact) with American 'Warmongers'. He attacked military aid to Pakistan and interpreted the Muslim League's defeat in the East as a popular rejection of these policies. However, the head of the Awami League, Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, was very cautious on this question as he had to play his politics in the Centre (Karachi). The reason was that he aspired to the highest seat (Prime Minister) in Karachi. He was soft on the politics of alliances as he realised that Karachi was dominated by the pro-American Gang of Four. On the issue of the US military pact with Pakistan, he said, 'Pakistan should remain neutral in a world war, but I favour military aid provided no strings were attached'.¹⁰³ It was a very cautious statement neutralising both of its parts. Of course a neutral country could not get military aid and military aid could not be provided without strings. At the same time, the leadership of the United Front, Fazlul Haq, the coalition partner and Suhrawardy were the local heroes who took full advantage of 'the ineptitude and unpopularity of the Muslim League's provincial leaders'.¹⁰⁴ Other than them, there were no known men with talent or experience in the Front's administration. This resulted in their rise to power. Haq became the Chief Minister, an intelligent but unstable octogenarian, whereas Suhrawardy concentrated on national politics and left the provincial field to him. He was moving very carefully and gingerly. 'Suhrawardy's ambition to become the national Prime Minister of the country' by now had become too obvious.¹⁰⁵ With such ambitions he wanted to curb sentiment among his following of East Bengal's secession from West Pakistan.¹⁰⁶

The situation in East Bengal was yet not under control. Bengalis were demanding greater and greater roles in the Constituent Assembly especially from the United Front Forum. The Front had called for immediate dissolution of the assembly on the ground that East Bengal's views, as expressed in elections, would not be represented in the draft constitution which the assembly was due to produce in the

¹⁰² Interview with Kamal Matinuddin.

¹⁰³ CIA-RDP79-00927A0002000190001-1 April 2, 1954, NARA.

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Zahoor Butt.

¹⁰⁵ CIA-RDP79-00927A0002000190001-1 April 2, 1954, NARA.

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Zahoor Butt.

next few months.¹⁰⁷ There were, nevertheless, strong forces which might have disrupted Pakistan. The biggest such force was the strain between the East and the West wings of the country. At the time of the East Bengal election in March 1954, some of the elements suggested that East Bengal was about to secede from the federation.¹⁰⁸ Such rebellious statements were the over-expression of winning elections against the Muslim League that had controlled Central government for so long. But now the overriding need of the time was to keep East Bengal part of Pakistan with greater control of its provincial affairs. However, rebellious centrifugal forces were more than matched by the forces which linked Pakistan as one united entity.

It was the armed forces and the civil administrative services that provided a strong integrated framework to hold the country together.¹⁰⁹ Ayub Khan had a persistent fear of the Easterners. He thought that as East Pakistan was engulfed by India from its three sides, infiltration by Indian spies was very easy. Therefore, every move of Easterners was suspicious to him and his other military colleagues. He wanted to keep both of Pakistan's wings together strategically to keep India paranoid about the possibility of a two front war. The army had a military calculation that, in case of the dismemberment of Pakistan, the creation of a separate country in the shape of Bengal would be on Indian instigation and hence a satellite state of India. In such a grim eventuality, India would be a persistent security threat for West Pakistan (the remaining part of Pakistan). This would make them (the Pakistan Army) even weaker against India and for the rest of history they would live under a constant fear of India.¹¹⁰ Not the fear of India but the creation of an Indian sponsored separate Bengal state was one of the cementing factors for a United Pakistan. Therefore, the Pakistan Army always dealt with the grievances of Easterners sceptically and conspiratorially.

On the other hand, more than 80% of civil administrative services were occupied by the *Muhajirs* (those who had migrated from India to Pakistan).¹¹¹ They were well educated as compared to the rest of Pakistanis; therefore, the moment they migrated to Pakistan, they were placed in high posts. Keeping Pakistan united was, in other words, their expression of hatred and competition against India. They wanted to

¹⁰⁷ CIA-RDP79-00927A0002000190001-1 April 2, 1954, NARA.

¹⁰⁸ CRO, Ref: CON 272/6/2 Copy No. 127, April 25, 1954, PRO.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Interview with Brigadier Inam-ul-Haq Afridi.

¹¹¹ An autobiography of Zahoor Butt, *Aik Qadam Aagay Dow Qadam Peechey* (One Step Forward Two Steps Backward), (Lahore: Ghalib Publishers, 1998), p.121.

keep Pakistan integrated, united and strong to justify their migration. Thus the armed forces and the administrative services of the country proved a cementing force for the integration of the country. In the previous eight years of its existence, Pakistan had become a ‘going concern’ – a country more than just a geographical expression.

The dichotomous political fragility of East Pakistan was very carefully noted by the GHQ. The Army always considered the Bengali political riots and demonstrations as a beginning of insurrection. It was always ready to deal with them with an iron hand. As mentioned in chapter 2, the Pakistan Army was born from the British colonial army. Hence, although Pakistan was an independent state, its Army’s *modus operandi* followed colonial rules. There was a dormant tussle between the Army and East Pakistan. Since the labour riots on 15th May 1954, the East Pakistan political situation had deteriorated steadily. The federal government took steps to ensure peace by civilian machinery, but Ayub Khan told the American attaché that he had urged the government strongly to promulgate ‘governor’s rule’ – direct rule by the provincial governor acting on the instructions from Karachi – and to impose martial law in certain areas.¹¹²

The Easterners’ democratic nature was challenged by the Army using the Cold War excuses. It was felt that the Ayub-Mirza nexus could govern Pakistan only under the pretexts of averting Communist expansion and maintaining law and order. A justification for such pretexts was provided by labour riots in East Bengal. Riots and the ‘burning of different mills especially Adamjee Jute Mills was the triggering point’.¹¹³ Hundreds of people died, which showed the failure of the United Front’s government. There had been numerous reports that the United Front was joined and backed by the Communists in East Bengal.¹¹⁴ A. K. Fazul Haq and Maulana Bhashani had already shown their resentment towards the US sponsored pacts. Hence, to appease the US administration and to show loyalty to the recently joined pacts, the Governor General dismissed Fazul Haq’s nascent ministry and appointed Mirza, his loyal friend, as the governor of East Pakistan.¹¹⁵ Ayub Khan’s advice given a week before was honoured.

Unfortunately, Prime Minister Bogra was getting closer to the United Front. He was fed up with the parallel government run by the Governor General along with

¹¹² CIA-RDP79T-00975A-001500620001-6, May 23, 1954, NARA.

¹¹³ Interview with Kamal Matinuddin.

¹¹⁴ CIA-RDP78-02646R-00030005-0001-9, 12 January 1954, NARA.

¹¹⁵ CRO, Ref: CON 272/6/2 Copy No. 127, May 29, 1954, PRO.

his Gang of Four. Bogra was kept in the dark, especially with respect to the country's foreign policy towards America and the joining of Pacts. At numerous times, his opinion was superseded by the Governor General and General Ayub Khan. One such example was when General Ayub Khan's advice to impose governor's rule was honoured and East Pakistan was dealt with sternly. Strangely, whenever the situation in East Pakistan worsened, the Army came up with ruthless statements and actions. It tried to suppress the Easterners' democratic demands with the use of force. The period of the 1950s was like a tussle between East Pakistan and the Army. If elections were held in East Pakistan, its leadership was not acceptable to the Army. And if Pakistan was joining the US sponsored military pacts, it was opposed to by the Easterners. Neither was ever reconciled to each other's existence. Therefore, the Army was ready to play its active political role in the backdrop of situations in the East. In Karachi on 6th October 1954, Ayub Khan told the American *Charge d'Affairs* Emmerson that he was unhappy over the existing political situation in Pakistan. He said that the Bengali politicians could not be allowed to dictate to the whole of Pakistan, that 'something would be done', and that he hoped the US would understand if some military action became necessary.¹¹⁶ It was a blunt statement that reflected the Army's intention to seize control if necessary *by* its own will.

To counter undemocratic moves, the seat of the Prime Minister had to be a strong one. But behind all such dictatorial moves was the office of a civilian: the Governor General. Hence PM Bogra had to clip the powers of the Governor General first before dealing with the army and its hostile moves towards the Easterners. This time, it was the Gang of Four vs. PM Bogra, making the situation volatile in Karachi. The ball kept rolling until there was a question of power-share. Powers of the Governor General were much more dominant than that of the Prime Minister. To balance their administrative powers, an act, the 'Government of India (Fifth Amendment) Act 1954', was passed. It contained four provisions. The fourth and the most important but controversial one was:

Wherein in this Act the Governor-General is required to perform any function or exercise any power, he shall until the context otherwise provides be deemed to perform this function and exercise these powers in accordance with the advice of the Ministers.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ CIA-RDP 79-T00975A-00170013-0001-8, October 8, 1954, NARA.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

It was an effort to deprive the Governor General from his independent powers and to remove the Damocles sword of making and breaking the governments. But Ayub Khan's statement during his meeting with the American *Charge d'Affaires* Emmerson (mentioned above) was an indication that the efforts of the PM and his group to engineer a constitutional block to reduce the Governor General's powers were in vain. The Gang of Four was much more organized and strong than Bogra alone. The Governor General was angered over the Fifth Amendment Act of 1954. To counter Bogra's efforts to curtail the Governor General's powers, Ghulam Mohammad and Law Minister Brohi had been in constant consultation –possibly on the 'Governor General's residual powers- to dissolve the government or call out the army in a national emergency'. Brohi, who was also minister for Information and Broadcasting, had held a conference with Sindh newspaper editors and had been assured of their co-operation in case of the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly. The Army appeared to remain loyal to the Governor General.¹¹⁸ There was a tussle between the two offices, one elected other selected; one the voice of the people and the other the victor of the last tussle between the PM and Governor General. Ghulam Mohammad dissolved Pakistan's Constituent Assembly and dismissed PM Bogra's Cabinet.

The Gang of Four was not alone in derailing the democratic process of the country. Unfortunately, the judiciary also had a supportive relationship with them. The CIA reported on the day of dissolution that the 'Governor General Ghulam Mohammad's dissolution of the Pakistani Constituent Assembly and dismissal of PM Mohammad Ali Bogra's Cabinet will presumably be upheld, since the Chief Justices of the Federal Court and High Courts, to whom any protest would be made, are said to be loyal to him'.¹¹⁹ Ghulam Muhammad was very safe in his acts of omission and commission. He politicised the judiciary too. A pillar of the State had become the pillar of the government.

Bogra's government however was not a representative government. Thus no civil disorder was witnessed after its dismissal 'nor was any likelihood of such sort in the near future'. As far as foreign policy was concerned, it was already not being formed in the Foreign Office. Those responsible for the formulation of foreign policy were permanent characters on Pakistan's political scene (Zafrullah, Mirza, Ayub

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ CIA-RDP79-T00975A-00170027-0001-3, 24 October, 1954, NARA.

Khan, and Ghulam Mohammad). So there was no question of any change in its policies. The CIA papers also say that, despite the fact that the government was changed and the judiciary was in the government's pocket, 'Pakistan's foreign policy remained pro-American'.¹²⁰

A new Cabinet was sworn-in on the same evening. The group- Gang of Four took open control of the government. The new cabinet included General Ayub Khan, General (Rtd) Iskander Mirza; M.A.H. Ispahani, a diplomat; Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur, a politician from Sindh; and Chaudhri Muhammad Ali continuing as the Finance Minister. Later on, Dr. Khan Sahib¹²¹ and two representatives from the United Front also joined the Cabinet. Ayub Khan also reached the Cabinet slot as a minister. But it was not his end. This ministry was a means to his end. His ultimate aim was to preside over the Cabinet meeting and to become the sole ruler of the country – surely a uniformed ruler.

The new Cabinet was more like a national government after a history of instable governments. This time the armed forces and civil bureaucracy were represented in the cabinet by General Ayub and Iskander Mirza respectively. Thus it was expected that this government would serve and survive for long. The PM named the new cabinet the 'Ministry of Talent'. Launched by the Gang, the era of 'controlled democracy' started. The day the so-called 'Ministry of Talent' formed, Iskander Mirza gave a very interesting statement that reflected the future political set up of Pakistan:

The masses of this country are overwhelmingly illiterate. They are not interested in politics. They are bound to act foolishly sometimes, as they did in East Pakistan, and again their elected leaders did in the Constituent Assembly. It was thus necessary, in fact essential, that there should be somebody to rectify their blunders. People of this country need controlled democracy for some time to come.¹²²

His statement was to anticipate in future that the 'somebody' to rectify civilian blunders was the Army. The country would be governed by uniformed rulers for the future to come. Democracy would be both militarised and controlled.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Brother of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, and later on the founder of Republican Party.

¹²² *Dawn*, October 31, 1954, NAI.

The new regime seemed to come like a breath of fresh air. There was a widespread spirit of hopefulness that under the new government a real advance would be made towards its objectives: to clean up the administration of Pakistan from corruption at all levels and to give it a new vigour and efficiency; to put an end to the jealousies and dissensions between various provinces; to raise the standard of living of the ordinary people of Pakistan, particularly with the help of American economic aid; and to frame a constitution that would be generally acceptable, and then to hold fresh elections as soon as the situation permitted. The new cabinet knew what they were about and were resolutely determined to give Pakistan a fresh start along a better road. The irony of fate was that, even after the lapse of seven years, the country neither witnessed a constitution nor held general elections. ‘There was a considerable cynicism over the government’s promise to hold elections “as soon as possible”’,¹²³ but a delay in the return to parliamentary government would be compensated for by the benefits which a period of authoritarian rule had to offer. But raised spirits were dampened during several months of arguments in the Courts over the legality of the Governor General’s action in dissolving the old Constituent Assembly.

First the Assembly was restored by the High Court. Interior Minister Mirza gave a public statement on 10th February that the Pakistani government would pay no attention to the provincial court’s ruling of 9th February that the Governor General’s action on 24th October of seizing overt control and dismissing the Pakistani Constituent Assembly was illegal. He even added that if the federal court upheld the 9th February decision, it too would be ignored.¹²⁴ It very directly indicated that the government was to remain in power regardless of the current challenge to its legality. The Gang of Four was ready, if necessary, to rule unconstitutionally. At the same time, there was no individual or political party in Pakistan strong enough to overthrow the gang. And the fact of the matter was that the Gang of Four was enjoying the support of the Army. But finally the Federal Court ruled, with some qualifications, in favour of the legality of the Governor General’s action. The delays in the Federal Court’s ruling that a new Constituent Assembly should be elected by the Provincial Legislative Assemblies necessarily caused a serious loss of momentum for the federal government. This encouraged provincial politicians to revert to the pursuit of their personal advantage and to seek a stiff price for their cooperation. As far as the law and

¹²³ Interview with Gulzar Khan, (Lahore, 13-06-07).

¹²⁴ CIA-RDP79-T00975A-001900450001-1, 12 February 1955, CIA, NARA.

order situation was concerned, throughout this period of legal uncertainty, Pakistan remained quite tranquil. Military force was available in the background to be called upon if required.¹²⁵

Despite his poor health and physical disabilities, the Governor General retained firm control over various groups and their leaders, whom he had employed to achieve his ends. Zahoor Butt commented on the Governor General's poor health and the work of the Gang of Four in the following words:

His old age and illness did not matter much. Even later on, Zafrullah's departure to the ICJ did not make any change in their [gang of four] agenda (he was replaced by Chaudhri Muhammad Ali as a new member of the gang). Ayub and Mirza were sufficient to rein politicians and the country. Their agenda was to control them and keep pro-American policies – join the [SEATO and CENTO] pacts and be as much anti-India as possible to defend now and govern the motherland later with an American pat on their shoulders.¹²⁶

Three men were in a very special position in relation to the Governor General, especially during his poor health. They formed the inner ring of 'patriotic and resolute men who could not be considered 'expendable', as could the other members of the Cabinet, not excluding the PM. The foremost among the three was Chaudhri Mohammad Ali, the Finance Minister. In Pakistan, he towered over the rest. 'His ideals for his country were fully as high as the Governor General's'. The British High Commissioner in Karachi talked approvingly of him as 'ambitious for the highest office even though he had little or no political following'.¹²⁷ The second man was the forceful and impetuous Iskander Mirza. He was over-fond of making deliberately provocative statements, especially against democracy and politicians. He was not without his detractors and indeed his weaknesses, but patriotism was a strong factor in his composition. His performance as Governor of East Pakistan in 1954 had shown his capacity for administration and leadership. The third member of the inner ring was General Ayub Khan, Minister of Defence and Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army. Physically commanding, wellbuilt, and a tough man from Hazara, he was a close confidant of Iskander Mirza.¹²⁸ It was difficult for him to keep the Army out of

¹²⁵ Interview with Kamal Matinuddin.

¹²⁶ Interview with Zahoor Butt.

¹²⁷ DO 35/8926/7023970, Copy No. 152, PRO.

¹²⁸ Interview with Kamal Matinuddin.

politics or politics out of the Army by having the Ministry of Defence on one hand and command of the Army on the other. 'He was continuously working in the background but his front-man was Iskander Mirza'.¹²⁹ All three members of the Gang of Four held very sensitive positions in the country, which of course was not a coincidence. Chaudhri Muhammad Ali controlled the financial machine and commanded the loyalty and support of the Administrative Services; Iskander Mirza controlled the forces of law and order; General Ayub controlled the fighting forces. Thus it was not their personal traits but also the positions that they were holding which was making them distinctive and strong. The entire country was run by 'a few good men'.

Four non-political and non-elected entities were governing Pakistan. It was a natural consequence of the prevailing trend of politics in the country. Politics in Pakistan was a matter of personalities rather than political parties. Groups and alliances were formed on personal, family or local interests as much as on questions of principle or policy. It resulted in uncertainty in the country. The political pattern could shift with dramatic suddenness. Take the case of Prime Minister Bogra. He tried his level best to isolate the Gang of Four by integrating the Muslim League. By playing one group against another, and maintaining his own balancing position at the top, he alienated Suhrawardy and brought with him Fazl-ul-Haq from East Bengal. The strongest factor that brought them together was their shared fear and dislike for Mr Suhrawardy.¹³⁰ On the other hand, Suhrawardy was trying to win over the West Pakistan Muslim League members and achieve power at the Centre in alliance with them, leaving Mohammad Ali and Fazl-ul-Haq in the cold. 'He openly regarded himself as the rightful Prime Minister of Pakistan, kept out of his rights only by the machinations of lesser men, and in the nature of things this attitude offended many'.¹³¹ But eventually, this all depended on the Governor General's calculation of the balance of advantages. Politics and the politicians' fate were decided by non-political entities that were yet at the helm of the political scene. In the meanwhile, Ghulam Muhammad's health deteriorated which compelled him to take a leave of absence on 6th October 1955. He was replaced by Iskander Mirza as acting Governor General.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ DO 35/8926/7023970, PRO.

¹³¹ Ibid.

When it comes to a change in Pakistan during the 1950s and 60s, one (civilian as well as military) dictator would replace another. Often, a dictator was removed but his remnants still remained in power. Removal of a dictator did not mean a change in political circumstances of the country. Post-Ghulam Mohammad, Pakistan was no different. The same wrangling between the politicians and non-elected members of the country was in process. Like his predecessor, Iskander Mirza enjoyed the full backing of the Pakistan Army. He brought with him another confidante of the inner ring, Chaudhri Mohammad Ali,¹³² as the new Prime Minister of the country on 12th August 1955.¹³³ It was the first time that both top positions of Prime Minister and Governor General were held by West Pakistanis. By any means necessary, they wanted to form a combined West Pakistan to balance or counter the Eastern Wing. The Army was pro-West entity not only working on the international scene, but even at the domestic level, it was pro-west Pakistan. This was an ideal atmosphere for the top slots to be occupied by the West Pakistanis.

One of the objectives of the Gang of Four was to form a constitution. At numerous times, the threat of the Army or martial law was given to politicians to bring them together to approve the constitution and form a Western Wing.¹³⁴ Suhrawardy, the opposition leader, who too wanted to exploit the situation to his own favour, was sure that the Mirza-Ayub nexus wanted to cause the situation to deteriorate to such a level that the military would be called in and thus prepare the way for a dictatorship.¹³⁵

Pakistan was passing through aristocratic governance where a few privileged friends were deciding the nation's destiny. Mirza-Ayub took major decisions without troubling to explain or consult with the masses. It was on 14th October 1955 that the Province of West Pakistan was formed 'without consulting Easterners and Pushtoons'.¹³⁶ Easterners took the matter very seriously. They considered it a conspiracy hatched against them to balance their numerical superiority. Fazlur Rahman, a member of the Constituent Assembly and an opponent of moves towards the creation of a West Pakistan province in the first Constituent Assembly, termed it the division of the country in the following words:

¹³² Previous Finance Minister of Pakistan.

¹³³ Mohammad Ali of Bogra left the office of PM on the same date.

¹³⁴ CIA-RDP79-00927A-0007001-60001-9, March 1, 1956, NARA.

¹³⁵ DO 35/5406, PRO, 17 August, 1955, Despatch No. 151, NAL.

¹³⁶ Interview with OFMGK, (Charsadda, 17-02-07).

Sir, it has been stated that the greatest merit of this bill is to do away with distinction between *Punjabis* and *Sindhis* and *Pathans* and this and that, but you do not realize that by dividing Pakistan into two you are manifold magnifying that provincialism, by making it a local patriotism for the two regions. Then no longer the cry will be *Punjabis* and *Sindhis* but the cry will be *Bengalis* and non- *Bengalis*¹³⁷.

Similarly, there were other speakers who spoke against the Bill (of making West Pakistan one unit) and highlighted its volatile nature. One such member of the Constituent Assembly was Abul Mansoor Ahmed. He said that the purpose of such a Bill was to unite West Pakistan's politicians so that:

They must be able to talk to the people of East Bengal in one voice so that they may not use that position of numerical superiority. That is the unfortunate basis for the integration of West Pakistan. The very idea is wrong. If I were left with bringing an integration Bill I would have given a much better Bill which would not have been based on fear for and conspiracy against East Bengal.¹³⁸

For the smooth running of a democratic system, the culture of political parties is a pre-requisite. However, in Pakistan, political parties were the feeblest part of the country's system. Parties were broken and formed at the instigation of dictators. Another party, the Republican Party, was launched by Dr. Khan Sahib and was enjoying the support of Governor General Mirza. The Republican Party was a combination of dissidents of the Muslim League. At the same time, Chaudhri Mohamad Ali's government weakened due to the loss of Muslim League party workers to the Republican Party. Hence, he too had to resign.

Chaudhri Muhammad Ali also developed some differences with Mirza on a few clauses of the draft constitution. The designation of Pakistan as an "Islamic Republic" and the denial of the presidency to anyone except a Moslem¹³⁹ were important and potentially dangerous concessions to extremist religious groups. Mirza opposed these provisions and managed to delay the crucial second reading in the assembly. He also blamed PM Chaudhri Muhammad Ali for political crisis in the country and described him to the American Ambassador in Karachi as "a bloody

¹³⁷ Fazlur Rahman, Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates (henceforth CAPD), Volume 1, 24 August 1955, p.274.

¹³⁸ Abul Mansoor Ahmed, CAPD, Volume 1, 30 September 1955, p. 1423.

¹³⁹ CIA-RDP79-00927A-0007001-60001-9, March 1, 1956, NARA.

fool”.¹⁴⁰ But Chaudhri Mohammad Ali and other West Pakistani politicians who used orthodox elements to increase their power were afraid to insist on secular constitution.¹⁴¹ The Gang of Four was reduced to the ‘Gang of Three’ after Ghulam Mohammad’s departure and was facing internal tension. They were less united now than before. Previously, they were united due to variation in their posts and positions. But now all the three (without Ghulam Mohammad as their head) were *at par* with each other without a uniting force behind them.¹⁴² Prime Minister Chaudhri Mohammad Ali had little popular support. Though he seemed to be in alliance with the newly elected Muslim League president Nishtar and the seasoned Punjabi leader Daultana, he still found himself disliked by President Mirza – the king maker, but at least he finally got the first constitution of Pakistan approved by the Constituent Assembly on 29 February 1956.¹⁴³ As was understood before, according to the constitution, the President was to replace the Governor General. Therefore, Iskander Mirza automatically became the President of the country. The system was changing but the faces were the same. It was old wine in a new bottle.

On the other hand, Suhrawardy’s Awami League came into power in East Bengal and replaced the United Front on 30th August 1956. On 12th September 1956, Suhrawardy formed a coalition government of Awami League and Republican Party at the Centre and became the Prime Minister of the country. The new government had taken ‘a strong stand in support of a policy of collaboration with the West. It also had the support of the Pakistan Army and Pakistan Civil Service, the two most important stabilizing forces in Pakistan’.¹⁴⁴ Mr Suhrawardy had considerable grassroots appeal. There was no other political figure that commanded the public support or had political acumen of his stature. Suhrawardy and Mirza’s continuance in power appeared to improve stability in Pakistan. Americans were very cautious about Suhrawardy’s government as he was very hesitant to support US military pacts joined by Pakistan. However, President Mirza told the British and Americans privately on 13th September 1956 that ‘before calling on Mr. Suhrawardy he asked for and obtained an assurance from him that there would be no alteration in the main trends of Pakistan foreign policy. The President also obtained assurances from Mr. Suhrawardy that he will not

¹⁴⁰ CIA-RDP79-00927A-0008000-90001-6, 10 May, 1956, NARA.

¹⁴¹ CIA-RDP79-00927A-0007001-60001-9, March 1, 1956, NARA.

¹⁴² Mohammad Ali, Prime Minister; Iskander Mirza, President; and C-In-C Ayub Khan.

¹⁴³ CIA-RDP79-00927A-0007001-60001-9, March 1, 1956, NARA.

¹⁴⁴ Congressional Papers, Country Profile, 60D545, Box 43, NND937328, 14 May, 1957, NARA.

try to interfere in Army affairs and that in this regard, he will keep Bhashani (the extremist Awami Leaguer) in order'.¹⁴⁵ Zahoor Butt, a very close friend of Suhrawardy, says:

Suhrawardy had to give assurance to Mirza for a tough stance on Kashmir, anti-India policy and pro-US foreign policy. He also had to agree that he will remain loyal to the Army and its civilian associates.¹⁴⁶

Such assurances were necessary as there had already been blunt pronouncements from the Awami League's forum against Pakistan's joining of the Baghdad Pact. The Awami League's Council, in a resolution on the foreign policy of the Pakistan government, felt that the interests of Pakistan would be better served if an independent and neutral foreign policy could be adopted instead of becoming 'a puppet of other peoples' foreign policy'. The council also expressed the view that military pacts cost Pakistan the sympathy of majority of the Muslim countries of the world.¹⁴⁷ But Suhrawardy always flew while observing the tide. Whilst lunching at the British High Commission, he stated that 'Pakistan's friends were in fact to be found in the West and not among the neutralists'.¹⁴⁸ It not only reassured his commitment to the Alliances but also expressed his contempt to India, which was necessary for the Pakistan Army to take note of. His party was divided over Pakistan's membership of the US sponsored military alliances. Suhrawardy did succeed in mustering support from the West Wing of his party leadership in Karachi for both his government's external and internal policies. However, in the East Wing his task was especially difficult due to the powerful and bold personality of Maulana Bhashani. Bhashani publicly condemned the policy of alliances in October 1955 and again in May 1956.¹⁴⁹ He always expected exploitation by the West [wing] and that the failure to redress East Pakistan's grievances might lead to its saying 'Goodbye' to West Pakistan.¹⁵⁰ To balance Maulana Bhashani, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Secretary General of the party came out publicly in strong opposition to the Maulana and in favour of Suhrawardy. PM Suhrawardy was not ready to take a head on collision that

¹⁴⁵ Telegram to CRO, Despatch No. 1553, September 27, 1956, PRO.

¹⁴⁶ Interview with Zahoor Butt.

¹⁴⁷ Telegram to CRO, Despatch No. INT.47/1 June 7th 1956, PRO.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ DO 35/8925/7023970, High Commission Karachi to CRO, 11 March 1956, Despatch No. 15, PRO.

¹⁵⁰ Extract from Fortnightly Report No. 4, For the Period 7th to 20th February, 1957, DO 35/8925/7023970, High Commission Karachi to CRO, PRO.

would drag the Maulana into opposition before general elections. He also knew that his (Maulana Bhashani) age could no longer allow him to pursue his obstructive line. Enjoying the full support of his party workers, and after long struggle, Suhrawardy wanted to remain in power now for a while.¹⁵¹

Ambassador Hildreth before his final departure from Karachi reported that despite some progress by President Mirza and Prime Minister Suhrawardy in recent months a number of developments contributed to continuing political instability within the country. Political party factionalism continued to be widespread with no single political party commanding a majority in the Pakistan National Assembly or in either of the two provincial assemblies. The present coalition government which came into power in September 1956 derived its support principally from the Pakistan Army and the Pakistan Civil Service. The team of Mirza and Suhrawardy had to date worked well, although the political philosophies of the two leaders differed widely, with Mirza favouring a more authoritarian rule and Suhrawardy strongly supporting a broadly-based democratic parliamentary system.¹⁵²

The Suhrawardy-Mirza coalition was a marriage of convenience. A firm and strong government of Suhrawardy never favoured Mirza as it would have undermined his own position. Hence, Mirza's political manipulation kept the government shaky. But Suhrawardy was becoming popular with his initial political manoeuvrings. He brought foreign policy for the first time to the Central Assembly for debate. Due to Pakistan's pressing economic needs, continuing US aid had been a major help to Pakistan's economy. This was realized by Suhrawardy who remained a staunch supporter of the US policy of containment to muster economic assistance for the uplift of the country's economy. During his tenure in office, the US material support totalled in excess of a half billion dollars for economic aid including PL 480 assistance and over 282 million for military aid. The fiscal 1958 program for Pakistan envisaged 8 million for technical assistance, 60 million for defence support and as yet an undetermined amount for economic development assistance.¹⁵³

Suhrawardy always targeted the Indian slogan of neutrality. During his official visit to the US, he said:

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Letter from NEA. William M. Rountree to the Secretary of State of the US mentioning outgoing Ambassador Hildreth's comments on Political and Economic trends of Pakistan, June 1, 1957, RG 59 GRDS, Lot File No. 60D545/NND 937328, NARA.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

The instability of the East Bengal was entirely the result of the Indian-inspired subversion. If the Americans had not yet learned to recognize Indians in their true colors, they were bound to do so in time. India's neutralism was called 'positive neutralism' by Nehru; but I prefer to call it 'offensive neutralism.'¹⁵⁴

Mr. A. Hussain, Pakistan's Secretary of Defence, then showed an intelligence map purporting to demonstrate that three-quarters of the Indian army was ranged along the border of West Pakistan facing Pakistani forces of one-fourth their strength.¹⁵⁵

Similarly, President Mirza laid stress on neutralism saying it constituted the most dangerous threat to the free world today. He characterized the so called dynamic neutrality or progressive neutrality as being in actuality 'aggressive neutrality'. Mirza specifically mentioned India and Egypt in this context. The Pakistani administration under Suhrawardy also believed that Nasser was a force for evil: he was a major enemy; he was a great friend of the Russians and the aggressive neutralist.¹⁵⁶

Suhrawardy was the first Prime Minister or head of the government in Pakistan who took up the issue of acquiring nuclear energy plants with the US administration. During his visit to the US, he demanded an atomic reactor better than the ones delivered to other allied countries under the President's Atoms for Peace Program. He met with the Secretary of State, John F. Dulles, in this regard and demanded more contributions towards the purchase of a modern and up-to-date reactor. The Secretary observed that \$350,000 was the maximum contribution which the US made toward the purchase of atomic reactors by other countries. He voiced his understanding that the newly released 'Argonaut' reactor was a good one. The Prime Minister reacted strongly, characterizing experimental reactors as 'toys' and 'a waste of money'. The Chairman of the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission had advised him that a reactor costing \$1.5 million was the cheapest one which would be of any practical benefit. The Secretary disagreed, pointing out that roughly 40 countries had

¹⁵⁴ Memorandum of conversation between the Secretary of State and the PM Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, July 12, 1957, RG 59 GRDS, Lot File No. 60D545/NND 937328, NARA

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Memorandum of Conversation, Mr. J.R. Maybee, First secretary, Canadian Embassy with Richards Mission to Pakistan and Afghanistan, April 9, 1957, RG 59 GRDS, Lot File No. 60D545/NND 937328, NARA

thought it sufficiently worthwhile to have experimental reactors to sign an agreement providing for a US contribution toward the purchase of such a device.

Suhrawardy expressed his lack of confidence that these agreements were being implemented for the real benefits of recipient countries. He asked for suggestions as to where the exports could see projects being carried out under this program which could demonstrate that it could be beneficial to Pakistan. It was agreed that a memorandum responsive to these questions would be handed to the Prime Minister before his departure.¹⁵⁷ This laid the foundation of the Pakistan's atomic energy program for peaceful purposes. During Suhrawardy era, Pakistan requested repeatedly US financial assistance in procuring a CP-5 research reactor costing approximately \$2.5million. The US examined the situation carefully each time that Pakistan requested a CP-5 (large) reactor. The facts remain the same: the US was willing to provide \$350,000 towards any research reactor project Pakistan wished to buy. This was the ceiling which had been established for all countries under the President's Atoms for Peace Program and it would be extremely difficult to make an exception at this late date.¹⁵⁸

During his meeting with the Secretary Dulles, Prime Minister Suhrawardy acquainted him with his visit to Kabul in June 1957. He told the Secretary that the Afghans had promised to tone down their propaganda on the *Pashtoonistan* issue. It was Mr. Suhrawardy's impression that the Afghans were 'not paying their agents so much' as they had formerly been doing in efforts to agitate the frontier [between Pakistan and Afghanistan].¹⁵⁹

Suhrawardy proved very strong and successful in foreign policy. However, he failed to control anti-democratic forces in the country, including President Mirza. Achievements in shape of successful foreign policy and foreign investment in Pakistan could not strengthen Suhrawardy's rule. His government received a serious blow when Mirza obtained the resignation of Governor Gurmani of West Pakistan.¹⁶⁰ A very strong Punjabi ally of Suhrawardy, Gurmani was a leading contender for the

¹⁵⁷ Pakistan's Request for Atomic Reactor, Memorandum of conversation between the Secretary of State and the PM Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, July 12, 1957, RG 59 GRDS, Lot File No. 60D545/NND 937328, NARA

¹⁵⁸ From William M. Rountree to the Secretary of State, July 12, 1957, RG 59 GRDS, Lot File No. 60D545/NND 937328, NARA

¹⁵⁹ Memorandum of conversation between the Secretary of State and the PM Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, July 10, 1957, RG 59 GRDS, Lot File No. 60D545/NND 937328, USNARA

¹⁶⁰ CIA-RDP79-00927A-00140005-0001-3, September 5, 1957, NARA.

presidency. He was a threat to Mirza in any future presidential election. The new governor, Akhtar Hussayn, a *Shia* like Mirza, was another addition to West Pakistanis who were already occupying numerous high positions in the government. It was a great blow to Suhrawardy's government which was already facing tough time from Bhashani (his own party faction that was against the US military pacts as well as West Pakistanis' dominance in high posts of the country). The government, formed as a marriage of convenience, did not last for long. When a coalition partner, the Republican Party, known as the party of President Mirza, withdrew its support, Suhrawardy wanted to test his strength on the floor of the National Assembly. He still believed in democracy and democratic ways of entry and exit. However, Mirza refused to summon the National Assembly saying that he knew the party situation. According to Mirza: 'I issued an ultimatum [to Suhrawardy]: he must resign within two hours or I would dismiss him'.¹⁶¹ Hence due to President Mirza's personal dislike, Suhrawardy departed from the government on October 17, 1957. The departure of Suhrawardy's government was another example of the feeble government being out-manoeuvred by the Presidency. His government, however, accomplished two important tasks. He was the first head of the government who brought efficiency and boosted the morale of government departments and gave them a sense of 'going somewhere'. He also began a concerted attack on Pakistan's most pressing economic problem – that of increasing food production.¹⁶²

Suhrawardy's government was followed by I.I Chundrigar and Feroz Khan Noon. But even they could not last long. The Gang of Four by now was further reduced to the Gang of Two: Mirza and General Ayub Khan. Ayub Khan already knew that soon President Iskander Mirza would assume dictatorial powers.¹⁶³ Every successive cabinet during its tenure of office was more concerned with politicking than with affairs of the government and the governed. The position of every cabinet

¹⁶¹ *Weekly Meyaar*, Vol. 1, No. 24, May 29-June 25, 1976, p.20. Also see, *Newsline*, May 1996, pp.131-33. Iskander Mirza's autobiography was serialized in *Weekly Meyaar* (Karachi) in 1976 under the title 'Iskander Mirza Speaks: An Autobiography'. Later it was also published as a book by the same magazine. In 1996 *Newsline* (Karachi) published excerpts from Iskander Mirza's detailed interview with Hasan Isphani recorded in September 1967. See 'Memoirs of a President', *Newsline* May 1996, pp.130-141 and June 1996, pp.133-36. Both memoirs mention Suhrawardy's exit. See also Mohammad Habibur Rahman Talukdar (ed.), *Memoirs of Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy*, (Dhaka: University Press, 1987), p.119.

¹⁶² CIA-RDP79-00927A-0015000-40001-3, November 7, 1957, NARA.

¹⁶³ CIA-RDP79T-00975A-00360049-0001-8, 26 April 1958, NARA.

was so shaky and based on *ad hocism* that it completely undermined the formulation of state policies in the long run.

Conclusion

In this chapter, it has been argued that Pakistan suffered from political instability throughout the first ten years of its existence. Two provinces, Punjab and NWFP, and the issue of *Pushtoonistan* were highlighted to give the sensitive nature of its weak political institutions. It was observed that the Army spread its tentacles politically to move into governing corridors. In fact the civilian political institutions were weakened intentionally by the rise of the Army in politics. When the army was not in power, it had a political but hidden role which resulted in the country's sluggish orientation to the world. The slow domestic political pace cost the country a political lead. Pakistan became an ally of the US but could not muster the support that it needed due to its feeble institutions. Its national constitution was put into effect only in 1956, and the country still had not held its first national election. In general, the political development of the nation was very slow.

It has been observed that the rise of the army was at the expense of East Pakistan. US military aid strengthened Pakistan internally through assistance to the Pakistan Army, and expressed confidence in its ability to control attempts at internal communist subversion and other domestic commotion.¹⁶⁴ The Easterners were treated like second class citizen due to their democratic nature and were denied their rights. The Easterners were in majority and, hence, wanted an equal share in the country's governance. However, the Army considered them a threat to Pakistan's integrity and followed the sternest policies against them. This not only shook the political setup of the country but resulted in an increase in the power of the military in Pakistan's national politics. The Pakistan Army was paranoid about Pakistan's disintegration, and they smelled secessionist feelings coming from East Pakistan. The integration of Pakistan by having two large provinces balancing each other on a dangerous equilibrium was a sensitive matter that could have played havoc with the nation at any time. Thus they wanted to keep Pakistan united with an iron hand.

It is a fact that most of the Army was from the Punjab, as was discussed in detail in the last chapter. They were never ready to submit to the more populated

¹⁶⁴ Congressional Papers, Country Profile, 60D545, Box 43, NND937328, 14 May, 1957, NARA.

province, East Pakistan, as they (the Punjabis) believed in 'might is right' rather than 'majority is authority'. To counter the province with a bigger population, they forged a consolidated West Wing (a province). It seems the purpose of the Army was to punish East Pakistan and to overcome their fears of rebellion and session. The East Wing was far less represented in the Army. It was a Punjabised Army which wanted dominance of the country, not only by the Punjab but also by the Army. The truth is that the Army had never accepted Pakistan's independence. It was still acting like a colonial institution.

On the other hand, Iskander Mirza firmly declared that 'the people of Pakistan were not ready for democracy. The leader of the opposition [Suhrawardy] was a wrecker. The politicians were out of touch with the people'.¹⁶⁵ Pakistan's physical division into two parts was paralleled, politically, by two provincial governments, east and west, subordinated to the National Assembly. However, except for East Pakistan, no elections were held. The members of provincial and central governments were simply appointed to their positions. Therefore, the nation's political struggle was based on individuals, rather than political parties or policies. There was not only internal political strife between the political parties, but, broadly speaking, there were two groups of rulers: political and non-political. Political rulers were either affiliated with political parties or political parties were associated with them. The non-political group was very united and belonged to the civil and military bureaucracy. Such civil-military bureaucracy kept itself strong by having institutional interaction with the US. However, during all this process political institutions weakened and democracy suffered.

¹⁶⁵ DO 35/8925/7023970, High Commission Karachi to CRO, 11 March 1956, Despatch No. 15, PRO.

Chapter 3

American Policy Making Bodies and the Pakistan Army: Towards Military Alliances 1947-57.

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter examined various dimensions of weak political institutions whose combination affected foreign policy-making. These dimensions played their part in the way Pakistan's foreign policy was made during the years under study. There is, however, another dimension which is related to the defence of Pakistan: the military dimension. The small and weak military of Pakistan affected its foreign policy especially in relation to the country's immediate environment- unfriendly neighbours. In addition, threatening statements from the Indian leadership against Pakistan, the issues of Kashmir and Pakhtoonistan as well as the Cold War surely meant that Pakistan was faced with a fundamental security problem. This problem forced Pakistan to enter international alliances and organizations which certainly imposed some policy guide lines. Hostile Afghanistan and India and the threat of Communism: these considerations make evident the need to look into the specific details of the dimension of a newly born security-oriented country in international relations in order to understand the particularities of Pakistan and its environment. These considerations also formed assumptions about the relation between the Army and the making of foreign policy towards the US.

Weak democratic and political institutions accompanied by dictatorial currents resulted in a strong military establishment for the defence of Pakistan. On the domestic front, the Pakistan Army's international connection with the US supported military-oriented policies in the country. In global politics, American policy making bodies – the Department of State, the Pentagon, and the White House – needed the Pakistan Army in their military schemes-institutional interaction. Institutional interaction was sought in order to defend their interests against the Communist threat in the region. However, support for the Pakistan Army would have affected Indo-US relations. Although people in the Pentagon wanted a military collaboration with Pakistan at any cost, the Department of State and the White House did not want to appease Pakistan at the expense of India. They applied military schemes in South Asia in order to contain communism without affecting Indian interests in the region.

Principally this chapter investigates the extent to which the US foreign policy makers influenced Pakistan's military elite before the first martial law in 1958. The links evolved between the US policy making bodies and the Pakistani military through forging military pacts against communism will be the primary concern of this chapter. The chapter also illuminates the United States concern for India, despite the fact that Pakistan had joined American sponsored alliances and India had not. Over and above, the chapter focuses on the Pakistan Army's keen desire to seek US support against India – a frustrating experience for both parties due to their opposing alliance objectives. It will show the basic aspects of this policy and will present the events upon which the assumptions of the thesis are made.

A country born with grim memories of partition – refugees' carnage and migration – Pakistan faced a war against India within a year of its independence, in 1948. It was a country born with harsh memories of death, mass murder, slaughter, and, above all, with a war in the name of Kashmir.¹ This gave the country a security-first orientation and urged it to demand more for defence than anything other aspect of the state-run apparatus. The number of 'Pakistani military forces during 1947-49 were around 137,000, barely sufficient to meet existing demands for the maintenance of internal security'.² Therefore, it was natural for Pakistan to explore sources of arms procurement and to secure allies within the international political arena. The Pakistanis, with an apprehensive eye on their local problems and surrounded on all sides by what they perceived to be either hostile or extremely weak nations, looked for a dependable friend.³ To counter local animosity with India,⁴ they wanted global allies like the US. Since Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, was a great admirer of America and had also expressed his hopes that the Americans would help Pakistan,⁵ Pakistan decided to approach the US in order to alleviate its economic and security concerns.⁶

¹ Interview with Major (Rtd) Sibghatullah Khan, (Nowshera, 26-01-07).

² *FRUS*, 1949, Vol. VI, 'Appraisal of the US National Interests in South Asia', April 19, 1949, p.21

³ Memo, NEA- Mr. Byroade, SOA- Mr. Kennedy 2/18/1953, Record of the Director, SOA Regional Conference and Country Files, 1951-1954, Pakistan, RG 59 GRDS, Lot File No. 57D462/ NND903085, NARA.

⁴ On Pakistan's issues and irritants with India, see G.W. Choudhry, *Pakistan's Relations with India, 1947-1966* (London: Pall Mall, 1968); also, P.I. Cheema, *Pakistan's Defence Policy, 1947-58* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990).

⁵ Background Memoranda prepared by the State Department, on Visit to the US of Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister and Defence Minister, Government of Pakistan, p. 34, May 1950, Record Group 330, 14 April 1950, NARA.

⁶ *FRUS*, 1947, Vol. III, US Ambassador Grady to Secretary of State, pp.161-2.

3.2 Importance of Pakistan and the US Global Priority List

‘Pakistan first approached the US government between October and November 1947 with a request for five years of financial aid’. The aid was sought to ‘build up its armed forces’. This money was asked for in anticipation of the then ‘perceived threats from India for a calculated minimum response’.⁷ The government of Pakistan asked for \$81 million per year in military assistance over the course of five years. The American Government declined Pakistan’s request on the grounds of legal, supply and priority difficulties.⁸ In another report the military assistance which was sought was \$510,000,000 for five years.⁹ Demand for such a huge sum was something like a demand for a ‘Marshal Plan’¹⁰ for Pakistan, since Pakistan had fought no war to defend American interests. The American government, unsurprisingly, was unwilling to do this. Instead, arms embargos on the sale of military equipment were placed on India and Pakistan ‘as a result of disputes over Kashmir and other issues, which was a threat to international peace’. As a consequence, ‘export of Arms, ammunition, and other material to India and Pakistan were suspended until the situation became more clarified’.¹¹ This was done in the hope of preventing a major escalation in Kashmir. In this regard, head of the NEA Mr. Sattarthwaite made the policy clear by saying that ‘the US position should be one of

⁷ Submitted report by the SANACC (State-Army-Navy-Air Force Coordinating Committee, 360-14, April 19, 1949 in *FRUS*, 1949, Vol. VI, ‘Appraisal of the US National Interests in South Asia’, p.25, See also ‘Appraisal of US Politico-Military Interests in South Asia’, prepared by the Department of State, submitted to SANACC 360-10, NARA.

⁸ *FRUS* 1947, Vol. III, ‘Background Memoranda prepared by the State Department, on Visit to the US of Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister and Defence Minister, Government of Pakistan’.

⁹ Internal Memorandum from Mathews to McGhee, Department of State, 745.45F-11/48, November 1, 1949, NARA.

¹⁰ The Marshal Plan was the primary plan of funding of the United States for rebuilding and creating a stronger foundation for the countries of Western Europe; devastated in the Second World War and repelling communism. It was a kind of reward for the allied countries of the US during the war. The initiative was named for Secretary of State George Marshall and was largely the creation of State Department officials, especially William L. Clayton and George F. Kennan. George Marshall spoke of the administration's desire to help European recovery in his address at Harvard University in June 1947. See Gary B. Nash, Julie Roy Jeffrey, et al, *The American People: Creating a Nation and a Society*, Combined Volume (6th Edition), (New York: Longman, 2007), p.827. For further details also see, Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994).

¹¹ Memorandum from the Secretary of State to the US President, March 11, 1948, GRDS, Records of the Director, SOA Regional Conference and Country Files, 1951-1954, NND 903085, Lot 57D462, Box 02, NARA.

not increasing existing the military potentials of either country'.¹² His US policy pronouncement affected Pakistan in terms of military equipment more than India. India had stockpiles from the Second World War whereas Pakistan had none.¹³ The post-sanction period for Pakistan was also not encouraging. When the embargo was lifted in June 1949, a military mission from Pakistan visited the US. This mission presented a long list of items that it wanted to purchase and hinted at a willingness to be associated with the US in military planning. The purpose of the visit was further to acquaint themselves with US defence officials, to visit various training establishments and to ascertain the training opportunities for Pakistani defence personnel.¹⁴ The demands of the delegation were kept at the periphery.¹⁵

Pakistan persisted in its request to secure arms from the US. Two important factors were responsible for this persistence: firstly Jinnah admired America and expected that she would assist Pakistan in resolving its problems. He had a good impression of President Truman. Secondly, the United States was already donating old military equipment from the Second World War to countries it perceived as being threatened by Soviet-sponsored Communism.¹⁶ Pakistan, though not directly threatened was a neighbour of the Soviet Union. The atheistic approach of the Communists was not acceptable to Pakistan- a country born in the name of Islam. American slogans for freedom and democracy attracted many civilian as well as military leaders of Pakistan towards the US. It was the era of *Pax-Americana* where associating with the US was fashionable and a sign of prestige for the nations of the world.

Due to its vast and large needs, no other country but the US could fulfil the military requirements of Pakistan. However, there were many hurdles to overcome before the United States and Pakistan could work together. The Indian Sub-continent

¹² NEA Mr. Sattarthwaite to Mr. Lovett, a Memorandum, November 8, 1948, GRDS, Records of the Director, SOA Regional Conference and Country Files, 1951-1954, NND 903085, Lot 57D462, Box 02, NARA.

¹³ Interview with General (Rtd) Kamal Matinuddin (Islamabad, 24-03-07).

¹⁴ The Pakistani military mission included Iskander Mirza (Defence Secretary), Ghulam Abbas (Military Finance Advisor), Major General Iftikhar Ali Khan, Lieutenant Colonel Saifur Rehman, and Major Faruki. Department of State Communication with the Secretary of Defence, Secretary of Defence Records, RG 330, June 6, 1949, NARA.

¹⁵ Interview with Kamal Matinuddin.

¹⁶ Background Memoranda prepared by the State Department, on Visit to the US of Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister and Defence Minister, Government of Pakistan, p. 34, May 1950, Record Group 330, 14 April 1950, NARA.

was not a priority area for the US.¹⁷ It was a period when relations were judged on the basis of national security interests so power was most important if a country wished to get the attention of a super-power.¹⁸ Western Europe and Japan possessed raw materials, industrial infrastructure, and the technological dexterity that could be converted into war-making potential. Americans needed these war-making materials the most. The Middle East and Southeast Asia derived an importance from their possession of critical resources, base sites or trading relationships with core states.¹⁹ By contrast, India and Pakistan had no strategic raw materials, ineffective industries and highly unskilled and under-educated workforces. In comparative terms, India and Pakistan were far away from the core scheme of the US national security and power interests.

The CIA world analysis from 1948 gave a very gloomy picture of India and Pakistan in the US list of global strategic priorities. It placed South Asia fourth in order of potential investment and security preferences after Western Europe, the Near and Middle East, and the Far East.²⁰ These regions were rated as of immense importance to the US. The economic dislocation, social unrest, political instability, and military weakness so evident in those areas, the report cautioned, were ‘dangerous to the security of the United States in the opportunities they afford for the further extension of Soviet power and influence’. In comparison, India and Pakistan ‘were remote from the USSR and not subject to direct Soviet aggression’.²¹ Initially, preference was given to the countries in the neighbourhood of Pakistan such as Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan.²² Unlike these countries, there were also legal complications in providing aid to Pakistan. No legal authority existed for granting US aid to Pakistan at that time and the State Department was not willing to seek such authorization from the Congress.²³

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ ‘It ranks first or second in world production of such critical materials of war as cotton, mica, manganese, monazite (a source of thorium), and beryl, and is a major source of raw materials, investment income, and carrying charges for the UK, thus strengthening the UK’s and Western Europe’s efforts toward the economic recovery essential to US security’ see CIA Reports File, Report No. SR-21, ‘India-Pakistan’, September 16, 1948, RG 353, NARA.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Memo by Policy Planning Staff (PPS), George F. Kennan, ‘Review of Current Trends, U.S. Foreign Policy’, PPS/23, 24 February 1948 in *The State Department Policy Planning Staff Papers*, 3 Volumes, Edited by Annan Kasten Nelson (New York: Garland, 1983), Vol.2, pp. 103-26.

²¹ Ibid.

²² *FRUS*, 1949, Vol.VI, ‘Appraisal of the US National Interests in South Asia’, April 19, 1949, pp.1-8.

²³ Ibid, pp.25-26.

3.3 US Proposed South Asian Unity

Instead of direct support to Pakistan, the US policy makers initially showed their interest in South Asian unity to secure the region from the shadows of Communism.²⁴ A factor in this was the decline in American prestige in some pockets of Asia due to their failed policy towards China in the late 1940s. Their policy appeared to ‘support an unpopular, dictatorial, and corrupt Chinese regime – a complete failure’. Communist success in China exposed the whole of Southeast Asia to grave peril. An American diplomat, Mr. Ogburn, describing the grim situation, said in a policy paper:

We have no reason to believe that we would or could deploy sufficient power in this region to stop the Communist advance anywhere short of the China Hills, the Bay of Bengal, the Kra Isthmus and the South China Sea. Communist success in taking over control of the nationalist movement could result in Communist conquest of the whole of East Asia, leaving Australia in a most precarious position.²⁵

Ogburn’s statement proposed a containment rim around the Communist world. In the same document, he also proposed a ‘Southern Asiatic Solidarity’ along the lines of ‘Western European Solidarity’ to stop the expansion of the Communist Empire in Asia. Americans already contributed ‘over \$15 billion to the Western Union’ in order to unite Western Europe against communist expansion. Ogburn wanted to apply the same West European model in South Asia. However, there were fears that any such Asian bloc could also turn anti-Western. But a common Asiatic front against Western imperialism could also turn into a common Asiatic front against Communist aggression. Practically speaking, this meant giving all feasible encouragement and support to all trends within the South Asian Unity movement, even if it should be anti-American. The State Department, encouraging the idea of South Asian Unity, hoped that a day would come when the South Asians, united in anti-Communist sentiments, would come to the side of the Americans.

There were fears that the development of South Asian unity would pave the way for Indian domination of the region. Mr. Ogburn responded to such fears in the following words:

²⁴ Mr. Ogburn, ‘The US attitude towards Asian Unity’, January 17, 1949, GRDS, ROSAA, 1939-53, NND 903085, Lot 54D341, Box 09, NARA.

²⁵ Ibid.

Beggars cannot be choosers. And we are now beggars. If we must choose between Indian and Soviet domination, we can have but one choice. Actually, I doubt that India's strength is such that we need be too alarmed on this score.²⁶

After the initial war of 1948, Indo-Pak hostility was in the offing. Friction between the two neighbouring countries tended to be greater than their common interests in determining their actions. 'If you have six countries side by side, it is often said that the alliances will not range numbers 1, 2, and 3 against 4, 5, and 6, but will range numbers 1, 3 and 5 against 2, 4 and 6'.²⁷ Thus the American strategy of keeping archrivals India and Pakistan together in an alliance was out of the question. But strangely, the Americans were expecting that miracle to happen.

Due to the recent decolonization process in Asia, and especially in South and South East Asia, one fact had certainly become evident: the Western powers single-handedly could not restore order in Asian countries where the situation was politically serious due to the threat of Communism. The postcolonial era witnessed the development of national identity for the recently liberated nations. For such nations, any alliance was considered fearful and a threat to their national being. 'Even if motives of the alliance-seeking country were of the best, suspicion of their intentions must defeat their efforts and raise a clamour in the rest of Asia. A concert of Asian powers, including India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Siam, and Philippine assisted by the UK and the US could bring about an improvement'.²⁸ Without regional cooperation, the US-British role in Asia appeared to be unrealistic. The legacy of bitterness and suspicion of Asian nations was too great due to their haunting memories of the colonial period.

Besides dreadful colonial reminiscences, there were many other factors which prevented the Asian nations from getting closer to any 'foreign imposed unity'. An American diplomat, Mr. Mathew, while describing the possibilities of Asian regional cooperation, wrote to the State Department that:

The nations of the area lack sufficient resources of leadership and political stability indefinitely to stand unaided before the encroachment of Soviet-

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

supported Communist movements. Our interests would be seriously affected should these nations fall one by one into the Soviet orbit because of either internal or external pressures. It appears that there are only three sources of strength to which they can look for assistance: the UN, the US and regional cooperation. The UN is unable at its present stage of development to help a country confronted by the Communist encroachment. The US had already committed its resources to such an extent that it was not practicable for her to undertake unilateral support of such of the nations of Asia. If, however, these nations share their responsibilities and help each other through regional cooperation, we might find it within our capabilities to provide effective assistance on a regional basis.²⁹

Mathews statement was the start of the formation and vision of a regional alliance supported by the West against the Soviet Union. He defined the limited US role but expressed much encouragement for Asian Unity. This was the beginning of US sponsored security pacts in the region.

The shift in US policy and approach towards the region was due in part to the negative reaction Nehru caused on his official visit to the United States in October 1949. Just before Nehru's visit, the Americans were keen to be friendly with India, especially after the Communist victory in China, and Nehru was regarded as a hope for anti-communism in Asia. However he seriously disappointed his hosts by refusing to agree to any pact or formal military agreement with the US. President Truman, while speaking with Avra Warren, the US ambassador to Pakistan, in February 1950, said that he had a 'disagreeable' time with Nehru and felt that his attitude on the Indo-Pak dispute was 'silly'. He went on to say that he had not observed any 'inclination on the part of Mr. Nehru to be reasonable in the Kashmir dispute'. Unlike Nehru, he liked Pakistan's Foreign Minister Zafullah Khan and appreciated his gift of the Holy Qu'ran. Truman also said that he was looking forward to the visit of Liaquat Ali Khan, and was considering the possibility of proposing to Liaquat that Pakistan should make some sort of concession in the Kashmir dispute in return for some sort of *quid pro quo*. There are no clues and explanations of what he meant by *quid pro quo*.³⁰ Pakistan was gaining ground in the American equation of the cold war. Americans needed a South Asian group of states or a state at the periphery of Communist Russia to complete the containment ring stretching from the Baltic Sea to the Himalayas. But Nehru's keen desire was to emerge as a leader of the third world.

²⁹ Mathews to Satterthwhite, US toward Near Eastern and Asian Regional Cooperation, February 15, 1949, GRDS, ROSAA, 1939-53, NND 903085, Lot 54D341, Box 09, NARA.

³⁰ Weil to Mathews, File 690D-760-02, Department of State Files, February 7, 1950, NARA.

Any US role in the region was a threat to such desires. Moreover, due to his intransigent attitude, he disappointed people at the Department of State and White House as well.

3.4 Power Bloc Theory (PBT) of India

To counter the American role in the region, Indians developed their own excuses to keep a neutral approach towards East and West. In fact, neutralism in the region was benefiting the Soviet Union which in itself was a kind of partiality. However, Nehru coined a new term. For him, it was the era of the Power Bloc Theory (PBT). PBT was very famous during the late 1940s. Later on, during the mid-1950s, the same theory became the basis for the creation of NAM. It was one of the most serious obstacles to a positive orientation of the governments and peoples of South Asia toward the US and the Western democracies. The PBT believed that *the US and the USSR were respectively heads of clearly defined power blocs, that there was little difference between the fundamental objectives of the blocs, and that the role of South Asia should be the creation of a third 'force' to act as mediator between the two blocs already existing.* 'Most articulate exponent of this theory was PM Nehru. His sister Vijay Lakshmi Pandit, the Indian Ambassador in Washington, was also supporting the theory in her different public addresses throughout the United States'. Recently, India had joined the British Commonwealth. Joining of the Commonwealth was another Indian indication to strengthen the third 'neutral force' leading to a virtual isolation of the two 'aggressive blocs' led by the US and the USSR.³¹

Contrary to such assertions, the PBT was very bluntly repudiated by the US ambassador in New Delhi, Mr. Loy W. Henderson. He said:

Cooperation among the nations for the purpose of frustrating aggressive tendencies of certain countries or groups of countries does not constitute the formation of a power bloc and that the US is not in fact a member of any such bloc but stands rather for mutual understanding and collaboration within the framework of the UN of all the countries genuinely devoted to the furtherance of world peace.³²

³¹ James S. Webb, June 6, 1949, GRDS, ROSAA, 1939-53, NND 903085, Lot 54D341, Box 09, NARA.

³² Address by Ambassador Henderson before the Rotary Club, India, January 12, 1949, GRDS, ROSAA, 1939-53, NND 903085, Lot 54D341, Box 09, NARA.

Thus keeping in view the PBT trend in the Indian foreign policy, soon Americans realised the importance of Pakistan.

3.5 US Support to Pakistan for Leadership of the Muslim World

Americans wanted to make Pakistan the leader of the Muslim world due to the slogans associated with its creation and its ideological basis of Islam. As an atmosphere of friendship already existed between the two countries, the Americans wanted to use Karachi to improve their relations with the Middle East. They encouraged Pakistan to have different types of ties and agreements with Arab countries. On 1st May 1951, a letter was written by Mr George C. McGhee to Mr. E. G. Mathews titled 'Encouragement of Pakistan Participation in Problems of the Middle East'. The fifth recommendation under Item 2 ("Appraisal of Foreign Policies of South Asian Countries") considered by the South Asia Regional Conference reads:

In the light of Pakistan's present orientation to the West and its active cooperation with the countries of the Middle East, the US should encourage Pakistan's participation in problems common to the Middle East, and its orientation towards Turkey. In addition, the US should consult more intimately with the Government of Pakistan on questions of common interest in the Middle East.³³

A similar conference, 'Istanbul Regional Conference', attended by the Chiefs of Mission already endorsed a similar recommendation for Pakistan. The recommendation was strongly supported by the US Ambassador Warren from Pakistan. All the missions concerned affirmed to take every appropriate occasion to indicate their approval of any measures designed to bring Pakistan into closer relationship with countries of the Middle East (such as conclusion of trade treaties or the strengthening of cultural relations).³⁴

If Pakistan was going to be a leader of the Middle East, it had its own stumbling blocks as well. Firstly, looking at the regional scenario that emerged forthwith, the biggest hindrances were the jealousies of some Middle Eastern countries; notably Egypt, Turkey and possibly Iran. They might resent an apparent Pakistani campaign to gain leadership, especially if it was obvious that the US was

³³ Letter from Mr. George C. McGhee to Mr. E. G. Mathews, May 1, 1951, GRDS, ROSAA, 1939-53, NND 903085, Lot 54D341, Box 09, NARA.

³⁴ Ibid.

encouraging Pakistan in this regard. Secondly, any US effort to increase Pakistan's influence with Middle Eastern countries would immediately affect the South Asian regional balance of power. It would be at once noticed and opposed by India, resulting in additional Indo-Pakistan and Indo-US discord. To quell these possibilities, the US tried to keep India calm with an even-handed policy in South Asia. India and Pakistan were treated equally despite the fact that Pakistan was a front-line ally of the US in its Cold War against the Soviet Union.³⁵ At the same time, Iran and Turkey were brought into the system of alliances as like-minded entities. Thirdly, the quick US approach to Israel in helping to solve her security problems made it difficult for Pakistan and other Muslim countries to join the US sponsored Middle Eastern Defence Organization (MEDO). Israel would always be on the side of the US, even though a little tardily. This would not be liked by the Arab countries and hence was a hurdle to Pakistan's attempts to influence the region.

British economic, political and military support to Israel was abhorred by the countries in the Middle East as well.³⁶ Observing the British biased policies against the Arabs, the Prime Minister of Pakistan Bogra, while addressing the third Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, stated:

If the United Kingdom could publicly announce the fact that she would never support any attempts by Israel to expand beyond her rightful territories, then such a statement would go a very long way towards removing the distrust of British intentions which is unfortunately at present in the minds of some Arab peoples.³⁷

There was an acute misunderstanding in the minds of British policy makers. They thought that, as Pakistan was created in the name of Islam, it would definitely favour them in the Islamic world. It was realised in London that, in a situation in which

... Western democracies were opposed by the Soviet bloc but in which the interests of the Arab countries were not directly involved, there might be a distinct possibility that, under Mr. Bogra, Pakistan would support Western Democracies rather than follow the neutral and often unsympathetic policies which Arab League countries had in recent [times] often adopted,

³⁵ Byroade to Henry Smith, 57D373, Box 11, NND 847209, October 14, 1953.

³⁶ Memo, CAB 129/62, C (53) 228, Israel and Middle East Defence: Decisions with the Americans, August 07, 1953. Record of the Cabinet Office, NAL.

³⁷ WES 406/4, DO 35/6654, Statement by PM of Pakistan Mr. Mohammad Ali made at the third Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers held at 10 Downing Street, on Friday, 5th June, 1953, NAL.

notably in the UN, apparently as a demonstration of their dissatisfaction with the Western powers. So long as the Soviet Union continued aggressive policies, Pakistan would be less tempted to flirt with the Arab League and to ignore the advantages of collaboration with the West.³⁸

It was further supposed that unless there was a marked *détente* in British relations with Soviet Russia, Pakistan under Mr. Bogra, would attach more weight to support for the Western Powers than for the Arab League'.³⁹ London was under the impression that 'if there were a clash of interests between the West and the Arab League, Pakistan could not be expected to side with the West whatever the state of the Western relations with Russia and whatever Bogra's personal opinion. According to another telegram from Commonwealth Relations Office (CRO) to Washington, the middle level of politicians, the opposition, the press and the students would be too heavily against any attempt of the Pakistan government to take an anti-Arab League line'.⁴⁰

On the ground, British calculations regarding Pakistan's ideological position proved wrong. When it came to a practical situation during the Suez Crisis, Pakistan found itself at a cross-roads. It could either support the Muslim world, that is to say Egypt, or the West. Even the policy-makers remained confused in issuing an official statement regarding the crisis. It was a Catch-22. The people reacted as they were expected to: demonstration in favour of Egypt, but Pakistan's government sided with the West. Western alliances were a guarantee of her territorial integrity. Ideological affinity was less important for the government than the question of her existence. She supported the West to uphold her security against India in the garb of anti-communism. Those in the hub of policy making in Karachi no doubt belonged to Islam in terms of their religion but they were not religiously minded.

Showing his sentiments towards the West, Pakistan's Foreign Secretary Ikramullah said, 'While the countries like Pakistan were willing to accept the reality of Israel's existence, they could not act openly'.⁴¹ The foreign policy of Pakistan thus always had a tilt towards the West.⁴²

³⁸ CRO Mr. Pritchard, File No. SA.54/3, 21/07/53, DO 35/6654, PRO.

³⁹ Ibid, Letter No. CON. 68/6/4, 04/06/1953, PRO.

⁴⁰ Ibid, TS/P. 253, DO 35/6654, 08/07/1953, PRO.

⁴¹ SOA: Mr. Kennedy, SOA: Mr. Simons, Pakistan and the Middle East, A conversation with Mr. Ikramullah, the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan, October 30, 1951, GRDS, ROSAA, 1939-53, NND 903085, Lot 54D341, Box 09, NARA.

⁴² Interview with Ambassador (Rtd) Hamidullah Khan (Islamabad, 19-03-07).

3.6 Pseudo-War Crisis between India and Pakistan 1951

The Pakistan Army was doing its level best to demonstrate its importance in order to induce the US to take interest. Communism was a buzzword to gain US support. The strategic geo-political importance of Pakistan with respect to the spread of Communism in South Asia was always highlighted at every opportunity. C-in-C General Ayub Khan never overlooked a single chance to present communism as a haunting ideology bent upon engulfing the entire South Asian and Middle Eastern region. Recent Communistic penetration in Tibet, Burma, and Afghanistan, and the situation in Nepal were highlighted to depict the scene as precarious.⁴³ No forum was missed to emphasize the importance of having an anti-Communist Pakistan in South Asia, friendly to the US and the Western Powers. This underlined the utility in providing military and economic aid to Pakistan in order to establish a bulwark against the current “Red” spread.⁴⁴

In order to attract US attention, in 1951, an artificial war crisis was created to emphasise Pakistan’s security orientation. To make matters serious, the Government of Pakistan entered eight National Guard battalions into the Federal Service. Four battalions were activated in East Bengal at an unknown date; and the other four, in the West Punjab on 26th July 1951. Despite this addition of 7,500 to the Pakistan Army, the Indian Army still had a 2-to-1 numerical superiority in both the Jammu-Kashmir-East Punjab and the East Bengal border areas. The total strength of the Indian Army was 400,000; that of the Pakistan Army, 191,000. The forces of both countries were on the border except Pakistan’s 8th Infantry Division which had been ordered to move from Quetta to Multan. The reason was skirmishes on the Pak-Afghan border. Between 12th and 18th July, three border raids were made by Afghans in the area northeast of Chaman (Baluchistan). These raids marked the third series of disturbances on the Pakistan-Afghan border since the previous spring.⁴⁵ Since it coincided with India’s concentration of troops in Jammu and Kashmir and in the East Punjab, they prevented Pakistan from giving full attention to developments on borders

⁴³ Office Memorandum, The US Government, August 1, 1951, GRDS, ROSAA, 1939-53, NND 867242, Lot 54D341, Box 22, NARA.

⁴⁴ Interview with Sharif Farooq, (Peshawar, 18-02-07).

⁴⁵ Office Memorandum, The US Government, August 1, 1951, GRDS, ROSAA, 1939-53, NND 867242, Lot 54D341, Box 22, NARA.

with India. During all this time, Americans in the region were not nervous, but were watching the situation. In their opinion, neither side wanted trouble at this time.⁴⁶ But the common man in Pakistan was resigned to the fact that there would probably be a war. The public and the Pakistan Army were over-confident about ‘defeating the Indian Army’.⁴⁷ There was, in addition to that, a general opinion that Pakistan would receive outside help in the case of a war with India. Mainly ‘the public and the Army were looking to the United States for assistance’. One of the biggest reasons for such expectations was that India had damaged her position by placing troops on the Pakistan border, and, in this way; it would be a defensive war for Pakistan. At the end of the day, ‘India will be an aggressor’.⁴⁸

While talking to the American Consul General, Raleigh A. Gibson, General Azzam Khan stated:

The Communists were working in Pakistan to convince the public that Pakistan’s position regarding Kashmir was correct, after they had already convinced the masses in India that the Indian position was correct, in order to force a war between the two countries. The communists want to take advantage of the situation.... An Indian- Pakistan war would cause a 3rd World War, and Pakistan would be a great sufferer.⁴⁹

However, Mr. Zahoor Butt, rejected Khan’s assertions about the possibilities of a third world war. According to him the Pakistani Communists were not more than a few hundred in those days. Their small numerical strength was their weak point. They were never in such a position to influence the public to go to war.⁵⁰ It was such a pseudo-crisis that there was fraternizing between Indian and Pakistan troops, and the Indian troops were crossing the Pakistan border to secure [procure] vegetables and watermelons. Both states were giving the excuse of ‘weather, especially monsoons’ to avoid taking any armed action on a large scale.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Memorandum of Conversation, August 11, 1951, GRDS, ROSAA, 1939-53, NND 867242, Lot 54D341, Box 22, NARA.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ An interview with General (Rtd) Kamal Matinuddin.

⁴⁹ Memorandum of Conversation, July 18, 1951, (GRDS), Records of the Office of South Asian Affairs (ROSAA), 1939-53, NND 867242, Lot 54D341, Box 22, NARA.

⁵⁰ An interview with Mr. Zahoor Butt, a very close associate of former Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy (17-02-2008).

⁵¹ Memorandum of Conversation between Major B.F. Sysle, USAF, UNO Observer, Sialkot and Raleigh A. Gibson, American Consul General in Karachi, July 19, 1951, GRDS, ROSAA, 1939-53, NND 867242, Lot 54D341, Box 22, NARA.

3.7 Mid-East Defence Organization (MEDO)

The pseudo-crisis in South Asia provided an excuse for 'regional countries to acquire military hardware from the US. Pakistan, India and now Afghanistan indicated their respective need for the US military equipment'. Due to regional disputes such as in Kashmir and Pakhtoonistan, all three countries were apparently suffering from a sense of insecurity. Pakistan was the keenest country in seeking a technological superiority due to its sense of military inferiority vis-à-vis India. It not only wanted arms procurement but Ghulam Muhammad, the Governor General, also expressed a fervent interest in the Middle East defensive arc, consisting principally of Turkey and Pakistan. Similarly, 'India, through procurement assistance under 408E,⁵² indicated a need for arms'.⁵³ Its sense of insecurity came from its neutral posture and a perceived threat from Pakistan.

At a time when India and Pakistan were at daggers drawn, US policy makers were planning for a regional defensive arrangement that would, according to them, 'add stability to the area and provide for an integrated arms program as against the present country by country arrangement'. The obvious hurdles in proposing any such regional arrangement were the existing regional disputes: *Pushtoonistan* and Kashmir. However, the philosophy behind such a defensive alliance, being of the first order of importance, would 'change perspective of these disputes and actually contribute to their settlement'. In a letter to Mr. Mulholland at the State Department, Mr Kennedy, the head of NEA, wrote that the regional issues could be circumvented by arranging the countries in different groupings; for example, Pakistan might be included in a Middle East Pact and India in a South East Asian Pact. Afghanistan might be invited to join the Middle East Pact and, if refused, it would not have the US to blame for being left out. Similarly, if India refused to join a proposed pact, it would not feel that the US was trying to contain India.⁵⁴ According to Mr. Kennedy, any such proposed arrangement would orient Pakistan towards the West and India towards the East. This would not contribute to a solution of Indo-Pakistan problems. However, the US containment of the Soviet Union would materialise. It would also have created a more

⁵² The provisions for procurement of military equipment in the United States by purchase under section 408(E) of the Mutual Defence Assistance Act 1950

⁵³ A letter from Mr. Kennedy to Mr. Mulholland, GRDS, ROSAA, 1939-53, NND 867242, Lot 54D341, Box 09, NARA.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

equal balance of power between the two blocs, thus reducing an open clash of arms. It was another way to secure greater regional security and overcome local disputes by engaging the countries in matters of bigger concern: the Russian encroachments. Thus the method to win closer alignments with the countries of Southern Asia was to encourage cooperation on big issues. Through cooperation on large problems pressure could be exerted to overcome the smaller issues. The US was most interested in dragging Pakistan into its Middle Eastern defence arrangements. Pakistan had the potential and the desire to constitute the eastern anchor of a defence line for the Middle East such as Turkey constituted in the West. However, to achieve such a position, for the Americans, Pakistan had to overcome many serious obstacles such as: its less than satisfactory relations with India which diverted its resources and efforts from internal problems and the Soviet enemy; its heavy burden of defence expenditure, which it considered necessary in view of its relations with India; its shortage of qualified personnel capable of efficiently conducting business and government in depth; and its very large and troublesome internal economic problems.⁵⁵ Similarly, Pakistan's Foreign Office was interested in associating herself with Middle East defence, but the Kashmir dispute was the major obstacle. They wanted to resolve the Kashmir dispute first and then to join MEDO. Contrary to American expectations and the interests of the Foreign Office, the Pakistan Army's tilt was absolutely to join US sponsored pacts at all costs. They wanted US military assistance that would arm them to wrest Kashmir from India by fear or by force. Sharif Farooq says:

Army wanted to develop itself against the imminent threat of India and rest of all issues including Kashmir would be dealt later on. It was a short-sightedness on the part of the Army for which they had to bear the brunt in shape of India's reaction on forgetting all the UN resolutions on Kashmir for Pakistan's drawing the Cold War to South Asia.⁵⁶

On 1st November 1950, MEDO was discussed with the Finance Minister of Pakistan, Ghulam Muhammad who was on a visit to Tehran in connection with the Islamic

⁵⁵ Memorandum of Conversation, Mr. J.R. Maybee, First secretary, Canadian Embassy with Richards Mission to Pakistan and Afghanistan, April 9, 1957, RG 59 GRDS, Lot File No. 60D545/NND 937328, USNARA

⁵⁶ Interview with Sharif Farooq (18-02-07).

Economic Conference.⁵⁷ The Shah of Iran approached him about the possibility of Pakistan, Iran and Turkey joining together to form a defensive alliance. Such an arrangement already existed in the region between Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Afghanistan in the Saadabad Pact of 1937. However, it was not sufficiently binding to meet the present needs of the member countries as well as the containment of Communism. The Istanbul Regional Conference had also recently concluded that the ‘Saadabad Pact was negligible current interest to any of the signatory states’.⁵⁸

Ghulam Muhammad reacted very favourably to the Shah’s proposed defensive alliance, but he also showed his strong ‘conviction that the US would never do anything for Pakistan without assisting India in a comparable way’.⁵⁹ Such parity was not acceptable to Pakistan. In Pakistan Army circles, ‘it was still thought that the moment any joint military alliance was formed between the US and Pakistan, efforts would be made to keep the US away from India’. Turkey had been seeking full membership of NATO and had shown no interest in tying herself to a defensive alliance with Near East countries ‘unless assured in advance that such an alliance would be underwritten by the US’.⁶⁰ Thus the Northern Tier countries had an inclination to join US sponsored military alliances with, however, a few reservations.

For a durable and trustworthy alliance, Pakistan always sought an overt US security pronouncement. But the State Department wanted a close-working relationship with Karachi without making India hostile to her policies. On the question of MEDO, Pakistan was anxiously waiting for the US invitation to join it. In February 1953, Ayub Khan had a long conversation in Lahore with Gibson the US Consul-General and complained that Pakistan had not been approached for membership by the US. He said that the communists in Pakistan were conducting a propaganda war against MEDO and the longer the wait the more time the communists would have for campaigning. He also expressed his desire to sign a bilateral treaty with the US, similar to the one the latter had signed with Turkey.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Letter from Mr. George C. McGhee to Mr. E.G. Mathews, May 1, 1951, GRDS, ROSAA, 1939-53, NND 903085, Lot 54D341, Box 09, NARA.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Outgoing Airgram, November 28, 1950, GRDS, ROSAA, 1939-53, NND 903085, Lot 54D341, Box 09, NARA.

⁶⁰ Interview with Brigadier (Rtd) Inam ul Haq, (Peshawar, 20-06-07).

⁶¹ Consul-General Gibson to Washington DC, State Department, File 790D-55/2-1353, 13 February 1953, NARA.

At the same time, India was much concerned about Pakistan joining the West-sponsored alliances. In this regard, a meeting was sought by India's Ambassador in Washington DC with the US Secretary of State. During the meeting, the Indian Ambassador said, 'The work of the US ambassador Bowles and of himself, which had been directed toward cementing Indo-American friendship, would be to a large measure, destroyed'.⁶² At this stage, Pakistan still had not been approached, but according to the Secretary, 'the geographical location of that country [Pakistan] was such that speculation was possible as to a Pakistan contribution to the defence of the area'.⁶³

After expressing the desire for a military pact, Ayub Khan asked the military attaché in the Pakistan Embassy in Washington to hand over a document to the State Department in April 1953. The document was marked as 'Top Secret' and was written by Ayub Khan himself in December 1952.⁶⁴ In this document, he assessed the Soviet military threat to Pakistan and the armed forces required to meet this threat. Its manner and attitude of the discussion seemed 'very convincing and appealing' to the Americans. It stated the case using catchy phrases such as, 'in order to assess the forces required to meet the Russian threat to Pakistan resulting from her political ideology'. He also expressed his fear that 'sooner or later the whole subcontinent will fall like a ripe but undamaged plum into the Soviet paw'. He expressed other Russian objectives as 'to destroy the influence of Western Powers in the Middle East and to gain access to oil and raw materials'. Ayub Khan also highlighted that the defence of Pakistan would really be the defence of the subcontinent against communism. He also blamed 'Nehru for prolonging Soviet danger by not making any commitments with the West in the field of mutual security'. A detailed list was then made of the forces required to defend East and West Pakistan.⁶⁵

At last, the first quarterly survey for 1953 prepared by the State Department revealed a keen positive interest amongst the top civil and military authorities for MEDO to include Pakistan. The survey indicated psychological factors rather than diplomatic achievements as responsible for the rise in US popularity. The Indian diplomatic offensive against American MEDO plans also increased Pakistan's interest

⁶² Memorandum of Conversation, Pakistan and MEDO, 13 January 1953, GRDS, Records of the Director, SOA Regional Conference and Country Files, 1951-1954, NND 903085, Lot 57D462, Box 02, NARA.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Kennedy to Byraode, File 790D-5/6-453, Department of State, 6 April, 1953, NARA.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

in it.⁶⁶ MEDO had become almost an obsession with the Pakistani officials. According to Emerson:

They [Pakistanis] take every occasion to mention it. Even a departing mission teacher was given the line by Zafrullah, to wit, 'If we don't get an invitation by summer, it will be too late'. Every straw is seized upon as having significance with respect to MEDO. The Pak[istan] embassy say the Secretary wants a 'quiet chat with General Ayub': the Foreign Office is immediately excited.⁶⁷

In mid-January 1953, 'it was agreed between the US and the UK that they should envisage the participation of Pakistan in MEDO at the earliest politically feasible date'.⁶⁸ Still they were waiting for a suitable date that would not temper their interests in the region. Any scheme by which such a security arrangement seemed to be imposed from without was not acceptable to them. However, developments were very favourable for Pakistan's joining the military alliance as the next month brought John Foster Dulles, the new Secretary of State, to Karachi as part of an unprecedented tour of the Middle East and South Asia. Dulles, soon after taking office, appointed Horace Hildreth as the new US ambassador to Pakistan. Hildreth, a professor at Temple University Philadelphia, was chosen for his views on American responsibilities in the new world order which were shared with the American leadership.⁶⁹ During his visit to Karachi, Dulles, along with the new Ambassador, was very pleased to meet Ghulam Mohammad the Governor General and PM Bogra. But his most important talks were held with General Ayub Khan, which reflected American recognition of the Army as the real power centre in Pakistan.

The Ayub-Dulles meeting took place on 23rd of May 1953 at the US Ambassador's residence in Karachi. Dulles asked about the state of the Pakistan Army. Ayub gave a brief background of the difficulties that Pakistan had encountered during partition and how with will-power and determination Pakistan had developed a strong army in such a short time with meagre resources. However, he admitted that heavy armour was required, and, therefore, that the infantry was still the main striking

⁶⁶ From Department of State, Washington DC to the US Embassy Karachi, No. 320 'Pak-US Relations', Embassy File, 13 April, 1953, NARA.

⁶⁷ Official letter from American Embassy, Karachi to Department of State, April 4, 1953, Record of the Director, SOA Regional Conference and Country Files, 1951-1954, Pakistan, RG. 59 GRDS, Lot File No. 54D341/NND903085, NARA.

⁶⁸ May 23, 1953, NND 903085, Lot, 54D341, Box 12, 24 May, 1953, ST-D-9/5, NARA.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

force. He expressed his gratitude for the American sale of 350 Sherman tanks as well as tank-destroyers. The crucial problem that he was facing now was a lack of ammunition and other military supplies. His aim was to keep a six month supply, but the economy had not permitted that. However, despite these handicaps, he pointed out that the discipline and training of the Pakistan army made it a force to be reckoned with. Dulles asked Ayub to be specific on the military needs of Pakistan. Ayub then handed a shopping list to Dulles who expressed his interest and agreement with the thoughts in it. The topic of discussion moved on to the Air Force and air bases in Pakistan. Ayub stated that there were six squadrons based around the country, and it was an efficient service but restricted by the lack of funds. As for the air bases, Ayub said there were many of these, many with long runways which could yet be extended. The subject moved on to Kashmir. Ayub insisted that pressure should be put on Nehru to resolve the dispute. He also attempted to reassure the Americans that any military aid that Pakistan received would not be used against India as he felt that war would weaken both countries and would prove to be too expensive. Lt. Colonel Made from the visiting delegation participated in the conversation at this point and repeated the statement by Governor General of Pakistan Ghulam Mohammad to the effect that Pakistan was willing to go to India's aid if she was attacked by another power and added that he had already informed Dulles of this fact. Ayub thanked Colonel Made for the reminder as well as for passing Ghulam Mohammad's statement on to Dulles. Ayub further expressed his belief that, after Nehru, India might split up into separate states, which might become subject to Communist influences. The scenario worried him as, according to him, it would be dangerous for the future of Pakistan.⁷⁰ During the meeting, both also spoke of the East and West divide. Ayub felt that the US was the undisputed leader of the free world and should not be afraid to assist countries that were ready to cooperate with them. He emphasised the potential in manpower and in bases that Pakistan had and said that the present government in Pakistan was extremely anxious to cooperate with the US. And he expressed his firm belief that, if the US gave Pakistan military and economic assistance, it would result in India dropping its intransigent attitude towards Kashmir and world security.⁷¹ Dulles

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Memorandum of Conversation, Department of State, File- 37D-MUHP- 1953, 23 May, 1953, NARA. Also see Excerpts from Secretary's Conversations in India and Pakistan, Lot File. 54D341/NND903085, Box 12, 23 May, 1953, NARA.

returned to his country with a convincing argument that Pakistan could be a reliable ally. He sent a message to the PM of Pakistan stating that:

He [Ayub] has passed on my strong feelings that the combination of strength of religious feeling and martial spirit of your people makes Pakistan a country that can be relied upon as one of the great bulwarks in that area against communism... I shall continue to follow the matter, urging quick action, as I completely share your view that it is in our common interest to assist your country in this regard.⁷²

3.8 A Shift in US Policy: From MEDO to Military Alliances

A strategic organization must have its roots in the area concerned itself. No outside countries, no matter how friendly and well-disposed, could present a blue print and expect the countries of a region to accept it automatically. Regional countries must believe that their interests are best served by getting together and by creating greater strength through collective action rather than by acting independently of each other. Europe had recognized this fact and created the Western Union through the Brussels Pact. This was followed by NATO which greatly increased the scope and strength of European defence. What was needed in the Middle East was someone to take the initiative with other members of the region. The Arab countries could back up such a grouping or an organization, but, because of the Egypt-Israel hostility, they were not disposed towards any such initiative. In the creation of a regional grouping, the moral support of the US and such material assistance as it might supply would be of great importance.⁷³ Pakistan was very keen to have a US supported Middle Eastern military organization in the region. However, the inactive role of other regional countries discouraged the Pentagon, State Department and Pakistan Army from forming MEDO.

It was Secretary Dulles' historic 1953 spring visit to the Middle East and South Asia that changed the entire scheme of MEDO. After his visit, 'the focus of American efforts regarding the defence of the Middle East changed from the concept of MEDO to the idea of concentrating on the defence of the Northern tier of the Middle East'.⁷⁴ Dulles believed that there was more concern over Soviet intent where borders were nearer. Turkey and Pakistan were seen as the potential guardians of the

⁷² Secretary of State J. F. Dulles to Karachi Foreign Office, File 690D 91/653, 5 June, 1953, NARA.

⁷³ Memo, May 23, 1953, NND 903085, Lot, 54D341, Box 12, 24 May, 1953, ST-D-9/5, NARA.

⁷⁴ *FRUS*, 1952-54, Vol. XI, report to the National Security, pp. 1829-30.

flanks, with the responsibility of having to defend Iran and Afghanistan.⁷⁵ Since Pakistan was part of the Northern Tier, the US administration, especially the Pentagon, began to discuss the idea of providing limited military aid to Pakistan with the objective of strengthening the defence capabilities of the Northern Tier. During his visit to Karachi, Dulles was very appreciative of his hosts. He declared 'Pakistan [as a] potential strong point for us [the US]' and that he was 'tremendously impressed by the martial and religious qualities of the Pakistanis'.⁷⁶ However, the documents at the National Archives in Washington DC clearly show that the State Department was still indecisive about extending assistance to Pakistan because of the likely adverse effect it could have on Indo-American relations.⁷⁷

As a result of numerous meetings and exchange of letters, the Intelligence Advisory Committee to the State Department estimated that the non-Communist regimes in India and Pakistan were likely to continue for some time to come. Pakistan was ready to provide the West with base rights and possible troop commitments in return for substantial military and economic aid and security guarantees. The Committee also recognized that the conclusion of a military assistance agreement between Pakistan and the US would be resented by India but would probably not lead to war.⁷⁸ In the meantime, a Psychological Intelligence Report was sought from the US embassy in Karachi by the State Department to analyse South Asia's response to US policy objectives. In the report, the US embassy accepted the old Pakistani line that the Communists were influential in India, whereas Islam in Pakistan prevented the spread of Communism. Deteriorating economic conditions in Pakistan were seen as a reason to look for external help. Even her membership of the British Commonwealth was given as a reason for close ties with the UK and the West. For these reasons, the US embassy felt that Pakistanis were not nearly as suspicious of US intentions as the Indians.⁷⁹

The Psychological Intelligence Report mentioned how US popularity was increasing amongst rank and file in Pakistan. It went on to say that Pakistani cabinet members were now openly pro-American, but it was hard to know ordinary persons'

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ *FRUS* Meeting of National Security Council, Minutes of June 1, 1953 Meeting, 1952-54, Vol. 9, pt. 1, 379-83.

⁷⁷ Byroade to Henry Smith, 57D373, Box 11, NND 847209, October 14, 1953, NARA.

⁷⁸ Memo of Conversation, State Department File- 690D91/753, July 1, 1953, NARA.

⁷⁹ The US Embassy Karachi to Washington DC, State Department, Despatch No. 139, 'Pak-US Relations', 24 July 1953, NARA.

views because of widespread illiteracy and ignorance. The increasingly friendly attitude in Pakistan towards the US was seen as a result of recent positive American acts such as the gift of wheat grain. Bogra, whose appointment was seen as accelerating a more sympathetic approach to America, spoke of the US in such favourable terms that the danger that he might be regarded as ‘too American’ was mentioned. Generally a pro-American trend was inevitable the report concluded, unless unforeseen domestic or international events occurred, and, even then, the goodwill built up would not disappear overnight. The US Ambassador in Karachi, Hildreth, had sent a very positive message to the State Department after arriving in Pakistan. However, the political and military leadership of Pakistan considered that America had misconstrued Pakistan’s basic motive as being to improve its [Pakistan] military balance with India – a big misunderstanding that needed to be corrected. ‘Pakistan’s army high-ups now wanted some form of military arrangement with the US’.⁸⁰

3.9 Institutional Alliance in the Offing

The stage was ready and the circumstances were favourable for a Pak-US military collaboration - an institutional interaction between the State Department, the White House and the Pentagon and the Pakistan Army. Ayub spoke to a member of the US embassy in Karachi before leaving for the US. He expressed his views that he never believed in MEDO as the Middle East was in a mess and because he believed that bilateral agreements were more effective. A bilateral agreement had to be a military agreement as a precedent for an arrangement like MEDO.⁸¹ His strong contention was that any bilateral accord would bring Pakistan closer to the US, and the following regional organization would be more favourable to Pakistan than to its other members. A prior military agreement would make Pakistan a confident ally of the US and hence her stakes in the forthcoming organization would be better served and taken care of by the US. He also asked if Americans were scared of Indian reaction to the Pak-US agreement or feared that Pakistan might use the arms against India. Further to that, he answered all these queries himself. He urged that a bilateral agreement with Pakistan would be the best possible way for the US to get India on

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ US Ambassador Hildreth to Secretary of State Dulles, Dispatch No. 230, 15 August, 1953, NARA.

their bandwagon. He gave an assurance if one was required that American arms would not be used against India, unless India attacked Pakistan first. He also expressed his frustration as to why the State Department had been so patient with Nehru after his numerous rebuffs to Washington and his support of Communists. He stated that the US needed bases south of Russia, and Pakistan might be willing to make a contribution.⁸² The risk in granting weapons to Pakistan was worth taking as the alternatives would weaken the pro-American government and army in Pakistan and ‘prejudice any chance of American hopes of building her up as a bulwark against Communism’.⁸³

Ayub Khan wanted a bilateral treaty with the US, but he did not want to miss any opportunity to have a regional security organization backed by the US. It was time to highlight the weaknesses of the region and need to contain communism in the region and its neighbourhood. Ayub, while addressing the US National War College, highlighted the importance of South and South East Asia and the Middle East and emphasized the importance of an American role in the region. He said that the withdrawal of British, Turkish and Dutch empires from South Asia, the Middle East and Southeast Asia had created a power vacuum which eventually resulted in weak nations in the regions. This could be compared with the developments in Eastern Europe after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. With its break up a Soviet Empire was built which filled the vacuum, and the resultant weak nations were dominated under the Communist umbrella. Keeping in view the object of communism as world domination, it was easy to understand the significance of the political and military weaknesses in Middle East, South Asia and Southeast Asia.⁸⁴ He emphasized that the nations of the Middle East being generally so weak, so suspicious of one another, and so concerned with their own problems, were not aware of the real threat. ‘While none of these nations would welcome communism, none would have the power to resist it’ he added.

Ayub Khan was very positive towards resisting communism to the utter limits of the army’s ability in Pakistan. However, he was very sceptical about India. During his address to the National War College, he said that the ‘communist problem was

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Byroade to Secretary Dulles, State Department File No. 790D5811/93053, 30 September, 1953, NARA.

⁸⁴ General Ayub’s address to the National War College, 57D373, Box 11, NND 847209, September 29, 1953, NARA.

increasing in India. The power vacuum was created due to British withdrawal, but they displayed the foresight to get out before they were chased out by the emerging empire'. Ayub expected that the Americans could establish strength in this broad region. According to him,

American strength and resources were being concentrated on the one hand in Europe and on the other in the Far East. These positions represented the two broad flanks of Soviet strength. Nevertheless, to overlook the great southern perimeter was dangerous. If the Soviets moved suddenly, sealing off South Asia, and cut through the Middle East to Egypt, our positions in Europe would be under threat of encirclement. A similar threat into Southeast Asia would have a similar result with respect to our Far East position.

Ayub was trying to highlight the military importance of the region. He knew that economic assistance was pouring into Pakistan, but his interest was more in military aid. He made this point by saying:

No nation, regardless of its rate of economic development, is safe from communist imperialism without military power. Economic power without military power means nothing. Indeed, an economically attractive nation without military power becomes an increasingly attractive target.

He expressed his belief that the US non-entry in the area was because of its fear of offending someone or a nation. But even if it never moved, it would still be offending nations of the region. Similarly, while giving an example, General Ayub said that the US support to Turkey gave military power to both nations. He wanted to induce the same support for Pakistan. At one end, he was encouraging the US towards a bilateral agreement with Pakistan; on the other hand, he also targeted Nehru's policy of neutralism. He argued that the neutralist philosophy of Nehru was very attractive for newly decolonized nations. 'In case of world war between the US and the Soviet Union, Nehru's question used to be: "what has that to do with us?"'

Particularising the theme of American hesitation to move into the area, he asserted that, with the increase of military power, Pakistan would be strengthened which would have only one effect in this respect: to compel India to reconcile its differences with Pakistan and to look to its own defences against the communist world. He was sure that, far from Pakistanis marching to Delhi, the Indians would march to Washington! The General said that this broad pattern of response would

follow throughout the area: that wherever the US could find a reliable friend and strengthen it, nearby nations would be attracted. Ayub ended his address in a light philosophical vein by observing that,

In this world in which we find ourselves we cannot always behave as angels. Certainly you Americans cannot behave as angels, though you would like to. The effect of good people on the earth takes a long time to soak in; the effect of evil people is immediate. The attraction to communism is widespread among peoples in this area primarily because it promises so much, and seems to demand so little. You Americans have to move into this area with military power eventually. If you wait until eventually, I have no fear that you will succeed, but it will be much more costly, much more difficult and much more perilous than if you were to take steps to move in now and to seek positive friends.⁸⁵

Ayub's address was an outline of Pakistan's foreign policy and the army's priorities. His entire speech was in order of priority – starting with the US role in the region to contain communism, India's sceptical behaviour, military cooperation between the US and Pakistan, and urging Pakistan's role in safeguarding US interests in the region. The only thing that he over-emphasised was the 'marching of Indians on Washington'. That was like a storm in a tea cup. No indications could prove that New Delhi was so annoyed by the US. Indeed, Ayub very artistically drew a sketch of a competition in south and southwest Asia between Satan and God, where Satan was the Soviet Union and God was America. And the human being was Ayub Khan himself to benefit from God by showing the crafty face of Satan.

On 30th September 1953, Ayub Khan, during his US visit, met Secretary Dulles. Dulles opened the conversation with Ayub Khan by asking what was the purpose of his trip to the US. Ayub replied with enthusiasm that it was to seek military assistance for the Pakistan Army, to which Dulles said that, although it was not his business, he hoped Ayub would get what he had come for. Ayub remarked that everyone he had met so far had said the same thing, and he wanted to know who would finally decide such matters. Dulles replied that it rested with the President to give such instructions, saying that he could only tell the Defence Department if he did not want aid to go to Pakistan. Dulles then pointed out the adverse Indian reaction to any military aid to Pakistan, by comparing it to the Arabs' objection to any aid to Israel. Ayub countered the objection by saying that no one would get anywhere if

⁸⁵ Ibid.

everyone was to wait for all opposing factions to agree. He said that Nehru was trying to dominate the Middle East and South East Asia with his 'Non-Alignment' mantra, and the two obstacles in his way were American influence and the state of Pakistan. He believed that the way to deal with Nehru, and possibly settle the Kashmir dispute, was to go ahead with the strengthening of Pakistan and to restore a balance between India and Pakistan. Dulles then agreed that he did not consider the Indian factor to be fundamental to the present situation. From a political point of view, he was prepared to assist Pakistan. However he was not sure whether America could supply all the military equipment that Pakistan needed. Ayub then closed the conversation by saying he hoped that Dulles would tell President Eisenhower the details of the topics they had discussed.⁸⁶

Keeping in view the importance of the Pakistan Army, President Eisenhower approved military aid to Pakistan. In the beginning, the decision was kept secret. Just before the decision was taken, the Governor General of Pakistan, Ghulam Muhammad, left Karachi on 19th October for a six week tour that included America for 'medical reasons'.⁸⁷ As Ayub Khan was already in America, there was inevitably speculation on defence talks taking place. His arrival strengthened Ayub's position. The American media was also speculating about the talks, exploring the possibilities of a military alliance between Pakistan and the US.⁸⁸ Nehru's reaction concerning the rumours about possible creation of a MEDO was very sharp and strong as he declared it 'a step towards bringing the world war right up to our doors'.⁸⁹ *The New York Times* suggested that it would be in the interests of India to have a strong Pakistan as its neighbour, but recognised the fact that, while the unresolved Indo-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir lingered on, any attempt to strengthen Pakistani defence capabilities would obviously cause uneasiness amongst the Indians.⁹⁰ Despite all such rumours and media discussions, according to Donald Kennedy, 'The US had [yet] reached no position on the question of military aid to Pakistan till November 1953'.⁹¹ However, contrary to Kennedy's report, the Pakistan Army had a very special place in American calculations. Just the day after the Ayub-Dulles meeting, the historic political decision to grant military aid to Pakistan was approved formally by President Eisenhower on

⁸⁶ Memo of Conversation, State Department- 790D5-MSP, 30 September 1953, NARA

⁸⁷ *Dawn*, 14 October 1953.

⁸⁸ *The New York Times*, November 5, 1953.

⁸⁹ See the editorial *The New York Times*, 17 November, 1953.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ Donald Kennedy to Arthur Ringwalt, 57D462, Box 3, NND 903085, November 4, 1953, NARA.

31st September 1953. The decision was so novel that even Admiral Radford of the National Security Council was unaware of it when Dulles mentioned it to him.⁹² As the decision was not mentioned in any of the talks with Ayub Khan, it shows that the Americans did not mention the decision to Ayub and continued to talk to him as if no firm line had yet been decided. Thus the Americans had reached a decision of granting aid to Pakistan but were not ready to share the news with their Pakistani counterparts. In October 1953, 'the US embassy in New Delhi had indeed presented strong arguments against letting General Ayub know that the decision had been made in principle to extend military aid to Pakistan'.⁹³ At this crucial time, one can understand and read the American minds by reading the diaries of a reporter for the *New York Times*, Mr. Sulzenberger. Sulzenberger noted on 23rd November that Eisenhower looked grim and said that Pakistan wanted to help the western cause but needed military aid to do so. Eisenhower said the Pakistanis were 'vital, brave people like the Turks and the Greeks'. The President's patience with Nehru was obviously wearing thin as he described the Indians as simply being a 'nuisance' and resented the delay that their attitude was causing the US in giving aid to Pakistan. Byroade also met Sulzenberger and declared that the US did not want any bases in Pakistan and only wanted to build up the defence of a friendly state. Byroade did not mention that the US had seen bases in Pakistan as vital to the defence of the free world for decades, and, once military aid was given to Pakistan, the latter would find it hard to refuse any requests for bases.⁹⁴

Ayub Khan's return visit to America started with a meeting with Byroade on 21st October 1953. The decision to grant military aid to Pakistan was still not made public, but what Ayub wanted to know was what the US wanted from Pakistan in return for possible military assistance. The Defence Department officials said that America's primary interest lay in strengthening Pakistan's defence capability and its association with the West and in accepting the political assurances contained in the agreement. No specific military commitment to provide troops outside the area was involved. Byroade mentioned that the US might be interested at a later stage in developing some regional defence groups, and he hoped Pakistan would discuss her participation in a 'friendly and cooperative spirit'. Ayub said that this would of course

⁹² Memo of Conversation, State Department File- 790D5 MSP-10/1653, 16 October 1953, NARA

⁹³ Byroade to Henry Smith, 57D373, Box 11, NND 847209, October 14, 1953, NARA.

⁹⁴ C.L. Sulzenberger, *A Long Row of Candles: Memories and Diaries (1934-1954)*, MacDonald, 1969, p.770.

be the case.⁹⁵ His priority was still the same: first a bilateral military treaty and then a regional defence accord.

Before leaving the US, Ayub Khan wrote, on 2nd November, to Bedell Smith, the Under Secretary of State, saying what a great pleasure the trip had been for him and hoping that Smith would ‘keep an eye on things’ from his angle as he, Ayub, would do the same.⁹⁶ On his return from the US, he sent a letter to the Military Attaché at the Pakistan embassy in Washington, Brigadier Jilani on 3rd January 1954. A copy of this message was found in the State Department files. The message read:

Please tell Mr. Keyes on my behalf that delay over the decision matter I discussed with you is doing no good to your or our interests. A lot of good will exists in this country for your country. This [is] liable to evaporate if no confirmation [is given] from your side. Also India [is] very busy poisoning Middle East and South East Asian countries against us and you. All this will come to an end once an agreement between Pakistan and US is reached. See that this is done quickly. Therefore events will take course as predicted and told you.⁹⁷

The fact that the letter was found in the State Department files is a manifestation of American interception of Pakistani mail. This expresses how conscious they must have been of Pakistani policies and plans. On the other hand, it also shows how desperate Ayub Khan was for foreign military aid. By now, Pakistanis had burnt all their boats for regional cooperation with neighbouring communist countries in exchange for US military support. This annoyed all – India, China and Russia. The military alliance between the US and Pakistan had become the talk of the town in the region. Therefore, for Pakistan, the US delay in announcing military assistance was disappointing. Horace Hildreth, while expressing Pakistanis’ feelings over the delay in granting aid, wrote to Donald Kennedy that ‘the delay in giving military assistance to Pakistan was putting Pakistan in an awkward position’.⁹⁸

In the meanwhile, India expressed concern that Pakistan’s military ties with the US might provoke the Russians, but she was more concerned that an increase in Pakistan’s armed strength might lead to a disturbance in the balance of power in the sub-continent. ‘[The] Prevailing notion in the British Commonwealth and Foreign

⁹⁵ Memo of Conversation, State Department File- 790D5-MSP/10-2153, 21 October, 1953, NARA

⁹⁶ Ayub Khan to Bedell Smith, State Department File. 790D58-1/11253, 2 November, 1953, NARA

⁹⁷ General Ayub Khan to Brigadier Jilani, State Department File. 611D90-1-1559, January 1, 1954, NARA.

⁹⁸ Horace Hildreth to Donald Kennedy, 57D462, Box 03, NND903085, December 16, 1953, NARA.

Office was that India might even seek to prevent Pakistan joining such an organization by threats of military action'.⁹⁹ Such a position, amounting in fact to neutralising Pakistan indefinitely, could not be tolerated between Commonwealth members. In a note by PSO to the secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, it was hoped to prevent this issue arising by keeping India informed of the progress of events in the MEDO.¹⁰⁰ It was on 25th February 1954 that Eisenhower declared that the US was ready to aid Pakistan militarily.

3.10 The British displeasure over growing Institutional Alliance.

The British were not happy with the Pakistan Army and US contacts concerning a military arms deal. They wanted a collaboration between the governments of the US and Pakistan rather than an institutional alliance between the Pakistan Army and the US policy making bodies. The reason was not that they did not trust the US policy-making bodies but that they were sceptical about Pakistan's armed forces. Mr. Beeley, the Counsellor of the British Embassy in the US, wrote in a memo:

Broadly speaking, London did not like the US proposal [of offering military equipment to Pakistan]. The UK would like to see Pakistan strengthened militarily. However, there was the problem of Indian reaction. India would consider that the US was bringing the East West conflict to the Sub-Continent and that the US had decided actively to support Pakistan in the Kashmir dispute. Indian reaction would be sharp, and Indo-British relations would suffer. Certain British military facilities in India of importance to Western defence might be lost.¹⁰¹

British policy makers further hoped that any US military aid to Pakistan would come as a result of a formal request from the Pakistan government made after careful consideration by the Pakistan Cabinet and not as a result of any proposal made by General Ayub Khan.¹⁰² But on the ground, the situation was just opposite to British expectations. The Army was more interested and in haste than the Cabinet to join the

⁹⁹ Note by PSO to secretary of the State for Commonwealth Relations, DO35/6654, NAL.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Memorandum of Conversation, October 16, 1953, Record of the Director, SOA Regional Conference and Country Files, 1951-1954, Pakistan, RG 59 (GRDS), Lot File. 57D373/NND847209, NARA.

¹⁰² Ibid.

Western defence alliance. The British mistrust of Pakistan and its armed forces can also be judged from a British Cabinet paper that says,

It is true that Pakistan produces some of the best fighting material in the world. But the value of her army must be dependent on the goodwill of the politicians who control it. And, by and large, the present generation of Pakistani politicians is inexperienced, somewhat parochially minded and lacking in the generous and pro-British temper characteristic of certain Muslim leaders in India in earlier days. Moreover there is an element if not of anti-British feeling, at any rate of indifference to the Commonwealth tie, in the Pakistan Navy and Air Force, and it would fall to us to provide and perhaps pay for, much of the arms and equipment of the Pakistan Armed Forces. In any case it is only if friendlier relations with India can be reached and maintained that the Pakistan Armed Forces would be available for use in other directions.¹⁰³

The rise of American involvement in Pakistan resulted in the loss of British prestige in Karachi. The British High Commissioner in Karachi, Gilbert Laithwait, wrote to the Commonwealth Relations Office that:

The British position in Pakistan was weak and getting worse because of the difficulty of seeing what can be done effectively to remedy it. Financially and in terms of supply, we cannot, unfortunately, hope to compete with the US. Pakistan recognizes that it is not we, but the Americans who now have something to give, and who are ready and anxious to take political, diplomatic, and military initiatives which for good reasons are not open to us.¹⁰⁴

If on one hand the British were losing Pakistan covertly, on the other hand Americans had less aid to give overtly to Pakistan. This was frustrating for 'Karachites'. They realised that US aid was insufficient to fulfil their requirements. They had become a target of neighbouring hostile countries for such meagre assistance. Previously, they maintained that it would make them safer. On not receiving enough aid, they were very insecure. On receiving less aid, Hildreth, in his dispatch of 8th April 1954, recalled an earlier incident in which he had asked some Pakistani government officials to remember the atmosphere of November 1953 when Nixon was visiting. The delay in giving military assistance to Pakistan was putting Pakistan in an awkward position. The Pakistani officials made the statement that 'if military aid were now not

¹⁰³ Cabinet Paper, 'Pakistan and the Commonwealth', Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, No. 879, Telegram No. 977.CON 68/6/4, DO35/6654, PRO.

¹⁰⁴ FO 371/112320, UK High Commissioner in Karachi, Gilbert Laithwait to CRO, 19 April, 1954, PRO.

forthcoming, they would feel “like the girl led down the primrose path and deserted under the spotlight”. Ambassador Hildreth replied that he did not think that was fair because actually the situation was more in the nature of the girl pursuing the US down the primrose path instead of being led down the primrose path. The official laughed and said, yes, he guessed that was true but the result was the same’.¹⁰⁵ Hildreth recalled that for a similar situation Muhammad Ali had given an alternate analogy that was of a man going to borrow a gun to shoot a mad dog, and was given a needle and a thread to repair a hole in his trousers instead. Zafrullah had added, ‘Especially if the mad dog was intelligent enough to know you had gone to borrow a gun’.¹⁰⁶

It was on 19th May 1954 that a Mutual Defence Agreement was signed in Karachi.¹⁰⁷ The main terms of the agreement were that the US would furnish Pakistan with arms and services which the US felt Pakistan needed. The arms were to be used for internal security, self-defence and collective defence of the region. No aggressive acts were permitted. Pakistan in return was to make a full contribution to the ‘defence strength of the free world’.¹⁰⁸ However, while expressing his desire for the US alliance, the PM of Pakistan Mohammad Ali said to Dulles that ‘Pakistan would welcome anything which assured the security of this region’.¹⁰⁹ He accentuated the point by remarking that ‘there were three countries which stood as obstructions to Russian ambitions in this area. These were Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan and they stood between the Persian Gulf and the Soviet Union’.¹¹⁰ At the same time, Pakistan was interested in any additional aid that could help fulfil its requirements domestically as well as internationally. During a meeting with the Governor, FOA, Stassen, Zafrullah said that, ‘It was Pakistan’s belief that the ‘beggar’s bowl’ should never be concealed. He said that he and his country adhered to what he perceived to be the European principle reflected in the story of the lady who wished to have her portrait done by a prominent portrait artist in Europe and who specified in advance that the

¹⁰⁵ Horace Hildreth to Donald Kennedy, 57D462, Box 03, NND903085, December 16, 1953, NARA.

¹⁰⁶ Hildreth to Secretary of State Dulles, State Department File. 790D5MSP/4954, 8 April, 1954, NARA.

¹⁰⁷ Emmerson to Dulles, State Department File. Telegram # 965310, MEDO, 27 April, 1954, NARA.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Minutes of the meeting between Prime Minister M. Ali and Secretary Dulles, May 23, 1953, NND 903085, Lot, 54D341, Box 12, NARA.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

artist's rendition must do her full justice. The artist in Sir Zafrullah's story replied, "Madam, what you need is not justice but mercy".¹¹¹

Pakistan's military and military-backed political leadership was now satisfied by becoming an ally with the most powerful country in the world. In America, the friends of India, including Chester Bowles and Senator William Fulbright, expressed serious doubts about the wisdom of arming Pakistan.¹¹² But only a few elements in Pakistan and more specifically in East Pakistan expressed their resentment.¹¹³ During the successive culmination of the agreement, Vice-President Nixon was a very blunt and vocal supporter of Pakistan. He wanted the agreement at all costs. He had a very good memory of his visit to Pakistan. In his memoirs he says:

I practically enjoyed talking to General Ayub Khan because, unlike most of his countrymen, he was not obsessed by the Pakistan-India problem. He did indicate his total contempt for the Hindus and his distrust of the Indians, but in his conversation, he was more anti-communist than anti-Indian. He was seriously concerned about the communist threat, both ideological and military, and about the danger that the Soviets would use India as a cat's paw for establishing a major presence in South Asia. At that period in his career he was strongly pro-American and believed that Pakistan and the United States should be allies and friends.¹¹⁴

The pro-American tilt of Ayub Khan was very motivating for Nixon. The more he was anti-communist, the more he was mustering American support. His anti-Indian feelings were satisfied automatically. Any material support that Ayub was acquiring against the Soviet Union was in fact equally applicable against India. Hence, it was like killing two birds with one stone, containing the Soviet Union for America and India for Pakistan. It was not a big deal to become anti-Soviet to satisfy America's strategic thirsts and to acquire military support that could be and, rather, was used against India.

The Americans were hesitant to disclose their grant aid to Pakistan to India. To begin with, Nixon had a bitter recollection of his meeting with Nehru. During their meeting, Nehru was continuously talking against Pakistan, declaring it the most

¹¹¹ Memo of Conversation, Pakistan's Need for Additional United States Aid, Sir Zafrullah and Governor Stassen Foreign Operations Administrator (FOA), 57D462, NND 903085, Box 03, June 22, 1954, NARA.

¹¹² Congressional Records-Senate, Vol. 100, Part 2, 1954, pp.2481-2, NARA.

¹¹³ As mentioned in the last chapter, Maulana Bashani of Awami League very openly criticised the proposed agreement. See *The New York Times*, 22 February 1954.

¹¹⁴ Richard Nixon: *The Memoirs of Richard Nixon*, (London: Sidgwick & Jackson), 1978, p.133.

hostile country for India. He never mentioned Communism or the Soviet Union. This irritated Nixon the most. Giving his reaction on aid to Pakistan he maintained:

Pakistan is a country I would like to do anything for. The people have less complexes than the Indians. The Pakistanis are completely frank, even when it hurts. It will be disastrous if the Pakistan aid does not go through.¹¹⁵

The aid got through for Pakistan, but the US administration was very sceptical about Indian reaction. The Department of Defence (DoD) was so frightened of India's reaction that it was specifically notified not to hold any ceremony for the first shipment of military aid to Pakistan. The DoD merely issued a short factual press release shortly before the ship sailed. It was urged not to highlight this event in the press so that no undue emphasis would be given to the event.¹¹⁶ President Eisenhower proposed a conciliatory statement being issued to India clarifying that the US aid was 'not to help Pakistan against India'. Along with the President, Dulles, Defence Secretary Wilson and Mutual Security Administrator Stassen also thought to offer a similar pact to India. It was just a tactical approach as everyone knew that India would not accept any such offer.¹¹⁷ 'Americans knew that it was impossible for them ever to expect Pakistan to like the US economic assistance to India and vice versa'.¹¹⁸ But 'a pat on the back was inexpensive and yet sometimes vastly effective'.¹¹⁹

With the US aid pouring into Pakistan, different departments of the government of Pakistan began racing against each other to accelerate the work of their respective ministries in order make best use of the opportunity. To downplay the internal race, General Mirza, Secretary of Defence, formed a committee to deal with the US military mission and laid down the law for ministries.¹²⁰ The law was 'to act sensibly and not to make fools of themselves competing with each other for the enhancement of their particular service'.¹²¹ He also wanted 'the progress under

¹¹⁵ Ibid, p.132.

¹¹⁶ Jernegan to Richard Sanger, First Shipment to Pakistan, 57D462, NND 903085, Box 03, September 29, 1954, NARA.

¹¹⁷ Memo of Conversation, Eisenhower, Dulles, Wilson, and Stassen, January 5, 1954, FRUS, 1952-54, 11, pt.2:1838-39.

¹¹⁸ Brigadier (Rtd) Inam ul Haq. (Peshawar, 20-06-07).

¹¹⁹ Emmerson to Dulles, 690D.91/6-1954, 19 June 1954, NARA.

¹²⁰ The committee consisted of Air Vice-Marshal Cannon, a British Officer, General Ayub Khan, C-in-C, Admiral Choudhri and General Mirza as a representative of the Central Government of Pakistan.

¹²¹ From American Embassy Karachi to the State Department, Donald Kennedy, 57D462, NND 903085, Box 03, February 27, 1954, NARA.

military aid, though slow, but sound and consistent and not an impetuous rush amongst ministries to see who could get the mostest fastest'.¹²² It was his planning and sensible acts that had earned him much respect in the eyes of Americans. Dulles while talking to Stassen, Director FOA once said that, it would be difficult for Pakistan to find "another person of his [Mirza's] capabilities".¹²³

With the debut of military and economic assistance, the Americans' tone towards Pakistanis turned cynical. They had a very low opinion of Pakistani policy makers or the ones who were in the hub of Pakistan's policy-making bodies. Donald Kennedy, writing to the US ambassador Hildreth, says:

Colonel House, Woodrow Wilson's great friend, once reportedly said that a man does one of two things when he gets into the White House: he either grows with the job or he swells with it. I fear there are plenty Pakistanis in high places who, when their country becomes linked with a great Power, will swell rather than grow. New responsibilities and tests of statesmanship will accrue to Pakistan as time goes on, but that small-minded contingent of Karachi may not rise to the occasion. Indeed it may well grow more irresponsible, perhaps even arrogant, particularly in the conduct of their government's relations with India and Afghanistan. I believe that we should be alert to this phenomenon and that we should counter it immediately, effectively and amicably whenever it becomes manifest. Military assistance to Pakistan may risk relations between Pakistan, India and Afghanistan due to Pakistan's association with the US. We should not allow the narrow-gauge boys to increase that risk. This is a time for Pakistanis to lean over backward to behave in the most proper and friendly manner in their relations with their neighbours.¹²⁴

The Americans were not only becoming cynical. After the granting of military and economic assistance, US policy became so interfering in nature that even the Ambassadors of Pakistan used to be changed on indication of its likes and dislikes. This could be witnessed in the same letter that Donald Kennedy wrote to Ambassador Hildreth in which he further said:

The fellow [Ghazanfar] in New Delhi is a bad news wherever he is. We made it plain to Mohammad Ali [PM of Pakistan] when he was ambassador here that we thought Ghazanfar's appointment as Ambassador to Ankara was incredibly bad. It is my intention to talk to Amjad Ali [Pakistan's Ambassador to the US] about Ghazanfar and to suggest that a

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ J.Foster Dulles to Harold Stassen Director FOA, 57D462, NND 903085, Box 03, 23 July 1954, NARA.

¹²⁴ Donald Kennedy to Horace Hildreth, 57D462, Box 03, NND903085, February 18, 1954, NARA.

man of broader calibre and different character might serve Pakistan better in New Delhi. J.A Rahim Foreign Secretary may also fit the description of being small-minded.

His opinion about Sir Zafrullah was also very critical. He considered him 'vindictive, inordinately proud, and perhaps not on the closest of working terms with his Governor General and PM'.¹²⁵

The mutual defence agreement was signed, but there were still many gaps to be filled. If Pakistan was to protect the Middle East against Communist forces, it had to be powerful enough to defend itself until help arrived. For that matter, it needed an army much stronger and larger than it could afford. This meant more US non-productive investment in Pakistan's armed forces. Creation of any such force even had to have the capability of taking on its erstwhile enemy, India. This meant some potentially gruesome consequences which the Americans did not want. Their plan was to woo India simultaneously to contain China. The scheme was a confused one. Over and above, Pakistan was the country that had military aid, though less than required, and a possible guarantee of security from the world's richest and most powerful state against communism. It is a fact that a small country always applies pressure on its larger counterpart to get as much benefit as possible.¹²⁶ So Pakistan sought to cash in on its new alliance with the US.

International politics in the 1950s and 1960s was a game of self interest in which national gains might only be achieved from conflict between the great powers. With such expectations, the Pakistan Army received Brig. General William T. Sexton in the summer of 1954 to head the newly established US Military Advisory Group. To the greatest shock of the Pakistan military leadership, General Sexton promised a military aid of \$30 million. General Ayub was 'dejected' and 'broken hearted'. He communicated to the PM Bogra that if Pakistan was to get no more from US than General Sexton had indicated in the nature of military assistance, it would be better for Pakistan not to be involved in a defence arrangement with the United States.¹²⁷ In October 1954, PM Bogra visited the US along with General Ayub Khan, and during his meeting with Dulles, he complained that the promised \$30 million aid was too

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ For a detailed study, see Shirin Tahir-Kheli, *The US and Pakistan: The Evolution of an Influence Relationship*, Preager Publishers, 1982.

¹²⁷ Memorandum of Conversation, US Military Assistance to Pakistan, by NEA Mr. Jernegan, August 6, 1954, Record of the Director, SOA Regional Conference and Country Files, 1951-1954, Pakistan, RG 59, GRDS, Lot File No. 57D462/NND903085, NARA.

little for assuming responsibilities in the Middle East and Southeast Asia against the Communist world. Secretary Dulles replied that he thought Pakistan was undertaking its anti-Communist stand because it was right and not just making itself eligible for certain sums of dollar aid.¹²⁸ Poor Secretary Dulles was playing the game of politics internationally but was still thinking personally. Pakistan's entire edifice of politics and joining of alliances was constructed just for one purpose: military and financial assistance to make the country strong against India and against a perceived threat of Communism. America was in need of a country like Pakistan to contain Communist Soviets, and Pakistan was determined to take advantage of this. Washington increased economic assistance to \$105.9 million and gave a secret *aide-memoire* of military aid of \$50 million for the coming fiscal year. The *memoire* also committed the US to equip 4 army infantry and 1.5 armoured divisions, to provide modern aircraft for 6 air force squadrons, and to supply 12 vessels for the navy. The total cost of this military program was \$171 million.¹²⁹ Super-power rivalry was showering fortune on Pakistan. By then, the Indians were moving heaven and earth to find out the magnitude of the American military program to Pakistan. Their problem was that they did not know the character or amount of aid.¹³⁰

With such a stock of military and economic aid, soon Pakistan joined the South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) – all a part of what became the ‘politics of alliances’ in subsequent decades. Pakistan was so desperate to join Western alliances that Sir Zafrullah asked the US Secretary of State to include East Pakistan within “the line” to be drawn defining South East Asia. Zafrullah suggested that Pakistan would like to join Thailand, the Philippines, and any others who might form the proposed SEATO. Over and above, Pakistan's Ambassador to the US, Amjad Ali remarked that until recently the government of Pakistan had been concentrating its attention on the Middle East, but, he said, it had come to realise that the threat to Pakistan from the East was more immediate than from the West.¹³¹ Strangely, Ayub Khan in his memoirs says that the

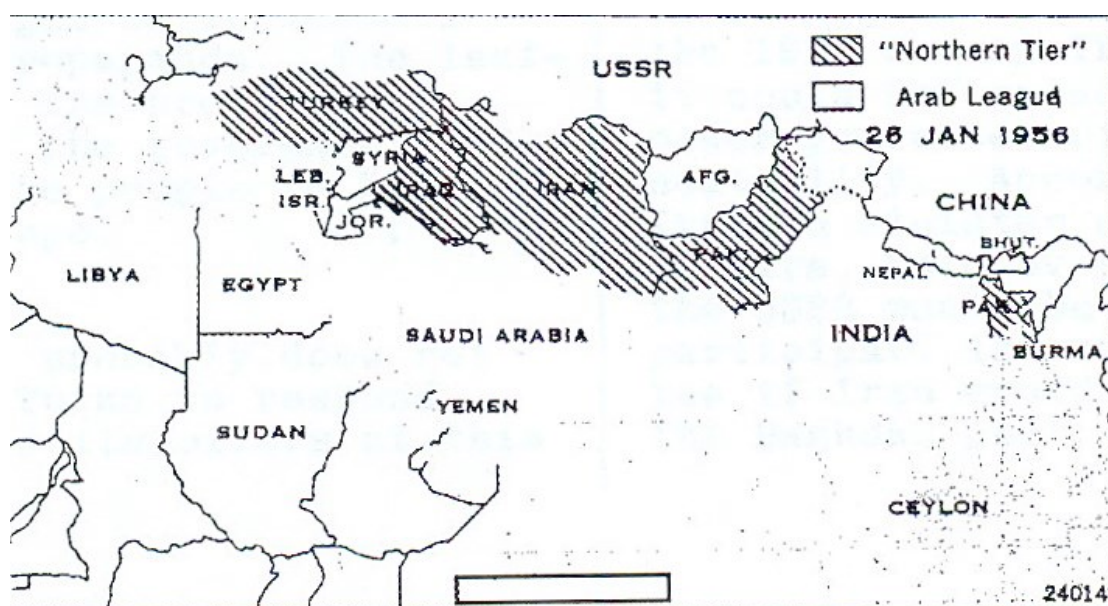
¹²⁸ *FRUS*, 1952-54, Memo between Dulles, Bogra, Amjid Ali, Henry Byroade and Thacher, October 18, 1954. Vol.11, pt. 2:1868-69.

¹²⁹ State Department Telegram to the US Embassy Karachi, *FRUS*, 1952-54, October 22, 1954, Vol. 11, pt. 2:1869-71.

¹³⁰ Memo, 57D462, NND 903085, Box 03, November 20, 1954, NARA.

¹³¹ Memo, 57D462, Box 03, NND903085, July 15, 1954, NARA.

defence of the East lay in the defence of the West,¹³² but when it came to joining US defence clubs, the importance of East and West wings of Pakistan were swapped.



Map 3.1 Northern Tier and the Middle East.¹³³

Both organizations were formed on American terms and against communism. Pakistan tried its level best to include other aggressor countries like India. However, it was clearly told to the Pakistani authorities that India was not covered in the treaty area and that a Pakistani attack on India would not be the concern of SEATO.¹³⁴ Despite all such oddities, Foreign Minister Zafrullah signed the SEATO agreement.¹³⁵ PM Bogra was very upset about agreeing to join SEATO in haste as he had sent Zafrullah to attend the Manila Conference merely to observe the proceedings. A final green signal was to be given from Karachi. Bogra was more interested in understanding the pros and cons of the treaty before signing it. On the other hand, Zafrullah understood that the treaty did not offer anything substantive to guard Pakistan against India; 'he signed it under pressure from the US and the Pakistan Army'.¹³⁶ Soon he had to cash in the reward for it. Within a month of signing the

¹³² For details, see Ayub Khan, *Friends Not Masters: A Political Autobiography*, (London: OUP, 1967)

¹³³ CIA- RDP79-00927A0002700110001-4, Intelligence weekly summary, 26 January, 1956.

¹³⁴ FO371/111865, Minutes from Minela Pact to the CRO, D1074/106-G, September 8, 1954, NAL.

¹³⁵ SEATO was signed on 8th of September 1954. See FO 371/111886, FO Minutes, D1074/610, September 8, 1954, NAL.

¹³⁶ Sharif Farooq Interview as well as Kamal Matinuddin. Both of them said that Zafrullah went to Manila with an understanding with Ayub Khan that he would sign the treaty.

treaty, Zafrullah was elected to the ICJ with British, American and French help. He seemed to know that his political career was over in Pakistan, and, hence, he did not even return to Karachi but went straight to America from Manila. Major Sibghatullah Khan, while elaborating his views, said that

Thus it proved that the SEATO was signed not by Pakistan as a State but by an individual Zafrullah supported by an institution of the country- Pakistan Army. Probably, the interests of Pakistan army were different than the interests of Pakistan.¹³⁷

As the formation of these organizations is not within the scope of this chapter, only the relations between the army and different departments of the US are highlighted. The politics of alliances was thus very satisfactory for the Pakistan Army. In return for joining SEATO, senior commanders in the Pakistan army enjoyed the opportunity to rub shoulders with the US army and its leadership. They became closer to them, which was helpful for the planning of future military coups. It also provided them with training centres which prepared hundreds of Pakistan army *jawans* (Army men) for battle under the scheme.¹³⁸ It was the period, as discussed in the previous chapter in which, due to weak political institutions, Governor General Ghulam Mohammad dissolved the Constituent Assembly. The recent cabinet changes in the government at Karachi and dissolution of the Pakistani Constituent Assembly had placed in power ‘men of proven friendliness to the US’, with General Ayub C-in-C of the army assuming also the duties of Minister of Defence and General Mirza becoming Minister of Interior¹³⁹. These were men from whom American could expect continuing co-operation.¹⁴⁰ ‘The two most effective forces for stability in the country, namely, the Army and the Civil Service, were behind the Governor General’.¹⁴¹ What was known to the Americans was the fact that the group now ‘holding power was anxious to further the present friendly policy of Pakistan toward the US and the West and may be expected to continue a policy of cooperation along these lines’.¹⁴² The Commander-In-Chief Ayub Khan was responsible to himself now as he was Defence Minister and had absolute authority to deal with security pacts and the politics of

¹³⁷ Major (Rtd) Sibghatullah Khan, (Nowshera, 10-06-07).

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ A Report on Pakistan, Record of the Director, SOA Regional Conference and Country Files, 1951-1954, Pakistan, RG 59 (GRDS), Lot File. 57D373/NND847209, NARA.

¹⁴⁰ Memo, 57D462, Box 03, NND903085, November 1, 1954, NARA.

¹⁴¹ A Report on Pakistan, (GRDS).

¹⁴² Ibid.

alliances. In his biography, he says that Ghulam Mohammad had offered him the role of martial law administrator, as the army had already gained the confidence of the people during '1952 martial law in Lahore',¹⁴³ but he declined this offer.¹⁴⁴ Probably the time was not yet ripe for a military take-over. But, given the circumstances and their direction of change, it was inevitable in future.

SEATO opened direct links between the army and the US administration. At the same time, Ayub Khan, being C-in-C and Defence Minister, was more at the hub of politics, both domestic and international. The decision to join CENTO or 'the Baghdad Pact' was made purely on the directions of Ayub Khan who negotiated with Turkey, Iraq and the British administration on behalf of the government of Pakistan. In CENTO parleys, Ayub was more concerned with Pakistan's role in the case of a war in which Turkey was involved as a member of NATO. Adnan Menderes, the Turkish Prime Minister, replied that although there would be no question of any automatic action being taken, there ought to be an understanding amongst parties to see what kind of help could be provided in case of war. PM Nuri Said of Iraq and Menderes consoled Ayub by saying that some kind of link would be provided between the pacts in Western Europe and Asia. After receiving this answer, Ayub admitted that he was asking a question and hesitating to accede to the pact not as a politician but on behalf of himself. From a military point of view, he wanted to know what the extent of Pakistan's commitment would be before joining the pact.¹⁴⁵ Soon after, Ayub sent a telegram to Karachi from the Pakistan embassy in Istanbul recommending that Pakistan should now join the Baghdad Pact.¹⁴⁶

Back in Pakistan, Mirza was consoling the newly arrived British ambassador Symon in Karachi by assuring him that Ayub's visit to Istanbul was of an exploratory nature. He told Symon that before his visit, there was heated debate in the cabinet meeting over the question of joining or not joining the pact. He, as an Interior Minister, tried to get a resolution adopted that Pakistan must adhere to the Turko-Iraqi initiation. Mirza said that he could not succeed, but that it should not be considered Pakistan's final decision over the issue.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ For further details see, Craig Baxter, *From Martial Law to Martial Law: Politics in the Punjab, 1919-1958* (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1985, and Lahore: Vanguard Press, 1985). An edited and annotated translation of *Martial Law-se Martial Law-tak* (Urdu) by Syed Nur Ahmad.

¹⁴⁴ Ayub Khan, *Friends Not Masters*, p.52.

¹⁴⁵ Istanbul to Foreign and CRO, FO 371/115515, V1073/972, 06 June, 1955, NAL.

¹⁴⁶ FO 371/115515, V1073/972, NAL

¹⁴⁷ FO371/115513, British Embassy Karachi to CRO, V1073/869, 15 June 1955, NAL.

On the domestic front, due to his feeble and poor health, Ghulam Mohammad was replaced by Iskander Mirza as acting Governor General with the conviction that he would take this job permanently once Ghulam Mohammad officially retired on 6th October. Mirza was too pro-west to be a Pakistani. On 12th August 1955, when Mirza as acting Governor General, met with British Ambassador Symon, he promised to do all he could to join the Baghdad Pact.¹⁴⁸ It was on 23rd September that Pakistan formally joined the Pact. The Pact's membership was completed when the Shah of Iran joined on 11th October of the same year. The concept of the Northern Tier, once developed in the minds of US policy makers, was at last materialised for the defence of the Middle East. At this moment, Ayub Khan, in his autobiography *Friends Not Masters*, defined Pakistan as 'America's most allied ally in Asia'.¹⁴⁹ Pakistani leaders attached great importance to the assurances contained in the Department of State's November 29, 1956 statement regarding the Baghdad Pact countries' security. They interpreted it as a US guarantee of the territorial integrity of all Baghdad Pact powers.¹⁵⁰

Besides its military objectives the US military assistance program for Pakistan had certain clearly defined political advantages. The initiation of US military assistance to Pakistan probably did more than anything else to strengthen Pakistan's support for the side of the free world in the Cold War struggle. A logical sequel to strengthened ties with the US and the West was Pakistan's adherence to SEATO and the Baghdad Pact. Conversely any serious Pakistani disappointments with regard to US military aid would very probably lead to a slackening of Pakistani interest and support for the two pacts.¹⁵¹

The military aid program contributed to the US political objectives in Pakistan by strengthening the Pakistan Army and improving its morale. In doing so, Americans reinforced, as they saw it, the most important element in Pakistan making up for internal stability. Thus the army had apparently demonstrated on a number of occasions its capacity to exert a stabilizing influence in situations where civil order threatened to deteriorate or had actually broken down. At the same time, however,

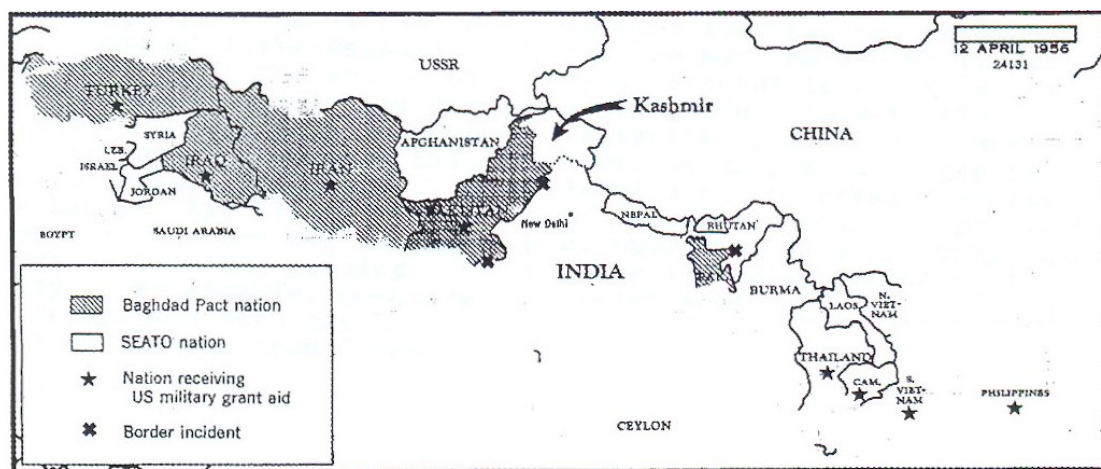
¹⁴⁸ FO371/115518, British Embassy Karachi to CRO, V1073/991, 12th August, 1955, NAL.

¹⁴⁹ Ayub Khan, *Friends Not Masters*, p.130.

¹⁵⁰ Memorandum of Conversation, Mr. J.R. Maybee, First secretary, Canadian Embassy with Richards Mission to Pakistan and Afghanistan, April 9, 1957, RG 59 GRDS, Lot File No. 60D545/NND 937328, NARA

¹⁵¹ For Deputy Assistant Secretary Mc Guire, NEA:SOA: NG Thatcher: Pad, August 15, 1956, RG 59 GRDS, Lot File No. 60D545/NND 937328, NARA

army remained heavily involved in the continuing internal political turmoil of Pakistan.¹⁵²



Map 3.2 Baghdad Pact Nations: The Northern Tier in 1956.¹⁵³

On two occasions within two or three months of May to August 1956, President Mirza expressed to the US Embassy representatives in Karachi his satisfaction with the rate of military deliveries. While there were indications that General Ayub was not fully satisfied with every aspect of the program as it was developing, Americans believed that on the whole the program was proceeding in a manner to have a favourable political impact in Pakistan. Perhaps the most serious problem in connection with the program [MDAP] was the question of its ultimate economic effect in Pakistan. The US government was about to express general concern over the economic implications of Pakistan's growing military machine.¹⁵⁴ However, no such witness is available expressing US concerns over the Pakistan's swelling defence budget or its disproportionate expenditure on the military.

3.11 Offers and Pressures from the Soviet Union

With the joining of pacts, Pakistan came under extreme pressure from the Soviet Union. In a press interview on 6th February 1956, the Russian PM Bulganin offered extended trade and technical aid to Pakistan. He also said that the USSR was

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ CIA-RDP79-00927A000800050001-0, Intelligence weekly summary, 12 April 1956.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

willing to buy Pakistan's agricultural produce and cattle exchange for Soviet agricultural and industrial machinery. He went to such an extent that he indicated his willingness to share with Pakistan, the Russians' technical knowledge concerning the peaceful uses of atomic energy.¹⁵⁵ Although previously Karachi could use Soviet support for India and Afghanistan in its quarrels with Pakistan as an excuse to reject Bulganin's approach, this could not be expected from the present government. The country was run by army sponsored and pro-American politicians like Mirza and Suhrawardy. The nexus between the Army and the US Department of State and Pentagon was so strong that no mild attitude from the government of Pakistan was acceptable to any of the poles – the State Department, the Pentagon or the Pakistan Army. Soviet advances were therefore rebutted forthrightly. There was a popular sentiment in Pakistan that the complete commitment to the West had not been productive.¹⁵⁶ But who cared about popular sentiment in a third world country governed at the whim of the army? The popular cry was against the alliances, but the government was not popular. Hence American allies and foes were borrowed. SEATO and CENTO alliances were the outcome of an institutional understanding between the State Department, the Pentagon, the White House and the Pakistan Army.

Soviet pressure on Pakistan continued by promoting and highlighting Indian interests in the world. According to a CIA report, 26th January 1956, Moscow re-emphasised its ties with New Delhi. It stressed that the importance of India was the foremost of the neutral states and as the "sixth great power" in world affairs. Khrushchev declared that "India is our special friend" and that the Soviet Union acknowledged "India's rights as a great power".¹⁵⁷ The same CIA report also mentioned that Moscow might be planning to promote India for a Security Council seat along with Communist China. However, Indians themselves had already indicated that they regarded the Chinese seat as belonging to *Peiping* (Beijing).¹⁵⁸

The first Deputy PM of USSR, Mikoyan's visit to Karachi in March 1956 was aimed at campaigning to pry Pakistan away from its political and economic ties with the West. On 23rd March 1956, he suggested that Pakistan must replace its membership of alliances with adherence to the "five principles". While meeting with PM Chaudhri Mohamad Ali, he strongly attacked the alliances and said that the USSR

¹⁵⁵ CIA-RDO80B01676R004200120010-4, February 12, 1956.

¹⁵⁶ CIA-RDP79-00927A000700130001-2, February 9, 1956.

¹⁵⁷ Current Intelligence Weekly Summary, CIA-RDP79-00927A000700130001-2, February 9, 1956.

¹⁵⁸ CIA-RDP79-00927A000700130001-2, February 9, 1956.

was determined to maintain the “neutrality” of Afghanistan. He spoke very confidently of Soviet strength, emphasizing that the USSR feared no power and that the USSR was determined “to break” pacts directed against it. At the same time, Mikoyan threw a trump card by making it clear that Pakistan’s withdrawal from its western commitments was not an essential condition for Soviet assistance and friendship.¹⁵⁹ Side by side, his conversations in Karachi were supported in Moscow by Foreign Minister Molotov’s hint that the USSR might be willing to construct a steel mill for Pakistan along the lines of the Soviet project in Bhilai, India. All such offers were so attractive that even pro-American President Mirza commented that “a change” had come over Russians during the last two months: “they used to be very cold. Now they are very warm”.¹⁶⁰ However, the power centre lay not in the office of the PM or Governor General, but with the military hierarchy. The politics of alliances were joined not by politicians but by the civil-military bureaucracy. The Soviets were knocking at the wrong door. A public institution like the Foreign Office was formally responsible for foreign policy. However, the real power was with the Army GHQ.

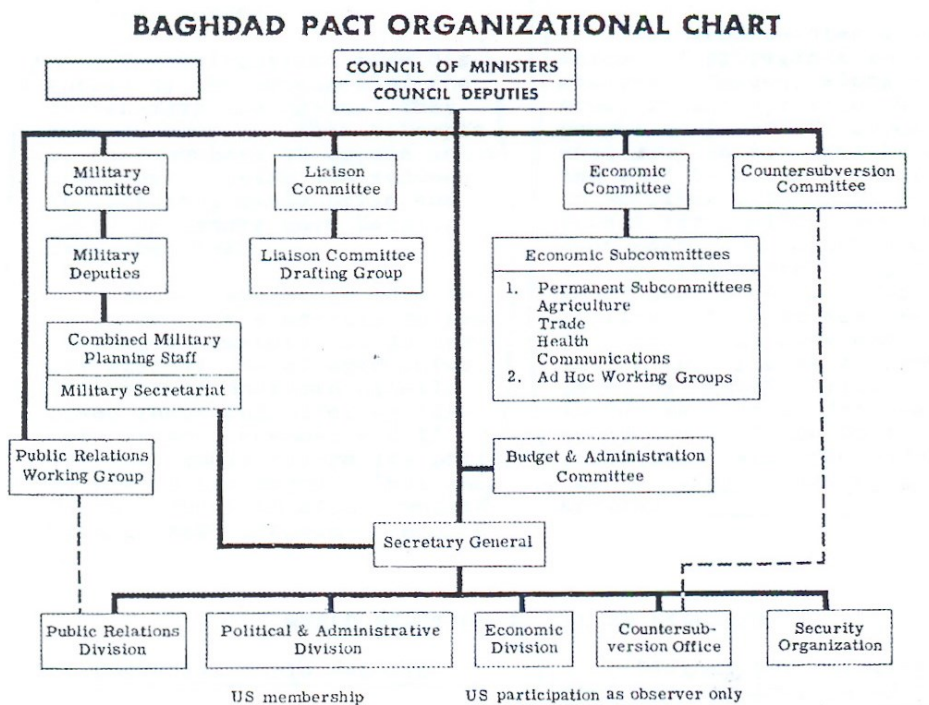


Figure 10. Organizational chart of Baghdad Pact, February 6 1958.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ CIA-RDP79-00927A000800030001-2, March 29, 1956.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ CIA-RDP79-00927-A001600070001-9, Intelligence weekly summary, February 6, 1958.

3.12 Pak-US Cooperation with Other Middle Eastern Countries and Egypt's Aspiration of Muslim Leadership

The US-sponsored regional organizations boosted the Army's morale. By now the US administration was fully convinced that 'the power of Pakistan's central government rested with the Army'.¹⁶² Now, the Americans were interested in absorbing more Middle Eastern countries into its politics of alliances. Egypt was at the top of the list. However, Pakistan and Egypt were both aspiring for the leadership of the Muslim world. In recent years, the emergence of Pakistan as the world's largest Muslim state, and one that was created explicitly on the basis of Islam, made her a natural contender for leadership, but in Egypt, after the end of the caliphate system at the hands of Mustafa Kemal, King Farouk of Egypt developed ambitions to become Caliph. In anticipation of this added dignity, he had proclaimed himself a "Sayyid", or descendant of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), which by custom and tradition any caliph of Islam must be. In view of Farouk's known Albanian and Turkish ancestry, the claim was so patently spurious that it resulted in nothing but ridicule and derision and was soon dropped.¹⁶³ Gamal Abd-al-Nasser was more systematic and organized in taking lead of the Muslim world than Farouk. Nasser, in his book, says that Egypt had to move in three circles: the Arab world, Africa, and the world of Islam.¹⁶⁴ He felt challenged by Pakistan in two of his supposed circles: the Arab and Islamic worlds. He abhorred the politics of alliances and Pakistan's keen desire to involve Arab countries from the Middle East. He opposed any move which might result in the appearance of a rival in his pan-Arab circle. This was the reason that he was strongly opposed to Hashemite plans for a Fertile Crescent or Greater Syria. Similarly, his violent opposition to Iraq's participation in the Northern Tier and his vigorous efforts to prevent the adherence of any other Arab states stemmed not only from his neutralist leanings and desire to keep the Arab countries out of the arena of great power rivalry, but also from a strong hatred to see any Arab state rejecting Egyptian leadership.¹⁶⁵ Added to these factors was Nasser's resentment over Turkey's attitude towards the Israeli problem. Egypt had her neutral antipathy toward strengthening the position of

¹⁶² *Operations Coordinating Board, Washington DC*, Progress Report No. NSC 5409, (South Asia), File No. 48, CIA, February 23, 1955, NARA.

¹⁶³ CIA-RDP78-02771R000500030002-9, 18th September 1955.

¹⁶⁴ Gamal Abdul Nasser, *Egypt's Liberation: The Philosophy of the Revolution*, (Washington: Public Affairs Press), Washington DC, 1955.

¹⁶⁵ CIA-RDP78-02771R000500030002-9, 18th September 1955.

Pakistan, her only real competitor for Islamic leadership.¹⁶⁶ As the US was not on good terms with Egypt, it wanted to see Pakistan as leader of the Muslim world. Having Pakistan in its politics of alliances was like a window of opportunity towards the Muslim nations. Pakistan's support for the US in such alliances had a two folded result for the US: to contain Communism and to counter anti-western sentiments in Muslim countries like Egypt.

British Foreign Secretary Eden, in his telegram to Dulles, stated that 'if we cannot win the active support of all the Asian countries of the area, it is important that we should, at the very least, secure their benevolent neutrality'.¹⁶⁷ Any such neutrality could be synthesised with the pro-Western stance of Pakistan. However, Nasser reacted strongly to the pro-West policy of Pakistan. He got closer to India in spite of the fact that India had recognized Israel, but he never forgave Pakistan's entry into the Baghdad Pact which harmed Egypt in the long run. The politics of alliances joined by a strong Muslim country like Pakistan curtailed Egypt's bid to become a Muslim world leader. Pakistan's role reduced Egypt's anticipated role vis-à-vis the US and the West. Hence, Nasser not only refused to accept Pakistan's contingent as part of the UN Emergency Force at the end of the Suez War, but welcomed an Indian Contingent instead. In the meantime, he remarked: 'The Suez Canal is to Egypt what Kashmir is to India, and Pakistan with its communal basis is as artificial a state as Israel'.¹⁶⁸ Such sentiments earned a bad reaction from the Pakistan Army. However, the public in Pakistan still believed in the concept of Muslim brotherhood. During the Suez War of 1956, the people and leadership of Pakistan were therefore on opposite poles. People were out in the streets demonstrating against Britain, France and Israel for their joint attack on Egypt, and newspapers, like *Dawn*, were declaring Israel 'gangsters'. But President Mirza was assuring US Ambassador Hildreth that 'in any crisis the US could expect complete support from Pakistan for its policies'. He also hoped the 'US government and West would at least let Nasser and Egypt get kicked around for a while before [the US] rescued him'.¹⁶⁹ PM Sohrawardy also showed his full support by telling Ambassador Hildreth that the government of Pakistan would back the present US stand in the UN. He added that it was though politically necessary to

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Department of State, Incoming Telegram, CIA-RDP80R01731R000900120047-3, April 30, 1954.

¹⁶⁸ FO 371/ 127820- JE 1063, from British High Commission to Commonwealth Relations Office London, September 16, 1956, NAL.

¹⁶⁹ Memo, 'Pakistan's Reaction to Middle East Conflict', 60D545, Box 43, NND937328, 11 November 1956, NARA.

permit demonstrations to be held.¹⁷⁰ The Baghdad Pact was thus not only for defence planning against the USSR but was also an instrument to contest Egypt's bid to dominate the Middle East.¹⁷¹

In the Baghdad Pact, Iraq was the most vulnerable and weak country. It was under continuing pressure from the Arab world to abandon the alliance, especially after the Suez War. At the same time, very bleak support was granted to the member countries by the West. There was no unified military command which was the prerequisite of every such organization.¹⁷² Therefore, according to the CIA reports, it was predicted in 1955 that Iraq would probably not be able to resist and might give in to Egyptian pressure.¹⁷³

Due to the lack of concrete Western support, the Turkish leadership was much frustrated. PM Menderes blamed the US and Britain for failing to fulfil the conditions of the Pact. He said that the rest of the four countries were losing confidence in their western allies because of their hesitation in supporting the pact. He was very vocal when he said, 'events are surpassing US capabilities and the US seems to be getting dizzy' and that 'the USSR is dynamic and working very hard and the US does not know what to do'.¹⁷⁴

During the Suez War, the attack on Egypt by Britain and France placed them 'on the wrong side of a moral issue'. The Anglo-French attempt to re-assert their control over the Suez Canal compromised any chances for widening Asian participation in the Pact. Asian members of the organization found it difficult to defend both domestically and internationally their participation in SEATO.¹⁷⁵ On the other hand, the communist world was very swift to encourage the neutralist bloc. The Soviet leader Khrushchev hinted that he would urge a great-power guarantee of the neutralization of at least part of the Middle East and an agreement on non-intervention which would include an embargo on arms shipments to the area.¹⁷⁶ Before that, he stated that their policies in the Middle East would conform to 'six principles'.^{177, 178}

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ CIA-RDP79T00975A002800190001-0, November 10, 1956.

¹⁷² CIA-RDP79-T00975A002300100001-4, Current Intelligence Bulletin, November 24, 1955.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ CIA-RDP79T00975A002500100001-2, April 4, 1956.

¹⁷⁵ CIA-RDP79T00975A002800230001-5, 15 November, 1956.

¹⁷⁶ CIA- The Communist Bloc, RDP79T00975A003800340001-2, 28 July 1958.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid. 1- solution of problems by peaceful means; 2- non-interference in domestic affairs of Middle Eastern countries; 3- renunciation of attempts to involve these countries in military blocs; 4- liquidation

Pakistan was much more interested in the politics of alliances than in any bunch of principles, but the Americans had noted the Soviet tilt towards Pakistan. According to a National Security Council Paper, 'The USSR was engaged in a vigorous and open diplomatic, propaganda, and economic campaign to increase its influence in the area'.¹⁷⁹ The reaction was closer and closer cooperation between Pakistan and America.

Conclusion

It is questionable whether it is realistic to consider military assistance to Pakistan in terms of small sums like thirty or fifty million dollars a year. The risks to US security interests created by any US military assistance to Pakistan would be so profound as to appear to rule out such assistance except on a vast scale including massive defence support expenditure. Any assistance would have to be on the premise that Americans had considered India's cold war and hot war importance and had decided that the smaller and much weaker country of Pakistan was more useful to the US. Further, Pakistan's expectations would be on a grand scale. Pakistan was to swell rather than to grow. This was manifested when Nehru claimed that Pakistan had recently increased its agitation against India and that Karachi had told Soviet leaders that arms received from the US were for use against India.¹⁸⁰

On the other hand, India was a power in South Asia. The Americans had to make it their ally rather than cause it to be hostile to them. Pakistan was distressingly weak. In the first week of September 1953, the Pakistani Finance Minister made it clear to the Americans that Pakistan needed large-scale economic assistance from the US for the next five years before it could be hopeful of continuing on its own.¹⁸¹ The extension of military aid would probably lead to attempts by Pakistan to saddle America with a large measure of its economic problems.

The security relations with the US helped Pakistan overcome its inferiority complex vis-à-vis India. The modernization of its forces and American weapons boosted its defensive strength. Although America always hesitated to give any

of foreign bases and withdrawal of troops; 5- mutual ban on arms deliveries; and 6- promotion of economic development in the area without political or military conditions.

¹⁷⁸ CIA- The Communist Bloc, RDP79T00975A003800340001-2, 28 July 1958.

¹⁷⁹ *FRUS*, 1955-57, January 3, 1957, NSC 5701, 8:29-43.

¹⁸⁰ CIA-RDP79T00975A002800440001-2, Nehru's views on the Middle East, 11 December, 1956.

¹⁸¹ Office Memorandum titled 'Military Assistance to Pakistan', 57D462, Box 3, NND903085, September 16, 1953, NARA.

security commitment to Pakistan against India, it still worked for Pakistan and contributed to India's embarrassment in the region. The regional security order was completely altered as it brought Pakistan for the first time close in terms of military capability to that of its rival, India.

The security pacts and military alignment were beneficial to the US for its motives and Pakistan for its own purposes, but only Pakistan had to pay the price of such commitments. Pakistan was dragged into a superpower rivalry in letter and spirit. The Soviet Union openly supported India in all regional and international forums on contentious issues like Kashmir against Pakistan. She fully backed Afghanistan in its Pakhtoonistan dispute with Pakistan. In exchange Pakistan wanted overt and unconditional American support for its bold stance for the West. Unfortunately, the Soviet Union proved what its representative Mr. Malik had said to Pakistan's Foreign Secretary Ikramullah three years previously; that in the Kashmir dispute the UK-US and the UN would not support Pakistan's position. Mr. Malik declared that the USSR would not use its veto power, but he also said that the USSR was going to give Pakistan an object lesson regarding what help it would get from the UK-US-UN'.¹⁸² He reflected that the West was taking Pakistan for granted.

The irony of fate is that Pakistan and the US, despite their common organizations and security pacts, did not wholeheartedly and openly support each other's objectives. Both were trying to drag each other towards their own motives for less in return. America was more concerned for its global war against communism whereas Pakistan was worried about the regional security paradigm. Countering India was not an American concern just as containment of the Soviet Union was not Pakistan's primary interest. Their cooperation was based on an ambiguity that, perhaps, no party was ready to resolve.

With diverse objectives in their cooperation, the result of the Pakistan and the US military cooperation was to strengthen the Pakistan Army in the domestic politics of the country. International agreements and alliances increased the Army's bargaining position further. It reached such a level that within the next year, the Army entirely took control of the reins of government. It was easy for the US now to deal with the country and the dominant institution of the country simultaneously.

¹⁸² SOA: Mr. Kennedy, SOA: Mr. Simons, Pakistan and the Middle East, A conversation with Mr. Ikramullah, the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan, October 30, 1951, GRDS, ROSAA, 1939-53, NND 903085, Lot 54D341, Box 09, NARA.

Chapter 4

Military rule in Pakistan and India as a Factor in Straining the Pak-US Institutional Interaction: 1958-62.

Background

In the previous chapters, the historical process of the institutional interaction between the US policy making bodies and the Pakistan Army and the developments which led to the fall of democratic political institutions were presented. In both cases, the Pakistan Army, headed by General Ayub Khan, had to respond to various factors present in the set of rules for the whole gamut of domestic politics and the immediate international environment in the shape of growing US-India intimacy. On the domestic front, the democratic currents were purged. On the international front, developments during the 1950s gave rise to security problems which were countered by institutional interaction and the formation of military pacts. However, it had not yet provided Pakistan with a complete security umbrella against India. During the period under consideration in this study, the entire foreign policy-making process was overwhelmed by a wave of anti-India feelings. US policy makers were not ready to buy into any such feelings. Therefore, the growing Indo-US relationship to curb communist currents in Indian society, as well as to contain China, set off the sequence of events of the late 1950s and early 60s which seriously affected Pak-US institutional interaction. In order to understand US policy towards India and its impact on Pakistan, one has to look first to dimensions of the domestic policy of Pakistan's military regime. This will help to provide an understanding of Pak-US institutional interaction, its fallout and its effects on the domestic politics of Pakistan.

4.1 Introduction

From the creation of Pakistan, relations between the Pakistan Army and the US remained very cordial. Military cooperation between the General Headquarters (GHQ) and US policy making bodies – the Department of State, the White House, and the Pentagon – strengthened the Pakistan Army's bargaining position in domestic politics. Their collaboration resulted in the weakening of political institutions and prolonged military influence over the political leadership of the country. This

relationship was shaped by a couple of very important developments in South Asia in the late 1950s: the military coup in Pakistan in 1958; and the growing US interest in and support for India to curb communist trends and to deal with the Chinese threat. The military coup increased US expectations of Pakistani support for India against China. Pakistan's C-In-C and Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA) Ayub Khan was keen to cooperate with the US but not with India. American support for India against China was frustrating for the Pakistani Army. It disturbs the South Asian strategic balance that Pakistan had created at the cost of losing the support of neighbouring countries by joining US sponsored alliances. The improvement of Indo-US relations compelled Pakistan to strengthen its ties with China. Hence, the period of 1958-62 denoted a shift in the balance of power in South Asia. This chapter explores military rule after the *Coup*; thoughts of the Army Generals and Subalterns (low ranking military officers) on GHQ-State Department proximity; and the feebleness of Pakistan-US relations which were further weakened with the Sino-India war in 1962. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section will chart the development of the declaration of martial law by President Iskander Mirza and General Ayub Khan and the succeeding differences between these two leaders. It will also focus on the purging of politicians as well as the encouragement of ethnic division under the military regime. The second section will look at India as a factor that strained Pak-US institutional interaction.

4.2 I: MILITARY RULE IN PAKISTAN: 1958-62

A year before the military coup of 1958, the US administration was very hopeful for Pakistan's democratic future. American diplomat in Karachi Arthur A. Gardiner wrote in his mail to the State Department:

I do not think we have any evidence for believing that any preparatory steps are being taken for the establishment of authoritarian rule. I am even willing to bet that you will see elections in Pakistan next spring; even money.¹

¹ American Embassy Karachi to Department of State, NND 847209, Box 22, 62D43, June 26, 1957, NARA.

Mr Gardner lost his bet as Pakistan would not witness its first general elections for the next 13 years.² The following year, the Army was in full control of the country's foreign and domestic policies. Martial Law could have been declared much earlier than 1958,³ but the Ayub-Mirza nexus was waiting for a suitable time. Between 1956 and 1958, four different governments and coalitions were formed and broken by the nexus. The shortest surviving government was of seven weeks' duration (by Prime Minister I. I. Chundrigar). But by then, President Mirza's manoeuvrings had annoyed all political parties and he would have been pushed into isolation if general elections had taken place. The general elections were tentatively scheduled for February 1959. The expected results were dramatic; political parties would have their own alliances and the re-election of Mirza as president would be difficult, if not impossible.⁴ President Mirza did not have much faith in the democratic process.⁵ At the same time, General Ayub Khan had asked for the extension of his tenure of service for another term. The civilian Defence Minister Mr. Muhammad Ayub Khuhro was not keen on this as Ayub Khan already had an extension since 1954. Ayub Khan and President Mirza were forecasting the end of their Gang of Two's visible and invisible rule. Thus, martial law was declared, and the central and provincial assemblies were dissolved and political parties were suspended. Being very cordial, obedient, and personal allies of the US and Britain, Ayub and Mirza expected their (the US and Britain) support for martial law. So much so, the only person who knew in advance about their intentions was the US ambassador to Pakistan, Mr. James Langley. Being a very close friend of Langley, Mirza confided that he would soon be assuming dictatorial powers with the help of the Pakistan Army.⁶ Upon learning of the declaration of Martial Law, the British High Commissioner in Karachi Sir Alexander Symon praised the military takeover. In a diplomatic mail to the Commonwealth Relations Office (CRO) London, he wrote: 'the Army moved in throughout the country with clockwork precision'. His reaction was 'one of profound relief that the

² The first general elections in Pakistan took place in 1970. For details, see, Air Chief Marshall (Rtd) Mohammad Asghar Khan, '*Tareekh say kuch nahin sikha- Siyyasat aur Afwaj-e-Pakistan*', (Karachi: OUP, 2005), p.24.

³ Ayub Khan, told American *Charge de Affairs* Emmerson in Karachi on 6th October 1954 that he was unhappy over the present political situation in Pakistan. He said that the Bengali politicians could not be allowed to dictate to the whole of Pakistan, that 'something would be done', and that he hoped the US would understand if some military action became necessary; see CIA-RDP 79-T00975A-00170013-0001-8, October 8, 1954, NARA; chapter four.

⁴ Interview with Sharif Farooq, (Peshawar, 18-02-07).

⁵ Ambassador James Langley to DOS, NND847209, Box 22, 62D43, September 9, 1957, NARA.

⁶ *FRUS*, 1958-60 Vol. XV, pp.664-65.

rascally politicians had been so summarily disposed of'. He was very hopeful for an 'efficient, honest, and loyal army to provide a last chance to achieve stability and progress'.⁷ The CRO in London was also very supportive of Army rule. In its return mail to Sir Symon, it wrote:

New regime promises to replace a weak and discredited team of politicians by a stable Government which will provide a decent, practical and constructive administration and restore Pakistan's badly shaken self-confidence.⁸

Mirza had a fear that if he did not act authoritatively to declare martial law, Ayub Khan would do so and, hence, he would be marginalised in the power-share.⁹ Retired Air Chief Marshal Asghar Khan, in his autobiography, says that at 9:00pm on 7th October 1958, he was called into the presidency where Ayub Khan and Brigadier Yahya Khan were already present along with other military officers. He further says:

He [Mirza] told me that the constitution was suspended and after imposing Martial Law, the government had been handed-over to the Army headed by General Ayub Khan. He asked me to remain in the presidency for the next few hours for the completion of the entire plan.¹⁰

General Ayub Khan as CMLA had all the required powers for running the government smoothly, but soon came to dislike Mirza's presence. Appetite comes with eating. Such was the case with Ayub Khan. He was CMLA, but now he was aspiring to be the president of the country. Colonel (R) Saleem Zafar gives an insightful understanding of a soldier's nature and Ayub Khan's intention:

A man cannot share two things – woman and power. An army-man worships power. He is either above or below in a hierarchy. Equality is out of question. Previously, Ayub Khan was below Mirza. Now he wanted to be the sole custodian of the State.¹¹

With his rule, Ayub wanted total power and to become an absolute ruler without anyone sharing in power (not even Mirza). Iftikhar Bhatti, a clerical staffer in the foreign office at the time, says that very soon Mirza also came to dislike Ayub

⁷ DO 134/26, Sir Alexander Symon to CRO, Hume, October 24, 1958, PRO.

⁸ DO 134/26, CRO to British High Commission, Karachi, October 23, 1958, PRO.

⁹ *FRUS*, 1958-60 Vol. XV, p.669.

¹⁰ Air Chief Marshall (Rtd) Mohammad Asghar Khan, '*Tareekh say kuch nahin sikha*', p.10.

¹¹ Interview with Col (Rtd) Syed Saleem Zafar, (Peshawar, 22-02-07).

because of his dominating nature. Two cooks spoil the broth. Until then, Mirza had been the sole powerful ruler of the country and Ayub was behind the scenes, but with the declaration of Martial Law, Ayub wanted an un-shared power which was not appreciated by Mirza.¹² Lack of trust dominated the political environment, and soon it became clear that they could not tolerate each other's existence. It became so obvious that, during a reception at the presidency, the Canadian High Commissioner Mr. Moren asked Ayub Khan, 'Mr. Prime Minister! When are you taking your next step?' Ayub at once asked, 'What do you mean?' The High Commissioner smiled without uttering a single word, but everyone present besides Ayub Khan knew what Mr. Moren meant.¹³

Mirza smelt the danger of Ayub's rivalry. They had been close friends in the past and, hence, knew the traits and weaknesses of each other very well. During the third week of October (1958), Military Intelligence (MI) intercepted a telephone conversation between Syed Amjid Ali (Finance Minister) and President Mirza. Their pro-American stance compelled them to convert their synonymy of supporting the US in Pakistan into a relationship. Mirza's daughter had to marry Amjid Ali's son. Ali was asking to fix a date for the marriage ceremony but Mirza replied that he was busy in the forthcoming days. 'The moment the situation comes on routine, we will fix the date' Mirza replied. Ali asked if it would take long for the situation to settle down. Mirza responded, 'I will fix Ayub Khan in the next few days and then everything will be alright'.¹⁴ The conversation between Ali and Mirza was an alarming moment for Ayub Khan. Now was the time for the execution of his action plan: the removal of President Mirza. Asghar Khan says that he was called by Ayub Khan at 10:00 pm. Ayub told him, 'Iskander Mirza wants to dethrone me from the Prime Minister-ship. To avoid panic resulting from such [a] silly act, I have decided to remove him from the presidency'.¹⁵ At that very time, Major General Burki, Major General Azam Khan, Major General Sheikh, Brigadier Malik Sher Bahadur and Brigadier Yahya Khan were also present in uniform. On Ayub's orders, all five left to seek Mirza's resignation. In the meanwhile, Ayub was very tense. The moment all the five military officers returned, Ayub at once stood up. They told him that 'Mirza was in his

¹² Interview with Iftikhar Bhatti, a clerk and librarian in the Foreign Office of Pakistan during 1960s (Islamabad, 25-03-07).

¹³ Mohammad Asghar Khan, '*Tareekh say kuch nahin sikha*, p.11.

¹⁴ Ibid, p.12.

¹⁵ Ibid, pp.12-3.

bedroom. His servant went in to call him. He appeared in his night-gown. While coming down the stairs, he asked if we had brought the paper to sign. The moment the paper was presented; he immediately signed and left for his bedroom'. Ayub after hearing this became calm. He said: "Iskander Mirza must be treated well and may be taken to Quetta early next morning".¹⁶

To gain international legitimacy for the coup, Ayub Khan had to take foreign diplomatic missions in Karachi into his confidence. 'It was 11.30 pm that Ayub called a meeting of ministers and foreign ambassadors. American Ambassador Langley was very worried about Mirza'. He asked numerous questions about him and his security. His reaction reflected the extraordinary US interest in the state of affairs. Mirza's friendship was fully reciprocated by the Americans. It also showed that the US government was ignorant of the development that resulted in the ousting of Mirza.

Despite the Ambassador's reaction, the American government was very happy with the change. President Eisenhower and his republican administration were fond of dictators. Dictators had played a very positive role in the achievement of their objectives to contain communism. Furthermore, they knew Ayub Khan very well. 'Ayub had been to Washington numerous times. He used to visit America almost every year. He was not only on good terms with Pentagon, but was also a very good friend of Allen Dulles – the CIA chief. Alen Dulles was the brother of John Foster Dulles – the US Secretary of State. It was an accepted fact that he had to meet with Allen Dulles on his every visit to Washington between 1951 and 58'.¹⁷ After taking charge of the entire country, Ayub met American *Charg`e d'Affaires* Ridgeway B. Knight and told him that US aid was a 'matter of life and death' for his nation and that he expected Pak-US relations to be warmer than ever.¹⁸ American foreign policy's road to Pakistan was passing through the Army's General Headquarters (GHQ).

The initial period of military rule was invested in purging politicians from the national politics of the country. As the entire dictatorial rule of Ayub Khan is not my purpose here, only specific areas of his governance pertinent to the topic are highlighted. After strengthening his position, Ayub took a shift towards a constitutional regime. During the transition to constitutional government, Ayub Khan's political position at home had undergone a drastic change. Forty-four months

¹⁶ Ibid, p.13.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ DO 134/26, Sir Alexander Symon to CRO, October 30, 1958, PRO; *Charge d'Affaires* Ridgway B. Knight to DOS, October 31, 1958, *FRUS*, 1958-60, 15:681-82

after the 1958 military coup, Ayub brought martial law to an end on 8th June 1962. The first test of his constitutional and post-martial law regime was the approval of the national budget. The budget was presented to the National Assembly elected under a new constitution.¹⁹ In the process, however, his domestic political position weakened. The difficulties which put Ayub on the defensive were the constitutional issue and the democratic nature of Bengalis led by ex-Prime Minister Suhrawardy. These were, in brief, the same fundamental problems that had pressed every Pakistani government since 1947. ‘Ayub’s constitution, presented to the public as an act of personal fiat on March 1 1962, established a presidential and federal form of government. Administration was decentralized for efficiency’s sake, but power was centralized for the sake of stability’.²⁰ For example, the constitution gave the legislature almost no say in preparing the budget and none at all with respect to important appointments. The courts lost their power to declare laws unconstitutional and to hear cases involving fundamental rights. The initial electorate that chose the members of the National and Provincial Assemblies of East and West Pakistan was limited to the 80,000-odd members of the Basic Democracies System (BD System). Ayub’s principle aim in this constitution was to devise a system which would permit him to run the country and carry out the Five Year Plan with little interference by the legislature and judicial branches of government. The elections for the three assemblies (East, West and Central) established by the constitution were held under a martial law regulation making any political activity an offence. It appeared to arouse little public interest in elections. In the absence of organised political activity, the elections consisted of a series of unconnected factional interests in which the main aim of many contestants was to validate their personal claims to status and official preferment.²¹

Controlled elections and pseudo-democracy was challenged on all fronts by the Easterners (People of East Bengal). A group of nine Bengali politicians issued a clear-cut statement on 25th June 1962 to contest for democracy. They declared Ayub’s constitution unworkable. In their view, ‘a constitution can’t be durable unless it is framed by the direct representatives of the people. A “special body” should be elected as soon as possible for this purpose. In the interim, the Bengali group urged the

¹⁹ CIA-RDP80B01676R001700040017-4, Recent Changes in Ayub’s Political Position, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State, (Henceforth RCAPPBIRDOS) RNA-36, September 14, 1962.

²⁰ CIA-RDP80B01676R001700040017-4, RCAPPBIRDOS, RNA-36, September 14, 1962.

²¹ Ibid.

release of political prisoners including Suhrawardy and the revival of the judiciary's authority to hear cases involving fundamental rights'. The statement characterized political parties as the "very breath" of representative democracy and stressed the importance of regular and periodic elections. Opposition to the constitution was so well established in East Pakistan that Ayub appeared to be virtually without support there, at least amongst those who could claim to be representative leaders.²²

Ayub sought to tame the National Assembly by divide-and-rule tactics, but achieved success only at the cost of sacrificing elements of his presidential system and the release of Suhrawardy for a short time. He obtained the support of a group of Bengali representatives by amending the constitution to permit cabinet ministers to keep their seats in the National Assembly. This step was in the direction of orthodox parliamentary practice. It was followed by the establishment of debating rules which allowed for the questioning of Ayub's ministers, thereby re-establishing a system of interpellation. A disciplined political party was needed by Ayub Khan. Despite the restricted electorate, energetic and knowledgeable opposition members were present in sufficient numbers to keep Ayub's handpicked ministers looking defensive and ineffectual. Ayub needed a party to bear the onus of imposing the additional taxes required by Pakistan's commitments to the international lenders' consortium. Over bitter opposition, the Assembly passed legislation to permit a controlled party system to develop.²³

Ayub tried to gain the support of the Muslim League under the guise of organizing a broad-based national party. A convention was held to this end, but a national party did not emerge. The core of the Muslim League appeared to be those same conservative landlords whom former President Mirza, in his day, had corralled into the so-called Republican Party in order to disrupt the Muslim League after the 1956 Constitution was adopted. Ayub appeared to have even less support among Bengalis than Mirza had then.²⁴

In East Pakistan the trend throughout the year had been markedly negative for Ayub's fortunes. The re-arrest of ex-PM Suhrawardy on 30th January 1962 triggered a series of anti-government demonstrations; opposition to the regime had since become the dominant feature of the province's political life. The students were in the forefront

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

of this upsurge; they tore Ayub's pictures to shreds, booed his ministers off platforms, and burned copies of the constitution. Most important of all, the students had unintentionally provided a leader (Suhrawardy) who could act as a personal focus for the country's anti-Ayub forces. General Azam, an ambitious Pushtoon, resigned as East Pakistan Governor under circumstances which made it appear to the public that he had refused to carry out Ayub's orders to open fire on the students.²⁵ Thus the Easterners' desire for a true democracy proved a hard nut to crack for the military junta.

Democratic currents in the East were much stronger than in West Pakistan. Ayub Khan knew that the Easterners were more opposed to his martial law than the Westerners. Hence, right from the beginning, while observing Suhrawardy's anti-regime activities and pro-democracy movement, he was arrested, and, under EBDO,²⁶ was put in jail and banned from participating in politics for seven years. Mr. Zahoor Butt, a close friend of Suhrawardy, gives a very interesting narration of how Ayub tried to be friendly with Suhrawardy to curb civil-disobedience but later on backed-out:

With the BD system, as usual all the West Pakistan members of the assembly were ready to join the cabinet. However, the Easterners demanded and insisted on the release of Suhrawardy. They were not ready to cooperate with Ayub Khan without his release. Ayub had no option but to write a letter to Suhrawardy praising his competency, intelligence, and genius nature. He also wrote about the circumstances that compelled the declaration of martial law. He sought Suhrawardy's cooperation to end Easterners' non-cooperation movement. This letter was typed in English. At the end of the letter, "yours sincerely" was written. Ayub cut "sincerely" with his pen and wrote "affectionately" in its place and signed. Foreign Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra took this letter on behalf of Ayub Khan and handed it over to Suhrawardy in Multan jail. In the mean time, due to intense pressure by the members of the National Assembly, Suhrawardy was released. Now after the release, Ayub got worried about the letter. He thought Suhrawardy might use it politically against him. Hence again Bogra was given the responsibility to get the letter back from Suhrawardy in Lahore. Many friends of Suhrawardy including myself advised him not to return the letter or at least to keep a copy of it for the heydays. But Suhrawardy replied: 'Look! Curtsey is something. He is writing me "affectionately". How come I show that coldness [by not returning the letter]?'²⁷

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Elective Bodies Disqualification Ordinance.

²⁷ Interview with Zahoor Butt, (London, 17-03-08).

The letter was returned to Bogra. It was a clear depiction of how the military junta contrasted with few good men in Pakistan's politics.

Mr. Butt also describes the cause of Suhrawardy's death related to a telegram written by Ayub Khan. He says:

During 1960 when Suhrawardy was being trialled under EBDO, Egyptian President Nasser visited Pakistan. After nationalising Suez Canal, Nasser had emerged as a Muslim hero and a moral victor for the entire world. Ayub Khan also wanted to take political advantage of his international stature and popularity in Pakistan. He took him to different cities of Pakistan and expressed his profound friendship with Nasser. Ayub also assured him that the statement given by the then PM of Pakistan Suhrawardy against Egypt during Suez war of 1956 had nothing to do with him. Rather such a statement was given without taking the Armed Forces Chiefs into confidence. On his return, Nasser called a press conference in Cairo and stated that the former PM who had supported the British and French during the Suez war was standing like a convict in Pakistan's court of law today. This hurt Suhrawardy who returned to Lahore along with a telegram and addressed his close friends: *So... now if I speak, Ayub Khan will complain that I was trying to ruin Pak-Egypt relations.* It was the same telegram that Ayub had written in the capacity of C-in-C of Pakistan's armed forces during his visit to Washington to the then PM of Pakistan Suhrawardy. He used very bad language for Nasser in the telegram. He also wrote: 'Pakistan's defence forces are very dependent upon English and French weapons and jets'. Hence 'from Pakistan's defence interests' point of view, we have to support Britain and France rather than a "mad man" like Nasser'. Officers in the Foreign Office were also of the same view. Even Suhrawardy was supposed to address the UN within weeks and had to seek Western support for a resolution on the Kashmir issue. Therefore, he gave the statement against Nasser. In Pakistan, the public circles showed their strong reaction against such a pro-western stance of the government. But Suhrawardy did face such criticism.

Mr. Zahoor Butt now discloses that the same telegram would become the cause of Suhrawardy's death. Had it come into the hands of the opposition leadership at the time, it would have exposed Ayub's intentions towards the Muslim world, especially Egypt, and, hence, his government would have faced difficulty. This would also have damaged relations between Egypt and Pakistan. According to Butt, Ayub Khan's Secretary for Interior Affairs A.B Awan told him that Ayub Khan had ordered him, *I want that telegram at any cost; even if at the price of the gold of entire fort Nakis (the hub of gold mines in Pakistan).* Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto also mentions the incident of how

the telegram was acquired from Suhrawardy in his book “If I am assassinated”. Bhutto witnessed the burning of the telegram at the hands of Ayub Khan just after Suhrawardy’s death in Beirut. Thus Zahoor Butt thought that the death of Suhrawardy was due to this telegram.

4.2.1 Military Rule and Ethnic Problem

The death of Suhrawardy was a bad omen for the future of an integrated Pakistan. Pakistan was in quest of an identity based on the common ground of nationalism. However, ethnic and regional tensions reignited, especially in the absence of unionists like Suhrawardy. The years 1961 and 1962 had already witnessed a tremendous increase in ethnic tension in Pakistan. Ethnic rivalries surfaced within the power structure of Pakistan, including the armed forces, in a way that was ominous for the future of the Ayub regime.

Pakistan was a geographical expression where the far-flung remote areas – Baluchistan, Sindh, the Frontier, and East Bengal – were daggers drawn with Punjab, the core power centre. Punjabis dominated the Ayub regime, while the other regions felt themselves politically disenfranchised, economically exploited, and the victims of cultural programmes which were intended to destroy their national character and self-respect. As the Army and political class were dominated by the Punjabis, more and more economic benefits were diverted to the Punjab province. Urdu and Punjabi were given more air-time on the radio than other regional languages. A local Pukhtoon nationalist leader Baz Muhammad Khan says:

Everyone was branded as traitor but Punjabis. *Pakhtoons* were traitors as they were talking about provincial autonomy. Bengalis were not loyal as they were asking for parity between the East and West Pakistan. *Sindhis* were defectors as they were compelled to submit to a recently arrived minority from India – the Urdu speaking *Mohajirs*. The only ethnic group that had taken the contract of loyalty to Pakistan was *Punjabi*. Pakistan was run like *Punjabistan* – the land of *Punjabis* and not Pakistanis. In a way, they were right as Punjabi was in majority in the Army as well as in bureaucracy. We felt as *Farangi* (English colonial master) was replaced by Punjabi and we, the rest of Pakistan, were under their neo-colonial rule.²⁸

²⁸ Interview with a local senior Pakhtoon nationalist leader, Baz Mohammad Khan, (Akora Khattak, 25-01-07).

When I asked, ‘But Ayub Khan was a Pathan?’ Mr Khan replied with a decisive ‘No’. He said:

Every Khan is not a Pakhtoon or Pathan. Ayub was from Abbottabad-Hazara. People from Hazara are like Punjabis and not like Pakhtoons. Our tradition, culture, and language, everything is completely different from Hazara-people. Hence the government and the Army of Pakistan was governed and led by Punjabi only.²⁹

Inter-provincial rivalries were not limited to domestic affairs. Foreign policy was the reflection of domestic policy. Likewise, foreign policy was influenced by the provincial and Central governments’ jealousies. A friendly policy towards Afghanistan was regarded as inherently anti-Punjabi because it tended to strengthen Pukhtoons as a competing group. On the other hand, nationalist Pukhtoons of the Frontier province were looking towards Afghanistan to muster support against Punjabi domination. They were under the impression that any foreign support for them would strengthen their bargaining position vis-à-vis Punjab in the federation of the country.³⁰ The sudden shift in Pakistan’s policy toward Afghanistan in August 1961, when Afghan consulates in the Frontier region were closed on the pretext that they were being used for subversive activities,³¹ had significant regional implications. The dissatisfaction in the area, which the Afghans were able to exploit, was directed primarily against the Government’s policy of administering all of West Pakistan as a single province (the One Unit) and of prescribing cultural and educational policies designed to create a uniform national character for Pakistan. Ayub wanted American diplomats³² to ‘beat some sense into [the] bloody minds of the Afghan Royal family’ to live decently in the neighbourhood.³³ Nationalist Pakhtoons led by Bacha Khan were also very swift in making moves to encourage Afghanistan’s interference in the Frontier province. The harsh measures employed by the regime to dominate the Frontier province had clearly failed to achieve their objective. Although the region was depressed, the will of nationalist Pukhtoons to resist remained strong. Pakhtoon

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Interview with the editor of the Pushto daily newspaper, *Wahdat*, Pir Sufaid Shah (Peshawar, 14-02-07).

³¹ *FRUS*, 1961-63, Memo from Philips Talbot to Secretary Dean Rusk, September 6, 1961, Vol. 19, pp.87-88,90-92.

³² *FRUS*, 1961-63, Kennedy sent a special envoy Livingston Merchant for détente between Pakistan and Afghanistan., US embassy, Kabul to the DOS, September 20, 1961, Vol.19, 101-06.

³³ *FRUS*, 1961-63, A telegram from the US embassy Karachi to DOS, October 27, 1961 Vol. 19, 116-20.

nationalists were united under Ghaffar Khan, the imprisoned “Frontier’s Gandhi”³⁴ who appeared certain to be the unintended beneficiary of Ayub’s actions. There was also evidence that these tensions were beginning to weaken the cohesion of the army. In May 1962, a leading Pushtoon officer, Major General Jillani, expressed great dismay over Ayub’s policies toward Afghanistan and India and over the removal of popular Pushtoon generals from the army.³⁵

There was a grave suspicion and contrast in the military’s attitude. General Jillani, a very close associate of General Ayub Khan, was not happy with the way the Pakhtoon nationalist *Sur Posh* were treated by the military regime. He opposed the purging of Pakhtoons on ethnic grounds. The disgruntlement of General Jillani was but one instance of the dissatisfaction evident among senior Pushtun officers.³⁶ A general falling-off of regard for Ayub Khan within the Army and contacts of an anti-Ayub nature between military officers and politicians was reported in the CIA files.³⁷ There were disparities amongst the top-brass leadership of the Pakistan Army, but such differences were only at the top level and had no trickling down effect on junior or non-commissioned officers of the army. By now the Pushtoon subalterns were very happy with Ayub. They had perks and privileges and increased pay resulting from the American support for the Army. They were leading a contented life. They knew that the top-brass had difficulties between Pushtoon and non-Pushtoon, but no such mutiny, based on ethnic lines, was in the pipeline against the Army’s central command. Subedar Major (Rtd) Akram Khan says:

When it comes to [the] Pakistan Army as a whole, it works like a family. The head of the army is the head of the family where the family values and norms are very strictly honoured and respected. In [the] Pakistan Army, there is no one by the race or caste of *Pukhtoon*, *Punjabi*, *Sindhi*, or *Baluchi*. They are the soldiers of the Pakistan Army and that’s it. That is one of the big reasons that the siblings of the army officers inter-marry without any distinction of *biraderi*, caste or any ethnic background. I, being a Pukhtoon officer, was under the chain command of the army and not under Pukhtoon officers only. So the question of mutiny by the Pukhtoon did not arise. There might have been differences between top-brass Pukhtoon and non-Pukhtoon officers but it never affected low ranking officers and soldiers.³⁸

³⁴ Due to his Khudai Khidmatgar non-violant movement, he was also called Frontier’s Gandhi.

³⁵ CIA-RDP80B01676R001700040017-4, RNA-36, September 14, 1962.

³⁶ Interview with Major (Rtd) Sibghatullah Khan (Nowshera, 26-01-07).

³⁷ CIA-RDP80B01676R001700040017-4, RNA-36, September 14, 1962.

³⁸ Interview with Subedar-Major (Rtd) Mohammad Akram Khan, (Peshawar, 22-06-07).

Kashmir was another issue which was affected due to provincial and ethnic bias. It was an issue taken up by the ruling Junta of Pakistan- Punjabis and Urdu-speaking people (*Muhajirs*) of Karachi. Anti-Indian feelings were strongest in the Punjab and Urdu speaking parts of Karachi; moderate in NWFP; weak in *Sindhis* and weakest of all among the Bengalis.³⁹ However, no ethnic-based feelings were found amongst army officers for Kashmir. Colonel (Rtd) Rafiq Ahsan Abbasi says:

People of Pakistan might have different opinions about Kashmir. However, the Pakistan Army was and is united and very sensitive towards the disputed land. During the 1960s, Kashmir was the alpha and omega of our foreign policy. Love for Kashmir was stronger than hatred towards India. Our feelings for Kashmir were not based on our ethnic background. We knew that Kashmir was the life-line of Pakistan and not of one specific ethnicity.⁴⁰

4.2.2 Military Rule and the Country's Legal System

Ayub's arbitrary approach to the law made his restrictions on the authority of the courts a vital issue. The two opposing sides on this issue were Ayub and his inner circle of advisors on the one hand, and the professional, educational and intellectual groups on the other. Such members of civil society had expanded rapidly in the urban areas since 1947. Mr. Hakeem Saeed, Mr. Z.A. Sulehri, Mr. Agha G. Abdi, Mr. Fida Hussain and Mr. Habib Jalib favoured English concepts of law and justice.⁴¹ They favoured fundamental rights safeguarded by the constitution which should be made justifiable in the courts, and that political leaders should not be barred from participation in public life by summary legislation and star-chamber methods. The arrest of Suhrawardy helped to dramatise this long-standing difference in outlook. The lawyer community and Bar associations insisted Suhrawardy's trial take place in open court. Soon Ayub issued a special amendment to the Criminal Procedure Code to prevent a *Habeas Corpus* action for Suhrawardy. This unleashed another series of protests in favour of Suhrawardy.⁴²

³⁹ CIA-RDP80B01676R001700040017-4, RNA-36, September 14, 1962.

⁴⁰ Interview with Colonel (Rtd) R.A Abbasi, (Peshawar, 26-06-07).

⁴¹ Interview with Pir Sufaid Shah, Chief editor and owner of *Wahdat*, (Peshawar, 14-02-07).

⁴² CIA-RDP80B01676R001700040017-4, RNA-36, September 14, 1962.

Ayub was not in the least bothered about the fundamentals of British justice.⁴³ Rather, he went further in his legal actions to curb opposition to himself. In February 1962, he issued an ordinance which authorized the Governor to extend the Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) to other parts of West Pakistan besides the Tribal areas.⁴⁴ This extraordinary measure was adopted due to a sharp increase in armed robberies and murders in the rural areas. It was made applicable to cities like Karachi and Lahore. FCR for decades was an object of opprobrium in the Frontier Region and Tribal Areas, authorizing collective fines, preventive arrest, and the uprooting of villages, with no provision for an appeal to the courts.⁴⁵ Afzal Shinwari from Landi Kotal Khyber Agency, a businessman and once a Mujahid who fought in the first Kashmir war of 1948, says:

FCR [was] a black law. It was a colonial tool of *Angraiz* (Englishmen) to punish the family members of an absconder. According to the FCR, if a family member was a wrong-doer and an absconder, another member of the family could be arrested to punish the wrong-doer. Even after the departure of *Angraiz*, it continued to be exclusively applied to tribal areas. During Ayub era, this black law was applied to other parts of West Pakistan as well. We were very happy for its application in other settled areas of the country. We wanted the other people to experience the inhuman nature of such insulting law.⁴⁶

Ayub's unjust methods of suppressing the legal system and the voice of the people remained successful for some time. After martial law, the government freed a number of political prisoners including former Prime Minister Suhrawardy. However, Ayub did not grant fundamental rights and expressed his own conviction, reflected in the constitution, that the National Assembly, and not the courts, served as the guardian of the public interest.⁴⁷ In order for his views to be powerfully represented within the Judiciary, he appointed his chief legal and constitutional advisor, ex-Foreign Minister Manzur Qadir, as new Chief Justice of the West Pakistan High Court. Ayub's public speeches and confidential CIA reports show that 'his natural self-assurance had turned to arrogance'.⁴⁸ Easterners were demanding an amendment or change in the constitution. He had appointed a Franchise Commission to study the effectiveness of

⁴³ Interviews with Zahoor Butt and Gulzar Khan.

⁴⁴ CIA-RDP80B01676R001700040017-4, RNA-36, September 14, 1962.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Interview with Afzal Khan Shinwari, (Landi Kotal, 10 and 11 June 2007).

⁴⁷ CIA-RDP80B01676R001700040017-4, RNA-36, September 14, 1962.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

the BD system in reflecting public opinion. Ayub thought that the BD would lead to the growth of a form of democracy which was sensible, workable and suitable to the people of Pakistan.⁴⁹ However, Suhrawardy's cooperation was unlikely. It appeared to the Easterners that any relaxation towards them was another version of the unwritten maxim of Pakistani domestic politics that a Bengali must never be permitted to run the country. Easterners in the Army were also in a marginal position. Sceptical notions prevailed about their physique and loyalty to the nation. East Pakistan's population was 56% of the total population of Pakistan and still its share in the army was just less than 7%. The reason for their lower number in the army was that the Bengalis did not fulfil the criterion of corporal standards for recruitment. Mostly the recruiters were Punjabis; they looked at Bengalis with prejudice.⁵⁰

Political victimization was not limited to East Pakistan only. Any democratic entity and a strong figure of the past governments had to bear the brunt of Ayub's discrimination. Former Defence Minister Mr. Khuhro was convicted by the Special Judge under Martial Law Regulations Nos. 5 and 26 and was sentenced to five years rigorous imprisonment and to a fine of Rs. 150,000.⁵¹ His conviction had been confirmed by the Martial Law Sub-Administrator of Karachi. The charge against Mr. Khuhro was that he attempted to sell a new car (a 1958 model "Biscayne" Chevrolet), which he had purchased out of the public quota, on the black market for Rs. 49,000 instead of at the controlled price of Rs. 23,700.⁵² He had to pay the price for declining Ayub's further extension in his service while being the Defence Minister during 1958. Ayub Khan had already had an extension in his tenure of C-In-C since 1954 from the then Governor General Ghulam Muhammad. In January 1959, he had wanted another extension from the then Defence Minister Khuhro. According to Khuhro's biographer, his daughter, Hamida Khuhro, the General actually applied for a four-year term, but he was given only two years of extension by the then Defence Minister. Hence he felt 'snubbed'.⁵³ However, Mr. Khuhro's case was further filed against the decision in the

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Mohammad Asghar Khan, *Tareekh say kuch nahin sikha*, p.21.

⁵¹ Telegram outgoing USIS Lahore, RG84, Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, US Consulate Lahore, 1953-1961, Box, 1, UD3075A, NND948832, April 20, 1960, NARA

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Hamida Khuhro, *Mohammad Ayub Khuhro, A Life of Courage in Politics*, (Lahore: Ferozesons, 1998), p.440.

Supreme Court of Pakistan. He was represented by former PM Suhrawardy. The Supreme Court held the sentence as void.⁵⁴

In addition, Ayub's assignment of his political "dirty work" to social elements with a criminal reputation was also diminishing his prestige. In NWFP, *Mangay Khan*, a notorious *gunda* (wicked) from Mardan, was hired to deal with Ayub's political adversaries.⁵⁵

4.1.3 Military Rule and the Plight of Foreign Services of Pakistan

A ruthless dictatorial domestic policy was the reflection of the supra-civilian foreign policy of Ayub Khan. Pakistan's foreign policy was always influenced by the GHQ. Therefore, the foreign affairs of the country were totally in the hands of the president. He was more articulate in pronouncing the policy guidelines and the nature of relations Pakistan was going to pursue in future. Mr. Iftikhar Bhutti aptly stated:

What Foreign Office and what is its foreign policy? The presidency was the foreign office. No Foreign Minister was competent enough to give a policy statement without having a nod from Ayub Khan. Then Ayub being the head of the forces was also enjoying the confidence of military Junta. Thus the Foreign Office and the GHQ were concentrated in the Presidency.⁵⁶

It had come to the point that, at times, the Interior Minister used to accompany the President on foreign visits. The Foreign Minister would remain behind to deal with the internal problems of the country. President Ayub visited Iran on 11th January 1960 and was accompanied by the Minister for the Interior, Lieutenant General Sheikh, two principle Joint Secretaries in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Chief of Protocol. Mr. Manzur Qadir, the Foreign Minister, did not go with him as he was busy dealing with constitutional matters on behalf of the regime.⁵⁷ He was too pre-occupied with 'Basic Democracy'. There was 'really no Foreign Minister in Pakistan'.⁵⁸ Foreign embassies were worried about their dealings with the ministries. The biggest

⁵⁴ Telegram outgoing USIS Lahore, RG84 , 1953-1961, Box, 1, UD3075A, NND948832, April 20, 1960, NARA

⁵⁵ Interview with OFMGK, (Charsadda, 17-02-07).

⁵⁶ Interview with Iftikhar Bhatti.

⁵⁷ DO 35/8925, Pakistan Foreign Policy [henceforth PFP], November 9, 1959, PRO.

⁵⁸ Ibid, DO 35/8925, PFP.

problem was with the heads of the foreign missions in Pakistan. They did not know who they should meet and who they should contact for a summary of the foreign policy of the country. The British High Commissioner was reported to have said that it was not a problem for him as he could have a meeting with the President on any matter of sufficient concern. 'There was no doubt that these happy-go-lucky arrangements' for the conduct of Pakistan's official business with other countries were causing disgruntlement among the representatives of other Commonwealth and foreign countries. 'They all regarded this as bad for Pakistan's prestige in the world'.⁵⁹ It clearly reflected a weak and shabby formulation of Pakistan's foreign services. In the absence of a parliamentary forum, ministerial press conferences were the medium through which Pakistan foreign policy was being explained to the public. Interestingly, such conferences were addressed most of the time by the President.⁶⁰ The Presidency was the fountain of power and it did not matter much which minister was doing what.

Independent foreign policy was not the only problem of the new-born Pakistani nation. The Foreign Office was also functioning poorly. Personal greed and interests were given priority in foreign postings. Mr. Khuhro and Mr. Daultana of the Muslim League attacked what they described as the total ineffectiveness of Pakistan's representation abroad. Khuhro drew a very gloomy picture of the Pakistan Foreign Service:

Pakistan Foreign Service officers [were] living in six- or seven- bedroom houses, enjoying weekends from Friday to Tuesday and treating Pakistan nationals (Students, tourists, etc.) "like dogs".⁶¹

Daultana said that the wrong people were being sent abroad as representatives of Pakistan. They were often, he said, 'play-boys', 'hotel-owners', or 'hide-bound officials' from Karachi. As a result, the Foreign Ministry was 'dangerous' in that it gave to the world a false picture of Pakistan. Pakistan's destiny was tied up with countries like India, Burma and Ceylon, etc., but the best among her diplomats only wanted to go to Europe where they could enjoy themselves.⁶²

⁵⁹ Ibid, DO 35/8925, PFP.

⁶⁰ DO 35/8925, President Ayub's visit to Tehran and Ankara, November 24, 1959, PRO

⁶¹ Fortnightly Summary, Parliamentary debate, Mr Khuhro and Mr Daultana, Ext. 6/24/1, 5th January 1957.

⁶² Ibid.

Despite all the frictions in domestic politics and its role in international relations, Pakistan was a profound ally of the US. Military rule in Pakistan was strengthened by US military aid and financial support. During Ayub's rule, American foreign aid strengthened his domestic position vis-à-vis adversaries as well. His bargaining position against political parties increased, and thus, indirectly, the US aid to the Pakistan Army unbalanced the equation between the military and democratic forces.

4.3 II: INDIA AS A FACTOR IN STRAINING PAK-US INSTITUTIONAL INTERACTION: 1958-62

4.3.1 The US Fear of Communism in India

The Cold War and Indo-phobia respectively brought the US and Pakistan to a point of cooperation. The cordial relationship between the two countries was threatened from the day the US realised there was a communist threat from India. India and Pakistan were two extremes of regional politics. Love of one was the hatred of the other. Indeed, it was not possible for the US to have cordial relations with both arch-rivals simultaneously. The communist threat was sufficient for the US to turn from one extreme to the other. The American administration differentiated between India and Pakistan due to these countries' mutual differences, bitterness, hatred, and disruption caused by the partition. The former, due to its size, population and resources superseded the latter's potential strategic significance. Its size, population and financial discontent compelled the US to fear that India might fall to Communism. Consequently, American foreign policy was inclined toward India throughout the late 1940s.⁶³ Generally, countries with high levels of poverty were attractive for Communism. Therefore, the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas, through US technical assistance and economic cooperation, was one of the declared objectives of US foreign policy.⁶⁴ Whereas regional cooperation would not provide automatic assurance of the establishment of economic stability throughout the area, it would provide an effective channel through which stability might be gained. Just as

⁶³ See appendix to the enclosure containing Dean Acheson's letter to the Secretary of Defence Louis A. Johnson, Notes by the Secretaries to the Chiefs of Staff on US Military cooperation with India, JCS 1992-1, RG 330, 8 June 1949, NARA.

⁶⁴ 'The US attitude Toward Near Eastern and Asian Regional Cooperation', February 15, 1949, GRDS, ROSAA, 1939-53, NND 903085, Lot 54D341, Box 09, NARA.

this cooperation might be an instrument for possible military cooperation, so might it also become an effective mechanism for minimum but constructive economic cooperation. India's vast territory, weak economy, poverty, and huge population divided along ethnic lines were the main factors for US concern that India may fall victim to communism.⁶⁵ Academics have continually argued that with the outbreak of the Indo-China War in 1962, India became a very important country in the US fight against communism.⁶⁶ However, in reality, this was not the case. The Soviets' intensification of communist activity in India, Burma and Ceylon was noticed even in 1948.⁶⁷ Though Americans were more interested in the formation of an Eastern Bloc, such a bloc might not be inspired by the hope of preventing, or standing aloof from, a conflict between the US and the Soviet Union.

It would in fact be impossible for the US to maintain such isolation and it was therefore essential that such a potentially important country or group should not be allowed to drift by default into the Soviet orbit. However, in diplomatic correspondence, the Russians were reported to have been a bit heavy-handed with the Indians of [the] late 1940s with the result that Soviet-Indian relations had become noticeably less cordial than was the case a few months ago.⁶⁸

The US question was how to take advantage of such opportunities without assuming excessive obligations.

As mentioned in chapter three, during tensions between India and Pakistan in mid-1951, the Kashmir question brought out deep-seated differences between 'communal Pakistan and secular India',⁶⁹ and remained a point of friction which both countries feared would lead to war. The NIE published a report on September 14,

⁶⁵ Ibid, February 15, 1949, GRDS, ROSAA, 1939-53, NND 903085, Lot 54D341, Box 09, NARA.

⁶⁶ Latif Ahmed Sherwani, *Pakistan, China and America* (Karachi: Council for Pakistan Studies, 1980), p.40; also see Lawrence Ziring, *The Ayub Khan Era, Politics in Pakistan: 1958-69* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1971), p.44; Dennis Kux, *The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies* (Karachi: OUP, 2001), pp.130-34.

⁶⁷ NEA. Mr. Henderson American Ambassador in New Delhi to Mr. Armour and Mr. Lovett, March 23, 1948, GRDS, ROSAA, 1939-53, NND 903085, Lot 54D341, Box 09, NARA.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Security Information, November 15, 1951, GRDS, ROSAA, 1939-53, NND 867242, Lot 57D259, Box 07, NARA.

1951 stating that the consequences of war between India and Pakistan would be devastating:

...By far the most important probable development, however, would be internal deterioration in India and Pakistan. Although the outbreak of hostilities might initially strengthen the respective government's control, any extended fighting would so weaken both countries as to make maintenance of orderly government a matter of question. There would almost certainly be vast communal disturbances and a resulting increase in the severity of refugee problem. Such conditions might permit the Indian Communist Party (ICP) to take over various local areas, and there is a possibility that it would be able, with Chinese help, to assume control of the government. Outright Communist control is extremely unlikely in Pakistan, but a state of internal chaos and immobilization would be probable.⁷⁰

The security information cited above overstates the capabilities of the ICP. The ICP was too small (its membership was not more than 30,000 in a country of 350,000,000), too weak, and too disorganized to be able to capitalize in any significant degree upon chaotic conditions within India unaided. This judgement was not even relevant in the short-run. However, external assistance could have made it possible for the ICP to take over large parts of India, if not all of India, in the event of a war with Pakistan. Foreign assistance would have to be substantial in order to quell the rise of communism. The quote above also implicitly reflects the weakness of the Indian economy. Pakistan, by contrast, was 'a largely self-sufficient peasant economy' with much greater capacity to accommodate economic problems.⁷¹ Over and above, 'in 1950-51, India's food grain import requirements rose from about 2.5 million tons to 5.3 million tons as a result of domestic crop failures'.⁷² If the strains of even a limited war were placed on India's precariously balanced economy, famine and suffering on an enormous scale would have undoubtedly followed. Such figures also show that even in the absence of a war, India was barely able to avoid localized famines. India was more vulnerable to Communism than Pakistan not due to the popularity of ICP but because of deteriorating economic conditions.⁷³

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ An interview with Sharif Farooq, a senior journalist and the owner of Daily *Jehad* Peshawar, (Peshawar, 18-02-07).

⁷² Security Information, November 15, 1951.

⁷³ Ibid.

Imagining Communism in India was a nightmare for the American policy makers. This can further be confirmed by a memo of a meeting between Mr. Glen Overton, the head of the Overton Machine Company, Michigan and the Under Secretary of State, Christian A. Herter in 1957. Mr. Overton during the meeting said that he had been closely associated with India for several years. In 1947-48 he had visited India at length and had stayed with the Chief Minister of West Bengal in India, Dr. B. C. Roy. He had thus been in India during the riots and bloodshed occasioned by partition. During the more recent trip to India he had seen the first Indian students depart to study in the Soviet Union. He had also seen a Soviet drilling outfit arrive to assist the Indian Government in its oil exploration activities. He was fearful that if the present trend continued India would go the way of China. He was afraid that the US aid program was not sufficient to keep India from going Communist.⁷⁴ Mr. Overton further said:

The political climate in India was not ideal from [the] American point of view. Nehru was neutralist. Moreover, some people called both Dr. Roy and Nehru as “dictators”. We had to live with the situation as it was, however, and make the best of it. Perhaps we could take comfort from the fact that the Communists in India were not Russian Communists; they were Indian Communists.⁷⁵

The proximity between the US and India in the name of curbing communist trends in India was destined to deepen.

4.3.2 Growing Indo-US relations

The domestic and economic issues of India compelled the US to follow a pro-India policy right from the beginning. The Pakistani administration wanted to be the ally of the US in order to counter India, but, conversely, the US did not want to favour Pakistan against India. Rather, they wanted to oppose Communism only. They were not the friends of Pakistan but the enemies of Soviet Russia. For Americans, Pakistan was the ‘smart’ country from where they could wage a counter-war against Communists and India was the ‘big’ country which would have to be protected from

⁷⁴ Memorandum of Conversation between Mr. Glen Overton, Overton Machine Company, Michigan and The American Under Secretary, July 1, 1957, RG 59 GRDS, Lot File No. 60D545/NND 937328, NARA

⁷⁵ Ibid.

falling victim to Communism. This was what Pakistani policy makers did not comprehend.

The Pak-US institutional interaction against communism was at its peak until India faced an economic crunch. The cracks appeared in the Indian economy during 1957 when 'its food production fell and the defence budget rose due to American arms supply to Pakistan. It was facing an acute foreign exchange deficit. Different working groups of the State Department approached these issues from different angles and all agreed on the need to help India'.⁷⁶ Frederic P. Bartlett, Director of SOA, in the State Department stated:

No American wants to see communists takeover India. If assistance given in time and in the right amount can substantially contribute to forestalling this, it would be a reasonable investment from the point of view of the national security of the United States. [But] once a country, like China, comes under Communist control it is lost to the free world; no amount of dollars can buy it back.⁷⁷

Secretary Dulles was already in favour of supporting India.⁷⁸ Any recommendation from the State Department's working groups was an additional encouragement for fulfilling his whim. During a National Security Council meeting, he expressed his desire to make generous economic assistance to the developing world. He also expressed his fear that, if the US did not help them, they would be compelled to follow Soviet examples and methods. 'So large were these under-developed areas that if they turn to the Soviet Union, the area of the Free World will shrink by another two-thirds', he added.⁷⁹ New Delhi's foreign exchange gap had grown to over \$1 billion. It raised the fear of the second five-year plan falling considerably short of its goals.⁸⁰ The communists had also come to power in the economically poor area of Kerala. Its domino effect was expected to affect the more populated and strategically located province of Bengal.⁸¹

During the height of the cold war era, it was a frightening situation for the US. The American administration was ready to aid India – a country who had gone out of

⁷⁶ Frederic P. Bartlett, Director of SOA to William M. Rountree, Assistant Secretary of State NEA, September 30, 1957, FRUS, 1955-57, 8:377-82.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ FRUS, 1955-1957, 10:182, Memorandum of discussion at NSC meeting, April 17, 1957.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ FRUS, 1955-1957, 8:393-95, Dulles to Eisenhower, November 4, 1957.

⁸¹ Ibid.

its way to insult Americans during meetings of the Non-Aligned Movement and in the interests of Afro-Asian solidarity. It seemed that Indian neutralism was going to pay her more dividends than Pakistan's alignment. On 4th March 4 1958, Dulles announced an emergency aid package for India: a loan of \$225 million and provision of wheat and other food grains under the PL 480 program.⁸² To everyone's surprise, in the very next fiscal year India increased its defence budget. This developed into a very precarious situation in South Asia. The Indians appeared afraid of Pakistan despite their superior numerical strength. They were building up their air and naval strength to offset American military aid to Pakistan. Hence, the United States faced an arms race between the neighbouring rivals, contributed to in fact, though not in intent, by US military aid to Pakistan.⁸³

India's increased military expenditure appeared to be primarily and immediately motivated by desire to possess military power in such force that Pakistan could not merely be beaten but would be effectively deterred from risking war with India. Indian civil and military officials were fearful that political instability in Pakistan might cause the government of Pakistan to embark upon a military adventure against India to gain control of Kashmir in order to divert public attention from a deteriorating domestic political situation. Indians were specially fearful that US military aid to Pakistan would embolden Pakistan to initiate hostilities, and several high ranking Indian officials stated that Pakistan would probably attack India as a result of its increased military strength under the Mutual Defence Agreement Program (MDAP). These fears were heightened by what Indians considered to be intransigent statements by Pakistan officials. Indians publicly related India's increased military expenditures directly to Pakistan's military build-up resulting from the US military aid program.⁸⁴

In 1947, at the time of the partition of British India into India and Pakistan, India claimed to have had a 2.7:1 military superiority over Pakistan which was now 2:1 in all the three military services. India's military purchases since 1952 were closely related to Pakistan's military acquisitions. The location of India's military forces also reflects India's immediate concern with Pakistan. The great bulk of India's

⁸² Dulles to the US embassy in India, January 10, 1958, FRUS, 1958-1960, 15:415-17.

⁸³ US ambassador Ellsworth Bunker to Department of State, August 22, 1957, FRUS, 1955-1957, 8:143-44.

⁸⁴ An Intelligence Note from INR-Hugh S. Cumming, Jr. to the Secretary of State of the United States, October 25, 1957, RG 59 GRDS, Lot File No. 60D545/NND 937328, NARA

combat troops were located in Jammu and Kashmir and in the Punjab, along the Pakistan border.⁸⁵

Pakistan was the frontline ally of the US, but no one knew the extent of its commitments. Though they had only a military alliance, both were ignorant of their un-demarcated and undefined obligations. The military junta in Pakistan always over-emphasised the US pledges, but America constantly under-emphasised Pakistan's influence on regional politics. Major General Louis W. Truman, chief of the MAAG mission in Karachi admitted, 'there is no firm idea in anyone's mind, either US or Pakistan as to what the commitment is or as to the extent of it'.⁸⁶ It was a time when American policy makers were more obsessed with their bigger rival in the region than a collective security arrangement against Soviet Union. General Truman further disappointed by saying that the Pakistani army would prove hopelessly inadequate against an Indian attack. He also said that East Pakistan was very vulnerable to India and West Pakistan could hold out for only about thirty days.⁸⁷ However, during the same MAAG meeting, Ayub Khan tried to mould the pace of discussion towards British strategy during colonialism and the strategic location of Pakistan. He was very fond of playing on his favourite theme, the necessity to combat militant communism which presented a threat of local war on the borders of Pakistan, Iran and possibly Turkey. While addressing the MAAG Chiefs conference in Karachi, he 'referred to the methods used by the British in containing these threats successfully for many decades. The kingpin of the British policy had been to avail themselves of the manpower resources of India for foot soldiers, preserving their own manpower to the fullest extent possible in the UK'. Ayub urged that it was in America's interest to take a leaf out of the British book, 'save our manpower and develop friendly military forces in the Middle East'. He also suggested that the US should consider cutting the size of its own ground troops and concentrate still more heavily on navy, air force and modern powerful weapons leaving friendly countries that have military capabilities to do the work necessary on their own ground. Ayub also referred to the need of the US to make clear to Pakistan 'what Pakistan's role should be in the event of a limited or

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Address by General Truman, Middle East MAAG Chiefs Conference, from American Embassy, Karachi to Department of State, Washington DC, NND 847209, Box 22, 62D43, February 21, 1957, NARA

⁸⁷ Ibid.

of a global conflict'.⁸⁸ It was true that both India and Pakistan were involved in an arms race. However, 'Pakistan had the reason to equip itself defensively against an attack from Russia, whose intentions were incalculable, or against India who had a regional issue with it and hence had sour relations. But against whom was India arming itself?'⁸⁹ It was out of the question as far as arming against Russia and China was concerned. Nehru had repeatedly insisted that 'neither of the two powers had any aggressive designs against India'.⁹⁰ The posture was, hence, not defensive but threatening and it could be directed only against Pakistan. Therefore, stoppage of military assistance to Pakistan was a cure worse than the disease itself.⁹¹ Ayub was quite upset when General Truman told him during the conference that America would at once stop arms supply to Pakistan if it suspected that they might be used against India. Ayub was fed-up of the repeated mantra of 'not using American weapons against India'. In reply he shouted, 'I don't think much of your military ability'. The American general was shocked at Ayub's un-expected reaction and said, 'this hostile attitude will continue to increase if we do not give him everything he asks for'.⁹²

With the geo-strategic location and importance of Pakistan and India's bigger size, the Americans were supporting both of them economically and militarily. In the region, it had started a vicious cycle, as stated by JB Johnson, an expert on South Asia. In a message, he wrote to the British embassy in Washington DC:

The US gives arms to Pakistan; India restores the balance and goes one better; and we and the Americans then get renewed and frantic demands from Pakistan to enable her to catch up with India. This ludicrous process is having disastrous results on the economies of both countries.⁹³

The likelihood of Communist influence in India was a nightmare for the US administration. In the meantime, they were also receiving alarming reports from the US embassy in New Delhi. Ambassador Bunker wrote in his long report of May 1959: 'The Soviets have designated India as a primary target in Asia. They have

⁸⁸ From American Embassy, Karachi to Department of State, NND 847209, Box 22, 62D43, February 21, 1957, NARA

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ The US military assistance program for Pakistan, NND 937328, Box 43, 60D545, April 9, 1957, NARA

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² General Truman to Ambassador Langley, January 27 1958, 790D.5-MSP/1-2758, Central files Department of State Record, NARA

⁹³ DO 35/6470, JB Johnson to Bottomley in British Embassy in Washington DC, March 21, 1958, PRO.

embarked upon a major campaign to capture it'.⁹⁴ The voice of a strong India as an alternative to Communism in the Asian context was a catchy phrase in the US policy making corridors but it was a very expensive plan. Hence, President Eisenhower observed:

...If the US were actually to try to make India a counterweight to Communist China, the task would be so great that we would probably bankrupt ourselves in the process.⁹⁵

He did not realise the importance of India without having any alliance commitment. He visited New Delhi in December 1959. The President's visit was termed as 'a brilliant success' there. In May 1960, America signed a multi-year PL 480 agreement and delivered C-119 aircrafts purchased by India. America was following an even-handed policy towards India and Pakistan which was considered in Karachi as a tilt towards India. Pakistan could not rely on an unreliable superpower friendship which was not considering Pakistan's security concerns. The Indo-American friendship was forging ahead at the cost of the US-Pakistan alliance. It was repeatedly urged on Pakistan that any US relationship with India would be beneficial for Pakistan in the long run. Rather the US and Pakistan's stakes were kept in line with the security of India. The Bureau of NEA wrote: "The US and Pakistan should have a common interest. Pakistan needs a stable India. A fragmented India would only be an invitation to the extension of communist influence into the subcontinent – and that ultimately could pose great dangers to Pakistan itself".⁹⁶ No-one understood Pakistan's sensitivity and its precarious situation: India's growing power against its neighbours and the burning issue of Kashmir. This further confirms that the *rapprochement* between the US and India had not started during the Kennedy administration. Nor had it been heralded during and after the Indo-China war of 1962. Americans developed a 'soft spot' for India due to the fear of communism during the late 1950s.

4.3.3 India's annexation of Goa

⁹⁴ *FRUS, 1958-1960*, May 12, 1959, 15:483-89

⁹⁵ *FRUS 1958-1960*, Memo of discussion at NSC meeting, May 28 1959, 15:6-14

⁹⁶ Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs (NEA), Indian Political Affairs, 1964-66, RG 59 GRDS, Lot File No. 69D52/NND989589, NARA.

Pakistan had yet to recover from the blow of growing Indo-US friendship when India annexed Goa in 1961. The Indian attack was condemned by the Pakistani press as 'Indian elephant attack on Goa mosquito'.⁹⁷ Nehru did not heed the call by 'President Kennedy for restraint' or the UN Secretary General 'U Thant asking for peaceful settlement of the issue'.⁹⁸ This made Pakistani policy makers to re-think the importance of SEATO and CENTO. Portugal, which was controlling Goa until then, being a member of NATO, was not helped by the US or the West (on the axiom of one for all and all for one) in her confrontation with India. By now India's warring power had also increased tremendously due to the US and Soviet support. Strangely, America was having alliances with Pakistan but was still arming India. Critics in Pakistan were very vocal about the passive role of the US in halting the Indian takeover of Goa. *The Dawn* wrote in its editorial:

...Just as NATO membership did not help Portugal, SEATO and CENTO membership would also not assist Pakistan. The West and in particular the US was mad to have neutralist India's support for becoming a stake holder in the neutralist Afro-Asian nations. They were ready to sacrifice Portugal's interests for the time being to gain the Asian leaderships' nod. It was the opportune time for Pakistan to understand the importance and value of the Western sponsored Pacts.

The Dawn newspaper took lead in writing too harshly in following words:

After [the] Goa episode... the first thing we should do is to recognise something that is so clear, namely, that military pacts are but millstones round our necks that retard and humiliate but do not help. Having recognized we must at once get out of the pacts.⁹⁹

The Indo-China war had yet not occurred. However, the Kennedy administration was bent towards India more than the word 'tilt' signifies. Of all the regional powers, Kennedy was most interested in India, which he had long regarded as 'the key area' in Asia.¹⁰⁰ Kennedy wanted India in the Western camp at all costs. In his early 1963 remarks to the National Security Council, he said:

⁹⁷ Daily *Dawn*, Karachi, 20 December 1961, National Archives Islamabad (NAI).

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Arthur M. Schlesinger, Special Assistant to J.F. Kennedy during 1961-63, *A Thousand Days*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965), p. 522.

We cannot permit all those who call themselves neutral to join the Communist bloc. If we lose the neutrals; the balance of power could swing against us.¹⁰¹

4.3.4 Further Dips in Pak-US Relations

The ruling military clique in Pakistan was annoyed by Indo-US proximity. President Kennedy sent Ambassador-at-Large Harriman to Karachi to clarify US intentions. He told Ayub Khan that America was sensitive towards her commitments in the alliances. However, the non-aligned countries also needed American support to keep them away from the Communist fold. Later on, Ayub had a meeting with the British High Commissioner on 3rd April 1961. President Ayub thought that Harriman and the US administration were much too sympathetic to India.¹⁰² During his meeting with the High Commissioner, he ‘warned that too much aid to India could only lead to the break up of that country’. The High Commissioner replied that ‘America did not take the same poor view’.¹⁰³ Ayub wanted America to pressure Nehru to bring about a settlement of Kashmir,¹⁰⁴ but neither did Kennedy want to use his assistance to India as a bargaining point nor was Nehru likely to agree with the US administration regarding Kashmir. Finally, Ayub hinted to the British High Commissioner that ‘just as India had looked to Russia for support; so [can] Pakistan look to China’.¹⁰⁵ It was the beginning of the end of the honeymoon period that the Pakistan Army had had with the US administration. Poles were now to be changed. Pakistan was tilting towards China more than to the US. The enemy of my enemy is my friend and thus China and Pakistan grew closer together against India.

In May 1961, Vice-President Johnson visited Karachi. When Ayub asked him to influence India to solve the Kashmir problem, he replied that Pakistan overestimated US influence on Nehru. Ayub disagreed on this point. The Vice-President also said that the tense relations between India and China compelled the US to come to India’s economic aid. He also urged that America maintain a distinction

¹⁰¹ Kennedy to the NSC, NSC files, Lot File No. 69D52/NND989589, January 22, 1963, NARA

¹⁰² DO 35/8925, SEA 48/6/5, from the British High Commission Karachi (henceforth BHCK) to CRO London, 5th April 1963, PRO.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ *FRUS*, 1961-63, Vol.19, Memo between President Ayub and Kennedy, July 11, 1961, pp.68-71.

¹⁰⁵ DO 35/8925, SEA 48/6/5, from BHCK to CRO London, 5th April 1961, PRO

between allies and neutrals. This conversation did not satisfy Ayub.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, it was a strange phenomenon that America was supporting neutrality and alignment simultaneously. These were two different and diametrically opposite philosophies, and adopting both of them in one go was unimaginable. Until that point, the US administration had been wary of the term neutrality. Indeed, it was very annoying to hear from Harriman that the new US administration did not regard neutrality as necessarily immoral.¹⁰⁷

The US administration seemed very impressed by India, so much so that the US Vice-President Johnson stated that, at the request of President Kennedy, he urged Mr. Nehru 'to extend his leadership to other areas in South East Asia'.¹⁰⁸ Any such statement was against the spirit of freedom the Asian states had recently acquired. No Asian country big or small was prepared to have an outsider appointed a super-leader or arbiter of its fate. The statement seemed to imply that Mr. Johnson was speaking of a kind of political relationship between India and other countries akin to the relationship between a leader and his camp-followers. Strong criticism was voiced in the local press. The reputable pro-West *Civil and Military Gazette* newspaper editorial page columnist Yusuf Saraf wrote on 28th May 1961:

American policy had changed but not for better. It was not a leap forward but a thrust backwards. It was not different from the normal experience of history – everyone tries to be the friend of the strong.¹⁰⁹

The Daily Maghrabi Pakistan in its editorial comments said:

People of Pakistan will never accept the American suggestion for imposing India's leadership on Asia. The birth of such an idea in the minds of American leaders constitutes an insult to America's allies in this region.¹¹⁰

The resolution of problems between the disappointed friends, the US and Pakistan, needed an opportunity. Such an occasion arrived in the shape of Ayub's first state visit to Washington in July 1961. Prior to his visit, he told an Associated Press

¹⁰⁶ Johnson Statement, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Executive Sessions*, Lot File No. 69D52/NND989589, May 25, 1961, NARA.

¹⁰⁷ DO 35/8925, SEA 48/6/1, from BHCK to CRO, 10th May, 1961, PRO.

¹⁰⁸ Telegram outgoing USIS Lahore, RG84, 1953-1961, Box, 1, UD3075A, NND948832, May 22, 1961, NARA.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, Telegram outgoing USIS Lahore, RG84, May 29, 1961.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, Telegram outgoing USIS Lahore, RG84, June 1, 1961.

reporter that ‘Washington did not realise [the] gravity of the situation’. He very bluntly told a correspondent of *The Times* of London that the US was ‘too shy or too frightened’ of India to use its influence to solve the Kashmir issue.¹¹¹ During his visit, Ayub defined Pakistan’s feelings towards the US as not so much anger as disappointment. He understood the US desire to aid India but added that such aid allowed India economically and militarily to pose a greater threat to Pakistan. India was already three times Pakistan’s strength, and although China posed a threat to India, 80% of the Indian army was facing Pakistan.¹¹² Ayub indicated that one of his major complaints was that neither of the organizations (SEATO & CENTO) was strong enough. If they were defensive pacts, then they should have the power to defend their areas. If they were not defensive pacts, then they should be called something else. He said that at present, neither CENTO nor SEATO had the power locally to defend the areas they were supposed to defend. ‘All we get from them is an enlargement of our political liabilities and a lot of abuse and pressure from Russia and neutralist India’, he added.¹¹³

Ayub had a strong conviction that the Kashmir issue should be settled while he and Nehru were in control.¹¹⁴ ‘He had a fear that if they could not reach a point of settlement, the issue would remain a pain in the neck for the rest of South Asia’s history’.¹¹⁵ It was this fear that compelled him to request Kennedy again and again to use his influence and aid to India in resolving the disputed territory. During his official visit to the US in 1961, he repeated his request, but Kennedy refused to use aid to India as a lever on Kashmir. However, he agreed to speak with Nehru about Kashmir during his scheduled visit to Washington in November the same year.

Ayub also expressed his worries that the US might give military assistance to India in future, especially against the backdrop of escalating Indo-China tension. He also warned that ‘any such military assistance to India would force his country out of the pacts and alliances and everything’.¹¹⁶ However, Kennedy did not second this point of view. He was of the view that in case any war happened between India and China, and India sought US military assistance, he would first consult Ayub Khan

¹¹¹ Mohammad Ayub Khan, *Speeches and Statements*, 6 volumes, Karachi, 4: 7-11.

¹¹² DO 35/8925, Telegram No. 935 from BHCK to the CRO, 7th July 1961, PRO.

¹¹³ DO 35/8925, Extract from Morning News, 12th May 1962, PRO

¹¹⁴ DO 35/8925, Telegram No. 935 from BHCK to the CRO, 7th July 1961, PRO

¹¹⁵ An interview with Sharif Farooq, (Peshawar, 18-02-07)

¹¹⁶ *FRUS*, 1961-63, Vol.19, Memo of conversation between Presidents Ayub and Kennedy, July 11, 1961, p.74

before making any such commitment. According to the proposed amendment of the Mutual Security Act, 'President Kennedy stated categorically that the US had no intention of giving arms to India at present. Should she need such assistance even in the event of Chinese aggression Pakistan would be consulted first'.¹¹⁷ The new president also ordered to expedite the delivery of twelve F-104 aircraft to Pakistan; promised earlier by the Eisenhower administration. These assurances on Kashmir and military aid to India were sufficient to repair some of the damage to Pak-US relations.¹¹⁸ However, the gulf between the US and the military hierarchy in Pakistan deepened. President Ayub, while giving a statement on US TV on the 9th July 1961, stated that Pakistan might adopt neutralism if the force of circumstances presented neutralism as the only guarantee of Pakistan's security.¹¹⁹ For any country, turning from alliance to neutralism was indeed difficult as there was much less space to manoeuvre. It could be only one of two choices for Pakistan: pro-US or anti-US. Any such statement regarding neutralism by Ayub Khan was just a bluff. If he was turning from a pro-US stance, he had no option but to go against the US by joining China. And this was the only option that he had in the following days. But leaving pacts at such a crucial juncture of the Indo-US growing relationship was also not a sane idea. This would have further alienated Pakistan in the region and deprived it of the remaining US military and economic assistance. President Ayub, while answering a question on 20th January 1962 at Mardan, said that he did not think that Pakistan's SEATO and CENTO allies would not come to her aid if she became the victim of aggression. Even if they did not, he posed the counter-question whether they would do so if Pakistan left the pacts. He went on to say that foreign policy was drawn up with very careful consideration and was not a matter which could be changed or altered abruptly. Pakistan needed allies and even if her present allies were an evil, yet they were a necessary evil, and a lesser evil was better than a greater evil. If Pakistan did not have friends then she must not lose her half or quarter friends under the present circumstances. Pakistan wanted to be faithful to her friends and expected them to be faithful to her.¹²⁰ *The Daily Telegraph* interviewed President Ayub on 22nd January

¹¹⁷ No. P.O.1/61, DO 35/8925, letter from President Ayub Khan to British PM, Harold Macmillan, July 19th, 1961, PRO.

¹¹⁸ Ayub Khan, *Friends Not Masters*, pp. 136-39

¹¹⁹ Telegram No. 2020, DO 35/8925, from UKHCK to the CRO, 21st July 1961, PRO

¹²⁰ DO 196/128, 7023970, EXT.6/24/1, UKHCK, 30th January, 1962, PRO.

reporting that he said, 'Pakistanis are dissatisfied not with the pacts but with the attitude of its allies'.¹²¹ He was mourning the US support to the neutralists.

However, in the entire scenario, India emerged as the ultimate benefactor. She turned from neutralism to a pro-US stance. To make such a shift was very easy for her and even the Soviet Union could not object to such a stance. It was a question of India's survival vis-à-vis China. Hence, India not only remained close to both adversaries but also cashed in on them to the fullest extent. America and Communist Russia were very proud to be the allies of India. In this equation, Pakistan seemed to be the odd man out.

In November 1961, Nehru visited Washington. Kennedy raised the issue of Kashmir with the Indian Prime Minister fulfilling his promise to Ayub Khan. Nehru's response was very cold. He replied that, apart from minor boundary adjustments, nothing would be acceptable to India short of formal recognition of the *status quo*. Kennedy later described his meeting with Nehru as '*a disaster*'. It was '*the worst head-of-state visit I have had*',¹²² he said. 'The President did most of the talking since Nehru simply did not respond'.¹²³

4.3.5 Sino-India War and the Beginning of the End of Institutional Interaction

D-day occurred on 20th October 1962 when India-China border skirmishes erupted into a fully-fledged war. For Americans, it was a war between Democratic India and Communist China. President Kennedy hurriedly wrote a letter to Ayub Khan asking him to play the role of statesman by offering a unilateral no-war pledge to India.¹²⁴ With this, on 27th October 1962, the US president also took the decision to arm India in its war against China.¹²⁵ Ayub predicted that any arms that India acquired for use against China would eventually be turned against Pakistan.¹²⁶ He personally felt betrayed by Kennedy. Kennedy had promised Ayub during his visit to Washington the previous year that Pakistan would be consulted before further military aid would be

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Arthur M. Schlesinger, *A Thousand Days*, pp.525-26

¹²³ John Kenneth Galbraith, *Ambassador's Journal* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969), p. 216

¹²⁴ *FRUS*, 1961-63, DOS telegram to the US embassy in Karachi, delivering Kennedy's message to President Ayub Khan, October 28, 1962, Vol. 19, pp. 358-59

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ *FRUS*, 1961-63, Vol. 19, DOS telegram to the US embassy in Karachi, Reply of President Ayub Khan to Kennedy's earlier mail, November 13, 1962, pp.377-80

offered to India.¹²⁷ Contrary to that, he had been informed and not consulted. Ayub's reply to 'Kennedy's earlier request [to be] friendly with India during Indo-China war' was very blunt.¹²⁸ He said that the solution of strained relations between India and Pakistan did not lie in being sympathetic with India but in the solution of the Kashmir issue. He very bluntly disagreed with Kennedy's approach of arming India by saying:

...No, Mr. President, the answer to this problem lies elsewhere. It lies in creating a situation whereby we are free from the Indian threat, and the Indians are free from any apprehensions about us. This can only be done if there is a settlement of the question of Kashmir.¹²⁹

He also downplayed Kennedy's assurance that India would not use US supplied weapons against Pakistan. Ayub said that 'Our belief is that arms now being obtained by India from you for use against China will undoubtedly be used against us at the very first opportunity'.¹³⁰ However, the US administration was underplaying Pakistan's reaction as an emotional crisis. Robert Komer of the National Security Council (NSC) staff wrote to President Kennedy in a memo:

The Pakistani[s] are going through a genuine emotional crisis as they see their cherished ambitions of using the US as a lever against India going up in the smoke of the Chinese border war. Their plaint about lack of consultation is mere cover for this (if we'd "consulted" with the Pak[istani]s, instead of notifying them, we'd still be arguing about Kashmir). ... We have no need to apologize. ... Whether Pakistan moves from words to action depends on whether it is willing to risk its relationship with the US. Ayub probably isn't, but he may be a prisoner of Pak public emotions in this case.¹³¹

Komer did not realise that if Pakistan needed them, the US also needed Pakistan especially against the backdrop of intense Cold War rivalry. Brigadier (Rtd) Inam-I-Haq Afridi says:

The mood in the GHQ was extremely disappointing. Every officer was shocked to know that Americans were supplying arms to India. Our

¹²⁷ No. P.O.1/61, DO 35/8925, letter from President Ayub Khan to British PM, Harold Macmillan, July 19th, 1961, PRO

¹²⁸ *FRUS*, 1961-63, DOS telegram to the US embassy in Karachi, delivering Kennedy's message to President Ayub Khan, October 28, 1962, Vol. 19, pp. 358-59

¹²⁹ *FRUS*, 1961-63, Vol. 19, DOS telegram to the US embassy in Karachi, Reply of President Ayub Khan to Kennedy's earlier mail, November 13, 1962, pp.377-80

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ *FRUS*, 1961-63, Vol. 19 Memorandum From Robert W. Komer of the National Security Council Staff to President Kennedy, November 12, 1962, p.372.

loyalty was equated with India's stubbornness and nonalignment. Pakistan and India were two extremes of a situation and America had to choose one of the two. Her policy of trying to keep both together in her equation was full of flaws and baseless.¹³²

It was the turning point for the Pakistani Army's relations with US policy making bodies. US sponsored alliances were considered as liabilities now. Henceforth, profound institutional interaction was over. No one had another better idea than to move to the opposite pole: China. Hawaldar (Rtd) Ghafoor Yousafzai says:

We already doubted American intentions vis-à-vis India. We the soldiers were sure that the US would support India and the balance would be shifted. Same thing happened during the Indo-China war. Friendship with the US was more of a liability than a benefit. Most of my colleagues were against CENTO and SEATO. We were not communist or socialist minded. But we wanted to have the support of neighbouring countries like the Soviet Union and China rather than a country situated thousands of miles away. We also had an opinion that Americans were shy to support us openly in our disputes with India and on international forums. In other words we were very happy about the Indo-China war. We were expecting a change of mind in the GHQ.¹³³

Similar sentiments were expressed by Lt. Col. (Rtd) Arsalah Khan in following words:

Pakistan Army's joining of alliances was an understanding between the top-brass Army and the US Department of State and Pentagon. Ayub and his coterie were in the forefront as they were much under American influence. The Army's lower ranks wanted a balanced approach between the East and the West. They wanted to have cordial relations with China and the Soviet Union too, as they knew that not communism but India was their enemy. Rubbing shoulders with a superpower [America] least concerned with Pakistan's security interests would not have benefited them against India. Such fears were proved during the Indo-China war of 1962 and Pak-India war of 1965 in which the US role was absolutely unfriendly vis-à-vis Pakistan.¹³⁴

Many people felt that the US was very closely identified with India and therefore with aggressive Indian designs.¹³⁵ Americans were already not generally popular in

¹³² Interview with Brig. (Rtd) Inam ul Haq Afridi, (Peshawar, 20-06-07).

¹³³ Interview with Hawaldar (Rtd) Ghafoor Yousafzai, (Peshawar, 15-06-07).

¹³⁴ Interview with Lt. Col. (Rtd) Arsalah Khan, (Mardan, 16-06-07).

¹³⁵ DO 35/8925, Extract from *Morning News*, 12th May 1962.

Pakistan, either with the people or with the civil authorities.¹³⁶ The friendship had reached its climax. The Pak-US alliance was like the beauty of a young girl: the moment it reached its peak, it started receding.

The proximity between India and the Kennedy administration compelled military rulers to find alternate ways to ensure Pakistan's security against India. Ambassador (Rtd) Hamidullah Khan says:

Many people in the foreign office were wishing for some kind of arrangement with China in order to meet the main security threat to Pakistan from India. Any such arrangement was to serve twin purpose for Pakistan. It was an opportunity to apply pressure on Americans. It could also have resulted in strong ties between China and Pakistan in case the US did not come under pressure. But we were ready that the Pakistani flirtation with China could result in a deep love affair. The ideological difference between the two countries was something of the past. However, there were two risks: stoppage of US aid to Pakistan; and the coming together of Pakistan and China might result in strong Indo-US ties. For Pakistan, both risks were less than the threat of India. Thus, we still followed the policy of wait and see to finalise our relations with China. But the India-China war and resultantly the US unconstrained aid to India just proved to be the last nail in the coffin of our wait and see policy. It threw us into the lap of China. The flirtation developed into a strong love affair. The love affair was already realised by the Foreign Office. However, the GHQ took a while to realise that a nearby ally was much more precious than a distanced sceptical friend.¹³⁷

The Dawn wrote that 'an alliance nearer home against a common enemy was far more logical'.¹³⁸

The Kennedy administration's explicit pro-India stance threw Pakistan into a quandary. In quest of friends, Pakistan focused on the Muslim world to muster support against India in the name of Islam. Kashmir, a regional dispute, was presented as an issue of the Muslim world.¹³⁹ President Ayub said that the foreign policy of any country was a projection of its internal policies: these in Pakistan's case were to carry out the ideological integration of Pakistan, to ensure its territorial security, and lastly to reform and rebuild. Regarding the Muslim world's problems and quarrels, he said that though Pakistan wished them well genuinely, it would be 'fatal and futile' for her

¹³⁶ CRO Ref. SEA 48/6/1 Copy No. 163, DO 35/8925, Pakistan: Foreign Policy, Acting British High Commissioner in Pakistan to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, 11th October 1961, PRO.

¹³⁷ Interview with Ambassador (Rtd) Hamidullah Khan, (Islamabad, March 16, 2007).

¹³⁸ *Daily Dawn*, Karachi, 20 December 1961, NAI.

¹³⁹ Interview with Senator Gulzar Ahmed Khan, (Lahore, 13-06-07).

to take sides in their problems. 'There is no doubt that the greatest importance is attached here to cultivation of good relations with all Muslim countries, even when they are quarrelling with each other', he said.¹⁴⁰ He also attempted to dissociate himself and the people of Pakistan from pro-West and US attitudes adopted by the government of the day during the Suez Crisis in 1956. It was a natural and recurring wish in any young nation, and Pakistanis had their reasons for a rather frustrated desire to feel that they had some room to manoeuvre and to distribute their affections. It was important when among so many of their fellow Muslim states, the 'uncommitted' position seemed fashionable and profitable, as was the case with India, but it was a very risky situation. How could Pakistan move into the Indian position of neutrality without fearing the charge of being under India's shadow? On the other hand, Pakistan could not turn towards Soviet Russia due to her staunch position vis-à-vis Kashmir and '*Pushtoonistan*' directly opposed to Pakistan. Secondly, the religious parties of Pakistan considered communism as diametrically opposite to Islamic ideology. Thus Ayub Khan was caught in the cross fire. Proximity with the Muslim world and China was the only way out, even at the cost of US discomfiture.

CONCLUSION

With the declaration of Martial Law, the Pakistan Army took full and overt control of the country. Politicians and opposition parties were suppressed with an iron hand and law and order was maintained. This proved the statement given by the US Assistant Secretary of State William Rountree that 'Pakistan did not have enough talent to build itself as a nation by democratic methods'.¹⁴¹ Occasionally or in times of national crisis, the reaction of the opposition parties or of the public had a profound effect on the state's foreign policy. However, in absence of such reactions, foreign policy becomes the victim of stagnation. During General Ayub's regime of martial law, the foreign policy could not serve national interests. The reason was that political parties were not involved in its formulation. When foreign policy becomes the subject of an institution or personal interests, it will be exercised according to institutional or

¹⁴⁰ CRO Ref. SEA 48/6/1 Copy No. 163, DO 35/8925, No. 19 Confidential, Pakistan: Foreign Policy, Acting British High Commissioner in Pakistan to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, 17th October 1961, PRO.

¹⁴¹ Letter from NEA. William M. Rountree to the Secretary of State of the US mentioning outgoing Ambassador Hildreth's comments on Political and Economic trends of Pakistan, June 1, 1957, RG 59 GRDS, Lot File No. 60D545/NND 937328, NARA

personal criteria. This was the case with the country's foreign policy and the Pakistan Army. The army emerged as the only unified organised and well established institution during Ayub's era. The detachment of foreign policy from the public proved a great loss for the country. A foreign policy must be a national foreign policy based on national interests rather than on an institution's agenda.

The Pak-US romance succumbed to Americans' fear of India becoming a victim of communism. Fear prevailed over romance. In fact, fear was stronger than romance. First, American support to India was to curb her economic difficulties. Then, she was supported militarily against China. This proved that the American vision for India was quite clear. But conversely, US objectives of military support to Pakistan were ambiguous. Military aid to Pakistan was neither so huge to defeat nor so little to even combat Soviet Union. It was like a *tip* paid to Pakistan to keep it with the US so that its land may be used in the event of a world war against the Soviet Union. However, the negative impact of such modest assistance was that it unleashed an arms race between the two arch rival neighbours, India and Pakistan. The US role was still very sensitive in the region. It wanted Pakistan to play the role of a frontline ally against communism and, hence, military assistance was granted. But Americans also wanted to keep Pakistan weak to bar her from any kind of adventurism against India. It was dual containment for Pakistan. Pakistan had to be reasonably strong against Russia but had to remain weak against India. It was a paradoxical situation. In a reply to Senator Russell, the State department remarked that 'India would undoubtedly maintain a strong military superiority over Pakistan. With this, any attempt by Pakistan to engage India in military combat would be suicidal'.¹⁴² The ground realities were diametrically different than what was thought in Washington. The Pakistan Army wanted to resolve the issue of Kashmir by any means. Once diplomatic efforts failed India and Pakistan would resort to war in 1965. The Pakistani Army was adequate for the maintenance of internal security. It had a good capability for defending itself. But it was not capable of defending its borders or maintaining its territorial integrity against an attack by the USSR, even if the forces in the approved force objectives should be brought to full strength in men and equipment.¹⁴³ At the same time, 'East Pakistan was entirely vulnerable to a major military effort by

¹⁴² Interim reply by the Department of State to Senator Russell, NND 937328, Box 43, 60D545, July 3, 1957, NARA.

¹⁴³ Interview with General (Rtd) Kamal Matinuddin, (Islamabad, 24-03-07)

India'.¹⁴⁴ Pakistan just had an impression of being a great nation due to its friendship with the US. However, in reality, it was a poor and weak country with a strong army supported by the US. The US's confused policy and Pakistan's confused understanding with America was exposed during the Indo-Pak war of 1965.

Ayub Khan's policy in relation to India was not merely that Pakistan was smaller and less powerful but also that her state of development was fifteen years behind India's.¹⁴⁵ By now, Ayub had a mission to reform his country. He was, therefore, doing his utmost to consolidate his reforms and put the country on its forward path. For this he required a great deal of help from the US, but the regional situation had changed. China-India tension had attracted the US administration's attention more than Pakistan. The US support for India was commensurate with the greater threat she faced from communism and Pakistan was left behind in the race of attracting foreign aid in terms of military and economic assistance from Washington. With the Chinese attack in 1962, Pakistanis felt that fortune was smiling upon India.

The Sino-India war also exposed the strategic importance of SEATO and CENTO. The pacts had brought no preferential privilege and no advantage in Pakistan's bargaining position vis-à-vis India. Alignment isolated it among Afro-Asian nations. While the gains the alliances brought were limited if not negligible, the political liabilities proved enormous. Chiefly, the Soviet hostility to Pakistan and its support for India on Kashmir was mainly or entirely due to Pakistan's membership of the pacts. On the other hand, America was quite hesitant to support Pakistan in her regional disputes with India. Hence, Ayub was compelled to say:

No one will present Kashmir to us, nor shall we have to beg it from anyone. Pakistan could depend on the friendship of the US [but] Kashmir is a problem of Pakistan. We shall solve it ourselves instead of throwing our responsibility on our allies.¹⁴⁶

Ayub was forecasting the future Pak-India war of 1965. The balance of power took a shift in South Asia. Indo-Pak rivalry was joined by the US and China from different poles respectively. South Asia became a flash point for the rest of history.

¹⁴⁴ From NEA McClelland to SOA Mr. Soulen, NND 937328, Box 43, 60D545, August 19 1957, NARA.

¹⁴⁵ DO 35/8925, Telegram No. 935, 7th July 1961, PRO.

¹⁴⁶ Telegram outgoing USIS Lahore, RG84, 1953-1961, Box, 1, UD3075A, NND948832, May 17, 1961, NARA.

The Foreign Office and subalterns of the Pakistan army were in favour of an alliance with China. At the outset, they were not in favour of the US sponsored military pacts. However, the power of GHQ prevailed over the Foreign Office as well as lower ranking officers. Military alliance with the US was just a result of drawing-room politics where the decision-makers were the top-brass military command of Pakistan. As very bluntly stated by *Subedar-Major (Rtd) Akram Khan*:

Whatever the opinion of hundreds of thousands of subalterns, the major decisions of the country were taken in the GHQ by the central command of the Army. GHQ did not necessarily reflect the opinion of the majority of soldiers. There soldiers did not make decisions; Generals did. It did not run on democratic principles. It was not Pakistan: it was the Pakistan Army.¹⁴⁷

The GHQ's confidence in the US policy making bodies had shaken. Institutional interaction was at stake. And the allies were at the loggerheads.

¹⁴⁷ Interview with Subedar Major (Rtd) Akram Khan, (Peshawar, 22-06-07)

Chapter 5

Allies at Loggerheads: The US and the Pakistan Army 1962-65.

5.1 Introduction

The relationship between the United States and the Pakistan Army was both mutually beneficial and antagonistic. The Pakistani military was able to dominate domestic politics because of its strong ties with the US, and vice versa. During the years 1962-65, both parties exasperated each other but tried to forge an alliance despite mutual annoyance and even hostility due to US support to India. This chapter investigates how the army lost public support inside Pakistan with its estrangement from the US and became an object of censure along with the latter.

As a nation, Pakistan had risked much to join the Western camp. It borders Afghanistan, India and Iran and is close to the former Soviet Union. Of the countries sharing a common border with Pakistan, only Iran was in any way connected with the Western world in the struggle against communism in the period under discussion. Afghanistan was virtually a puppet of the Soviet Union, and until Red China attacked neutralist India, India was leaning heavily towards the communist side. But Pakistan chose early to stand with the Western world.¹ Therefore, it emerged initially as the west's only ally in the region. In this way, Pakistan not only wanted to check the spread of communism, but also, through its allies, to apply pressure on India to solve its regional disputes including Kashmir.

5.2 The Kashmir Dispute and the Triangular Relationship between Pakistan, India and the US

The Kashmir dispute was only one of India's foreign policy problems, but Pakistan's frustration over its inability to wrest Kashmir from India was the basic emotion moulding its entire foreign policy. To Pakistanis, Kashmir was a blemish on their national honour. The proposal for *status quo* on the valley did not impress the General Headquarters (GHQ) of the Pakistan Army who considered themselves the custodian of Pakistan's territorial integrity or President Ayub, whose political future was inextricably tied to Kashmir. In 1959, Ayub tried for the first time to exploit the

¹ Congressional Record-Senate, Mr. Thurmand, 'Indian Aggression', CIA-RDP65B00383R000200240031-2, June 6, 1963.

Sino-Indian border difficulties by proposing joint Indian-Pakistani defence measures for the Subcontinent – which in themselves possessed real merit – predicated on a Kashmir settlement.² Prime Minister Nehru was unresponsive.³ He considered the joint defence idea a violation of non-aligned principles.⁴ Pakistan’s military junta then hoped that the Chinese pressure on the Indian border would force India to secure its Pakistani flank by offering concessions in Kashmir. However, in the Pakistan army’s view, its western allies, by sending military assistance to India following the 1962 Chinese invasion, eliminated the necessity for Indian concessions over Kashmir.⁵ In particular, the arms sent by the US to India, even though intended only for use against China, were interpreted by Pakistan as disloyal and treacherous support of an enemy by an ally.⁶

Both India and Pakistan were always more concerned with their most immediate and primary threat, and, in Pakistan’s case, it came from India, not communism. Colonel (Rtd) Saleem Zafar in an interview said that senior military officers were using official letterheads to write, and verbal commands to pronounce, official policy that the US-supplied arms must be deployed at the Eastern front against India.⁷ Similarly, Senator Gruening in his Senate speech exposed India’s centrality to Pakistan’s defence schemes despite Pakistan’s participation in US-sponsored alliances against communists. He said:

Two years ago...I received a communication from the Ambassador of Pakistan to the US, in which he said, in effect, “We do not intend to use this money [US aid to Pakistan] to fight communism. We are going to use it to fight India”.⁸

Pakistan and the US were at loggerheads regarding US military assistance to India during and after the Indo-China war of 1962. China and Pakistan – armed with US-supplied weapons and with the dispute in Kashmir on its hands – were the chief regional powers hostile to India. There existed an understanding between Kennedy

² CIA-RDP78-03061A000300050002-3, Backgrounder of the Indian-Pakistan Crisis, 11 October 1965.

³ Ibid.

⁴ *FRUS, 1958-60*, President Eisenhower to Secretary Christian Archibald Herter, December 14, 1959, 15:195-97.

⁵ Interview with Brig. (Rtd) Inam-ul-Haq Afridi, (20-06-07).

⁶ CIA- Backgrounder of the Indian-Pakistan Crisis, 11 October 1965.

⁷ Interview with Colonel (Rtd) Saleem Zafar, (Peshawar, 23-02-07).

⁸ Congressional Record-Senate, Senator Gruening, CIA-RDP67B00446R000600130008-4, September 23, 1965.

and Ayub (as explained in the previous chapter) that Pakistan would be consulted prior to any US military support to India in case of an Indo-China clash. However, Pakistan's great expectations were frustrated because of US neglect of Pakistani interests during its relations with India. Senator Mr. Thurmand was quoted in congressional record papers as saying:

While I was in Pakistan last fall, Mr. Nehru had more troops massed on the Pakistani border than he did facing the Chinese Reds who were waging war against Indian forces in the Himalayan Mountains. When President Ayub visited the US in 1962, he was told by the president [of the United States] as well as the Department of State, that he would be consulted before giving any arms to India. However, as soon as Mr Nehru made his first screams for aid against the Chinese Communists, our country ran to India's assistance. In fact, this was one of the swiftest responses America had ever made to any act of communist aggression. And this aggression was not directed at our Nation or that of an ally, but rather at a pro-Red neutralist country. Our Government gave military aid to Mr. Nehru and did so without consulting President Khan [Ayub Khan]. We only gave him a perfunctory notice of the fact that aid was being given to his arch enemy.⁹

The Indo-China clash not only resulted in annoying Pakistan by bringing the US closer to India but also took both super powers, the Soviet Union and the US, aback. The clash started suddenly and ended abruptly. On 20th November 1962, the Chinese declared a unilateral ceasefire and began to withdraw from their forward positions. Their action surprised Indians and Americans alike. 'India had suffered a military defeat', but the Chinese withdrawal 'superimposed on this defeat a diplomatic defeat'.¹⁰ Chinese leaders claimed that with this war they had not only settled the border dispute with India but also dashed its 'arrogance' and 'illusions of grandeur'.¹¹ They also forced upon Khrushchev the difficult choice of Soviet support to either New Delhi or Peking. Maintaining neutrality between the two sides placed the Soviets in an awkward position. Obviously concerned about the implications of Indian acceptance of Western arms, Moscow was persisting in its efforts to preserve its position in India without, however, seriously jeopardizing its relations with

⁹ Congressional Record-Senate, Senator Mr. Thurmand, 'Indian Aggression', CIA-RDP65B00383R000200240031-2, June 6, 1963.

¹⁰ Foreign Service Officer Carol Laise to Harriman, Folder: Trips and Missions, Box # 533, India-Pakistan, 22 November 1962, Harriman Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, DC.

¹¹ Sarvepalli Gopal, *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography*, Volume 3, (New York: OUP, 1974), p.230

China'.¹² Khrushchev has written as follows in his memoirs about the awkward situation of the Soviet Union between India and China:

I think Mao created the Sino-Indian conflict precisely in order to draw the Soviet Union into it. He wanted to put us in the position of having no choice but to support him.¹³

5.3 Harriman's Mission Impossible to the South Asia

The Indo-China border clash at once attracted US attention to the region. American policy-makers became more serious than ever regarding the resolution of the regional issue of Kashmir and arranging a détente between India and Pakistan to enable India to deal with China effectively. Kennedy sent his Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern affairs, Harriman, to South Asia on a diplomatic-military-assistance-keeping-India-and Pakistan-happy-together-Mission. Roger Hilsman, who was with Harriman in his first meeting with Nehru, wrote in his book that *Nehru looked tired and strained*. Hilsman further observed that *it must have been difficult to greet Americans over the ruins of his long-pursued policy of neutralism*.¹⁴ Accompanied by his British counterpart, Duncan Sandys, Harriman assured Nehru of the willingness of Washington and London to assist India in the short and long term. However, he urged upon him to reopen negotiations on the issue of disputed Kashmir with Pakistan. In the beginning, Nehru was not ready to soften his stance towards a nation that had expressed a 'vengeful reaction' against India at war.¹⁵ Harriman 'quite bluntly' informed Nehru that the Kennedy administration would find itself in an 'untenable situation' vis-a-vis American public opinion if it provided mass military aid to India without the latter expressing interest in the resolution of her problems with Pakistan. Nehru understood the American position and agreed to restart negotiations with Pakistan over the issue of Kashmir.¹⁶

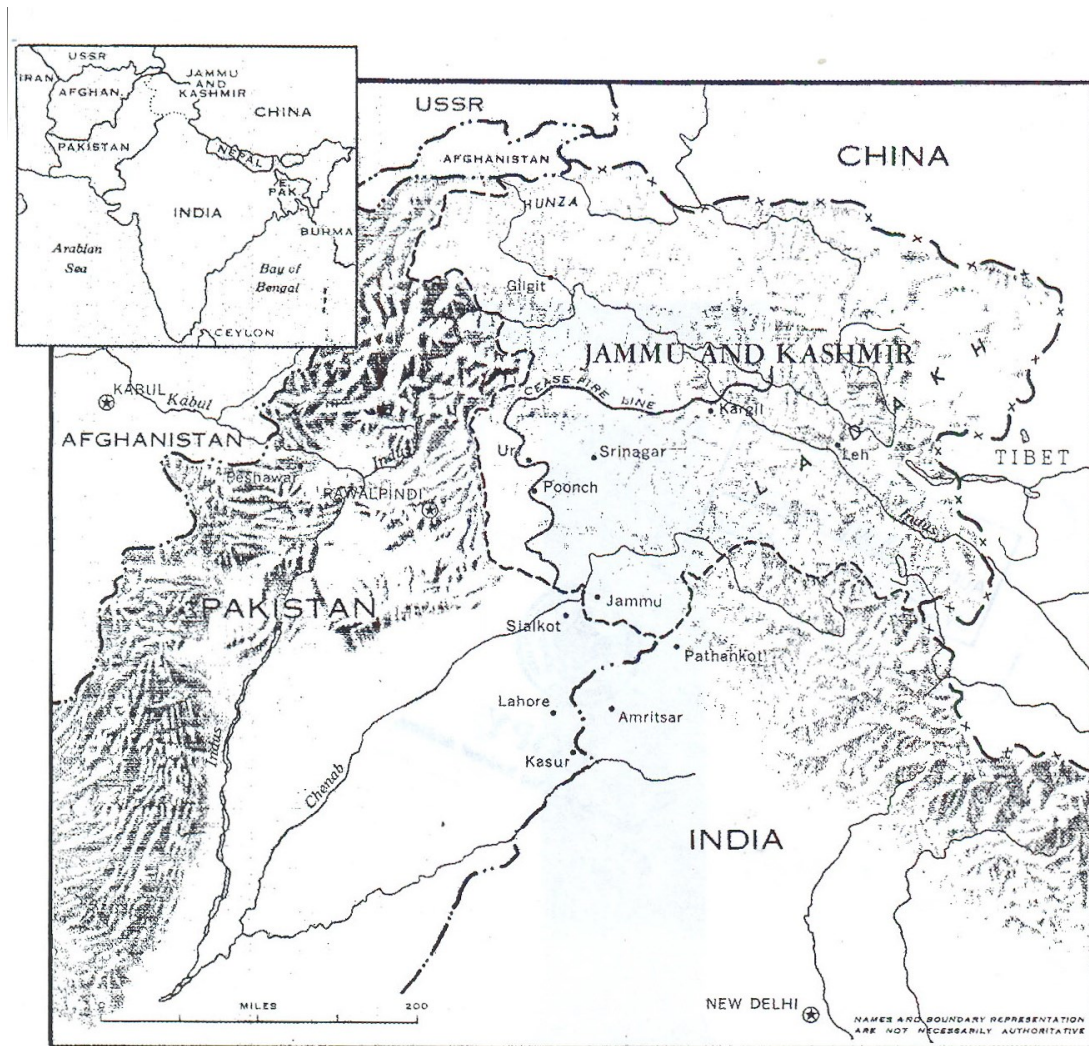
¹² Pravda Editorials of 25th October and 5th November, 1962, quoted in Bimal Prasad, ed., *Indo-Soviet Relations: A Documentary Study* (Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1973), pp.257-64.

¹³ Nikita S. Khrushchev, *Khrushchev Remembers: The Last Testament*, translated and edited by Strobe Talbott (Boston: Little Brown & Co, 1974), p.311.

¹⁴ Roger Hilsman, *To Move a Nation: The Politics of Foreign Policy in the Administration of John F. Kennedy* (New York: Doubleday, 1972).

¹⁵ Cable mail from Harriman to Dean Rusk, Folder: Trips and Missions, India-Pakistan 11, Box# 535; also Deputy Assistant Secretary of State NEA, James Grant, to Harriman, Folder: Trips and Missions, India-Pakistan 9, Box # 534, November 28, 1962, Harriman Papers, Library of Congress, DC.

¹⁶ Ibid.



INDIA-PAKISTAN

Map 5.1 Disputed Territory of Kashmir¹⁷

Nehru's undertaking to restart negotiations on Kashmir necessitated Harriman's next mission – a meeting with Ayub Khan in Karachi. In his anticipated meeting, his first objective was to give Ayub a sugar-coated appraisal of the growing relationship between India and the US. In the meanwhile, Kennedy sent a mail to Harriman instructing him how to deal with Ayub. He emphasised that:

¹⁷ CIA- office of current intelligence, CIA-RDP79T00472A000600010008-7, 20 September 1965.

Were Pakistan to move closer to the Chinese at a time when we were assisting India to confront Communist China, it would cut across the deep commitments of the entire free world... Pakistan must realise that there are certain limits which should not be overstepped if a fruitful Pak-US relationship can continue.¹⁸

During the Harriman-Ayub meeting, Ayub accepted that limited US military aid to India was understandable. However, he expressed a desire that further military aid to India be linked to progress towards a just Kashmir settlement. Ayub's cool reaction was a surprise to the Americans. Kennedy admired him for his 'statesmanlike approach'.¹⁹ However, Pakistan was expecting the US to work hard for the resolution of the Kashmir dispute. It was thought that US pressure on India, especially during the latter's encounter with the Chinese, would be the final spur to the resolution of the Kashmir dispute. General (Rtd) Matinuddin, while defending Pakistan's expectation from the US very confidently said:

Of course we had been fighting the US proxy war against the Soviet Union for a long time. Now was the time for the US administration to return our loyalty by compelling India to move decisively for the Kashmir solution once and for all.²⁰

The US ambassador in Pakistan, Walter P. McConaughy warned that the failure of talks on Kashmir and the continuance of US aid to India 'could set into motion virtually uncontrollable pressures for open estrangement from [the] West with deep injury to [the] American presence here, irrespective of logical consequences'.²¹ In his final report, Harriman wrote that the Indo-China war provided 'a unique opportunity for a close Indo-US relationship' and also 'a unique opportunity for the easing of tensions between India and Pakistan'. Regarding the Kashmir dispute, he informed Rusk that 'if the present opportunity toward encouraging a settlement in Kashmir is not seized, it is hard to see how any other occasion more favourable will arise'.²²

¹⁸ Kennedy to Harriman, Folder, Trips & Missions, India-Pakistan, 11, Box, 535, December 5, 1962, Harriman Papers, Library of Congress.

¹⁹ Ibid, Kennedy to Ayub Khan, December 5, 1962.

²⁰ Interview with General (Rtd) Kamal Matinuddin, (Islamabad, 24-03-07).

²¹ McConaughy to the State Department, November 25, 1962 quoted in Paul H. Nitze, *From Hiroshima to Glasnost: At the Centre of Decision, A Memoir* (New York: Grove Weidenfield, 1989), p.242.

²² Memorandum of Conversation between Harriman and Fulbright, folder: Trips and Missions, India-Pakistan, 9, box 534, December 4, 1962; Harriman to Rusk, folder, Trips and Missions, India-Pakistan, 2, box, 533, December 18, 1962, Harriman Papers, US Congress Library.

The Indo-China war provided an opportunity to the 'free world' to seize the moment and get neutralist India into the Western camp and to act as a catalyst for the resolution of the Kashmir problem. British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan and President Kennedy announced an Anglo-American emergency military aid package of \$120 million for India, and also pledged to work for the resolution of the Kashmir problem.²³ A strong message was sent from the State Department to the US ambassador in India, Galbraith, to convey to Nehru that *whether we like it or not, the question of Kashmir is inescapably related to what we can do to assist the Indian military. [The] President, therefore, will find it difficult to justify extensive aid without progress on Kashmir.*²⁴

Under the influence and pressure of the West, talks between India and Pakistan did commence. However, the parleys proved very superficial. According to Ambassador (retired) Hameedullah Khan, no substantive outcome was possible as the Indian delegation was not serious in negotiating over the disputed territory of Kashmir, much less seeking a resolution.²⁵ India had been unwilling to negotiate over Kashmir even when she was in a position of weakness. However, now, with the influx of US military and economic assistance, she was a strong state. It was far-fetched to expect concessions or a just resolution of the issue from India.²⁶

India embarked on a policy of major military expansion against the backdrop of the Indo-China war of 1962, enlarging its army from 550,000 to over 900,000.²⁷ It completely ignored the disputed status of Kashmir. Rather it began a military programme aimed at achieving self-sufficiency in the production of large quantities of tanks, artillery, aircraft, etc.²⁸ It received commitments of large amounts of military aid from both the US and the USSR. New Delhi described its efforts to arm itself as aimed solely at preventing communist Chinese aggression. However, it clearly intended to have armed forces large enough to deal with both Pakistan and China.²⁹ 'India's military build-up badly frightened the Pakistan Army. It believed that the

²³ Mohammad Ayub Khan, 'The Pakistan-American Alliance: Stresses and Strains', *Foreign Affairs* 42, January 1964, pp.200-3.

²⁴ Rusk to the US Embassy in India, folder, Trips & Missions, India-Pakistan, 2, box 533, December 22, 1962, Harriman Papers, Library of Congress.

²⁵ Interview with Ambassador (Rtd) Hamidullah Khan, Islamabad, (19-03-2007).

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Memorandum for the Director, 65-4779, Office of national estimates, 'Indo-Pakistani Problems', CIA-RDP80B01676R000400150009-5, August 18, 1965.

²⁸ Interview with Kamal Matinuddin.

²⁹ 'Indo-Pakistani Problems', CIA-RDP80B01676R000400150009-5, August 18, 1965.

strengthened Indian Army was aimed not only against China, but also against Pakistan'.³⁰ In fact, substantial elements of the Indian armed forces were deployed toward the borders of Pakistan rather than China.³¹

India's growing military strength worried Pakistan, leading to fears that India's military power might make her even less compromising on the issue of Kashmir. The policies of the two nations continued to be primarily determined by their fear of and hostility towards one another, and not by Cold War issues. Pakistan had signed up for SEATO and CENTO to ensure US assistance in the event of a war. However, the US motive in bringing Pakistan into such alliances was the containment of Communism. A misunderstanding is always against an understanding. On the other hand, India, in its hostility against and fear of China, maintained friendly relations with the US. India, moreover, already maintained good relations with the USSR, which had furnished SAMs, Tanks, and the facilities for building MIG 21s, and was considering furnishing her with four submarines.³² US policy aims of containment were certainly frustrated. In particular, there was no chance whatever in the foreseeable future of getting Pakistan and India to cooperate in mutual efforts against the communist bloc. It was difficult for the US to remain friendly with two countries so hostile to each other simultaneously.

5.4 Pakistan Drifts towards Communist China: Troubled Pak-US Relations

During 1963, Pakistan, disturbed by India's growing military strength and its intimacy with the US, chose to modify the exclusiveness of her thirteen-year old institutional interaction with the US, seeking closer relations with Communist China. Her apparent goals were two-fold: to pressure Western powers [America and Britain] into either reducing military aid to India or increasing such aid to Pakistan; and to strengthen her own international position by playing both sides of the Cold War. President Ayub exhibited growing frustration over his inability to halt the arming of India following the Chinese attack of October 1962 and Indian intransigence over the issue of Kashmir. Claiming that US-UK agreements to supply arms aid to its traditional enemy upset the delicate balance of power in the subcontinent, Pakistan

³⁰ Interview with Kamal Matinuddin.

³¹ 'Indo-Pakistani Problems', August 18, 1965.

³² Ibid.

turned to India's enemy in a calculated effort to redress the balance. General Sheikh and General Burki along with Foreign Minister Bhutto were frequent visitors to Peking. At this time Bhutto was said to be visiting Peking more frequently than his hometown, Larkana.³³ Concurrently, Pakistan's Foreign Office also asserted that India and other nations who had remained aloof from the fight against communism had fared better at Western hands than those who allied themselves unreservedly with the US.³⁴ On 6th January 1963, President Ayub said that the future role of Pakistan in CENTO and SEATO was 'quite uncertain'. His Foreign Secretary Dehlavi expressed similar sentiments earlier in Rome when he said that his country could withdraw from the pacts the 'day we feel they are of no use'.³⁵

As a matter of fact, Pakistan felt no danger from communism, especially from China. The animosity expressed against this ideology was purely in the interest of acquiring US support and aid. Thus, the emotional reaction to the growing US-India cordiality was natural. As confidence in the Pak-US institutional interaction became shaky, Foreign Minister Z.A. 'Bhutto visited Beijing in February 1963 to sign the border agreement'. Pakistan accepted China's well-timed offer to come to agreement on their common border. Their joint communiqué reflected both Pakistan's preoccupation with the Indian threat and China's desire to appear as the peaceful neighbour. Both expressed their hope for settlement of the Sino-Indian border differences by similar negotiations.³⁶ It was strange that Pakistan, though an ally of the US, was signing pacts and agreements with its enemy, China. Former US ambassador to India John Galbraith wrote very rightly about Pakistan in his memoirs: 'History can be idiotic. A staunch American ally against communism was negotiating with the Chinese Communists to the discontent of an erstwhile neutral'.³⁷ Foreign Minister Bhutto was very keen to have close ties with China, although he was well aware that such moves were contrary to the policies and interests of Pakistan's Western allies. The impact of Pakistan signing a non-aggression pact with China was further strengthened by Bhutto's warning to India on 17th July 1963 that an attack on

³³ Interview Major (Rtd) Sibghatullah Khan, (Nowshera, 27-01-2007).

³⁴ CIA-RDP78-03061A000200020007-2, *Pakistan on Tiger's back*, 12 August 1963.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, *The Myth of Independence*, (London: OUP, 1969) pp.62-4; also see John Kenneth Galbraith, *Ambassador's Journal: A Personal Account of the Kennedy Years*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969)p. 457.

Pakistan would pose a serious threat because 'the largest state in Asia' would help Pakistan.³⁸

The Kennedy administration was concerned about Pakistan's drift towards China. The development of Pak-China relations was contrary to American global and regional interests while harming the rationality of defence alliances against communism. Harriman openly expressed his distaste for a proposed air link between China and Pakistan. He explained to Pakistan's Ambassador in connection with the Pakistan-China air link that 'in this period, no member of the Free World should do anything to aid Communist Chinese'. He cautioned that 'Pakistan should be very careful in its dealings with the Chicoms [Chinese Communists] and not jeopardize its relations with the Western world'. He also said that any further 'rapprochement' between Pakistan and China could annoy the US, resulting in 'a very unfortunate reaction'.³⁹ Averell Harriman wrote in a memorandum that Pakistan was playing the China card against 'us', with the intent of having 'more arms from us or reducing our assistance to India'. He thought the growing relationship between China and Pakistan, together with Pakistan's decision to stop the expansion of American intelligence facilities, seemed 'a type of blackmail' that was 'intolerable' for the US.⁴⁰ Senator Wayne Morse also denounced Pakistan's relations with China as 'international blackmail' in the Senate. He said that 'all foundation for so-called strategic assistance to Pakistan has disappeared, and ought to be eliminated from the foreign aid bill for fiscal 1964'.⁴¹ Senator Gruening, for his part, spoke very sarcastically about Pak-China relations:

While we had been pouring this economic aid in billions of dollars into this country and also a large sum of money in military aid, Pakistan had moved closer and closer to Communist China.⁴²

Americans wanted an end to further deterioration of relations with Pakistan without harming their new friendship with India, but how to achieve that ideal was an enigma

³⁸ CIA, *Pakistan on Tiger's Back*, August 12, 1963.

³⁹ Dean Rusk to the US embassy in Pakistan, July 7, 1963, NARA.

⁴⁰ W. Averell Harriman memo, Pakistan Folder Box # 495, August 5, 1963, Harriman Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress

⁴¹ Congressional Record, Statement by Senator Wayne Morse, First session, 88th Congress, Senate, July 10 and July 22, 1963, 12270, 13083, NARA

⁴² Congressional Record-Senate, CIA-RDP67B00446R000600130008-4, September 23, 1965.

for them.⁴³ Harriman knew the crux of the problem: Pakistan's psychological fear of an Indian attack.⁴⁴ He repeated Washington's assurances that it would come to Pakistan's help in the unlikely event of an Indian attack. In order to bring credibility to his pledges, Harriman suggested that 'US promise the future deployment of one of its aircraft carriers in the Indian Ocean area'.⁴⁵

Kennedy underestimated Pakistan's security fears. From his own perspective, 'India did pose a threat'⁴⁶ but not a real danger to Pakistan's security.⁴⁷ He tried to keep Indo-Pakistan regional issues separate from the Cold War containment. For him, dealing with India's security against China was more important than Pakistan's security against India. Therefore, Harriman's suggestion of a credible US assurance to Pakistan backed by the promise of a naval task force in the Indian Ocean was premature to him. Kennedy wanted to know more of the Pakistani position before any such commitment was made. Hence, in August 1963, Kennedy sent Under Secretary of State George Ball to Pakistan to clear the air regarding Pakistan's relations with China and its effects on the US.⁴⁸

During the Ball-Ayub parleys, Ayub repeated his concerns: US military assistance to India had greatly jeopardized Pakistan's security and destabilised the strategic balance in the region. Although he had developed relations with Chinese leaders to offset India's increasing military strength, he insisted that they were not aimed at the US. Ball tried to convince Ayub that US assistance to India was intended to contain communism as part of the global American strategy. He also assured Ayub that Pakistan could depend on US help in case of an attack from India or any other nation. However, Ayub remained sceptical about such assurances. Under Secretary Ball also expressed his disappointment over strengthening China-Pakistan relations and implied that this could affect the alliances between the US and Pakistan. Overall, Ball was not satisfied with his meeting with Ayub Khan.⁴⁹

The failure of the Ball mission demonstrated that the US and the Pakistan Army had parted ways. Since Pakistan believed that Indian arms would inevitably be

⁴³ Interview with Col. (Rtd) Saleem Zafar.

⁴⁴ Harriman memo, August 5, 1963.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Interview with General (Rtd) Kamal Matinuddin.

⁴⁸ George W. Ball, *The Past has another pattern: Memoirs* (New York: Norton, 1982), pp.275-76, 282-85.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

used against Pakistan, guarantees that US weapons would not be so used carried little weight.⁵⁰ In her pique over assistance to India, Pakistan seemed willing to imperil her relationship with the US by deliberately drawing closer to China. Z. A. Bhutto, the then Foreign Minister and architect of Pak-China relations, has written of this moment in his book. 'American military help to India', he says, 'revealed the irreconcilable contradictions between the different assumptions on which Pakistan and the US had built their special relations'.⁵¹ SEATO and CENTO failed to keep both nations united. The relations had reached such a low ebb that Bhutto rebuffed President Johnson's suggestion that 'Asian allies of the US contribute more to the war against Communist guerrillas in South Vietnam'.⁵² Rather he said that 'his country intended to pursue its program of normalizing its relations with Communist China and the Soviet Union despite its defensive alliances with the US' – a paradox.

Bhutto's statement implied that the US and Pakistan were still at odds and that their relations regarding the US's Asian policy continued to be troubled. The Pakistani government refused to permit Pakistani journalists to cover the CENTO meetings in the US. Bhutto's excuse was that 'sheer lack of foreign exchange' had prevented Pakistan from allowing the newsmen to travel. He failed to attend the SEATO meeting in Manila, which greatly irritated Washington. He chose instead to attend the preparatory talks for an African-Asian conference sponsored by Communist China. Bhutto missed no chance to express Pakistan's resentment against Washington's policy of support and aid to New Delhi, an indication of just how strained relations had become between the two allies. It was at this time that he stated that 'it would be dishonest to say we could make a contribution to the war in Vietnam. The menace of a Western-armed India made it impossible for us'. Pakistan and Thailand were the only countries that had not sent any military, economic or technical assistance to South Vietnam despite being members of SEATO.⁵³

Pakistan was indeed 'seriously concerned' about US military assistance, loans and grants to India. Foreign Minister Bhutto warned the US ambassador McConaughy on 26th May 1964 that a long-term US military aid programme for India might force

⁵⁰ CIA, *Pakistan on Tiger's back*, August 12, 1963.

⁵¹ Z.A. Bhutto, *The Myth of Independence*, p.105.

⁵² Congressional Record- Senate, CIA-RDP66B00403R000200140049-0, April 27, 1964.

⁵³ Ibid.

Pakistan to 'narrow its commitments'.⁵⁴ Bhutto's anti-American sentiments were becoming too blunt.

5.5 Popular Anti-US Sentiments in Pakistan

The domestic environment plays a particular role in the shaping of the foreign policy of a state. The people, the opposition and internal objectives all have an effect on the policy-making process. In times of crisis, the reaction of the opposition especially the intelligentsia and other interest groups could equally have a profound effect. The Pakistanis were a nation highly interested in politics and relations with countries like the US, India and China, in such a way that a great amount of political debate used to take place in every tea shop, restaurant, in media, and in the colleges and universities. The polarization of the system between pro and anti Army and Americans ensured that the public interest in politics remained high.⁵⁵

The US-India friendship turned the populace of Pakistan against America. Pakistan's foreign policy had already turned to neutralism⁵⁶ with a tilt towards China. The common public impression prevailing in Peshawar was that 'America cannot be a friend of Pakistan because of the military aid which it is extending to India'.⁵⁷ Similarly, America was condemned in Dacca for its arms aid to India.⁵⁸ At the National Students' Federation's (NSF) annual meeting in Karach, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, an eminent poet, pointed to the banners and posters covering the walls {some of which read: 'Pak-China *Dosti Zindabad* (Long live Pak-China friendship), Students Hate American Aid, Pakistan Must Withdraw from SEATO and CENTO, and Students Support Present Independent Foreign Policy'} and said that he was happy to see students of the NSF taking an active part in 'real' education.⁵⁹ For the first time, a mob of several thousands attacked the US Embassy in Karachi and burned a USIS library.⁶⁰ Pakistan had become an embodiment of anti-Americanism.

⁵⁴ CIA-RDP79T00975A007700270001-7, Daily Brief, June 13, 1964.

⁵⁵ Interview with Col. (Rtd) Saleem Zafar.

⁵⁶ From American Consulate Peshawar to DOS, NND959000, Box#2546, RG59, July 10, 1964, NARA

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid, From American Consulate Dacca to DOS, July 14, 1964.

⁵⁹ Richard Sneider, Counsellor for Political Affairs in the US Embassy in Karachi, NND959000, Box#2546, RG59, April 6, 1964, NARA

⁶⁰ Congressional Record- Senate, Senator Morse speech, 23945, CIA-RDP67B00446R000600130008-4, September 23, 1965.

The government of Pakistan took serious steps to curtail direct American contact with Pakistani military and civilian officers. Junior military and civilian officers were under orders not to have unauthorized contact with foreign diplomats. A junior officer had to obtain permission before he could even accept an invitation to a reception or dinner hosted by a foreign diplomatic or military officer. The government of Pakistan demanded that direct mailing of USIS material to military officers be stopped. It also imposed restrictions on the US Embassy in the selection of private citizens for leadership courses or specialist grants. The Ministry of Education was hampering approaches by foreign officials to university and government college faculty members, to the student body as a whole, or to any special group of selected students. The Vice Chancellor of Karachi University issued confidential written orders to the academic staff stating that 'all contacts of a personal, public or private nature between University employees and employees or administrators of any official, semi-official or unofficial foreign mission must be made through the Vice Chancellor's office'.⁶¹ A general directive to this effect was issued to all Vice Chancellors by the Ministry of Education. If the employee was contacted directly, a report had to be sent to the Vice Chancellor. Such was the government's attitude that faculty members at Peshawar University were reprimanded by the authorities for attending a farewell reception for a United States Information Services (USIS) officer.⁶²

According to a Dacca-based politician, Mehboob-ur-Rehman, the government of Pakistan was fearful that American officials were lending support to the opposition to embarrass Ayub and was therefore increasing its surveillance over them.⁶³ Mr Rehman voiced this opinion again in May 1964.⁶⁴ Thus, the government of Pakistan was restricting the US embassy's activities and interaction with officials and politicians. In the meantime, America was charged twice (once by Home Minister Habibullah) with supporting the East Pakistan opposition. Such allegations were rejected by Assistant Secretary Talbot himself.⁶⁵ Sections of the press alleged that

⁶¹ Ambassador McConaughy, American Embassy Karachi to DOS, NND959000, Box # 2546, RG59, August 19, 1964, NARA

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Charles O'Donnell, American Consul General in Dacca to DOS, October 10, 1964, NARA

⁶⁴ Mehboob to John McJennett, American Consul in Dacca, May 11, 1964, NARA

⁶⁵ American Embassy Karachi, to DOS, NND959000, Box # 2546, RG 59, 31 December, 1964, NARA

Pakistan had become the 'playground of America's invisible government – the CIA'.⁶⁶

5.6 Post-Nehru India

After Nehru's death in 1964, the Indian leadership did not take up a new line with respect to China and Pakistan. They were at least as anti-Chinese as Nehru. Hence the Indian defence build-up was expected to continue. Nehru's successors also shared the general Indian mistrust of Pakistan. Although Shastri had a more flexible attitude on Kashmir, initially he was unlikely to risk making unpopular concessions.⁶⁷ However, he was anxious to see better Indo-Pakistan relations.⁶⁸

Shastri's somewhat docile approach to Pakistan raised American expectations for a Kashmir solution. The American ambassador to Delhi wrote to the US representative at the UN, Adlai E. Stevenson, that the government likely to emerge within the next few months in India would be easier to deal with on this subject [Kashmir] than the Nehru Government.⁶⁹ Indian PM Shastri was already very open in dealing with Pakistan. During his meeting with Bowles and Talbot, he stressed in a most persuasive way his conviction that a rapprochement with Pakistan must be worked out. He was unequivocal in saying 'India was prepared to start negotiations now on the communal disturbances, refugee movements, evictees in Assam and Tripura etc on any basis the Paks [Pakistanis] will agree to ministerial level talks, civil servant level, mediator, etc. If these meetings went well, they [India and Pakistan] could move on to border matters involving Kashmir and the other major issues dividing the two nations'. In the circumstances and especially against the backdrop of the Nehru era, it was a very encouraging gesture. On the question of border discussions, he said that India was prepared to accept any method that was realistic: secret discussions, direct negotiations, with or without a mediator, etc.⁷⁰ Though these were very encouraging statements from PM Shastri, the Americans had even higher expectations from the change of regime in India. Ambassador Bowles went to the extent of predicting the resolution of the Kashmir issue within the next year. He

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ General Record of the DOS relating to Indian Political Affairs, 1964-1966, Lot#68D207, Box# 5, RG 59, NND989589, 28 May, 1964, NARA.

⁶⁸ Telegram from CRO to Delhi, 19th November, 1964, NARA

⁶⁹ From Chester Bowles to Adlai E. Stevenson, March 14 1964, NARA

⁷⁰ Ibid.

wrote: ‘If the Paks [Pakistanis] want a settlement instead of an issue, there is a fair chance they can get it within the next year or so with the new Shastri government which is emerging’.⁷¹ The US Department of State also lectured Pakistan on the benefits of common objectives with the US: ‘The US and Pakistan should have a common interest. Pakistan needs a stable India. A fragmented India would only be an invitation to the extension of Communist influence into the subcontinent – and that ultimately could pose great dangers to Pakistan itself’.⁷² The Americans had understood that India was a major power in the region. According to a State Department telegram, ‘We agree India is the larger and stronger power and should be treated as such. India has initiative and opportunity to see peaceful *modus vivendi* with Pakistan’.⁷³ According to General (Rtd) Kamal Matinuddin, by 1964-65 US military assistance to India was much more than to Pakistan.⁷⁴

5.7 The US Assistance to Pakistan and India

Until 1965, the Americans had pumped a lot of military and economic aid into India and Pakistan. The US MAP assistance to Pakistan had amounted to approximately \$1 billion through fiscal year (FY) 1965. The US provided substantial support to five and a half out of the total of eight Pakistan Army divisions. From 1954 to 1964, Pakistan received one billion dollars in military assistance from the US.⁷⁵ (See the charts for developmental loans and grants). US MAP assistance to India had amounted to \$160 million of grant assistance plus offers of \$60 million in credit sales. The US also provided support to nine out of a total Indian Army strength of sixteen full divisions and four divisions being raised.⁷⁶ The American aim was not only to replace all the Indian weaponry but also to disrupt the assembly of Russian weapons taking place in India. For aircraft, Philip Talbot said: ‘our aim would be to get the Indians ultimately to settle for one Western-oriented aircraft production line and put their plans for MIG

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs (NEA), Indian Political Affairs, 1964-66, RG 59 GRDS, Lot File No. 69D52/NND989589, NARA.

⁷³ General Record of the Department of State, telegram to the US embassy in Delhi, 10 November 1965, NARA

⁷⁴ Interview with Kamal Matinuddin

⁷⁵ Memorandum for the Director, 65-4779, Office of national estimates, ‘Indo-Pakistani Problems’, CIA-RDP80B01676R000400150009-5, August 18, 1965.

⁷⁶ For Under Secretary Ball from Talbot, NND959000, Political and Defence, Box # 2555, RG 59, May 3, 1965, NARA

production into cold storage'.⁷⁷ Moreover, 60% of all the aid in IDA loans during 1964 had gone to India.⁷⁸ If PL 480 assistance was included, India was receiving nearly 40% of the US total economic aid expenditure each year. In addition, private donors like the Rockefeller Foundation and the Ford Foundation as well as religious groups and the Peace Corps invested millions of dollars there annually.⁷⁹

SUMMARY OF MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PLEDGED TO PAKISTAN, 1948-1965

	<u>1948-62</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	Cumulative Total <u>1948-65</u>
<u>Economic Aid</u>					
<u>Free World a/</u>					
US	2,213.8	376.3	392.5	0	2,982.6
Other	<u>834.8</u>	<u>230.2</u>	<u>218.5</u>	<u>24.0</u>	<u>1,307.5</u>
Total	3,048.6	606.5	611.0	24.0	4,290.1
<u>Communist Countries b/</u>					
USSR	33.2	0	11.0	30.0	74.2
Communist China	0	0	60.0	0	60.0
Other	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>28.0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>28.0</u>
Total	33.2	0	99.0	30.0	162.2
<u>Military Aid</u>					
<u>Free World a/</u>					
US	50.5	62.2	56.5	0	732.3
Other	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>174.9</u>
Total	50.5	62.2	56.5	0	907.2
<u>Communist Countries b/</u>					
USSR	0	0	0	0	0
Communist China	0	0	0	0	0
Other	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	0	0	0	0	0

a. Fiscal year ending 30 June following year.
b. Calendar year

Figure 11. Pledged Military and Economic Assistance to Pakistan, 1948-1965.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ General Record of the Department of State, from Philips Talbot to Harriman, April 2, 1964, NARA

⁷⁸ Congressional Record-Senate, Senator Mr. Symington, 23959, CIA-RDP67B00446R000600130008-4, September 23, 1965, NARA

⁷⁹ General Record of the Department of State, Chester Bowles mail to Congressmen regarding India-US relations, 28 February 1964, NARA

⁸⁰ CIA-office of Current Intelligence, CIA-RDP79T00472A000600010004-1, 28 September, 1965, NARA

Figure 12. Loans and grants made to Pakistan under the Agency for International Development and predecessor agencies.⁸¹

[In Millions of Dollars]

Year	Loans	Grants
1949-52		10.6
1953-57	103.0	227.3
1958	38.6	54.3
1959	63.2	99.5
1960	102.0	96.6
1961	27.2	97.0
1962	207.1	33.0
1963	169.4	4.9
Total	710.5	623.2
Total of loans and grants	1333.7	

Figure 13. Development loans made to Pakistan⁸²
(Repayable in dollars)

Borrower and Purpose	Repayable, Number of Years	Interest Rate, (percent)	Amount
GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN			
Commodity Assistance	45	2.5	\$15,000,000
Iron and Steel Imports	40	$\frac{3}{4}$	90,000,000
4 th Railway Project	40	$\frac{3}{4}$	31,000,000
General Commodity Imports	40	$\frac{3}{4}$	42,000,000
Expansion of Power system	40	$\frac{3}{4}$	8,000,000
Thermal Electric Power Generating System	40	$\frac{3}{4}$	26,000,000
Malaria Eradication Program	40	$\frac{3}{4}$	3,800,000
Airports and Railways Equipment	40	$\frac{3}{4}$	2,100,000
Salinity Control and Reclamation Project No. 2	40	$\frac{3}{4}$	10,800,000
General Commodities (2 nd)	40	$\frac{3}{4}$	30,000,000
Chalna Anchorage Project	40	$\frac{3}{4}$	3,600,000
Feasibility studies	40	$\frac{3}{4}$	2,000,000
Total			264,900,000

⁸¹ Congressional Record-Senate, CIA-RDP66B00403R000200140049-0, April 27, 1964.

⁸² Ibid.

SECTORAL ALLOCATIONS FOR
PAKISTAN'S SECOND
PLAN (1960/61 -1964/65)
AND THIRD PLAN
(1965/66 - 1969/70)
(Millions of Dollars)

	(1)		(2)		(3)
	Second Plan (Est.) Amount	Percent	Third Plan (Proposal) Amount ^{2/}	Percent	Increase (2) over (1) Percent
Agriculture	735	13.3	1,879	15.4	155
Water and Power	1,025	18.6	1,792	15.2	75
Industry	1,337	24.2	3,098	26.1	103
Fuels & Minerals	188	3.4			
Transport and Communications	944	17.1	2,125	17.9	125
Housing ^{1/}	818	14.8	1,508	12.7	84
Education	210	3.8	605	5.1	188
Health	83	1.5	279	2.3	236
Manpower and Social Welfare	17	0.3	59	0.5	258
Works Program	168	3.0	525	4.8	212
Less Expected Shortfall			-945		
	5,525	100.0	10,925	100.0	98

^{1/} And physical (town) planning.
Source: Estimated from Third Five-Year Plan, March 1965.

Figure 14. The American Sectoral Allocations for the Second and Third Five-year Plan.⁸³

⁸³ CIA-office of Current Intelligence, CIA-RDP79T00472A000600010004-1, 28 September, 1965

PREVIOUS COMMITMENTS MADE TO PAKISTAN UNDER THE AUSPICES
OF THE WORLD BANK CONSORTIUM

U.S. \$ million equivalent

	<u>1961/63</u>	<u>1963/64</u>	Additional Contri- butions <u>1963/64</u>	<u>1964/65</u>	<u>Total</u>
Belgium	--	10.0	--	--	10.0
Canada	38.0	19.0	--	23.6	80.6
France	25.0	7.0	3.0	10.0	45.0
Germany	80.0	27.5	12.5	38.1	158.1
Italy	--	10.0	--	10.0	20.0
Japan	45.0	30.0	--	30.0	105.0
Netherlands	--	6.6	2.2	4.4	13.2
United Kingdom	47.6	22.4	--	22.4	92.4
United States	500.0	212.5	--	212.5	925.0
World Bank and IDA	<u>209.4</u>	<u>80.0</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>80.0</u>	<u>369.4</u>
Total	<u>945.0</u>	<u>425.0</u>	<u>17.7</u>	<u>431.0</u>	<u>1,818.7</u>

Figure 15. World Bank commitments to Pakistan during 1961-65.⁸⁴

As the by-product of the US-Soviet nuclear détente⁸⁵ and the Sino-Soviet split⁸⁶, the Soviet Union at this time followed an active and aggressive policy in South Asia. James P. Grant, the head of NEA, was so scared of Russian activities in India that he wrote: 'Soviets launched a major offensive in India with the objective of bringing India under Soviet dominance and eventually communizing the subcontinent'.⁸⁷ The Soviets actively pursued their strategic, economic and cultural

⁸⁴ CIA-office of Current Intelligence, CIA-RDP79T00472A000600010004-1, 28 September, 1965.

⁸⁵ For details see, Eleanor Lansing Dulles and Robert Dickson Crane eds., *Détente: Cold war Strategies in Transition*, (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1965).

⁸⁶ For details see, Lorenz M. Luthi, *The Sino-Soviet Split : Cold War in the Communist World*, (Princeton, N.J : Princeton University Press, 2008); also Peter Dally, *The Sino-Soviet Split: A Trap for the West*, (Cheltenham 31 Seneca Way, Cheltenham, Glos. GL50 45F British Anti-Communist Council, 1984).

⁸⁷ General Record of the Department of State, NEA, James P. Grant to the Secretary, May 25, 1964, NARA

agenda in India.⁸⁸ By 1964, the Soviet-supplied or committed military aid to India had reached the value of \$131 million against \$110 million by the US.⁸⁹

Despite these advances, India had a record of accepting Soviet assistance without yielding to political subversion.⁹⁰ It was an exaggeration to say that the Soviets were trying to bring the subcontinent into the Communist orbit. Just after the Chinese invasion, India tilted more towards the West for her political and military requirements. ‘Soviet’s motive, in undertaking the current surge in India, was to redress the balance’⁹¹ upset by its tilt towards the West. Hence the Americans remained very cautious. They had to counter communist influence effectively.⁹² Every minor detail of efforts for the containment of communism in India was given meticulous consideration. Postings of the US embassy and consulate staff were also based on their study of communism. Not only the experience but the age and spousal arrangements of the men appointed as staff of the US Embassy or consulate office were also taken into consideration. In one of the letters, American Ambassador in New Delhi, Chester Bowles wrote:

There is urgent need for a topflight Counsel General in Calcutta to take Bill Baxter’s place. We want a younger man who is on the way up, who can articulate [the] US policies effectively, who has the vigor to travel widely, the capacity to communicate with Indian students and labour groups, and who has a real concern for the AID program. He should also have good knowledge of communism – especially Chinese Communism. This is a major opportunity calling for one of the ablest younger men in the Foreign Service, preferably with a wife who will be a strong supporter and partner.⁹³

The US paradigm shift occurred by replacing Pakistan with India to contain China. A Department of State (DOS) letter clearly shows the shift in US priorities in South Asia from Pakistan to India. It stresses the need ‘to wipe the slate clean with Pakistan and to develop a new ...realistic assessment of US interests and problems in the subcontinent’. It says:

⁸⁸ Ambassador (Rtd) Hamidullah Khan.

⁸⁹ *The New York Times*, May 13, 1964.

⁹⁰ General Record of the Department of State, NEA, James P. Grant to the Secretary, May 25, 1964, NARA

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² Ambassador (Rtd) Hamidullah Khan.

⁹³ General Record of the Department of State, from Chester Bowles to James P. Grant, April 14, 1964, NARA

The circumstances in Asia have changed drastically, both politically and strategically, since we [Americans] formed our alliances with Pakistan. Pakistan has amply demonstrated its own desire to reduce its previous dependence on us. It's neither in our interests nor in Pakistan's, nor could they sustain the previous degree of alignment in our policies... The major problem now facing the US is to contain the Chinese Communist thrust. India, by virtue of its power position and its unrealised potential for serving as a counterweight to Communist China, is more central to our interests than Pakistan.⁹⁴

As Pakistan ('a maverick and irredentist Pakistan')⁹⁵ still had the potential to upset the region's balance by aligning itself with any of the adversaries of the US, a sharp change in attitude towards Pakistan was not possible. The letter quoted above further says: 'it is not possible to base a Subcontinent policy on India alone since Pakistan has sufficient resources to upset the balance of power and stability of the subcontinent'.⁹⁶ Moreover, Americans also had direct interests in Pakistan, including *Badabar* Airbase.⁹⁷ The US continued with a two pronged policy: to contain China through India and to keep Pakistan away from her intimate friendship with China. Now Americans expected to have evidence in word and deed that Pakistan felt that it was in its interest to continue a close, if not allied, relationship with the US. This also included 'a less offensive and abrasive public Government of Pakistan posture in Afro-Asian and other forums; halting of public criticism of the US policies; a curtailment of press attacks and better treatment of American personnel based in the Pakistani capital'.⁹⁸ Though the Department of State did not oppose Pak-China relations, they wanted 'the assurance that the relationship would not take the form of collaboration in opposing vital US interests'. They also wanted Pakistan to work for a basic accommodation with India, resting on sufficient mutual compromise and good will to permit a process of negotiations. 'Such talks would contribute to the containment of tensions in the region and progress toward a Kashmir settlement'.⁹⁹

As relations touched their lowest ebb, the State Department wanted Ayub Khan to agree to help the US in Asia, especially in Vietnam, in return for America

⁹⁴ General Record of the Department of State, NND 989589, Lot # 70D314, Box # 17, NEA to SOA, 12 November 1965, NARA

⁹⁵ Ibid, 26 November 1965.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 12 November 1965.

⁹⁷ Flight Lieutenant (Rtd) Mohammad Sharif, (Peshawar, 16-03-07).

⁹⁸ General Record of the Department of State, NND 989589, Lot # 70D314, Box # 17, DOS, NEA to SOA, 12 November 1965, NARA

⁹⁹ Ibid.

continuing to give economic and military assistance to Pakistan. The State Department also made it clear to the Ayub regime that the US could not subordinate its interests in India to Pakistan's. Americans were determined to pursue their interests in India for themselves imagining that their pro-India policies would not be detrimental to Pakistan's integrity and development. Striking a particularly stern note, the DOS letter went on to remind Ayub Khan that America expected recipients of future US aid to show 'results, not apologies; performance, not promises'.¹⁰⁰ The Americans were bent on removing 'the blame of babying Pakistan unduly'.¹⁰¹ In another telegram, the Department of State wrote:

We do not insist on substantive Indian concessions on Kashmir as a price for US aid.¹⁰²

In yet another mail, the State Department said that 'It would be much more fruitful to define clearly to Ayub the limits beyond which he could not go without serious consequences to his relations with US and UK'.¹⁰³ Pickard informed Robert Komer, who was handling South Asia as a member of the National Security Council (NSC) that 'it would be difficult to overstress Pakistan's sensitivities to [the] effects of US diplomacy on what they [Pakistanis] regarded as essential national interests, i.e. Kashmir and search for [an] independent role as Afro-Asian leader'. Pakistan's emotional foreign policy turn from the US towards China was not lost upon the Americans: Pickard further wrote in the telegram that the amount of US pressure on Ayub had to be carefully weighed against Pakistani emotionalism.¹⁰⁴ Both nations had taken sharp U-turns against each other and towards each other's adversary. They were condemning each other without fixing problems and mending fences. In general terms, the Pakistani military officers thought that Americans were using Pakistan to promote their own interests and were unconcerned about Pakistan's security vis-à-vis India.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ General Record of the Department of State, From Kabul, Philips Talbot to James P. Grant, March 14, 1964, NARA

¹⁰² General Record of the Department of State, NEA to SOA, NND 989589, Lot # 70D314, Box # 17 26 November 1965, NARA

¹⁰³ Incoming Telegram DOS, NND959000, Political and Defence, Box # 2555, RG 59, March 26, 1965, NARA

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ From American Consulate in Dacca to DOS, NND959000, Box#2546, RG59, July 23, 1964, NARA

Relations between the US and Pakistan reached such a low point that Foreign Minister Bhutto gave priority to President Ayub Khan's visit to the Communist bloc (Soviet Union and China) over the CENTO Ministerial meeting. He told the US ambassador in Pakistan that the President's visit to Moscow in April 1965 was of greater importance to the Government of Pakistan than the CENTO Ministerial meeting and that he could not neglect that visit.¹⁰⁶ In de-linking Rawalpindi (Pakistan's Capital) from Washington DC, Bhutto had gone too far. During President Ayub's visit to Moscow, Bhutto aligned Pakistan with the Soviet Union's philosophy of peaceful co-existence. He also added: 'We are an ideological state. So is the Soviet Union – as an Eastern thinker [Mao Zedong] has said, let one hundred flowers bloom and let one hundred schools of thought contend'.¹⁰⁷ Ayub-Bhutto's visit to Moscow and then quoting Mao in official statements constituted a double jeopardy for the US policy makers in South Asia. Speaking of the allies of SEATO and CENTO Senator Morse said:

What allies? How does one judge an ally? He judges an ally by whether or not an ally stands with him. Where have Pakistan and India been in regard to the crisis in Southeast Asia? The Prime Minister [sic, Foreign Minister] of Pakistan standing in Washington DC before the Washington Press Club some months ago, when asked, if they were going to be of assistance to us in Vietnam, at first made the categorical answer "No". Then he proceeded to say: "It is a US problem, not a Pakistani problem. Our problem is with India".¹⁰⁸

Voices were raised in Capitol-Hill corridors against the politics of alliances (SEATO & CENTO) and military assistance to the US allies. Senator Morse further said:

The sad fact is that the SEATO Treaty has been naught but a worthless paper to the United States from the very time it was signed. The weapons we have supplied [to] Greece and Turkey, the weapons we have supplied India and Pakistan, would be of no assistance to us whatsoever in case of a war with Russia or Red China. In the event of a war with Russia, neither Greece nor Turkey in the Mediterranean, nor Pakistan or India in Asia, would be of assistance to us in such a war for it will be a nuclear war. It

¹⁰⁶ Incoming Telegram DOS, NND959000, Political and Defence, Box # 2555, RG 59, March 24, 1965, NARA

¹⁰⁷ *Dawn*, April 6, 1965.

¹⁰⁸ Congressional Record-Senate, Senator Mr. Morse, 23948, CIA-RDP67B00446R000600130008-4, September 23, 1965.

will be over in a relatively short time. Unfortunately, there will be no winner.¹⁰⁹

5.8 President Ayub's Visit to China, March 1965

The spiralling downward trend in US-Pakistan institutional interaction reached its lowest point during Ayub's visit to China in March 1965. All realists believe in two assumptions: first, that the nature of international affairs is essentially conflictual; and second, that the prime human motivation in all political life is power and security.¹¹⁰ Ayub Khan visited China with the objective of acquiring power and security. In a joint communiqué issued in Peking, it was stated that Red China should be admitted to the UN and a summit conference held for prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons in the Indian Ocean.¹¹¹ Both of these points were very strongly opposed by America. The US ambassador in Pakistan, McConaughy, was shocked by such pronouncements in Ayub's presence. He immediately visited Pakistan's pro-US Finance Minister Shoaib's residence in Karachi to express the US's profound disappointment and concern at Ayub's visit to China. He expressed his sense of being let down at Ayub's association with Chou-en-Lai in the joint communiqué and in his speeches in Peking. He also said that the record of the visit set a very poor stage for Ayub's forthcoming Washington visit. 'Shoaib appeared somewhat depressed'. He attributed Ayub's loss of balance to two factors, basing his assessment largely on the first hand report he had just received from Ghulam Farooq, a member of the delegation accompanying Ayub: firstly, the magnitude and enthusiasm of the public reception accorded to Ayub by the Chinese, which was characterized as beyond description and beyond belief. He said the Chinese had gone all out and had organized resounding public ovations which went far beyond anything the visitors had ever seen or heard before. Ghulam Farooq said the reception which the Chinese Communists accorded Suhrawardy in 1956 'was not ten percent of what they put on for Ayub'. 'Shoaib thought the president had literally been overwhelmed and swept off his feet. He felt that almost anyone's head would have to be turned by such a tribute and this

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Robert O. Keohane, 9ed0, *Neorealism and its Critics*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 304-05.

¹¹¹ Incoming Telegram DOS, NND959000, Political and Defence, Box # 2555, RG 59, March 9, 1965, NARA

had happened to Ayub'.¹¹² Secondly, 'Shoaib ascribed the bad outcome to the absence among Ayub's accompanying advisors of anyone willing to counsel a strong stand against the Chinese Communist persuasions'. He said that the President had 'self-advisors' who were either in favour of further concessions to the Chinese Communists or else men of no strong convictions who were inclined to follow the path of least resistance. He said that the members of the President's retinue were all picked by Foreign Minister Z.A. Bhutto.¹¹³

In response to McConaughy's query as to whether the Foreign Office Additional Secretary Agha Shahi should not be expected to have played a balancing role, Shoaib replied that Agha Shahi was 'only an official' and did not have the stature or the independent position which would be required to oppose Bhutto's advice. Referring to McConaughy's remark about Ayub's forthcoming US visit, Shoaib said that he recognized that 'it is bound to be rough'. He also said that in view of the way things were shaping up, he would prefer not to accompany the president to the US. He gave excuses such as preparations for the budget session of the National Assembly and his son's wedding on April 21.¹¹⁴

Prior to Ayub's China visit, the Department of State had an understanding with the US embassy in Karachi that the US would reject his offer to act as 'middle man' between Washington and Peiping [Beijing].¹¹⁵ Ayub had also assured McConaughy that he wanted a policy of minimum good-neighbourly relations with China.¹¹⁶ After his trip to China, Ayub faced a tough time with Finance Minister Shoaib. 'Shoaib was very critical about the wording of the Communiqué at the Peking. He was worried about Ayub's forthcoming visit to Washington. He feared the visit might [be] cancelled or postponed due to Ayub's disappointing approach towards the US sensitivities i.e. warmer relations with China'.¹¹⁷ Veteran journalist, Sharif Farooq says that:

Shoaib was notorious as a CIA agent. He knew the anticipated US policies towards Pakistan. However, he did not expect such a blunt language against the US policies in the communiqué especially under Ayub's

¹¹² Ibid, American Embassy Karachi to DOS, March 15, 1965.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ DOS to the American Embassy in Karachi, NND959000, Political and Defence, Box # 2555, RG 59 February 19, 1965, NARA

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Interview with Sharif Farooq, (Peshawar, 18-02-2007).

signature. He also knew that as a consequence, Ayub's forthcoming visit to Washington would be affected and therefore, he kept himself away from the growing Pak-China relations.¹¹⁸

On the other hand, 'Military generals were happy over the shift in Pakistan's policy – a swing from Washington to Peking. At this time, Bhutto was very popular amongst military men as well as civilians due to his anti-American and pro-China stance. He developed his own following in the Army'.¹¹⁹ Bhutto and Ayub were following a carrot-and-stick policy, or, in other words, good cop and bad cop for the US. Bhutto was very hawkish while Ayub's statements were dovish towards Americans. Ayub still hoped that the alliances with the US would act as a deterrent to other countries seeking to dominate Pakistan. He also assured Americans that Pakistan had never given any thought to a military alliance with China and that, in any event, Pakistan always thought that Communist China 'couldn't bring much against India'.¹²⁰

Regarding Kashmir, Ayub was not irrevocably attached to the plebiscite. Arbitration was also acceptable to him. But he wanted the US to take the initiative as, in his opinion, the US had more of a stake in the subcontinent than the Soviet Union.¹²¹ However, due to his visit to China, the Americans were as much disappointed by Ayub as he was by the Americans on Indo-US military relations.

The fates of the nations of South Asia were changed by the mistakes of their leaders. Shastri and Ayub's visits to the US were postponed due to their unfriendly policies towards Washington. Ayub's visit to China and his communiqué worsened Pak-US relations. On the other hand, Shastri's government was very supportive to Viet-Nam. In a Congressional speech, Senator Hartke mentioned an interesting exchange with an Indian minister. He asked the minister:

Suppose we provided you with all the military equipment you need to defend yourself against the 'Paks'. Suppose we provide you with all the economic aid you thought was necessary to start rebuilding your country, and also provided Public Law 480 food, which we are now providing to relieve the starving people. What if we cut off all our aid to Pakistan, of whatever nature whatsoever, and made sure that you had enough military equipment to defend yourself against communist aggression, which exists

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Brigadier (Rtd) Inam Afridi, (Peshawar, 20-06-2007)

¹²⁰ Memo of Conversation, NND959000, Box#2546, RG59 DOS, # 20693, 14 December 1965, NARA

¹²¹ Ibid.

on the Chinese border. Would you be willing to join us in Vietnam and help to oppose the aggressor?

The answer to that was very clear and very quick: “That is your problem; that is your concern. We are neutral”.¹²²

The White House’s displeasure at the free-wheeling Indian policy statements on Vietnam created an unfriendly atmosphere between them. The suddenness of the postponements left little doubt that President Johnson deliberately created an impression of rebuke to Shastri and Ayub. Bracketing India and Pakistan together only added insult to injury for both countries.¹²³

5.9 The Pakistan Army and the Domestic Politics

Foreign policy should be integrated with the domestic policies of a government and justified by them in the same way.¹²⁴ That is the reason that on some occasions, the foreign policy of a state is followed primarily to achieve domestic objectives. In such cases, what matters is the effect the policy will have on the citizens of the state rather than the consequences it will cause for the international relations of that state.¹²⁵ However, in the case of the foreign policy of Pakistan pursued by the military junta, not only rulers and citizens but also the state’s relations with other countries were affected. The failure on the foreign policy front was bringing a bad name to the Pakistani military junta at home. Anti-Ayub and anti-US sentiments arose, firstly, due to the deteriorating relations between the Pakistan military and the US administration, and secondly, because US support for India was considered a hostile act against Pakistanis. In Pakistan, the military remained in power as long as it enjoyed the confidence and support of the US. The moment it lost America as a supporter, it lost power as well. With the loss of the US as sole sponsor, Ayub had to look for domestic support. Ayub had already started to accommodate a few time-serving politicians to help the Pakistan Army save face as an institution. After the passage of the Political Party Act in July 1962 and the end of Martial Law, some ministers and their supporters called for an *ad hoc* convention of Muslim Leaguers – henceforth called

¹²² Congressional Record-Senate, Senator Hartke from Indiana, 3420, CIA-RDP67B00446R000400030005-0, published February 21, 1966.

¹²³ DOS, NND959000, Political and Defence, Box # 2555, RG 59, April 17, 1965, NARA

¹²⁴ David Vital, *The Making of British Foreign Policy*, (London: Allen & Unwin, 1968), pp.52-3

¹²⁵ Peter Calvert, *The Foreign Policy of New States*, (Brighton: Wheatsheaf, 1986), p.14

Conventionists (PMLC).¹²⁶ The Convention decided to reorganize the pre-Martial Law Muslim League, with Chaudhri Khaliquzzman as Chief Organizer, Abdul Hashim as Organizer for East Pakistan and Mian Amiruddin as Organizer for West Pakistan. In September 1962, Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan became head of the party as the President.¹²⁷ It was the beginning of the civilianization of military rule in Pakistan. A divide and rule principle served Ayub's interests in domestic politics.

The PMLC was the government party. Conservative in outlook, its programme was no more or less than full support for government policies and actions.¹²⁸ Those who opposed the patronage of the Muslim League by Ayub Khan called a separate meeting. In this way, the Muslim League was divided into two factions – PMLC and the Council Muslim League (CML). The CML was revived at a meeting in October 1962. The majority of the Council members were opposed to the calling of a party convention in September 1962 and boycotted it. Backed by the former Chief Minister of Punjab Mian Mumtaz Daultana, the CML was reorganized with Khawaja Nazimuddin (former Governor General and Prime Minister) as the President and Sardar Bahadur Khan¹²⁹ (the brother of Ayub Khan) as the Secretary General of the party.¹³⁰ The politicians were together trying to re-establish and revitalise political institutions that they had weakened in the past. Home Minister Habibullah Khan was very stern towards anti-Conventionists. He issued orders to the DC Peshawar to take action against those persons who, by their actions or philosophy, were dangerous or detrimental to the aims of the PMLC. The orders indicate how determined the Conventionists were to forestall any attempts by the opposition to form a viable opposition programme. Their willingness to attack individual opposition leaders became apparent in their campaign against Yusuf Khattak, leader of the opposition. President Ayub reportedly asked Habibullah Khan why “nothing had been done” about publicising Khattak's romance with the English wife of a Peshawar-based doctor. He ordered that the matter be brought to the attention of the public. Two days later, the Khattak scandal was headline news.¹³¹

¹²⁶ Air-gram, DOS, NND959000, Box#2546, RG59, Political Parties, from American Embassy Karachi, July 15, 1964, NARA

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Sardar Bahadur Khan later resigned from the party office in 1964. He remained in the party as long as he could get something out of it.

¹³⁰ Air-gram, DOS, NND959000, Box#2546, RG59, From American Consulate Peshawar, Air-Gram, February 10, 1964, NARA

¹³¹ Ibid, March 2, 1964.

Easterners (East Pakistanis) were already filled with anti-Ayub and anti US-Pact sentiments. They were ready to exploit the situation that had emerged as a result of friction between the US and the military junta of Pakistan

. Now, they openly expressed anti-US feelings. Iqbal Ansari Khan was a Basic Democrat from Old Dacca. During a meeting with the US Vice Consul, Michael A.G. Michand, Khan said that the US was supporting a dictatorial government in Pakistan and contributing to the corrupt BD system through the PL 480. According to him, 'Basic Democracy (BD) was a class created by the Government and dependent on Government's money'. Khan also said that in Pakistan dictatorship was possible only through US financial support to the Rural Public Works Program – a reason for the BD's existence. He claimed that the US was so concerned about communism that it was supporting an anti-democratic government.¹³²

Pro-China elements in Pakistan in general and Easterners in particular were more vocal in their anti-US campaign. Maulana Bhashani was a pro-Chinese cleric. He visited China in July 1964. He talked about 'monopoly Capitalism' and the 'American economic exploitation of the third world countries'. He had already visited China in October 1963. His travels indicated the degree to which 'Bhashani had become a close associate of the Chinese Communists'.¹³³

Disappointed at the US collaboration with India, the Pakistani intellectual class emotionally committed itself to the Chinese Communist regime.¹³⁴ They had supported Pakistan in joining the US-sponsored pacts. However, with US arms support to India, positions changed. Now they vigorously supported any foreign policy move by the Government of Pakistan which further supported the Chinese Communists.¹³⁵ Eminent Pakistanis, Gulab Khan-the chief of Shinwari tribe in Landi Kotal¹³⁶, Jamal Kakakhel from Nowshera, Muhibullah Khan Kundi from D.I. Khan, and Hakim Muhammad Saeed from Karachi¹³⁷ were now opposing US policies and were pro-China in reaction to American support for India. In particular, Easterners were so pro-Chinese that the government opened the PIA service to China from

¹³² Ibid, Memo of Conversation, August 30, 1965.

¹³³ Ibid, Memo, Air gram, DOS, from American Embassy Karachi, August 20, 1964.

¹³⁴ From American Consulate in Dacca to DOS, NND959000, Box#2546, RG59, December 4, 1964, NARA

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Afzal Khan Shinwari, (Landi Kotal, 11-06-07).

¹³⁷ Interview with Colonel (Rtd) Saleem Zafar.

Dacca.¹³⁸ East Pakistan was a China-friendly area to which the Chinese community from Burma, Hong Kong and Calcutta had been migrating, especially since the 1962 Indo-China war. Most of them did not hold Pakistani passports which indicated that they were relatively recent arrivals and that they had not yet acquired Pakistani citizenship. The migrants from Hong Kong possessed Commonwealth passports.¹³⁹

The West Pakistanis hated and feared India. The East Pakistanis just feared India. The Easterners' fear was that any disruption of the Indian sea route to East Pakistan may cause an economic dislocation in Assam, and that the railroad could not handle essential transport.¹⁴⁰ Ayub continued to tell the East Wing [East Pakistan] leaders that the East Wing can be, has been, and will be, defended by West Pakistan.¹⁴¹ Bengalis were so fed up of the military rule and 'East defence in the West' mantra that they wanted to get rid of 'military rule from the Rawalpindi [representing General Headquarters of Pakistan Army] masters'.¹⁴² According to Bengali separatists, 'We will not allow our self-respect to be crushed by the militarists'. 'Pakistan was created unnaturally, the two wings. There is no unity or unifying force between the two wings. Bengalis are the victim of exploitation'.¹⁴³ 'The military regime is either with the US or China. But this will not make any difference to us. East Pakistan will continue to be ruled by Punjabi civil servants in any case'.¹⁴⁴ Religion as a unifying force was completely rejected by the Bengalis. They argued that 'the Punjabi Muslim rulers shooted [*sic*] the Bengali students. Bengali Muslims were killed in the struggle for the Bengali language'. Moreover, they justified their struggle against West Pakistan Muslims on the basis that Christians fought Christians in the last two great wars. They said that 'in the twentieth century, the name of religion was used as a bluff in this region'.¹⁴⁵ Bengalis also remained in touch with the US Consulate to canvass support for their cause. According to a separatist leader,

¹³⁸ From American Consulate in Dacca to DOS, NND959000, Box#2546, RG59, June 9, 1964, NARA

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ American Consul General J. W. Bowling's chat with a Bengali Separatist, M.A. Chowdhury, NND959000, Box # 2546, RG59, November 9, 1965

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Dacca Consulate, from American Consul General William K. Hitchcock, NND959000, Box # 2546, RG59, October 27, 1965

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, American Consul General J. W. Bowling's chat with a Bengali Separatist, M.A. Chowdhury, November 9, 1965

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, American Consulate, Calcutta, October 27, 1965

If and when the US is willing to express a sympathetic interest in the separatist movement, I will immediately put you in touch with some of the people in the movement who are much more important than I am, and give you details of our present actions and plans for the future. At the present we do not need money. I have been instructed to keep in touch with you and explain our general views in the meantime.¹⁴⁶

The Bengali separatists charged Ayub Khan with launching a war against India in order to suppress the ‘democratic uprising in East Bengal’. In East Pakistan, it was widely believed that President Johnson urged Ayub Khan to move towards more democracy in Pakistan. This was also the reason for his annoyance at the US and the subsequent moves towards China.¹⁴⁷

American policies in South Asia completely failed due to the war between India and Pakistan in 1965. American military and economic support to India was frustrating for Pakistan. Thus the war between the two arch-rivals occurred in order to reduce India’s superiority. The irony is that both nations used weapons provided, in the name of containment of Communism, by the US. Senator Morse in a Congressional speech highlighted this aspect of US foreign policy in South Asia in very grim words. He said:

...And how will the future historians assess the role our foreign aid program played in the bitter struggle between India and Pakistan? Two neighbouring nations have been locked in combat, using American-supplied weapons and money furnished under the guise of foreign aid; testify to the crying need for a reappraisal of this program...Billions of dollars and untold weapons of war have been poured into both countries. Almost \$8 billion in economic aid alone has been dumped into these countries since World War II; \$5.2 billion for India and \$2.6 billion for Pakistan. And to what end? Certainly not so that they could afford to fight like spoiled children.¹⁴⁸

The Indo-Pak conflict of 1965 was viewed as having redressed India’s poor performance against the Chinese Communists in 1962 and against Pakistanis in the Runn of Kutch episode earlier in 1965. Prime Minister Shastri’s position in domestic politics was also strengthened and the government’s intransigence over the Kashmir issue reinforced. Overall, India emerged in a better position from the war. Her larger

¹⁴⁶ American Consul’s chat with a Bengali Separatist, November 9, 1965

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Congressional Record-Senate, Senator Mr. Morse, 23944, CIA-RDP67B00446R000600130008-4, September 23, 1965.

area of captured territory placed her in a better bargaining position, which raised the morale of the Indian Government and armed forces. Pakistan only achieved its tactical purpose of advertising the Kashmir question.¹⁴⁹ The American Embassy in New Delhi reported that India was in no mood to give Pakistan by negotiation what Pakistan could not win by force of arms.¹⁵⁰ The threat of Chinese involvement did not noticeably unnerve the Indians, and New Delhi probably felt that some of the stigma of military ineptitude that had hung over the Indians since the 1962 Chinese invasion had been erased.¹⁵¹

CONCLUSION

The military regime in Pakistan lost public support with the loss of its primary supporter – the US. With the corrosion of relations between the military and the US, the masses turned against both of them. While India continued to regard China as the prime long-term threat, it also cultivated close relations with the USSR – and within reasonable limits this was not inconsistent with American interests.¹⁵² India was not going to settle Kashmir on anything like Pakistan's terms. Control of communication lines to Ladakh and thus control of the Kashmir Valley was central to the strategic defence of India against China.¹⁵³ Hence Americans could ask quite a lot from India – but not Kashmir.

The American objective during the first half of the 1960s was to keep India from becoming either a power vacuum or a communist state.¹⁵⁴ The US was determined to prevent India's defeat by Communist China. It wanted to point out to Pakistan that a continuation of existing trends (Sino-Pakistan strategic partnership) was likely to lead quickly to a situation in which the US was providing substantial military support to India. In such a scenario America would appear to be lined up on

¹⁴⁹ Intelligence Memorandum, OCI No. 2388/65, CIA-RDP79T00472A000600020013-0, 'Outcome of India-Pakistan Warfare', October 1, 1965.

¹⁵⁰ Intelligence memorandum, OCI No. 2678/65, CIA- RDP79T00472A001500030003-0, 'The India-Pakistan Situation', 24 September 1965.

¹⁵¹ Intelligence memorandum, OCI No. 2325/65, CIA- RDP79T00472A0006000610006-9, 'The Aftermath of the India- Pakistan War', 25 September 1965.

¹⁵² DOS, NEA to SOA, GRDOSIPA, NND 989589, Lot # 70D314, Box # 17 26 November 1965, NARA

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

the Indian side in opposition not only to Communist China but also to Pakistan.¹⁵⁵ Faced with such a threatening scenario, the Pakistan Army clique made costly blunders: loss of the US as a strategic partner, loss of American military support, and the war with India. In the end, the Pakistani leadership became so anti-American that in congressional records, it was noted that:

In the recent presidential elections in Pakistan, the main issue between the two presidential candidates [Ayub Khan and Ms. Fatima Jinnah] was who was the most anti-American; Ayub Khan won.¹⁵⁶

The allies were at a crossroads. With the end of cordial relations, both sides made blunders: The US's new-found sensitivity towards India mustered nothing but an extra liability in granting military and economic support, and the Pakistan Army, in its frustration over losing American patronage, invaded India in 1965. The war was initiated by the Pakistan Army to contain India's growing military superiority and to wrest Kashmir by force. The invasion backfired: except for China, in international forums no country was willing to support Pakistan. Breaking off of terms and consequently committing blunders became a permanent trend in the Pakistan Army's relation with the US.

¹⁵⁵ DOS, Policy Planning Council, Washington DC, from Robert H. Johnson to all the holders of Contingency Plans, NND 989589, Lot # 69D52, Box # 12, March 9, 1966, NARA

¹⁵⁶ Congressional Record-Senate, CIA-RDP67B00446R000400030005-0, February 21, 1966, NARA

CONCLUSION

During the course of this study, Pakistan's foreign policy, US policy towards Pakistan, the political role of the military, Pakistan's constitutional and political problems, Indo-Pakistan relations and Cold War issues have been discussed, drawing upon a wide range of sources. The process of decision-making in foreign policy interactions between the United States and Pakistan has been assessed through recourse to archival material, autobiographies, books, journals, newspapers, and parliamentary debates. Alongside the written sources, data collected from interviews has served to eliminate contradictions and confusions about the study of US intentions, policies, plans, and expectations from Pakistan as a country and the role of the Pakistan military in compliance and later on in defiance of such expectations during the 1950s and 60s. In so doing it is hoped that this work will generate wider debate on the issues raised.

This study investigates the role of the Pakistan Army as an institution that dominated the foreign policy of the country in order to achieve its objectives. A number of published works have scrutinised the role of religion, ethnicity (in particular the divide between Punjabis, Pathans, and Bengalis),¹ and the wealth of the military as explanations for the army's role and influence in the political history of Pakistan.² However, this study establishes that it was principally the issue of control over the foreign relations of the country, especially with the US, that provided encouragement to the military's rise in politics. The thesis cites powerful examples of Ayub's conversations with CIA officers to garner American support for military action; and which earned him the title of 'the strongest individual in Pakistan's politics' from the US Department of State,³ much before the 1958 promulgation of martial law. The formation and climax of the institutional alliance between US policy making bodies (State Department, White House and the Pentagon) and the Pakistan Army together with ups and downs of the alliance, has been presented in the foregoing chapters.

¹ Mehtab Ali Shah, *The Foreign Policy of Pakistan: Ethnic Impact on Diplomacy, 1971-94*, (Karachi: OUP, 1997).

² Ayesha Siddiqa-Agha, *The Military Inc.*, (Karachi: OUP, 2007).

³ American Embassy Karachi to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, September 15, 1953, Foreign Services Post of the Department of State, Pakistan, Karachi Embassy, Supplemental Classified General Records, 1950-55, Despatch No. 230, NND 842430, Box 40, NARA.

East and West Pakistan Tension

Muslimhood had great strength during Pakistan's movement – people's unity with shared beliefs and a shared Islamic culture. But with the independence of Pakistan, different communities, like Punjabis, Pathans and Bengalis, had their own interests to promote and protect. The community with strength and power had to prevail over the rest. The *Sur Posh* (The Red Shirts) Pathans led by the '*Frontier Gandhi*' Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan wanted 'Pakhtoonistan'. According to an interviewee, Punjabis were the biggest impediment in their [*Sur-Posh*] way to 'Pakhtoonistan'.⁴ As most of the recruitment of the Pakistan Army came from Punjab, political as well as military leadership was dominated by the Punjabis. With the *Punjabisation* of the Army as well as politics, the rest of the communities, especially Bengalis and Pathans, felt deprived of their due rights. The ascendancy of Punjabis especially alienated the Bengalis. According to the strict principle of democracy, Bengalis were in the majority and, therefore, they wanted a greater stake in the country's governance. The marginalization of Bengalis in central politics resulted in centrifugal forces in East Pakistan. Soon discord between East and West Pakistan became so obvious that it was noticed by foreign diplomats in the country's capital. Morrice James, the British High Commissioner in Pakistan, was quite sceptical about the future unification of Pakistan. He expressed his fears in 1962 in the following words: 'West and East Pakistan were not harmonious and their union would be a difficult task in the future'. 'West Pakistan by itself might be homogeneous enough to exist as a separate country with a distinct and reasonable flavour'.⁵ The far-sighted High Commissioner's words proved to be true and, within a decade of its creation, Pakistan not only lost Islam as a binding force but communalization became a much stronger factor in the country's destabilization, and resulted in its dismemberment in 1971. The concept of Islamic Pakistan after independence became a community-based Pakistan.

Feeble or no efforts were made to work out a concept of Pakistan, with a sufficiently positive and inspiring content, which fitted both wings, East and West, of the country, with democracy and strong political institutions. Neither democracy nor

⁴ Interview with Baz Mohammad Khan (Akora Khattak, 25-01-07).

⁵ DO 196/128, 7023970, SEA 48/6/1, June 6, 1962, PRO.

political institutions were strengthened; instead they wholly failed. British High Commissioner Morrice James, who also remained Deputy High Commissioner in Lahore and Karachi during the 1950s, further observed that Pakistan was still an experimental country with a pragmatic, questing and unsettled approach to life: ‘a country which, like a boy who had not yet made up his mind what he wanted to be, was prepared to try out successively a whole series of roles until one was found to fit’.⁶ These roles were witnessed by history as authoritarian rule by politicians and military rule by the Pakistan Army. Until the 1950s, survival itself was a great achievement for Pakistan. There was civilian rule in the country without democratic norms like general elections, elected parliament, and a constitution. During the 1950s, a shabby constitution survived only for a couple of years.⁷ However, in the meantime, the Pakistan Army pushed itself into direct control of governance by sidelining the weak political class.⁸ In the right conditions, human nature has the capacity to transcend itself. The Pakistan Army’s *modus operandi* was based on human nature.

As mentioned earlier, fear and insecurity was the basis of a constitutional struggle and evolutionary process for the establishment of Pakistan. However, the country did keep its colonial state system even after independence. The feudal, industrial and bourgeois class still depended on a military and civilian bureaucracy. The politicians failed to give a new indigenous system to the country. This led to their subservience to the bureaucracy (civil as well as military). A lack of vision-oriented policies weakened them and provided the country with a strong perception of the military as a viable alternative. This alternative was not possible as long as the military did not enjoy international support in the shape of Pak-US institutional interaction.

The Pak-US Institutional Interaction

The Pakistan Army inherited the centuries old trends of the British Army’s autonomous and authoritarian nature. Post-partition Indo-Pak rivalry also imposed a responsibility to secure Pakistan against a giant neighbour. This all propelled the Army to seek external support to bolster its active political role in the newly-born country. In turn, due to the Cold War, the US was in need of a country in the region to

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ CIA-RDP79-00927A-0007001-60001-9, March 1, 1956, NARA.

⁸ Ayesha Siddiqa-Agha, ‘*The Military Inc.*’, p.19.

contain communism militarily. Hence, relations between the US policy making bodies and the Pakistan Army developed positively. During 1952, as mentioned in chapter 3, a time came when the State Department communicated with the Army GHQ without consulting the Central government or the Foreign Office of the country.⁹

The institutional alliance between the State Department, the Pentagon and the White House and the Pakistan Army was a strategic partnership in which their interests coincided in many ways. On the one hand, in domestic policy the political institutions were failing due to politicians' short-sighted policies and internal wrangling. This concerned the Pakistan Army. On the other hand, the American policy making bodies needed a country with a comparatively strong army in the region near the hub of communism, i.e. China and the Soviet Union. India, a suitable candidate to fill this vacuum, was loathe to do so on the basis of its non-aligned philosophy. However, the Pakistan Army direly needed international support to deal with India's hostility, fulfil the requirement of weapons to deter India, and to fix domestic politics. Pakistan, and especially its Army, had already recognized the importance of the US while the American administration, in the face of India's non-alignment, began to see the importance of the Pakistan Army. By now, American policy makers had understood that the power centre in Pakistan was not the Prime Minister's House or the Governor General's House but the Army GHQ. Therefore, it was not weak political institutions that were responsible for the military take over, instead it was a former colonial and US-supported Army that took over and pulled the country off the path of democracy.

The Pakistan Army did not come into power simply as a result of weak political institutions, internal disunity of politicians, massive corruption or allegations of the sort. This study has shown that the military takeover of the 1950s took place with a pre-planned scheme. On 6th October 1954, a letter from the CIA proved that Ayub Khan was ready for military action. In his meeting with a CIA officer, Emmerson, he was trying to muster American support for such action.¹⁰ Later on, it was also argued that every time the government was changed, the military made known its likes and dislikes in the selection and rejection of the preceding and succeeding ruler respectively. The Pakistan Army was the King Maker until 1958 when it decided to become King by itself. The frequent change of Prime Ministers

⁹ Interview with Sharif Farooq, (Peshawar, 18-02-07)

¹⁰ CIA-RDP 79-T00975A-00170013-0001-8, October 8, 1954

was an intentional effort to weaken the political fabric so that the governance of the country could fall into the lap of the Army. This proves that the military takeover was not the result of circumstances on the spot but a long-term and carefully planned strategy. In the meantime, US support to the military in the interest of containing communism further increased the Pakistan Army's bargaining position in the country's domestic politics. With American money and equipment, the military became the only rich department of the country. It also had a country – the US – as its very close ally. This was all possible when the military influenced the country's foreign policy even when it was not in power. This was sufficient to play its assertive role in the country's politics. A strong integrated massive army, foreign aid, military assistance, friendship with one of the strongest countries of the world, the US, and a dictating position in domestic politics – all via influencing the foreign policy of the country – the Pakistan Army was ready to come to power and fulfil its international commitments: the US containment of communism and its own agenda for the containment of India.

Despite favourable international relations in South Asia, no civilian group in Pakistan was interested in military alliances with the US. To the East Pakistanis, US military support was aimed at defending West Pakistan from the Communist threat on its Western borders. They never expected that American financial aid would be spent in the East Wing where there was no lurking Communist threat. They only feared that the Pakistan Army might use force to curb the Easterners' spirit of democracy in the name of suppressing Communism.¹¹ The NWFP was not interested in the alliance with the US either. Rather, due to the *Sur-Posh* pro-Congress party tilt, they were keen to have cordial relations with India. Sindh was a very low profile province. Only Karachi was active due to the recent arrival of Urdu-speaking migrants, the *Muhajirs*. The *Muhajirs* were anti-India. They were more interested in US support against India. Baluchistan was a tribal society. Most of the time, they had no opinion about the alliances.

Due to hostile popular opposition to the Pak-US institutional interaction, the Pakistan Army adopted a tougher and more demanding stance on the question of India than ever before. They wanted the British and Americans to tell India that they would withdraw their support against China unless she agreed to a just settlement in Jammu

¹¹ Interview with Kamal Matinuddin, (Islamabad, 24-03-2007)

and Kashmir. They had been hoping too that the US and Britain would help Pakistan to secure, through CENTO, a collectively organized and underwritten defence of her territory against the possibility of an Indian attack.¹² The British-American alliance had never given the Pakistan Army any ground for supposing they would do either of these things and ‘only political immaturity and wishful thinking could have led them to expect that’. The failure of such great expectations was damaging to Pakistan’s relations with both transatlantic powers. There were very basic divergences in the alliances. The Army expected what the US could not deliver and vice versa. In one of the telegrams, the British High Commission mentioned Pakistan’s problems, such as regional security, as ‘her painful self-created dilemma’. This expressed the height of their frustration with the Pakistan Army’s excessive expectations. Similarly, Pakistan’s relations with the West depended on its relations with India. If relations soured with India, Pakistan expressed its frustration with the West with criticism of them and so on. So ‘they had to bring Pakistan and India together if they could. If that could be done, if acute fear and suspicion now felt by Pakistan against India could be allayed; and if Pakistan could be given some hope that the path to a just settlement over Kashmir was not barred once and for all by Indian intransigence, then many of the westerners’ difficulties in this country would have disappeared’.¹³ The big three ‘ifs’, with which the West was scarcely concerned.

The Army garnered full benefits from US Communist-phobia. Ayub’s own view as Army chief was clear: ‘I was certain of one thing’, he was later to recall ‘Pakistan’s survival was vitally linked with the establishment of a well-trained, well-equipped and well-led army’.¹⁴ But to justify its continued all-embracing rule for a prolonged and indefinite period, the army had to find a new, more dramatic, rationale for it. Regretting that it had not taken advantage of the ‘strategic opportunity’ provided by the 1962 Sino-Indian conflict, it challenged India in the Runn of Kuch in 1964¹⁵ and provoked a full-scale war over Kashmir in 1965.¹⁶ From a less than friendly neighbour, India was converted into a hostile enemy. India’s hostility towards

¹² DO35/8925, British High Commissioner J.M.C. James to CRO London, 26 July 1965, PRO

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ayub Khan, *Friends Not Masters, A Political Autobiography*, (London: OUP, 1967) p.21.

¹⁵ CIA-RDP79T00975A008200500001-5, Current Intelligence relating to National Security, 27 April, 1965.

¹⁶ CIA-RDP78-03061A000300050002-3, Kashmir-Background on the Indian-Pakistan Crisis, 11 October, 1965.

Pakistan was now shown as providing a complete justification for the otherwise illegitimate military rule.

The Politics of Pacts and the American Foreign Policy Failure

The aforementioned alliances, CENTO and SEATO, brought for Pakistan no preferential privilege and no advantage in her bargaining position in regard to India. Such pro-Western commitments also isolated Pakistan among Afro-Asian nations. While the gains such pacts brought to Pakistan were limited if not negligible, the political liabilities were enormous. Soviet hostility to Pakistan and her support for India on the Kashmir question was mainly (or entirely) due to Pakistan's membership of the pacts.¹⁷

During the first half of the 1960s, American policy towards South Asia was a complete failure. US military aid to India annoyed Pakistan. A confident ally (Pakistan) was forced to join Washington's enemy, China. Still India did not agree with the US global and strategic plans and repeatedly lashed the dead horse of non-alignment. President Kennedy followed a multi-pronged strategy in South Asia for regional stability, deterring China, containing the Soviet Union, and encouraging Indo-Pakistan détente. All his plans backfired. Kennedy's foreign policy objectives could not be achieved, not because of lethargy or lack of coherent work but because the entire edifice of the plan was based on a number of speculations.

Firstly, without following an even-handed policy, President Kennedy assumed that the US could have friendly relations with India and Pakistan simultaneously. In the pre-Kennedy era, American support mustered an ally in the region – Pakistan – to contain communism. However, with the new policy of military aid to India, they were left with none. Indian foreign policy was still dominated by the non-aligned commitments and Pakistan moved much closer to China. In an effort to keep the two arch rivals happy, Kennedy lost both.

Secondly, without American participation in the talks, Kennedy thought bilateral negotiations for the solution of the Kashmir issue would bear fruit. The Kashmir issue by then had become an egoistic issue for India and Pakistan and, hence, needed a carrot-and-stick policy. Had it been resolved in that period of time, American plans in the region would have materialised. However, the extension of

¹⁷ DO 196/128, 7023970, Ext. 6/24/1, 30 June 1962, PRO.

Kashmir as an issue resulted in the Indo-Pak war of 1965. The war erased the entire edifice of American strategy in the region. Both nations used weapons supplied to them by the US in the name of containment of China and the Soviet Union against each other.

Thirdly, Kennedy and his advisors believed that war between India and China would bring India into the western fold and she would discard her policy of non-alignment. As Pakistan was already engaged in the effort to contain communism, India would join hands with Pakistan for a robust policy against communist neighbours. This entire supposition backfired. It was natural for India to become anti-China after the war of 1962. However, this did not necessarily mean that she was anti-Communist. Americans continuously underestimated Pakistan's hostility to India. In the intoxication of their grand plan to contain communism, they failed to judge the intensity of Indo-Pak antagonism. If India was against China, Pakistan was friendly to Peking. And if Pakistan was against the Soviet Union; India was gracious to Moscow. One was pro-Russian and the other was pro-Chinese. Despite all out efforts and support to both of them, no one was pro-American in the region.

Fourthly, according to American policy makers, US aid to Pakistan, which by 1963-64 had been significantly reduced, would deter Pakistan from moving closer to China. They could not grasp that Pakistan's new found fondness for China was in fact inspired simply by hatred for India. Nothing could stop the rapprochement with China except the resolution of Kashmir, and the Americans had failed to compel India to move toward substantive and fruitful talks with Pakistan on the issue.

Fifthly, Kennedy's advisors thought that the Kashmir issue would be resolved without attaching it to the question of US aid to India against China. However, India was in such an awkward position that she could have been pressed for a few concessions on Kashmir for the solution of the issue once and for all. Ayub had come round to a willingness to accept anything more than the status quo. Even Nehru was also ready to grant concessions to Pakistan as he could not afford two hostile countries on both sides of India.¹⁸ However, he died before any such settlement could have taken place. A slight push on India on the disputed land earlier would have changed history.

¹⁸ Major (Rtd) Sibghatullah Khan (Peshawar, 27 January 2007).

The last belief that again proved wrong was that the US weapons supplied to India and Pakistan would not be used by them against each other. Just after the 1965 war, ‘Prime Minister Shastri celebrated his birthday. On his birthday cake there was a replica of the *Patton* tank, as an indication that they had conquered the great American military machine in the battlefield of Pakistan and that they had taken them over with *Shermans* and *Centurians*’.¹⁹ These flawed policies on the part of the Kennedy administration revealed that they were guided by Cold War issues ignoring regional implications and considerations relating to India and Pakistan.

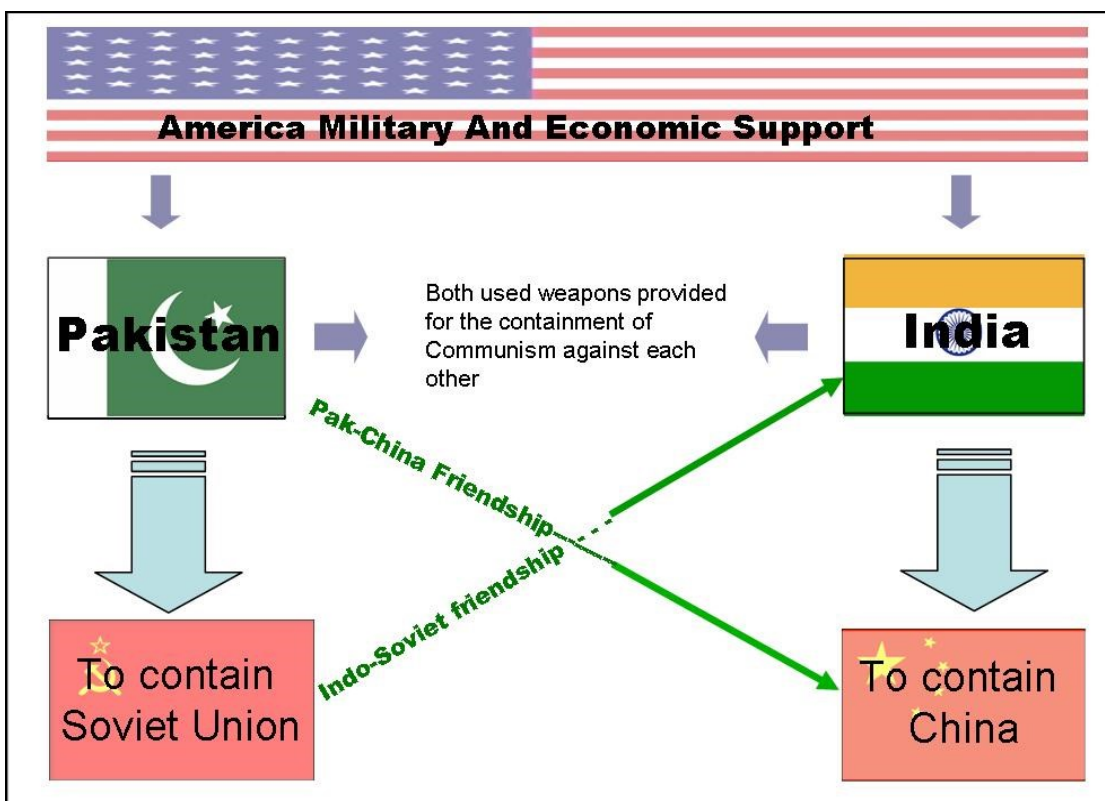


Figure 16. Failure of the US foreign policy in South Asia.

There were minor achievements that were magnified by the US administration of the 1960s in South Asia. However, they were also not without flaws. Pakistan’s relations with China were taken too seriously whereas they had not and would not have harmed US interests in any way. It was the same Pakistan which became the

¹⁹ Congressional Record-Senate, Speech of Senator Mr Hartke, 3420, CIA-RDP67B00446R000400030005-0, 21 February, 1966

middleman – an offer repeatedly made to the Americans by Ayub Khan – to help in cultivating relations between China and the US. A hasty decision was taken by America to support India against China at the end of the Indo-China border clash of 1962. A border skirmish was magnified as a war between them. The defence of India was equated with the defence of the interests of the free world whereas India had never been with the ‘free world’. Kennedy over-estimated India by attaching too much importance to her security and under-estimated the country’s poverty, population explosion, and military weakness. An over-ambitious Kennedy followed unrealistic policies in South Asia which quickly came back to haunt his soul in the form of the Indo-Pak war of 1965.

An important conclusion that can be drawn from the discussion part of these events is that history still plays a significant role in Pakistan. It constitutes the base for the building of an identity which is dissimilar to any other in the world. The division of the world into pro- and anti-US states can be understood only when the metaphysical power of history is considered. Certainly history has had a metaphysical influence on Pakistani identity. And failing to learn the lessons from its history, Pakistan still trusts its un-reliable friend – the United States of America.

The Pakistan Army as a National Political Actor

The Pakistan Army, which was previously a part of the British Indian Army, had inherited a tendency of autonomy from colonial times. The independence of Pakistan was not the result of a revolution and was just carved out of the subcontinent, without any part of the British Indian military or the present day Pakistan Army playing a role in its creation. The role of the military with reference to the political development of Pakistan can be traced back to the era of the British Raj. Pre-1947 the British Army had an autonomous and authoritative streak as it was a colonial army. It was not possible to switch off such tendencies overnight.

Following the partition of the Subcontinent, parts of the former British Army and its autonomous governing trends were bequeathed to Pakistan. Between 1857 and 1929, 62% of the *Raj* Army had been recruited from the Punjab²⁰ – hence the *Punjabisation* of the Army. After partition, Pakistan inherited the chief military

²⁰ *Reports from Commissioners, Inspectors, and Others: Ten Volumes. 4. East India Continued. Session 25 June 1929-August 1930, p.96.*

recruitment area of the British Indian Army: a large military recruitment zone confined within a small state. Hence, it was natural that it had to show its muscle and mettle in the governance of the newly created country. The former British and today's post-independence Pakistani Army wanted, even if by force, accommodation in the political system of the country. This, however, was not possible without outside help. Previously, during the colonial era, the British *Raj* provided such support to the British Indian Army. However, after the creation of Pakistan, the US Cold War provided an opportunity for the Pakistani Army to rule the country. Patronage and international connections worked in favour of the military's assertive role in the governance and politics of the region.

The overall relationship of the US policy making bodies and the Pakistan military clique proves that their alliance served to undermine democratic forces in Pakistan in the quest to serve their ultimate motives: containment of Communism and India respectively. The army recruitment area was so close to the border with India that the Pakistan Army developed an institutional animosity against India. This relationship that is attributed to the Pakistan Army, in the first instance, makes it a unique national institution in the polity of Pakistan and provides an explanation for today's persistence of this institution.

The Pakistan military was a political force. Few civilian politicians dared to fail to take into consideration the attitudes and interests of the military. The political power of the military derived from its being more highly organised and unified than any civilian claimant to power, from its monopoly of coercive power, and from its reserve of moral prestige. The military symbolized the nation at its best, guaranteed it against re-absorption into India, and remained the only reliable bulwark against anarchy, the dread of the property-owning classes.

During the 1950s, the military's political power was used to abrogate the 1956 constitution, to establish a martial law regime in 1958, and to install the Army's Commander-In-Chief as President of the country. The martial law period lasted for 44 months and served to place the military's political power into perspective. It demonstrated that the armed forces possessed the inclination and the manpower resources needed to defend the country (with US military support) against external enemies and, simultaneously, to rule it without civilian participation. However, direct involvement in civilian government threatened to weaken the military's organization. Hence, the Foreign Office and General Headquarters of the Pakistan Army (GHQ)

shifted to the Presidency to homogenise civil and military affairs. The Army as a unit also worked through civilians to discharge the functions of government and shared with civilians the responsibilities of governance while preferred to abrogate the final say in the decision-making process to itself.²¹

The martial law regime was regarded by its creators as an interlude, one directed at establishing a basis for future political stability and not as a nursery for future revolutions. The general tenor of the 1962 constitution reflected the military's determination to create a strong, stable system of government, one that would obviate the need for military intervention. The 1956 constitution sought to subordinate the machinery of government to the dictates of a parliament controlled by indisciplined politicians; the 1962 constitution sought to immunize the principal organs of the state against political control and to ensure their functioning '*even if the politics of the country went wrong*'.²² It had been the inability of the military to ensure the executive against all political challenges that marked the continuing decline of the military's political power.

Despite the relative decline of its political supremacy, the military continued to constitute the most potent reserve of political power within the state. Its views on national defence and internal security were decisive. In other areas, Ayub Khan's military background afforded the military an informal channel for influence. Inhibiting the fullest exploitation of this potential for broader political power was the military's preferred means of remaining ostensibly aloof from politics. Moreover, there was congruence between the policies of the Ayub regime and the aspirations of the military, leaving the military without any special motive for exchanging its traditional aloofness from politics for an activist role. The identity of interests included foreign policy questions in general and current trends in Pak-US and Pak-India relations in particular. Hence, the Pakistan military possessed considerable political assets, but it suffered from political limitations as well. It had a major voice in deciding national policy but not the power to insist upon a slavish adherence to its views. Only in the event of civilian politicians being perceived to threaten the stability

²¹ Interviews with Subedar Major (Rtd) Mohammad Akram Khan, Hawaldar (Rtd) Ghafoor Yousafzai, and Jamshed Swati. All the three interviewees offered similar opinions about the civilian role in Ayub's regime.

²² American Embassy in Karachi to DOS, Ayub Khan quoted in August 1962, NND959000, Box # 2546, RG59, March 3, 1965, NARA

of the state could the armed forces could step in to redress the situation as they substituted themselves for and also worked alongside the civilian authorities.

Epilogue

Many of the patterns and tendencies in US-Pakistan relations, as they were established over the course of the time period under review, had a long-term impact. To conclude this thesis I wish to briefly show how they have played themselves out in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s, and then turn in a little more detail to the present situation in ‘Af-Pak’, as senior US policy makers have begun to refer to the region under review. Much of my commentary on current affairs has been informed by interviews with serving and retired army officers, which were ‘off the record’ and anonymous. They are important and worthy of inclusion in this thesis because they represent above all, how significant sections within the military perceive recent changes in Pakistan – US relations. Solid corroboration with documentary evidence will have to await future generations of historians.

In the past, Pakistan-US relations have been good whenever Pakistan was of a special strategic value to the US. Whenever this importance decreased, relations could turn frosty very quickly. When the US and the Soviet Union reached a détente between 1965 and 1978, for instance, Pakistan struggled to maintain its place in the United States’s order of priorities. In response, Pakistan developed very cordial relations with China to widen its choice of foreign policy options. The year 1979, in contrast, proved a turning point for the better as far as US attitudes towards the Pakistan military were concerned. General Zia imposed Martial Law in 1977. In 1979, the democratically elected but often perceived to be anti-Western Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was hanged. Soviet forces marched into Afghanistan, and an Islamic Revolution took place in Iran. All three events elevated the importance of Pakistan. The US under Ronald Reagan, who had great confidence in his personal relationship with General Zia, entered a new phase of renewed Cold War with the Soviet Union. General Zia thus became the latest ‘strongman in Pakistan’ for US policy making institutions. It was a time of renewed Pak-US institutional interaction. Keeping in view previous difficulties with the US, General Zia wanted to make sure both sides understood exactly what the interaction involved. His main objective was

to equip the Pakistan Army with the latest weaponry so that it might have an edge over India and the Soviet Forces in Afghanistan that would last for a generation. Pakistan acquired \$3.2 billion in 1981, \$600 million a year in military and economic assistance thereafter, forty F-16s, Cobra Helicopters, Anti-Aircraft Cannons, and enormous CIA support to the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI). The institutional interaction of 1980s was much stronger, durable and beneficial for the Pakistani military than that of the 1950s and 60s. The CIA and the Pakistan Army were true partners in their Cold War-2 against the Soviet Union. American policy-making bodies also honoured Pakistan's regional sensitivities in its relations with India. Washington never took any step which might annoy its Islamabad partners. General Zia had learnt from his predecessor General Ayub Khan that it was better to have an informal but strong partnership rather than a formal and unequal alliance.²³ The new partnership did not entail the kind of master-slave relationship so vividly described by General Ayub Khan in his memoirs, revealingly titled '*Friends Not Masters*'.

With the demise of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s, Pakistan lost its importance again. After their withdrawal from Afghanistan and General Zia ul Haq's violent death in a plane crash, a new regime of sanctions was imposed on Pakistan; at some point covering eight different political, economic and military areas. This crippled Pakistan's economy and seriously undermined already weak political institutions. Ironically, the 1990s was an era of tentative democracy in Pakistan and weak economic performance fractured the democratic process. As a consequence, Pakistan experienced numerous governments with short periods of tenure. The making and breaking of elected assemblies continued until once again the Pakistan Army under General Pervaiz Musharraf took over in 1999. Pakistan, however, remained low on the list of US priorities until the incidents of 9/11. At this point, Pakistan gained importance once more and the Americans placed the cap of the 'strongest man in Pakistan' on General Musharraf's head. But now the nature of US involvement had begun to change. During the Cold War, the US contained the Soviet Union by creating a ring of security alliances across the world. After the US had become the sole global superpower, its strategic interests required the containment of

²³ For further study on General Zia-ul-Haq's rule and relations with the US, see Craig Baxter, *Zia's Pakistan: Politics and Stability in a Frontline State*, (Boulder Colo: Westview Press, 1985); K.M. Arif, *Working with Zia: Pakistan's Power Politics, 1977-88*, (Karachi: OUP, 1995); and George P. Shultz, *Turmoil and Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State*, (New York: Maxwell Macmillan International, 1993).

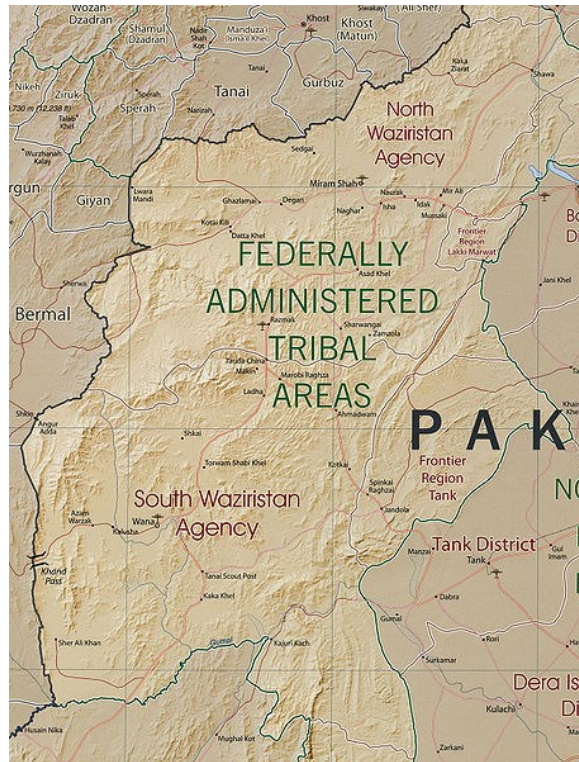
rising 'hawk states' as well as radical Islamist movements by supporting liberal democratic regimes in South, South West and Central Asia. The difference between the two periods is that the internal governance of states now acquired critical importance for American policy makers. The Pakistan Army, in contrast, has continued to act as a regional player with an overriding focus on containing India. In consequence, the US and the Pakistan Army do not see eye to eye on several strategic issues.

Lack of understanding between the respective global and regional agendas has shaped the current strenuous nature of bilateral relations. In the two decades that followed the end of the Cold War, both have gradually drifted apart in terms of the ways and means of achieving their strategic objectives. Had the Pakistan Army and the US policy making bodies not been such staunch allies throughout the Cold War, there could very easily have been an open break over the past couple of years. Both have found themselves in the middle of an undeclared rivalry. Even though the grand strategic objectives of the Pakistan Army and the US seems to converge in countering terrorism in South Asia and Afghanistan, there exist deep disagreements concerning the means and the methods of achieving their goals. It would not be wrong to say that the US foreign policy objectives were only warmly received at Pakistan GHQ when the US was a distant ally located more than 7,000 miles away. Now that the US has become a *de facto* neighbour of Pakistan since its invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, it is seen in the Pakistani public domain as the 'number one enemy' and the greatest threat to national, territorial, and sovereign security, stability as well as political integrity. The majority of the Pakistan Army officers appear to agree with this wider public perception.

The Pakistan Army's discontent with the American regional vision in South Asia has increased due to the growing strategic relationship between the US and India. Back in the 1950s and 60s, the US administration under Truman and Eisenhower provided General Ayub Khan with sufficient weaponry to counter Communism. However, President Kennedy switched over to arm India against China in 1962. This resulted in an arms race between the two South Asian rivals which continues until today. According to the current Indo-US nuclear deal, India would receive, for the first time, civilian nuclear technology from the US.²⁴ This American

²⁴ *Dawn*, 8 May 2006.

move is partly a hedge against a rising China. However, US President George Bush and his chief negotiator, Nicholas Burns failed to extract a promise from the Indians that, in return, they would stop producing weapons-grade nuclear fuel and stop expanding their arsenal. Of course, more nuclear fuel means the development of more nuclear weapons. Pakistan, has vowed that if the Indians build more weapons, they would do likewise.²⁵



Map of Tribal Areas- Waziristan

Although the Pakistan Army, in the current circumstances of countering insurgencies in Swat and Waziristan, cannot object to the reinforcement of the US-Indian relations, it is beginning to feel concerned about a potential strategic partnership or a coalition between them. For the Army, such a partnership would be damaging to Pakistan’s security interests in the region. It is feared that America’s ‘pat on the back’ will embolden the already extremely hostile Indian approach to its relations with Pakistan. The redesigning of regional politics in such a way does not fit with Pakistan Army’s traditional instinct to rely on US support. As this thesis has

²⁵ *The News*, 28 December 2008.

demonstrated there are, once again, historical precedents at play. The present pro-Indian attitude is a repetition of the 1960s. Although the US had security alliances with the Pakistan Army, its active support for India in 1962 and passive support in 1965 was sufficient to keep the Pakistan Army elite worried. It was at that point that a military governed-Pakistan developed a strong alternative alliance with China, which was then still a staunch enemy of the US. A similar policy of double alliance is at play at present, as the Pakistan Army continues to develop its longstanding strategic links with the Afghan Taliban.

For the Pakistani military, the real problem about the war in Afghanistan and the ongoing insurgency on the Frontier is not the Afghan Taliban or Al-Qaeda or the Pakistani Taliban (*Tahreek-e-Taliban-e- Pakistan*, TTP) militants fighting against them. For them the real problem is India which they view as manipulating the crisis in Pakistan while expanding its own influence in Afghanistan. The close alliance between the US and India has deeply shaken Pakistani confidence in their own alliance with the United States. US policy makers could never convince the Pakistanis that Afghanistan would not become an Indian client state after their departure. Indian consulates along the Pak-Afghan border are seen as dens of Indian spies. Their purpose is rumoured to be the running of covert operations to destabilise Pakistan.²⁶ A serving Army officer, on condition of anonymity, confirmed that the Pakistan Army has arrested numerous Indian- Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) agents who were financing and supplying weapons to the Pakistani Taliban in their insurgency in Swat and Waziristan. According to him, when America pulls out, India will have full control over Afghanistan. In this way, Pakistan would face a two front threat. Hence, Pakistan will have to sustain contact with the opposition to the Afghan government - code for the Afghan Taliban.

Washington believes that today's terrorists, the Taliban and Al-Qaeda, are only driven by religious ideologies and that their goal is to annihilate their opponents. Both terrorist organizations are not regarded as rational decision-makers. It would not be possible to deter or dissuade someone who is ready to die for the sake of a sacred cause. Moreover, they are benefiting from the use of advanced information technologies. Hence it is difficult to engage them in a dialogue or political manoeuvres. For an American policy maker, the Taliban and Al-Qaeda are one and

²⁶ *The News*, 21 September 2009.

the same thing, who pose a grave threat to the US security. Maximum power has made the US uncompromising. While Pakistan defines Al-Qaeda as a terrorist organization and is prepared to help the US win its war against it, the GHQ at the same time, shies away from defining terrorism in reference to the Afghan Taliban. They consider the Afghan Taliban as a completely different entity from Al-Qaeda, though the favourite of the White House after Musharraf's departure, the current Chief of Army Staff General Ashfaq Kayani referred to one of the wanted Taliban leaders in the US list-Maulvi Jalaluddin Haqqani as a 'strategic asset'. The Afghan Taliban are seen as the same old allies - the *Mujahideen* - who served US interests by waging a proxy war on its behalf against the Soviet Union. Back then they were cast in the categories of "freedom fighters" and "holy warriors" by the Western media and politicians; for instance by Ronald Reagan who called them "the moral equivalent of our own Founding Fathers".²⁷

In contrast to the US, the Pakistan Army views terrorism as more of a conventional security problem rather than a civilisational or religious conflict. Miscreants like *Tehreek-e-Taliban-e-Pakistan* (TTP) or the Pakistani Taliban are believed to be supported by the secret agencies of India (RAW), Afghanistan (KHAD) and the US (CIA). In the eyes of many in GHQ, terrorists are strongly dependent on the support of foreign secret services. The bombings in Peshawar, Islamabad and Rawalpindi are considered classic examples of RAW and KHAD activities, similar to those that used to take place during the Afghan crisis of the 1980s. Based on its old experience in dealing with such subversive activities as well as its long struggle against the TTP (especially in Swat and Waziristan), the Pakistan Army's threshold for tolerating terrorism is much higher than that of the US.

Many army officers with whom I spoke criticise America for defining terrorism in religious terms. They say that by making a reference to Islam in particular, the Americans are not only undermining Pakistan's unity and its ideological basis, but are encouraging the terrorists to take an even stauncher stance in name of religion. The more terrorism is associated with Islam, the more Islam becomes politicised. And the more Islam is politicized, the more Pakistan comes under threat. This is ironic as both the government of Pakistan under President Zardari and the US administration, previously under President Bush and currently under

²⁷ Kurt Lohbeck, *Holy War, Unholy Victory: Eyewitness to the CIA's Secret War in Afghanistan*, (Washington. DC: Regnery Gateway, 1993) p.161

President Obama, are deeply concerned about the rise of political Islam in Pakistan. Both agree that politicisation of Islam must be tackled. But the strong presence of Islamist-minded army officers in the Pakistan army, a legacy of General Zia ul-Haq's Islamisation policies, makes it difficult to find much common ground over this. Although General Musharraf has eliminated many suspected religious extremists from the Army, the officer corps as a whole continues to include many officers recruited during General Zia's era. Even though General Musharraf himself did not always agree to cooperate with Americans fully,²⁸ there were certain segments in the Army who had reservations against his actions and policies. The lack of trust resulted in the ousting of generals like General Mahmood in 2002, the then head of ISI.

According to my officer informants, the US have always assured the Pakistan Army that American ground operations on their territory would happen only following advance consultation with the Pakistan military, and that when possible, American and Pakistani troops would operate together. However, the US appears to have conducted ground and air raids inside Pakistan's tribal belt without consulting their military counterparts. Consultation has now shrunk to the intimation of a strike, according to my sources, often only a few seconds before it happens. Such non-consultation is once again the repetition of the institutional interaction of 1960s. President Kennedy provided military assistance to India but without previously consulting the Pakistan Army as promised. American drone attacks in the tribal areas of Pakistan, in which to-date 14 Al-Qaeda terrorists have been killed along with 1,000 innocent Pakistani civilians, is a sheer violation of the territorial sovereignty of Pakistan. GHQ has long refused to give the green light to American operations in the tribal belt lest such attacks might convert people to Al-Qaeda. Thus despite a 62 year acquaintance, the military to military relationship is increasingly strained. The CIA senses that the ISI is acting in complete coordination with the Taliban in Afghanistan.²⁹ The ISI in turn believes that the CIA is not only supporting the

²⁸ Between 2001 and 2008, General Musharraf had been the master of promises, most unkept. He promised to find Daniel Pearl, the head of South Asia bureau of the Wall Street journal. Daniel was found dead in Karachi in 2002. Musharraf also divorced the Taliban just after the 9/11 and helped the US to invade Afghanistan. But his own military officers still supported Taliban, with or without his consent, till to-date. He was the master of the double game.

²⁹ Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos: The World's Most Unstable Region and the Threat to Global Security*, (London: Penguin Books, 2008), pp.221-239.

Pakistani Taliban militants but is also carrying out subversive activities inside Pakistan's territory.³⁰

The Pakistan Army has already launched military operations against the Pakistani Taliban, first in Swat in an operation named *Rah-e-Rast* (right path) and now in Waziristan in an operation *Rah-e-Nijat* (path to salvation). Pakistan exploited nearly all available non-military options before undertaking such operations. While Washington supports the GHQ in its plans in the areas mentioned above, GHQ argues that the resilience of the TTP terrorism is much related to the political and military support given to them by outside powers. There have also been military allegations that just in the beginning of operation *Rah-e-Nijat* in Waziristan American helicopters were witnessed to have started an air-lift of terrorists fighting for the Pakistani Taliban. In both cases, one feels there may be an officially sanctioned 'dual policy' practised by the US and the Pakistan Army.

The Pakistan Army's support for Afghan Taliban is no secret³¹ and widely supported amongst the Pakistani public. This has raised the power of attraction that GHQ holds in the eyes of activists in the NWFP, Baluchistan as well as Islamist elements everywhere in Pakistan. If GHQ in the near future moves once again closer to the US, it would most likely lose the moral ground it has gained over the past couple of years since Musharraf's departure. The US image in the region is already in tatters. While Americans regard Pakistan and Afghanistan as separate countries, to the Afghan Taliban and Pakhtoons of NWFP, Baluchistan and especially the tribal Pakhtoons, it is all one friendly, familiar piece of territory. For them the border, Durand line, is just a Western invention. It is indeed interesting to note that the people living in these places consider the Afghan Taliban justified in taking up arms against the US/NATO forces, but at the same time think of the Pakistani Taliban as terrorists.³²

In some respects, the move of the US to station troops as well as Blackwater and DynCorp (US non-governmental military, and mercenary companies) in Pakistan may be compared to the US troops and bases, especially the '*Badaber* base' established in Pakistan during the 1960s. But American troops and bases in Pakistan

³⁰ *Business Recorder*, 'Your men helping terrorists, ISI head Shuja tells CIA chief', 25 November 2009.

³¹ Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos*.

³² *Daily Wahdat*, Pashto daily newspaper from Peshawar, 24 March 2009.

were then considered as powerful symbols of the strategic relations between the two countries. In fact, the Pakistan Army encouraged the establishments of such bases as it appeared to strengthen Pakistan's position in respect to a powerful neighbour, India. Today the situation is very different. The presence of US troops and Blackwater on Pakistani soil is considered by the Pakistan Army as posing a serious challenge to Pakistan's security. Americans consider such a 'presence' as a part of its global 'War on Terror'. However, senior officers in the Pakistan Army with whom I had communications believe that the presence of the American military as well as DynCorp and Blackwater (just recently renamed as Xe- Xenon) will be for extended periods. They fear that such a 'presence' will be a direct threat to the security of Pakistan's nuclear weapons. My informants in the Pakistan Army also hold Blackwater responsible for the car bomb blasts in Pakistan. And they believe that the US agencies are intentionally destabilising Pakistan so that, under the pretext of a terrorist threat, the nuclear weapons of Pakistan may be taken away.

In terms of domestic politics, GHQ has grown discontented with the possibility that the Pakistani civilian Presidency has gradually turned out to be a strategic tool in the hands of US interests. Permission to base Blackwater and the US marines in urban areas, including Islamabad, are key issues that have eroded the Pakistan Army's confidence in President Asif Ali Zardari. As a result of a lack of trust in President Zardari, the control of the Nuclear Command Authority was recently shifted from him to the Prime Minister.³³

The situation during 1947-65 was the most conspicuous symptom of the unhealthy state of the Pakistan polity. It was that period which proved beyond doubt that Pakistan foreign policy was inefficiently conducted. Moreover, the dismal conduct of the government suggests that there was a lack of a comprehensive strategy. Unfortunately, the same state of affairs continues to date. Pakistan foreign policy was and is the hostage of Indian animosity, previously the containment of Communism and today's 'War on Terror', and the Army's interests in domestic politics. This trend in Pakistani foreign policy continues to be based on the powerful concepts of the realist school of thought: prudence, survival of the fittest, the will and the character of the subject. But the search for a Wilsonian voice of the people still continues in Pakistan today. Present day Pakistan has not matured sufficiently and the survival of

³³ *The News*, 27 November 2009.

the state and its development are still on many occasions dependent on outside pressure, help and assistance.

The findings of this study, although related to a particular period, help to explain a number of characteristics which shape contemporary Pakistan foreign policy. If allowances are made for the particularities of the other South and Central Asian and Middle Eastern States, this model of explanation can be used for studying their foreign policies as well. The national army, a few good men, history, the interests of the US in the region, and her military and economic support, have been shown, by this study, to play a decisive role in shaping the foreign policies not only of Pakistan, but arguably of a number of Central South Asian and Middle Eastern states, with commonly unfortunate consequences for all concerned.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

INTERVIEWS

The interviews were conducted in Pushto, Urdu, Saraiki, and English.

Afzal Khan Shinwari, a tribal leader who participated in the first Kashmir War of 1948, (Landi Kotal, 10/11-06-2007).

Ambassador (Rtd) Hamidullah Khan, former officer in Pakistan's Foreign Office, (Islamabad, 16/19-03-2007).

Baz Muhammad Khan, a senior Pakhtoon nationalist leader of *Khudai Khidmatgar* and a close associate of Bacha Khan, (Akora Khattak, 25-01-2007).

Brigadier (Rtd.) Inam-ul-Haq Afridi, former Director General Anti-Narcotics Force, (Peshawar, 20-06-07)

Colonel (Rtd) Syed Saleem Zafar, Director, State Bank of Pakistan, Karachi, (Peshawar, 22-02-07).

Colonel (Rtd) Rafiq Ahsan Abbasi, leading a retired life in Peshawar (Peshawar, 26-06-07).

Flight Lieutenant (Rtd) Muhammad Sharif, director of his own business, (Peshawar, 16-03-07).

Gulzar Ahmed Khan, Senator, a close friend of Z.A. Bhutto and a veteran leader of the Pakistan Peoples Party from D.I. Khan (Lahore: 13-06-07).

Hawaladar (Rtd) Ghafoor Yousafzai, leading a retired life in Peshawar, (Peshawar, 15-06-07).

Iftikhar Bhatti, a clerk and librarian in the Foreign Office of Pakistan during the 1960s, (Islamabad, 25-03-07).

Interview with One of the Family Members of Ghaffar Khan (henceforth OFMGK). The name of the interviewee is kept concealed due to political reasons. (Charsadda, 17-02-07).

Jamshed Swati, A senior Muslim Leaguer (Abbottabad, 26/29-03-07).

Khaista Khan, a veteran nationalist local leader (Peshawar, 10-02-2007).

Lieutenant General (Rtd.) Kamal Matinuddin, former Corps Commander Peshawar, former Ambassador to Thailand, and a close friend of General Zia ul Haq. (Islamabad, 23/24-03-07)

Lt. Col. (Rtd) Arsalah Khan, leading a retired but Landowder (Khan) life in Mardan (NWFP) (Mardan, 16-06-07).

Major (Rtd) Jamil Farrukh, a resident of Peshawar, (Peshawar, 15-03- 2007).

Major (Rtd) Sibghatullah Khan, (Nowshera: 26/27-01-07).

Malik Nadir Khan of Derra Adam Khail. Mr. Khan, former MNA, remained chief of his tribe during 1950-90. (Kohat, 16-03-07)

Mr. Zahoor Butt, a very close associate of former Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Sohrawardy (17-02-2008).

Musa Khan Shinwari, an Afghan asylum seeker in London, (12-12-2008).

Pir Sufaid Shah, the Chief editor and owner of a Pushto daily newspaper, *Wahdat* (Peshawar, 14-02-07).

Sharif Farooq, a senior journalist and the owner of Daily *Jehad* Peshawar. He also worked with *the Pakistan Times*, during the initial days of his career. (Peshawar, 12/18-02-07).

Subedar-Major (Rtd) Muhammad Akram Khan, A senior citizen leading a private and secluded life in Peshawar, (Peshawar, 22-06-07).

Wali Ghazzanavi, a resident of Edinburgh from Bannu (NWFP) in 1960, (Edinburgh, 12-10-08).

ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

United States National Archives and Record Administration (NARA)

Record of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, RG 84, NND 948832, US Consulate Lahore, Pakistan, 1953-1961.

General Record of the Department of State, Central Foreign Policy Files, Political and Defence, RG 59, NND 969000, Pak-US Consular and Diplomatic Representation, 1960-1964.

Record of the Office of South Asian Affairs, RG 59, NND 867242, Subject Files Relating to Pakistan/India Affairs, 1943-1953, Military and Political Affairs.

General Record of the Department of State, Bureau of Near East and South Asian Affairs, RG 59, NND 989589, Records Relating to Indian Political Affairs, 1964-1966.

Central Foreign Policy Files, RG 59, NND 969000, Pakistan Political and Defence, Political Parties, 1964-66.

Foreign Service Post of the Department of State, RG 84, NND 842430, Pakistan, Karachi Embassy, 1950-1955.

Record of the Office of South Asian Affairs, RG 59, NND 867242, Country File, 1939-1952.

General Record of the Department of State, RG 59, NND 937328, Subject Files Relating to Pakistan, 1953-1957.

General Record of the Department of State, RG 59, NND 897209, Records Relating to South Asia- Pakistan and Afghanistan, 1947-1959.

General Record of the Department of State, RG 59, NND 897209, General Subject Files Relating to South Asian Affairs, 1957-1959.

Records of the Director, SOA, NND 903085, Regional Conference and Country File, 1951-1954.

Foreign Services Post of the Department of State, Pakistan, Karachi Embassy, NND 842430, Supplemental Classified General Records, 1950-55.

CIA Documents

CIA Records: Files and daily reports relating to relations with Pakistan 1950-65.

FRUS

US Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States (*FRUS*), 1952-64.

National Archives London

PRO 30/9/4/3, Papers relating to the Bengal Army, Public Record Office.

PRO 30/53/8/126, GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE, 1681-1772.

WO 33/1266, Plan of Operations in the event of War with Afghanistan, 1927.

DO 35/6654/7023970, UK High Commissioner in Karachi to CRO, 1950-57.

DO 35/6654, Israel and Middle East Defence: Decisions with the Americans, 1953-1955.

DO35/6654, Cabinet Papers, 'Pakistan and the Commonwealth'.

FO371/111865, Manila Pact to the CRO, 1954.

FO 371/115515, Istanbul to Foreign and CRO, 1955-1957.

DO 35/8925, Pakistan Foreign Policy, 1959-1961.

British Library, London

India Office Records, 1882, IOR/L/MIL/17/5/1687, IOR/L/MIL/17/5/1705, IOR/L/MIL/17/5/1687, 1879-1880.

War Staff 'WS' Series Files: File WS 3048: IOR/L/WS/1/281, 1920-1934.

Censor of Indian Mails, 1915-18, (CoIMs), censored correspondence of Indian troops in World War I. Not all letters in the censor's reports gave details of the names of correspondents, the places they were in, or the date, nor was every letter numbered. All were English translations.

Correspondence regarding the Imperial Cadet Corps &c. India Office Mil Dept, IOR/L/MIL/17/5/1749-50, 1911.

Collection 430/49 Part 1 & 2 Reports on examination of Indian candidates for Sandhurst, May, September 1923, May 1924, September 1925. IOR/L/MIL/7/19058, 1923-1926.

Indianisation of the Indian Army. CAB 24/190, 20 December 1927, IOR/L/MIL/7/19133, 1923-1933, IOR/L/MIL/7/19145, 1934-1941.

Library of Congress, Washington DC.

Averell Harriman Papers, Manuscript Division

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD- THE US SENATE

Congressional Records-Senate, 1954-1965.

Congressional Papers, Country Profile, 1957-1963.

PUBLISHED GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS, DOCUMENTARY COLLECTIONS, PAPERS AND REPORTS

Muhammad Ayub Khan, *Speeches and Statements*, 6 volumes, Karachi, 4: 7-11.

The Military Papers of Field Marshal Roberts, 1876-1893 (London: Alan Sutton, 1993).

The Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire, Vol. IV: Administrative, New Edition, (Oxford, 1907).

Statistical Abstract from British India, 1931-32, Table 1, pp.2-3, Asia and Africa Collection, British Library (BL).

Administration of the Punjab: The Land of Five Rivers, 1921-22, Volume 1, (Lahore: Government Printing, Punjab, 1923). National Library of Scotland (NLS).

Accounts and Papers 14: 63 Volumes. East India, *Proposed Changes in the Indian Army System*. Dispatch No. 172, 2nd November, 1892. Session 31 January 1893-5, March 1894. Vol. LXIII, NLS.

Reports from Commissioners, Inspectors, and Others: Ten Volumes. Vol. 4. East India Continued. Session: June 1929-August 1930, NLS.

Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Vol. 1, Survey, (Calcutta: Official publication of the Government of India, 1930). NLS.

Report of Indian Statutory Commission, Area and Population (1921 Census). Report of the Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for India to enquire into the administration and organisation of the Army in India, Annexure II, Minutes by Umer Hayat Khan, (printed and published by Her Majesty's Office London, 1920), BL.

The Nehru Report: An anti-separatist Manifesto/the committee appointed by the All Parties Conference 1928, (New Delhi: Michiko & Panjathan, under the auspices of the Indian Institute of Applied Political Research, 1975). BL.

India in 1920, (Official publication of the Government of India), NLS.

Report of the court of inquiry constituted under Punjab Act II of 1954 to enquire into the Punjab disturbances of 1953, (Lahore, Government Printing, Punjab, 1954), NLS.

(Major General) Jonathan Peel Commission Report, Report from Commissioners: 1859, *Organization of Army (Indian)*, Volume 5, (NLS).

'The Referendum in NWFP 1947: A Documentary Record', Compiled by Saleem Ullah Khan, National Documentation Centre, Cabinet Division, (Islamabad: 1996), BL.

American Embassy Karachi, Quarterly Review, October 17, 1953.

Fortnightly Summary, Parliamentary debate, Mr Khuhro and Mr Daultana, PRO Ext. 6/24/1, 5th January 1957, National Archives London.

Operations Coordinating Board, Washington DC, Progress Report No. NSC 5409, (South Asia), File No. 48, CIA, February 23, 1955.

ASSEMBLY DEBATES

Fazlur Rahman, *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates (CAPD)*, Volume 1, 24 August 1955.

Abul Mansoor Ahmed, *CAPD*, Volume 1, 30 September 1955.

MEMOIRS

Air Chief Marshall ® Muhammad Asghar Khan, '*Tareekh say kuch nahin sikha-Siyyasat aur Afwaj-e-Pakistan*' (We learnt nothing from history, Politics and Pakistan Army) An autobiography, (Karachi: OUP, 2005).

An autobiography of Zahoor Butt, *Aik Qadam Aagay Dow Qadam Peechey* (One Step Forward Two Steps Backward), (Lahore: Ghalib Publishers, 1998).

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Special Assistant to J.F. Kennedy during 1961-63, *A Thousand Days*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965), p. 522.

C.L. Sulzenberger, *A Long Row of Candles: Memories and Diaries (1934-1954)*, MacDonal, 1969, p.770.

Field Marshal Lord Frederick Sleigh Roberts of Kandahar, *Forty-one years in India: From Subaltern to Commander-In-Chief*, Vol. II (London: Richard Bentley & Sons, 1897).

Gamal Abdul Nasser, *Egypt's Liberation: The Philosophy of the Revolution*, (Washington: Public Affairs Press), Washington DC, 1955.

George W. Ball, *The Past has another pattern: Memoirs* (New York: Norton, 1982).

Hamida Khuhro, *Mohammad Ayub Khuhro, A Life of Courage in Politics*, (Lahore: Ferozesons, 1998).

Ijaz Hussain Peshori, *Humaray Kaba'ili Hurria-tpassand* [Our Tribal Freedom-Fighters], (Peshawar: Khyber Press, 1949), Vol. 1, Section 7.5, p.34, National Archives Peshawar (NAP). The volume is mostly based on recorded interviews.

John Kenneth Galbraith, *Ambassador's Journal* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969).

John Kenneth Galbraith, *Ambassador's Journal: A Personal Account of the Kennedy Years*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969).

Memo by Policy Planning Staff (PPS), George F. Kennan, 'Review of Current Trends, U.S. Foreign Policy', PPS/23, 24 February 1948 in *The State Department*

Policy Planning Staff Papers, 3 Volumes, Edited by Annan Kasten Nelson, (New York: Garland, 1983), Vol.2, pp. 103-26.

Michael O'Dwyer, *India as I knew It: 1885-1922*, (London: Constable & Company Ltd, 1926).

Mohammad Ayub Khan, *Friends Not Masters: A Political Autobiography*, (London: OUP), 1967.

Mohammad Habibur Rahman Talukdar (ed.), *Memoirs of Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy*, (Dhaka: University Press, 1987).

Nikita S. Khrushchev, *Khrushchev Remembers: The Last Testament*, translated and edited by Strobe Talbott (Boston: Little Brown & Co, 1974).

Paul H. Nitze, *From Hiroshima to Glasnost: At the Centre of Decision, A Memoir* (New York: Grove Weidenfield, 1989).

Richard Nixon: *The Memoirs of Richard Nixon*,(London: Sidgwick & Jackson), 1978, p.133.

Roger Hilsman, *To Move a Nation: The Politics of Foreign Policy in the Administration of John F. Kennedy* (New York: Doubleday, 1972).

Walter Roper Lawrence, *The India We Served*, (London: Cassell & Company, Ltd, 1928) NLS.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, *The Myth of Independence*, (London: OUP, 1969).

JOURNAL ARTICLES

Adam Przeworski and Fernando Lomngi, 'Political Regimes and Economic Growth', *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 7, no.3, summer 1993, pp.51-69.

George F. Kennan, "Morality and Foreign Affairs", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.64, No. 2, (Winter 1985-86), pp.205-218.

James W. Spain, 'The Pathan Borderland', *The Middle Eastern Journal* (Vol. 15, No.2, Spring 1961), pp. 165-177.

Muhammad Ayub Khan, The Pakistan-American Alliance: Stresses and Strains, *Foreign Affairs* 42, January 1964, pp.195-209.

Riaz Ahmed, Quaid-i-Azam and Indianisation of Officer Ranks of Army, *Pakistan Army Journal*, (Vol. 35, No.3, Autumn 1994), pp.3-21.

Robert Oppenheimer, "An Inward Look", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.36, No. 2, (January, 1958), pp.209-220.

Newspapers/Magazines

The Dawn, October 31, 1954, National Archives Islamabad (henceforth NAI).

The Pakistan Times, November 29, 1948, NAI.

The Civil and Military Gazette, October 20, 1948, NAI.

News Chronicle, 9 October 1948.

Dawn, 31 October, 1954, NAI.

Dawn, October 31, 1954, NAI.

Weekly Mazaar, Vol. 1, No. 24, May 29-June 25, 1976, p.20.

Newsline, May 1996, pp.131-33.

Dawn, 14 October 1953.

The New York Times, November 5, 1953.

The New York Times, 17 November, 1953.

The New York Times, 22 February 1954

Daily Dawn, Karachi, 20 December 1961, NAI

Pravda Editorials of 25th October and 5th November, 1962.

The New York Times, May 13, 1964.

Dawn, April 6, 1965.

Dawn, 8 May 2006.

The News, 29 December 2008. 21 September, 27 November

Daily Wahdat, 24 March 2009

Business Recorder, 25 November 2009.

BOOKS

Abulhasan Ali Nadvi, Zafar Ishaq Ansari, *Qadianism: A Critical Study*, (Lucknow: Academy of Islamic Research and Publications, 1967).

Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos: The World's Most Unstable Region and the Threat to Global Security*, (London: Penguin Books, 2008).

Aitzaz Ahsan, Meghnad Desai, *Cross-border Talks: Divided by Democracy*, (New Delhi: Roli Publications, 2005).

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

Anirudh Deshpande, *British Military Policy in India, 1900-1945: Colonial Constraints and Declining Power*, (New Delhi: Manohar, 2005).

Ayesha Jalal, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Ayesha Jalal, *State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defence*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Ayesha Siddiqa-Agha, *The Military Inc.*, (Karachi: OUP, 2007).

Bimal Prasad, ed., *Indo-Soviet Relations: A Documentary Study* (Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1973).

Brian Cloghley, *A History of the Pakistan Army: Wars and Insurrections*, (Karachi: OUP, 2000).

Byron Farewell, *Armies of the Raj: From the Mutiny to Independence, 1858-1947* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1989).

Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, (Lahore: University of Punjab, 1983).

Craig Baxter, *From Martial Law to Martial Law: Politics in the Punjab, 1919-1958* (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1985, and Lahore: Vanguard Press, 1985). An edited and annotated translation of *Martial Law-se Martial Law-tak* (Urdu) by Syed Nur Ahmad.

Craig Baxter, *Zia's Pakistan: Politics and Stability in a Frontline State*, (Boulder Colo: Westview Press, 1985).

Crispin Bates, *Subalterns and Raj: South Asia Since 1600*, (London: Routledge, 2007).

David Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj: The Indian Army, 1860-1940* (London: Macmillan, 1994).

Denzil Ibbetson, *Punjab Castes*. A reprint of "*The races, castes and tribes of the people*" (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1916).

Dr. Henry Kissinger, *Does America need a Foreign Policy?* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 2001).

Edwin Henry Hayten Collen, *The Indian Army – A Sketch of its History and Organisation*. Reprinted from the third edition of the 'Imperial Gazetteer.' (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907).

Eleanor Lansing Dulles and Robert Dickson Crane eds., *Détente: Cold war Strategies in Transition*, (London, 1965).

G.W. Choudhry, *Pakistan's Relations with India, 1947-1966*, (London: Pall Mall, 1968).

Gary B. Nash, Julie Roy Jeffrey, et al, *The American People: Creating a Nation and a Society*, Combined Volume (6th Edition), (New York: Longman, 2007).

George F. MacMunn, *The Armies of India* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1911).

George P. Shultz, *Turmoil and Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State*, (New York: Maxwell Macmillan International, 1993).

Hassan Askari Rizvi, *Military, State and Society in Pakistan*, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 2003).

Hassan Askari Rizvi, *The Military and Politics in Pakistan 1947-86*, (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1987).

Hassan Zaheer, *The Time and Trial of the Rawalpindi Conspiracy, 1951: The First Coup Attempt in Pakistan*, (Karachi: OUP, 1999).

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994).

Ian Manners and Richard G. Whitman (eds), *The Foreign Policies of European Member States* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History*, (London: Hurst & Co, 1998)

Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj 1849-1947*, (Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1988).

Imran Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism, 1885-1947* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

K. B. Saeed, *Politics in Pakistan: The Nature and Direction of Change*, (New York: Praeger, 1980).

K. M. Arif, *Working with Zia: Pakistan's Power Politics, 1977-88*, (Karachi: OUP, 1995).

Kazi S. Ahmed, *A Geography of Pakistan*, (Karachi/Lahore: OUP, 1964).

Kurt Lohbeck, *Holy War, Unholy Victory: Eyewitness to the CIA's Secret War in Afghanistan*, (Washington. DC: Regnery Gateway, 1993)

Lorenz M. Luthi, *The Sino-Soviet Split : Cold War in the Communist World*, (Princeton, N.J : Princeton University Press, 2008).

Major General (Rtd) Fazal Muqeem Khan, *The Story of the Pakistan Army*, (Karachi: OUP, 1963).

Malcolm Lyall Darling, *The Old Light and the New in the Punjab Village* (London: OUP, 1930).

Malcolm Lyall Darling, *Wisdom and Waste in the Punjab Village* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934).

Mazhar Aziz, *Military control in Pakistan: the parallel state*, (London: Routledge, 2008).

Mehtab Ali Shah, '*The Foreign Policy of Pakistan: Ethnic Impact on Diplomacy, 1971-94*', (Karachi: OUP, 1997).

Mujtaba Rizvi, *The Frontiers of Pakistan*, (Karachi: National Publishing House Ltd., 1971).

N.C. Sinha and P.N. Khera, *India's War Economy – Supply, Industry, and Finance* (Official History of the Indian Armed Forces in the Second World War, 1939-45, general editor, Bisheshwar Parasad) (New Delhi: Orient Longmans, 1962).

Owen Bannet Jones, *Pakistan: Eye of the Storm*, (New Heaven London: Yale University Press, 2002).

Percival Spear, *A History of India*, Vol. 2, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1968).

Pervez Iqbal Cheema, *Pakistan's Defence Policy, 1947-58*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990).

Pervez Iqbal Cheema, *The Armed Forces of Pakistan*, (Karachi: OUP, 2002).

Peter Dally, *The Sino-Soviet Split: A Trap for the West*, (Cheltenham 31 Seneca Way, Cheltenham, Glos. GL50 45F British Anti-Communist Council, 1984).

Rajit K. Mazumder, *The Indian Army and the Making of Punjab*, (New Delhi: Pauls Press, 2003).

Raymond A. Callahan, *The East India Company and Army Reforms, 1783-1798* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1972).

Richard V. Weekes, *Pakistan: Birth and Growth of a Muslim Nation*, (New York: The Asia Society, 1964).

Robert O. Keohane, (ed.), *Neorealism and its Critics*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).

S.L. Menezes, *Fidelity and Honour: The Indian Army from the Seventeenth to the Twenty-first Century* (New Delhi: Viking, 1993).

S.T. Das, *Indian Military: Its History and Development* (New Delhi: Sagar Publications, 1969).

Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968).

- Sarvepalli Gopal, *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography*, Volume 3, (New York: OUP, 1974).
- Satya M. Rai, *Partition of the Punjab, A Study of its Effects on the Politics and Administration of the Punjab (1)*, (London: Asia Publishing House, 1965).
- Seema Alvi, *The Sepoys and the Company: Tradition and Transition in Northern India 1770-1830* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995).
- Shirin Tahir-Kheli, *The US and Pakistan: The Evolution of an Influence Relationship*, Preager Publishers, 1982.
- Stephen P. Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan*, (Lahore: Vanguard, 2005).
- Stephen P. Cohen, *The Pakistan Army*, (Karachi: OUP, 1984).
- Stephen P. Rosen, *Societies and Military Power: India and its Armies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).
- T.A. Heathcote, *The Indian Army: The Garrison of British Imperial India, 1822-1922* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1974).
- Tariq Ali, *Can Pakistan Survive? The Death of a State*, (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1983).

BOOK CHAPTERS

- Imran Anwar Ali, 'Business and Power in Pakistan', in *Power and Civil Society in Pakistan*, edited by Weiss and S. Zulfiqar Gilani, (Karachi: OUP, 2003).
- James W. Spain, 'Political Problems of a Borderland', in Ainslie T. Embree (ed.), *Pakistan's Western Borderlands* (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 1977).

WEBSITES

www.khyber.org