

# **US Politics of Betrayal: The Urdu Press on Pakistan-US Relations Since the 1971 War**

**by**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment for the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Central Lancashire

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## **ABSTRACT**

This research examines the history and structure of the Urdu press discourse on Pakistan-US relations since the 1971 War in order to understand its perceptions of US betrayal. Two of the most popular Urdu newspapers in Pakistan have been studied with reference to three alleged cases of US betrayal. These are: the US failure in the 1971 War to provide sufficient military support to Pakistan to prevent its disintegration; US opposition to Pakistan's nuclear program and ignoring of the security concerns of its ally in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s; and the unilateral US operation conducted on 2 May 2011 targeting Osama bin Laden which violated Pakistan's sovereignty. The Urdu press has not only been identifying examples of US betrayal of Pakistan since the 1971 War, but also has developed a structure for that discourse. The dominant voices of the discourse generally argue that the US not only betrays but also conspires against Pakistan's security. The discourse offers certain modalities of US conspiracy, such as pressurising tactics like sanctions and attaching conditions onto economic and military aid to Pakistan, or interfering in Pakistan's domestic affairs through diplomatic or undiplomatic means. Further, US conspiracy and betrayal is also rationalised by mainly offering three types of causes. First, it is argued that the US betrays Pakistan in order to pursue its own strategic interests in South Asia. Second, it is argued that the US is a hegemonic, capitalistic force, which conspires against Pakistan in collaboration with the Pakistani ruling elite and betrays it in order to protect its own material interests. Third, it is argued that the US is an anti-Islamic force, which conspires against and repeatedly betrays a Muslim country. Interviews with some of the prominent journalists and politicians conducted for this research also identified some excluded voices within Pakistan which did not agree with this discourse of a US politics of betrayal. Thus, this study analyses the history of the Urdu press discourse which contributes to the social construction of the idea of a US politics of betrayal, but in so doing, it also builds understanding of its structure, and helps to rationalise the perception of a US politics of betrayal since the 1971 War.

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**Figure 30**, *Jang's* main headline published on 2 March 1984 reported the US President's former Advisor for National Security, Zbigniew Brzezinski saying "America will not help Pakistan in case of Indian attack" which was interpreted as a sign of a conspiracy instigating or at least giving a free hand to India to attack Pakistan. \_\_\_\_\_ 140

**Figure 31**, *Jang* on 4 April 1975 published the above cartoon to reflect India's influence on the US with regard to military supplies to Pakistan. The cartoon showed Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi riding a cow of Soviet Arms whereas the personified US standing next to Pakistan shown as a sheep. The cartoon reflected comparatively huge arms supply of the USSR to India and meagre US arms supply to Pakistan. Still, Indian Prime Minister warned the US not to supply arms to Pakistan, as caption read, "this part of Asia is sacred cow country, sheep-man." \_\_\_\_\_ 150

**Figure 32** *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 12 April 1979 published a cartoon to reflect that the US was attempting to trap Pakistan through its aid whereas Pakistan did not compromise on its national interest and rejected

US aid in order to save its nuclear program. The cartoon showed Pakistan throwing away the bowl of begging while other developing countries were still carrying it. Pakistan personified as a person wearing the national dress said to the American President Jimmy Carter, "thank you America!" The board behind the American President informs "Sam Brothers Money Lenders: get loans here on strict and complicated terms, special aids are given on pledging the national identity (Carter)." \_\_\_\_\_ 159

**Figure 33**, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 20 October 1979 published a cartoon to reflect that the US wanted to deprive Pakistan of its peaceful nuclear program, which was essential for its economic growth. The cartoon showed American Secretary of State Cyrus Vans trying to snatch nuclear capability from Pakistani Foreign Minister Agha Shahi. The caption under the cartoon read, "differences between America and Pakistan over nuclear program could not be resolved." \_\_\_\_\_ 160

**Figure 34**, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 1 December 1980 published a cartoon to reflect that the peace was not threatened by Pakistan's nuclear program instead it was being endangered because of the military industry of the two superpowers, the US and the USSR, which were trying to maximise their profits by selling their arms to developing countries. The cartoon showed the US and the USSR personified as two women pregnant with their arms industry while world peace personified looked worried and thinking, as the caption read, "when will both of them think about family planning of arms?" \_\_\_\_\_ 161

**Figure 35**, *Jang* on 19 November 1990 published a cartoon to reflect aid as a US tactic to trap Pakistan to compromise its nuclear program. The cartoon showed personified US holding a bag full of US aid tied to a chain while Pakistan's Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif holding a hammer of new national policy to break the chains of US aid. \_\_\_\_\_ 163

**Figure 36**, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 7 March 1979 published a cartoon to reflect Pakistan's preference to its identity as a Muslim country. The cartoon showed the US President Jimmy Carter and Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev as "international town planners" willing to allocate space to Pakistan in their respective residential blocs, however Pakistan's President General Zia-ul-Haq shown as a potential client asking the both Presidents, as the caption read, "leave our plot in Islamic Bloc," hence rejecting to be part of either of Soviet or American bloc. \_\_\_\_\_ 170

**Figure 37**, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 21 June 1982 published a cartoon to reflect "US backstabbing" attitude of Arab Muslims. The cartoon showed a personified US backstabbing an Arab, while shedding crocodile tears. The only descriptive word associated with the cartoon was "Israel," written on the dagger used for backstabbing." \_\_\_\_\_ 173

**Figure 38**, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 14 May 1982 published a cartoon to express its concerns over India's intentions to conduct another nuclear test explosion. The cartoon showed a dove, which is generally

regarded as a symbol of peace, being inflated by the Indian prime minister and about to explode. The cartoon was intended to show that the US and other countries which criticised Pakistan's "peaceful nuclear program" as a danger to peace in South Asia would ignore the Indian nuclear program actually disturbing peace in the region. The caption of the cartoon read, "India will soon do the nuclear explosion for the second time." \_\_\_\_\_ 176

**Figure 39**, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 5 May 2011 published this cartoon to reflect the failure of political leadership to protect Pakistan's sovereignty. The cartoon showed that a Pakistani citizen and his child watching an oath taking ceremony of some newly appointed federal ministers on TV. Ironically, on 2 May 2011 few hours before the Abbottabad operation, these ministers were taking oath to join the federal government by promising, as the caption of the cartoon read, "I will serve Pakistan with full sincerity and protect its sovereignty and territorial integrity. My full..." The cartoon was a satire on the ruling elite who could not defend the sovereignty of Pakistan. \_\_\_\_\_ 193

**Figure 40**, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 16 May 2011 published this cartoon to reflect Pakistan's embarrassment caused due to a US politics of betrayal. The cartoon showed a personified Government of Pakistan holding a tiny saw to cut a huge tree of embarrassment causing troubles to Pakistan in the result of the Abbottabad operation. \_\_\_\_\_ 199

**Figure 41**, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 13 May 2011 published the photograph on the left to reflect followers of a major right-wing political party Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) protesting in Abbottabad against the US operation. The caption of the photo read "Abbottabad: Supporters of PML (N) protesting against the American operation." Likewise, the newspaper on 16 May 2011 published the photograph on the right to show a protest rally in Lahore organised by another right-wing mainstream political party Jamaat-e-Islami. \_\_\_\_\_ 202

**Figure 42**, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 13 May 2011 published the photograph on the left to show that civil and military leadership was taking serious notice of the Abbottabad operation. The caption of the photograph read, "Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani presiding over the meeting of the Defence Committee." Later, on 15 May 2011 the newspaper published the photograph on the right to show that all military leadership was being questioned over their failure to stop the violation of Pakistan's sovereignty, the caption of the photograph read, "chiefs of Pakistan's armed forces participating in the joint session of the parliament." \_\_\_\_\_ 203

**Figure 43**, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 5 May 2011 reported these photographs to argue that the person killed in Abbottabad operation was not Osama bin Laden. The caption of the photographs read, "according to social website 'Twitter' the picture on the right hand side is made with combining the original picture of

the Osama bin Laden on the left hand side and the fake picture in the middle. Osama bin Laden's lookalike Zain Muhammad was actually killed in the operation: neighbour claims." \_\_\_\_\_ 208

**Figure 44**, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 14 May 2011 published this photograph to report terrorist incident at Shabqadar to reflect the adverse consequences in terms of terrorist backlash Pakistan would face. The caption of the photograph read, "officials inspecting the destroyed vehicle after suicide blasts and a person taking an injured child to hospital." \_\_\_\_\_ 216

**Figure 45**, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 5 May 2011 published the photograph on the left to show citizens in Multan burning American flag to protest against the assassination of Osama bin Laden. Likewise, the newspaper published the photograph on the right to show supporters of a right-wing political party Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (Fazal-ur-Rehman) in Quetta during a protest rally holding pictures of Osama bin Laden and chanting slogans against the US. \_\_\_\_\_ 231

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Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad, the Cabinet Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Archives of Pakistan, the Library of Jamaat-e-Islami Head Office at Mansoor, Lahore, the Library of the National Institute of Public Administration, Lahore, Baagh Langey Khan Library, and the District Library in Multan. In the United Kingdom, apart from the University of Central Lancashire, I visited John Rylands Library at the University of Manchester, and the library of Keele University. I am highly thankful to the staff of all these libraries and archives for providing me with access to valuable sources of knowledge.

Urdu newspapers mainly exist in print and for the purposes of this research, copies of these sources were required ideally in digital format. I want to acknowledge the number of people who helped me voluntarily in copying those newspaper sources into a digital format. My younger brother Raheel Akhtar, my cousins Imran Hayat and Saleem Abbas, and my friends Ambreen and Meraj all helped me at different times in capturing and storing photos of the newspapers' content with digital cameras. I am also thankful to my elder brother Adeel Akhtar, a senior faculty member at Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan, who helped me to access the newspaper archives at the Central Library of Bahauddin Zakariya University Multan.

A research activity requires a dedicated and continuous effort, sometimes at the cost of family and friends who also deserve attention. I am thankful to all those friends who allowed me to continue my research. In terms of time and attention during the process, my immediate family members were those who were affected the most, but they always cooperated with me. At the same time, I am fully aware of their sufferings due to my personal endeavours. I must acknowledge the great role of my mother who in spite of fighting against cancer, diagnosed twice in 2013 and 2015, pushed me to continue my work, although I realise that I should have given more care and time to her. I am thankful to my father, who as an academic has always been a source of great inspiration and encouragement for me. I will never forget the suffering of my wife and children, who needed me all the time back in Pakistan. I feel a great indebtedness to them. In the end, I want to thank all those family members and friends whose names I have failed to mention one by one. Their support, cooperation, good wishes, and encouragement meant a lot to me.

## **DEDICATION**

To my parents, wife, and children.

## ACRONYMS

<b>ANP</b>	Awami National Party
<b>BBC</b>	British Broadcasting Corporation
<b>CENTO</b>	Central Treaty Organisation
<b>CIA</b>	Central Intelligence Agency
<b>IAEA</b>	International Atomic Energy Agency
<b>IMF</b>	International Monetary Fund
<b>ISI</b>	Inter-Services Intelligence
<b>JUI (F)</b>	Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (Fazal-ur-Rehman)
<b>JUI (S)</b>	Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (Sami-ul-Haq)
<b>MQM</b>	Muttahida Qaumi Movement
<b>NATO</b>	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
<b>NPT</b>	Non-Proliferation Treaty
<b>OIC</b>	Organisation of the Islamic Conference
<b>PAEC</b>	Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission
<b>PILDAT</b>	Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency
<b>PML</b>	Pakistan Muslim League
<b>PML (N)</b>	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
<b>PPP</b>	Pakistan People's Party
<b>PTI</b>	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf
<b>RAW</b>	Research and Analysis Wing
<b>SEATO</b>	South East Asian Treaty Organisation
<b>TTP</b>	Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan
<b>TV</b>	Television
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>US</b>	United States
<b>USA</b>	United States of America
<b>USSR</b>	The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 BACKGROUND: PERCEPTIONS OF A US POLITICS OF BETRAYAL EXPRESSED AS ANTI-AMERICANISM IN PAKISTAN

Around ten to thirteen thousand people gathered in Peshawar on 23 November 2013, in response to the call of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf to protest against ongoing US drone strikes in Pakistan, which was regarded as a US politics of betrayal.<sup>1</sup> The protesters vowed to block the NATO supply trucks inside Pakistani territory unless the attacks ceased as reported in *The New York Times*.<sup>2</sup> The conduct of the protesters symbolised their perceptions about the US (Figure 1). The protest rally was called by Imran Khan, a key political figure and leader of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf who was extremely critical of the US drone strikes and Pakistan's military presence in the country's border areas, where reportedly the "Taliban and Al Qaeda militants had found a haven."<sup>3</sup>



Figure 1, at Peshawar, on 23 November 2013, participants of the rally burning US flags as a protest against drone attacks<sup>4</sup>

Opposition to drone strikes reached its height when Hakimullah Mehsud<sup>5</sup> was killed in a drone strike, on 1 November 2013.<sup>6</sup> Reportedly, this attack came about

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<sup>1</sup> Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf is a right of the centre mainstream political party, which has its government in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, and is a major party of opposition in the National Assembly since May 2013.

<sup>2</sup> NATO military supplies are sent to Afghanistan by using land routes in Pakistan as latter has been important ally of the US and NATO in the War on Terror against Al Qaida and Taliban since 2001; S. Masood and I. Mehsud, *The New York Times*, news article, 23 November 2013.

<sup>3</sup> Imran Khan is the Chairman of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, a former international cricket player (1971-1992) and a philanthropist.

<sup>4</sup> O. Waraich, *The Independent*, news article, 24 November 2013.

<sup>5</sup> A leader of Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan

when all political parties and the Pakistani military decided to start negotiations with the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). The Interior Minister, Nisar Ali Khan, condemned the killing of the Taliban leader, as it had "jeopardised the nascent peace process" in Pakistan. Imran Khan, on 23 November 2013, while addressing the protest rally against US drones, urged Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to take a firm stand against the US for its drone policy. Imran Khan also reaffirmed his determination to continue with protests unless drone attacks were stopped.<sup>7</sup>

In 2012, according to a survey conducted by *The Pew Research Centre*, public opinion in Pakistan was reportedly becoming ever more critical of the US, as 74 percent of the population perceived the US as "an enemy," demonstrating an upward trend in negative perceptions, as compared to 69 percent in 2011 and 64 percent in 2009 (Appendix E). Only 13 percent of Pakistanis believed that bilateral relations with the US have improved; this proportion was 16 percent in 2011. Strengthening the relationship with the US was a priority for just 45 percent Pakistanis, down from 60 in 2011. Approximately every four-in-ten had negative, and one-in-ten positive, perceptions about the usefulness of American economic and military aid to the country. Almost two-thirds, 65 percent, of Pakistanis distrusted US foreign policy, considering it, "too selfish and unilateral" (Figure 2).

<b>Pakistanis Continue to See U.S. Acting Unilaterally</b>									
<i>Does the U.S. take into account the interests of countries like Pakistan?</i>	2002	2003	2004	2005	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Great deal/Fair amount	23	23	18	39	21	22	19	20	13
Not too much/Not at all	36	62	48	41	54	53	56	56	65
Don't know	41	15	34	20	25	26	25	24	21

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q53.

Figure 2, ten years' data on Pakistan's public distrust of the US<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The drone strikes allegedly killed and injured "thousands of innocent civilians" in Pakistan. According to *The New America Foundation*, total 2076-3421 people, including 258-307 civilians, and 199-334 unidentified were killed, in 368 drone attacks, between 2004 and 2013 (All figures showing casualties are given in range showing the minimum and maximum number according to research estimates). For that reason, all the political parties perceive drone strikes as violations of Pakistan's sovereignty and believe them to be "counterproductive," forcing families of victims to "resort to violence and terrorist attacks" in Pakistan. In their opinion, such terrorist attacks directed against Pakistan's military, law enforcement agencies, and civilian population not only inflicted grave casualties and injuries but also resulted in devastating deterioration of economic activity; M.H Bhakkar, *Dawn*, news article, 14 July 2012; M. Kamal, *United Press International (UPI)*, news article, 26 August 2013.

<sup>7</sup> S. Masood and I. Mehsud, 23 November 2013.

<sup>8</sup> 'Pakistani Public Opinion Ever More Critical of US: 74% Call America an Enemy' (Global

However, distrust of the US is not a new trend in Pakistan, as the survey data for the years 2002-2012 shows that the proportion of the Pakistani population with favourable views of the US ranged between 10-27 percent, and that those with unfavourable views ranged between 56-80 percent (Figure 3).

<b>Opinion of U.S. Worsens in Pakistan</b>												
	1999/ 2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
<i>Views of U.S.</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Favorable	23	10	13	21	23	27	15	19	16	17	12	12
Unfavorable	--	69	81	60	60	56	68	63	68	68	73	80
Don't know	--	20	6	18	18	17	16	17	16	16	16	9

1999/2000 survey trend provided by the U.S. Department of State.  
PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q8a.

Figure 3, Pakistani public opinion of the US<sup>9</sup>

This negative public perception of the US at such a high level is translated into anti-Americanism and is expressed through public attitudes. Madiha Afzal argues that anti-Americanism in Pakistan stems from three different sources. First, from US socio-cultural identity, i.e. American identity based on religion, culture, and internal political/economic values and structure. Second, from US foreign policy, i.e. US policies towards Pakistan. Third, from US identity and its policies characterised through discourse with the objective of using anti-American sentiment for domestic political gain.<sup>10</sup>

Afzal further explains four different categories of anti-American sentiments in Pakistan. In the radical category, the smallest in terms of number, are radical groups such as Tehrik-i-Taliban and Al Qaeda and their sympathisers, who wish to destroy the US due to its identity and policies in order to decrease the US's global power and to increase their own. A second socio-religious category of Pakistanis holds a dislike of the US, perceiving it a non-Muslim country doing harm to the Muslim world. This category demonstrates a reluctance to criticise radical Islamist groups such as Al Qaeda and is inclined to condemn US policies such as drone strikes. A sovereign-nationalist category detests the US due to its policies, which are perceived as hostile and harmful to Pakistan, e.g. condemnation of US drone strikes in Pakistan. Finally, a liberal category of anti-

Attitudes Project, Pew Research Centre, 2012). <<http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/10/23/few-americans-trust-pakistan/>> [accessed 24 November 2013].

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Madiha Afzal, 'On Pakistani Anti-Americanism', *Brookings* <[www.brookings.edu](http://www.brookings.edu)> [accessed 1 June 2014].

American sentiment is based on the perception of the US as a hegemonic power which is engaged in exploiting other, weaker states like Pakistan and failing to live up to its own claimed liberal and progressive goals such as supporting democracies and freedom in the world.<sup>11</sup> Pakistani public perceptions of US politics of betrayal result in higher level of negative public opinion of the US. Such perceptions are based on the US's identity, foreign policy, and the social construction of the US identity and policies through discourse. In this background the substantial anti-American public perceptions trigger anti-American behaviour, which can be categorised in radical, socio religious, sovereign-nationalist, and liberal categories.

## 1.2 DO PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS REALLY MATTER?

*The Pew Survey* further confirms that in 2012, only 8 percent of Pakistani people considered the US as a trustworthy partner, whereas 74 out of 100 people perceived it as "an enemy state" (Figure 4). The survey was conducted a year before Pakistan's general elections in May 2013. According to this survey, 70 percent of Pakistani people held positive views regarding Imran Khan, and 60 percent regarding Nawaz Sharif hence recording a highly positive public opinion of the two mainstream politicians.<sup>12</sup> Both of these leaders had been highly critical of the US. Later, in the general elections of 2013, the parties of Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif were successful, securing 22.6 million out of 44.8 million of the total votes polled (Appendix B).<sup>13</sup> Therefore, it can be argued that among other factors, the voters rewarded the anti-US stances of the political parties.

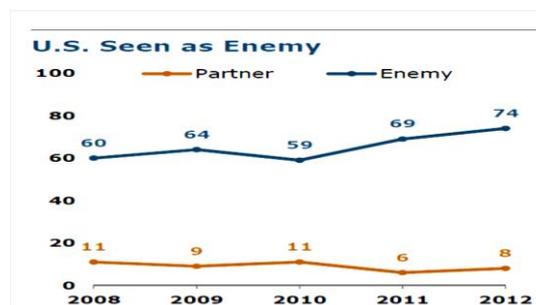


Figure 4, public perceptions of the US in Pakistan<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> *Telegraph*, news article, 27 May 2013.

<sup>14</sup> 'Pakistani Public Opinion Ever More Critical of US: 74% Call America an Enemy.'

Previously, there had been widespread public agitation against the US after two significant events in 2011. First, Raymond Davis incident on 27 January 2011 antagonised Pakistanis when an American citizen Raymond Davis murdered two armed Pakistani men in Lahore. The US authorities claimed that Davis was a diplomat working for the US consulate in Lahore and therefore was entitled to diplomatic immunity. Pakistani government however arrested and criminally charged Davis with double murder and illegal possession of firearms. Davis was acquitted on all charges and released on 16 March 2011 after families of the two murdered men accepted 2.4 million dollars as compensation. The US stopped its drone strikes after the incident and resumed on 17 March 2011 after Davis was released.<sup>15</sup> Second, the Salala Check-Post incident on 26 November 2011 in which US-led NATO forces attacked a Pakistani military post on the Pakistan-Afghan border, killing 24 Pakistani Army officers. Pakistan formally blocked NATO supplies under enormous public pressure, but later resumed them on 3 July 2012, after receiving an official apology from the US.<sup>16</sup> All political parties and the media in Pakistan criticized the US for the incident. Consequently, negative public perceptions put tangible constraints on Pakistan's decision makers and influenced the bilateral relations between Pakistan and the US.

Not only are democratic governments concerned with negative public perceptions, military governments also attempt to pacify them.<sup>17</sup> For example, after 9/11, the military government of General Pervez Musharraf took a very quick decision to support the US in its War on Terror, but later, though doing so, Musharraf kept trying to justify his decision.<sup>18</sup> There were widespread public demonstrations in Pakistan against the military government's decision to join the war. In his memoir, Musharraf mentioned that although the US was behaving like "a wounded bear," and Pakistan had "no choice" but to support the War on Terror, extremism was not only a threat to the US but was also a tangible threat to Pakistan.<sup>19</sup> One purpose of such justifications was to keep public perceptions

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<sup>15</sup> 'US Drone Strike Kills 40 in Pakistani Tribal Region,' *BBC*, news article, 17 March 2011, <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-south-asia-12769209>> [accessed 1 June 2014].

<sup>16</sup> C. Lawrence and others, *cnn.com*, news article, 4 July 2012.

<sup>17</sup> Democratic governments have been in power in Pakistan since 2008, when General Musharraf's eight years military rule was finally over as a result of general elections held in that year. Pakistan has been ruled by military generals from 1958-1971, 1977-1988, and 1999-2008.

<sup>18</sup> General Pervez Musharraf came into power in the result of a military coup, overthrowing the democratically elected government of Nawaz Sharif. Pervez Musharraf ruled Pakistan during 1999-2008.

<sup>19</sup> Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir* (New York: Simon & Shuster, 2006), 200.

under control and defuse the mass movements against his government. In fact, even important figures of the US administration, including Secretary of State Colin Powell, were surprised by "the quick decision of General Musharraf."<sup>20</sup>

More generally, researchers have also been interested in identifying the relationship between public opinion and the foreign policy of a state. After the Second World War, an understanding among researchers, known as the "Almond-Lippmann" consensus, emerged regarding the role of public opinion in foreign policy. This consensus focused on three propositions about public opinion: (1) it is unpredictable and unstable, and therefore provides an inadequate basis for effective foreign policies; (2) it lacks coherence and appropriate structure; and (3) it has a very slight impact, if any, on foreign policies.<sup>21</sup> However, events such as US direct intervention into the Vietnam War between 1961-1975 challenged all three of these propositions.<sup>22</sup>

Views on the role of public opinion in the formulation of foreign policy have differed almost as much as the opinions of the public themselves.<sup>23</sup> Marcus Hobley notes that for Winston Churchill, public opinion was not important; only the opinion communicated through the mass media mattered, whereas Abraham Lincoln perceived public opinion as everything for his country.<sup>24</sup> Among these differing opinions, Hobley argues, public opinion is important, as states and leaders cannot ignore it altogether, and such opinions have the potential to play a role in the development of foreign policy.<sup>25</sup> Leaders may ignore public opinion at a particular time, but the public will not forget this and leaders may later have to pay the political price.<sup>26</sup>

Thus, students of international relations cannot ignore the importance of public perceptions.<sup>27</sup> Public perceptions are important, as leaders of two different states live in different physical spaces and cognitive frameworks, so their tacit assumptions differ about the importance and need for different acts. A country's

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<sup>20</sup> Bob Woodward, *Bush at War* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002), 51-53.

<sup>21</sup> Ole R. Holsti, 'Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Challenges to the Almond-Lippmann Consensus Merston Series: Research Programs and Debates', *International Studies Quarterly*, 36 (1992), 439-66.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Marcus Hobley, 'Public Opinion can Play a Positive Role in Policy Making,' news article, *The Guardian*, 3 September 2012.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*; Hobley analyses protests against former British Prime Minister, Tony Blair during the Iraq War Inquiry, in 2012.

<sup>27</sup> Robert Axelord and Robert O. Keohane, 'Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions', *World Politics*, 38 (1985), 226-54.

decision makers mostly do not know how their acts and decisions will affect others and how others will perceive them.<sup>28</sup> Jervis believes that no analysis of international relations can be complete without consideration of such perceptions.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, the study of people's perceptions of events, in spite of their being "subjective," is an important part of international relations.<sup>30</sup>

### 1.3 THE MEDIA AND PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS

In the aftermath of the Iraq War, American political leaders from both the Democratic and the Republican parties complained about the media coverage, which was apparently shaping public opinion against the war.<sup>31</sup> Congressman James Marshal blamed the media for presenting a "falsely bleak picture" of the war, which, he claimed, was weakening US's "national resolve."<sup>32</sup> Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld said on one occasion that: "the news media seem to want to carry the negative."<sup>33</sup> These concerns of political leaders reflect some of their shared assumptions: first, that public opinion is one of the important factors in foreign policy; second, that the information disseminated by the media is different from the information political leaders wish to convey to people; and third, that the media shapes public opinion about foreign policy.<sup>34</sup>

Although Baum and Potter note that many political leaders assume the media plays an independent role in shaping political opinion, some scholars consider the media to be a more passive actor, which merely conveys elite views to the public.<sup>35</sup> In terms of an active role for the media in shaping public opinion, Baum and Potter and others have suggested a link between media coverage and public

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1976).

<sup>30</sup> Hoffman suggests that Jervis' study of perceptions and misperceptions is an effort to fill a gap in study of international relations. However, this study is subjective not objective and does not involve any mathematical formulations or significant generalisations. Case studies of perceptions do not have potential to quench the thirst to predict and to advocate. But in spite of being subjective public perceptions are important factor to understand international relations; Stanley Hoffmann, 'An American Social Science: International Relations', *Daedalus*, 106 (1977), 41–60.

<sup>31</sup> Mathew A. Baum and Philip B.K. Potter, 'The Relationship Between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11 (2008), 39–65.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, 40.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, 40.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> For example: R.A. Brody, *Assessing the President: The Media, Elite Opinion, and Public Support* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991); B.W. Jentleson, 'The Pretty Prudent Public Post Post-Vietnam American Opinion on the Use of Military Force', *International Studies Quarterly*, 36 (1992), 49–74.

opinion.<sup>36</sup> Baum and Potter argue that the media influences public opinion and foreign policy, whereas public opinion influences the media and decision makers. They further argue that foreign actors also affect public opinion both directly through their conduct, and indirectly through the media.<sup>37</sup> In fact, for the majority of people, perceptions of foreign actors and their policies is based on knowledge gained through the media.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, the media plays a significant role in the development of public perceptions towards a foreign actor and international events.<sup>39</sup>

#### 1.4 THE URDU PRESS: AN IMPORTANT MEDIA IN PAKISTAN

Newspapers in Pakistan have been a comparatively independent medium of information for people in the presence of a state-controlled radio and TV channel in Pakistan. It was only after 2002 that electronic media, especially radio and TV, were granted a degree of independence when the government allowed private channels to operate in the country.<sup>40</sup> Mainstream newspapers in Pakistan are also divided into two categories based on language. The English press is considered the press of the elite in the country, and has a limited circulation. A minority of the educated elite reads the English newspapers. The majority of Pakistani people read newspapers in their national language, Urdu. Therefore, the circulation and

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<sup>36</sup> For example: D.A. Graber, *Mass Media and American Politics*, sixth edition (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2002); Mathew A. Baum and Philip B.K. Potter, 'The Relationship Between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy', 39-65.

<sup>37</sup> Mathew A. Baum and Philip B.K. Potter, 'The Relationship Between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy', 39-65.

<sup>38</sup> For example see Ambrose Akor, 'The Media, Public Opinion, and British Foreign Policy: PhD Thesis' (University of Manchester, 2011).

<sup>39</sup> This view is premised on Mathew A. Baum and Philip B.K. Potter, 'The Relationship Between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy', 39-65; Ambrose Akor, 'The Media, Public Opinion, and British Foreign Policy'; R.A. Brody, *Assessing the President*; Nico Carpentier and Benjamin De Cleen, 'Bringing Discourse Theory into Media Studies: The Applicability of Discourse Theoretical Analysis (DTA) for the Study of Media Practises and Discourses', *Journal of Language and Politics*, 6 (2007), 265–93; Marco Mezzera and Safdar Sial, 'Media and Governance in Pakistan: A Controversial yet Essential Relationship' (Brussels: Initiative for Peacebuilding, Democratisation and Transitional Justice Cluster Funded by European Union, 2010); Lillie Chouliaraki, 'Discourse Analysis', in *The SAGE Handbook of Cultural Analysis*, ed. by T. Bennett and J. Frow (London: SAGE Publications, 2008), 674–98; J. John Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy* (New York: Penguin, 2007); Rudi Guraziu, 'To What Extent is Foreign Policy Making Affected by Public Opinion in a Liberal Democracy?' (Middlesex University, 2008); Pervez Hoodbhoy, 'How TV Dupes Our Public', *Dawn*, 27 September 2014; Teun A Van Dijk, 'Political Discourse and Ideology' (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, 2000), 15–34; Joshua S. Goldstein and Jon C. Pevehouse, 'Foreign Policy', in *International Relations*, tenth edition (New York: PEARSON, 2014), 126–51.

<sup>40</sup> Marco Mezzera and Safdar Sial, *Media and Governance in Pakistan*, 12-13.

reach of the Urdu press has traditionally been far higher than the English press (Appendix C).<sup>41</sup>

Newspapers in Pakistan can also be categorised on the basis of their ideological affiliations. Some newspapers adhere to religious and conservative values, whereas others subscribe to a more liberal and progressive agenda. The Urdu newspapers also subscribe to specific ideological positions. *The Daily Jang* and *The Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* are the two most popular Urdu newspapers with the highest circulations, and have been in print continuously since the country's independence in 1947. *The Jang Group* demonstrates a leaning towards a liberal school of thought, whereas *Nawa-i-Waqt* has attached itself to conservative argument in society and demands a greater role for religion in the system.<sup>42</sup>

Thus, in the Pakistani context, because of its comparative independence, its reach and understanding, and its representation of both liberal and conservative perspectives, the Urdu press should be regarded as one of the most influential media sectors in shaping the public perception of the US in Pakistan.<sup>43</sup>

## 1.5 THE US POLITICS OF BETRAYAL AND THE URDU PRESS

The Urdu press in Pakistan, generally through its verbal and non-verbal content, highlights the "US politics of betrayal," which contributes to the enhancement of negative public perceptions of the foreign policy of a country.<sup>44</sup> A

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<sup>41</sup> Shahzad Ali, 'Growth of Print Media in Pakistan from the Perspective of Economic and Social Indicators', in *The Asian Conference on Media and Mass Communication* (The International Academic Forum, 2011), 35–53; Zamir Niazi, *The Press in Chains*, ed. by Zubeida Mustafa (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010).

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> This view is premised on Tridivesh Singh Maini, 'The Urdu Press in India and Pakistan - A Comparison', ISAS Working Paper (Singapore: Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore, 2009), 1–12; Markus Daechsel, *The Politics of Self-Expression: The Urdu Middle-Class Mileu in Mid-Twentieth Century India and Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013); Zahid Yousaf, Farish Ullah and Ehtisham Ali, 'Coverage of Pak-India Relations in the Elite Press of Pakistan (June 2013-August 2013)', *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, 3 (2013), 18–23; Hijab Shah, 'The Tongue-Tied Press of Pakistan: Comparing English and Urdu Newspapers' (Washington DC: Centre for Strategic & International Studies, 2010); Bonnie W. Pstein, 'Pakistan: Background & General Characteristics', *Press Reference*, 2012 <<http://www.pressreference.com/No-Sa/Pakistan.html>> [accessed 1 March 2014]; Mrinal Chatterjee, 'History of Urdu Journalism in India', in *History of Journalism in Orissa* (Mediahive, 2011); Marco Mezzera and Safdar Sial, 'Media and Governance in Pakistan'; Shahzad Ali, 'Growth of Print Media in Pakistan from the Perspective of Economic and Social Indicators', in *The Asian Conference on Media and Mass Communication* (The International Academic Forum, 2011), 35–53; C. M. Naim, *Ambiguities of Heritage* (Karachi: City Press, 1999); Gurbachan Chandan, 'Birth of Urdu Journalism in the Indian Subcontinent', *The Milli Gazette* (New Delhi, 25 June 2011), 12; Javed Jabbar, 'Pakistan - U.S. Relations: Known Myths Unknown Truths', ed. by George Perkovich (Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2011); Zamir Niazi, *The Press in Chains*.

<sup>44</sup> Mathew A. Baum and Philip B.K. Potter, 'The Relationship Between Mass Media, Public

balanced discourse would ideally allow the expression of widely different perspectives on Pakistan-US relations. However, the discourse of the Urdu press seems to project particular themes and perspectives while restricting the appearance of others. Such a discourse is, therefore, one of the contributing factors in the development of negative public perceptions of the US, a pattern generally regarded as anti-Americanism.<sup>45</sup>

This phenomenon of anti-Americanism is not peculiar to Pakistan, and is also found in various other countries of the world.<sup>46</sup> However, it can be argued that anti-Americanism in Pakistan at such a high level becomes a special case when it is also considered that Pakistan and the US have been in a close strategic partnership on many occasions since the 1950s.<sup>47</sup> At many times in history Pakistan has helped the US to achieve its strategic objectives.<sup>48</sup> Similarly, the US has also provided significant military and economic aid to Pakistan (Appendix A). Undoubtedly, both bilateral partners have experienced critical times, and at times have been unable to live up to the expectations of the other. Still, due to Pakistan's strategic location and its status as a nuclear state, the US cannot ignore Pakistan's importance, whereas the friendship of the US, as the sole world superpower and one of the major providers of military and economic aid, is also

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Opinion, and Foreign Policy', 39-65.

<sup>45</sup> Social cognition, as basis for developing social perceptions of identity of self and others, in groups and out groups, is a much more complex process. Therefore, it cannot be argued with surety that what exactly would be the proportionate contribution of the Urdu press, in development of negative public perceptions, about the US in Pakistan. But, the discourse of the popular press certainly has an important role to play, in production and reproduction of the US image. Dijk defines social cognition as "a socially shared system of SRs, a system which, however, also includes a set of strategies for their effective manipulation in social interpretation, interaction, and discourse. Located in semantic (or rather, social) memory, SRs may be conceptualized as hierarchical networks, organized by a limited set of relevant node-categories." Thus, social cognition provides the basis for developing social perceptions of identity of self and others, in groups and out groups. People in a group on the basis of social cognition develop perceptions of who they are and how they are different from others. For example, a social representation of a group may include nodes such as Appearance, Ethnic Origin, Language, Religion, Ideology and not only provides the basis of shared social knowledge but also helps to evaluate and develop general opinions about the other members within the group. Teun A. Van Dijk, 'Social Cognition and Discourse', in *Handbook of Language and Social Psychology*, ed. by H Giles and W P Robinson (John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 1990), 163–83.

<sup>46</sup> For details see, Shane Szarkowski, 'Dominant Voice, Dominant Silence: Foucault's Governmentality and the US-Pakistan Relationship', in *Voices: Post Graduate Perspectives on Inter-disciplinarity*, ed. by Kathryn Vincent and Juan Fernando Botero-Garcia (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 76–92.

<sup>47</sup> For example, they have been military allies in SEATO and CENTO, Pakistan played the role of a frontline state in the Afghan War in 1980s, and Pakistan has been an ally in the War on Terror. The US has been providing military and economic aid to Pakistan during times of close cooperation.

<sup>48</sup> For example, Pakistan played a pivotal role in the normalisation of relationship between the US and China in 1971, apart from playing role of frontline state in the two Afghan wars.

important to Pakistan.<sup>49</sup> Therefore, such strongly negative public perceptions are a disabling constraint in the smooth conduct of the bilateral relationship.<sup>50</sup>

Perceptions of a US politics of betrayal are not a new phenomenon, as references in the literature confirm that such perceptions have existed since at least 1965, when the US suspended its military aid to Pakistan during the latter's war with India.<sup>51</sup> Since Pakistan claimed itself victorious in the war, not much attention was given to "US betrayal." By 1970, the political situation in Pakistan was changing, unrest among the Bengali population was increasing, and the discourse in the Urdu press turned its focus onto the international conspiracies they claimed had been hatched or at least supervised or facilitated by the US. In the 1971 War, the US failure to rescue its ally to avert the disintegration of the country was the tipping point of public feeling about the US politics of betrayal. Perspectives describing the US as a betraying ally emerged with full force in 1971 and since then, with some variations, have persisted in the discourse of the Urdu press. Therefore, in order to understand its nature and role, it is important to study the history of this discourse along with the perspectives and themes it carries.

## 1.6 LITERATURE REVIEW

A wide range of literature exists which provides a window to understanding Pakistan-US relations from different perspectives. This section of the chapter presents a review of the relevant literature categorised according to the perspectives which provide the conceptual basis for the different categories. First, historians and academics have written most of the literature on Pakistan-US relations from a "realist" point of view. Second, plenty of personal accounts and memoirs of different government functionaries, including former heads of states, diplomats, and foreign ministers, are available. Although the purpose of such accounts is to share the personal experiences of the writer, such works have also been rationalised through a realist argument.

Third, there is a category of literature which was originally written to describe Pakistan-US relations based on some particular and non-variable pre-occupation, such as Pakistan's hostility towards India, issues of religious extremism in

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<sup>49</sup> Pakistan's neighbours include China, Iran, Afghanistan, and India. Pakistan is also close to oil rich Middle Eastern countries; For details see Daniel S. Markey, *No Exit from Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).

<sup>50</sup> For example, the NATO supplies were suspended by public, protesting against drone strikes.

<sup>51</sup> Abdul Sattar, *Pakistan Foreign Policy 1947-2009: A Concise History*, second edition (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010), 108-110.

Pakistan, and/or Pakistan's powerful military and religious clergy. These issues are presented as factors that define its identity and the national interest behind Pakistan's relationship with the US. Thus, premising itself on the national interest, this category also attempts to understand the relationship from a realist perspective. The fourth category relates to literature written from a Marxist perspective which seeks to understand Pakistan-US relations in terms of Marxist argument, that is based on class struggle. Finally, discourse analysis is a comparatively smaller category, at least in terms of the quantity of research, and has attempted to understand the nature of the relationship from the existing discourse of the media in order to judge how the Pakistani media perceives the US and vice versa.

The purpose of reviewing this literature and categorising it according to the different perspectives outlined above is to understand how writers within the different categories have attempted to deal with the "politics of betrayal" in Pakistan-US relations, in order to provide a rationalisation for this research.

### **1.6.1 Literature from the Realist Perspective**

Realists treat states as unitary and rational actors. They strongly follow a positivist methodology in believing that social phenomenon may be explained in the same way as those of the natural world. They assume that facts and values can be clearly separated and, therefore, that scientific inquiry should be based on empirical validation or falsification. They also accept that actors and concepts are exogenously given, whereas actors act in this pre-given world according to the demands of instrumental rationality.<sup>52</sup> According to the substantive theory of realism, power as defined in terms of material capabilities plays a central role in politics of all kinds.<sup>53</sup>

In this context, Robert McMahon's account focuses on the reasons why peripheral countries like India and Pakistan were drawn into the broader superpower Cold War arena.<sup>54</sup> Why did these militarily and economically "insignificant states" appeal to a superpower like the US to consider them

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<sup>52</sup> Maja Zehfuss, *Constructivism in International Relations: The Politics of Reality* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 10-12.

<sup>53</sup> Richard Lebow, 'Classical Realism', in *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, ed. by Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 52-70.

<sup>54</sup> Robert J. McMahon, *The Cold War on the Periphery: The United States, India, and Pakistan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).

important enough to extend its area of influence to these regions? The brief answer is that a combination of "strategic interests" and threats convinced the US to seriously consider these South Asian countries. But these US strategic interests remained "essentially vague, inconsistent, and inchoate [in] nature."<sup>55</sup>

McMahon argues that American foreign policy makers have been unable to consider the relative worth of Pakistan and India. In the 1950s, Pakistan was viewed as a key to the US defence of its Middle East interests, without proper knowledge of Pakistan's limits of effectiveness. In the 1960s, the US started looking towards India as a counterweight to China, a policy which was not pragmatic either.<sup>56</sup> McMahon further continues that "its alliance with Pakistan, consummated in 1954, lay at the heart of America's policy failures in the South Asia."<sup>57</sup> The objectives of entering into this alliance were different for each of the partners. America made this commitment in order to strengthen its defences in the Middle East against the perceived communist threat. Pakistan joined the alliance with the purpose of strengthening its military against "the potential threat from its chief rival," India.<sup>58</sup>

McMahon further observes that contradictions in US foreign policy were exposed in the wake of Sino-Indian War of 1962: "The Pakistanis angrily denounced their ally's military support for India, as they had earlier criticised Washington's expanded economic aid effort as a grievous betrayal."<sup>59</sup> Consequently, disenchanted Pakistani decision makers moved away from "dangerous dependence on an unreliable superpower" and turned towards China in search of new and more reliable friends.<sup>60</sup> McMahon concludes that: "the American alliance with Pakistan appears a monumental strategic blunder."<sup>61</sup> This alliance achieved little in terms of its objectives, and "added almost nothing to the overall global strength of the United States... the alliance unavoidably fostered a patron-client relationship between Washington and Karachi that proved satisfying to neither side."<sup>62</sup> On the one hand, it drained the resources of the US for little return, and on the other hand, it made Pakistan dependent on "the largesse of a

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, 8.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, 338.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, 338-339.

distant and not always reliable superpower for its very national survival."<sup>63</sup> For McMahon it is the inaccurate assessment of Pakistan by US policy makers and the contradictions in US policy, which underpin the idea of what this present research terms a US politics of betrayal.

Dennis Kux explains the relationship between Pakistan and the US as "intense and extraordinarily volatile."<sup>64</sup> He claims that "the unusual volatility has puzzled and frustrated both Americans and Pakistanis," and claims that the reason for the many ups and downs in the history of Pakistan-US relations is not "American fickleness or Pakistani stubbornness," but that the interests of both states have been at odds.<sup>65</sup> "Pakistan has been and remains fixated on India." Therefore, Pakistan's alliance with the US in the 1950s, its development of a nuclear program in the 1970s, and its wish for a friendly regime in Afghanistan have all been due to a strategy directed against India. However, except in the Bangladesh case in 1971, the US has never taken Pakistan's side against the larger state, India. The "US has never seen India as an enemy."<sup>66</sup> US interests in Pakistan have been variable in different administrations according to its perception of Pakistan's utility to support its global agenda.<sup>67</sup> Thus, Kux's reply to explain a perceived US politics of betrayal is that both partners have different interests vis-à-vis India, a situation which has resulted in policies and actions which are viewed as betrayals by one or the other, and which have caused disenchantment between the two allies.

Hafeez Malik argues that the US is not only a superpower, but also that its power constitutes an "imperial system" which in fact, regulates and influences the affairs of a large number of states all over the world.<sup>68</sup> Malik observes that strategic interests are the major driving force for US relations with India or with Pakistan. The US maintains good relations with India because it sees it as an effective counterweight against China. After every downturn in the relationship, the relations based on strategic interests become warm again when the stronger partner requires it to be so, because of its strategic interests and because

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid, 339.

<sup>64</sup> Dennis Kux, *United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Centre Press, 2001).

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, xviii.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Hafeez Malik, *US Relations with Afghanistan and Pakistan: The Imperial Dimension* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008).

“Pakistan is another state which is always willing to be a part of the American imperium.”<sup>69</sup> This has happened throughout the history of Pakistan-US relations.

Malik believes that the international environment compelled Pakistan to change its policy after 9/11. Similarly, the international environment was responsible for forcing the US to change its course in the 1990s, leaving Pakistan and Afghanistan in the lurch. Even the US’s imperial instincts are triggered by the wider environment. Therefore, conflict is not an inherent phenomenon in the nature of states but it is reflective of an international environment based on anarchy. This anarchy creates a vacuum and allows the powerful states to fill this vacuum by assuming the role of super power and managing the affairs of the world through imperialism for their own benefit. This recent imperialist view of the modern world is different from the previous European model of imperialism. The new imperialism implies an exercise of power by wielding influence over other states without capturing their territories. Thus, for Malik, the US politics of betrayal should be understood in terms of its strategic interests, which are driven through the international environment.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid, 69.

<sup>70</sup> Other works from realist perspective include Marcia Clemmitt, ‘US-Pakistan Relations: Is the Rocky Alliance Worth Saving?’, *CQ Researcher*, 21 (2011), 653–76; Gulraiz Khalid, Ahsan Nazir and Maryam Anwar, ‘Pakistan and US Relations’ (Lahore: University of Central Punjab, 2012), 1–7; Iftikhar H. Malik, ‘The Pakistan-US Security Relationship: Testing Bilateralism’, *Asian Survey*, 30 (1990), 284–99; George Perkovich, ‘Stop Enabling Pakistan’s Dangerous Dysfunction’ (Washington DC: The Carnegie South Asia Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2011); K Alan Kronstadt, ‘Pakistan-US Relations: Congressional Research Service Issue Brief for Congress’ (Washington DC: The Library of Congress, 2006); K. Alan Kronstadt, ‘Pakistan-US Relations: A Summary’ (Washington DC: Congressional Research Service, 2011); K. Alan Kronstadt, ‘Pakistan-US Relations’, *Congressional Research Service* (Washington DC: Congressional Research Service, 2012); Susan B Epstein and K Alan Kronstadt, *Pakistan: US Foreign Assistance* (Washington DC: Congressional Research Service, 2012); Susan B Epstein and K Alan Kronstadt, ‘Pakistan: US Foreign Assistance’ (Washington DC: Congressional Research Service, 2013); Husain Haqqani, *Magnificent Delusions: Pakistan, the United States and an Epic History of Misunderstanding* (New York: Public Affairs, 2013); Sohail Mahmood, ‘The Crisis in Pakistan-US Relations: Analysis of Recent Events’, *POLITACT*, 16 July 2012; Mahrukh Khan, ‘Pakistan-US Relations: A New Chapter, A New Theater’ (Islamabad: Institute of Strategic Studies, 2010); Jehangir Khan, ‘US-Pakistan Relations: The Geo-Strategic and Geopolitical Factors’, *Canadian Social Science*, 6 (2010), 61–79; Safdar Sial, ‘Pak-US A Balance Sheet of Relations’ (Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies, 2007), 1–8; Michael Kugelman, ‘Salvaging a Troubled Marriage: Lessons for US-Pakistan Relations’, *Policybrief* (Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson Centre for Scholars, 2012); Haider Ali and Hussein Mullick, ‘Recalibrating US-Pakistan Relations’, *The Washington Quarterly*, 35 (2012), 93–107; Richard E Friedman and Frank Schell, ‘The US-Pakistan National Security Relationship’, *National Strategy Forum Review*, 2009; Waqas Sohrab and Ishtiaq Ahmad Choudhry, ‘Pak-US Relations in 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Challenges and Opportunities for Pakistan’, *Berkeley Journal of Social Sciences*, 2 (2012), 1–16; Farhat Mahmud, *A History of US-Pakistan Relations* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1991); Greg Bruno and Jayshree Bajoria, ‘US-Pakistan Military Cooperation’, *Council on Foreign Relations*, 26 June 2008; Qaiser Mehmood, ‘An Analytical Study of Pakistan-US Relationship 1997-99: M.Phil Thesis’ (The

## 1.6.2 Memoirs and Personal Accounts of Government Officials

Memoirs by officials are, in essence, also a kind of literature written from realist perspectives. Mohammad Ayub Khan,<sup>71</sup> the former military ruler of Pakistan, associates his initiatives to develop the relationship with the US, and later with China, to structural forces, especially those emerging from Pakistan's eastern neighbour India.<sup>72</sup> He perceives US aid to India in the wake of the Sino-Indian War of 1962 as having been a grievous and personal betrayal by Kennedy, but does not discuss the public perceptions, the role of a discourse of betrayal, or the impacts of this betrayal on the bilateral relations of both countries.<sup>73</sup> Similarly, Pervez Musharraf makes an argument in his memoir in favour of a realist school

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Islamia University of Bahawalpur, 2010); Shashank Joshi, 'The Broken US-Pakistan Relationship', *Current History*, April 2012, 141–47; Shuja Nawaz, 'Pakistan in the Danger Zone: A Tenuous US-Pakistan Relationship' (Washington DC: South Asia Centre of the Atlantic Council of the United States, 2010); Qadar Bakhsh Baloch, 'Engagement and Estrangement in US-Pakistan Relations', *The Dialogue*, 1 (2007), 28–56; Surjit Mansingh, 'India and the Superpowers: 1966-1984', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, XXII (1987), 266–81; A. Jeyaratnam Wilson, 'The Foreign Policies of India's Immediate Neighbours: A Reflective Interpretation', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, XXV (1990), 42–59; A.Z. Hilali, 'Pakistan's Nuclear Deterrence: Political and Strategic Dimensions' (University of Hull, UK); Noor ul Haq and Muhammad Nawaz Khan eds, 'Recent Trends in Pak-US Relations', *The IPRI Fact File* (Lahore: IPRI Publications, 2011); Thomas Perry Thornton, 'Between the Stools?: US Policy towards Pakistan during the Carter Administration', *Asian Survey*, 22 (1982), 959–77; Paul J. Smith, 'The China–Pakistan–United States Strategic Triangle: From Cold War to the "War on Terrorism"', *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, 38 (2011), 197–220; George J. Lerski, 'The Pakistan-American Alliance: A Reevaluation of the Past Decade', *Asian Survey*, 8 (1968), 400–415; S. Kumar, 'Power Cycle Analysis of India, China, and Pakistan in Regional and Global Politics', *International Political Science Review*, 24 (2003), 113–22; Brigadier Rizwan Akhtar, 'US-Pakistan Trust Deficit and the War on Terror: Research Project for Master's Degree' (U.S. Army War College, 122 Forbes Ave., Carlisle, PA, 17013-5220, 2008); 'The Next Chapter: The United States and Pakistan' (Washington DC: The Pakistan Policy Working Group, 2008); Najam Rafique, 'Rethinking Pakistan-US Relations' (Islamabad: The Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad, 2011), 124–52; Craig Cohen, 'A Perilous Course: US Strategy and Assistance to Pakistan' (Washington DC: A Report of the Post-Conflict Reconstruction Project Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2007); Ted Galen Carpenter, 'A Fortress Built on Quicksand: US Policy Toward Pakistan', *Policy Analysis*, 1987; Karl Fischer and Ulrike Schultz, 'The USA and Pakistan – A Volatile Partnership', *Kas International Reports*, 4 (2012), 77–99; Aaur Rahman, *Pakistan and America: Dependency Relations* (New Delhi: Young Asia Publications, 1982); Muqarrab Akbar, 'Pakistan's Foreign Policy: Internal Challenges in New Millennium', *Berkeley Journal of Social Sciences*, 1 (2011), 1–11; Khalid Bin Sayeed, 'Pakistan's Foreign Policy: An Analysis of Pakistani Fears and Interests', *Asian Survey*, 4 (1964), 746–56; David S Chou, 'US Policy Toward India and Pakistan in the Post-Cold War Era', *Tamkang Journal of International Affairs*, 2003, 27–56; Juergen Kleiner, 'Diplomacy of Estrangement: The Dealings of the United States with Pakistan before 9/11', *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 24 (2013), 312–33.

<sup>71</sup> General Mohammad Ayub Khan (1907-1974) appointed as commander-in-chief of the Pakistan Army in 1951 and in 1954-1955 became Minister of Defence. He was appointed as Chief Marital Law Administrator on 7 October 1958 by Sikander Mirza then President of Pakistan. Later on 27 October 1958 Ayub seized office of President for himself. He remained President of Pakistan till March 1969, when he was forced to resign.

<sup>72</sup> Mohammad Ayub Khan, *Friends Not Masters: A Political Autobiography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967).

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

of thought.<sup>74</sup> He justifies his decision to give unconditional support to the US as a choice dictated by structural forces, also claiming it was a rational move to make a u-turn on Pakistan's Afghan policy in order to support the US in the War on Terror.<sup>75</sup>

Abdul Sattar, a career diplomat and an ex-foreign minister of Pakistan, also presents a realist argument. He claims that all the decisions made in Pakistan's foreign policy since 1947 had been taken independently by its decision makers in order to protect the national interest of the country. Some of these decisions proved useful and others less useful. He is also among those writers, who mention the perception of betrayal among the masses, but does not give much importance to this phenomenon and does not explain how such perceptions would have been produced or reproduced over a period.<sup>76</sup>

Jamsheed Marker is a Pakistani diplomat who has also written his memoirs.<sup>77</sup> Though his work is distinctive, as it also looks into the internal or domestic factors including the media affecting Pakistan-US relations, he ignores the contributory phenomenon of shared public perceptions or, for that matter, discourse in general or the role of the media in particular. He notes that in 1987, while the issue of Pakistan's nuclear program was a matter of contention and Pakistan was attempting to obtain approval for an aid package of 4.2 billion dollars, Pakistan's nuclear scientist A.Q. Khan's interview with an Indian journalist increased difficulties for Pakistani diplomats in Washington.

The presidency was already handicapped under the lame duck status of the final year of a second term incumbency. The Republicans' loss of the Senate majority despite Reagan's personal intervention followed by the Iran-Contra scandal, not only seriously weakened the administration, but rendered it an attractive target for Democratic opposition on every possible issue, including its firm support for Pakistan. For us the year began inauspiciously with a series of disconcerting attacks on our nuclear policy, the most significant of which were Ambassador Deane Hinton's speech at Islamabad and the publication of a report by Leonard Specter, a respected authority on nuclear issues, of the Carnegie Endowment. This was followed by Kuldip

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<sup>74</sup> General Pervez Musharraf served as Chief of Army Staff 1998-2007, served as the Chief Executive of Pakistan 1999-2001 after a successful military take over. From 2001 to 2008 he remained President of Pakistan.

<sup>75</sup> Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire*, 200.

<sup>76</sup> Abdul Sattar, *Pakistan Foreign Policy*, 108-110.

<sup>77</sup> Jamsheed Marker, *Quiet Diplomacy: Memoirs of an Ambassador of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Nayyar's interview with A.Q. Khan, published in papers all over the world, the devastating effect of which remained unrelieved despite our denials.<sup>78</sup>

Although some consideration is given to the role of the media in affecting the conduct of foreign relations by a country, Marker does not however attempt to explain the importance of public opinion, or the role of the popular press in producing and reproducing the sense of a US politics of betrayal, or its impact on bilateral relations.

Iqbal Akhund is a Pakistani diplomat who calls himself a "bystander" who has had little control or influence over events.<sup>79</sup> He notes that Pakistan's size and situation allow its diplomats "little options of action and initiative." He argues that:

Pakistan is not among those few countries that have the power or influence to shape world events and who are, relatively speaking, free agents on the world scene. Like the great majority of the world's states, Pakistan must take things as it finds them and adjust to them as well as it can.<sup>80</sup>

Akhund provides an interesting insight into the nature of Pakistan's diplomacy and its conduct of foreign relations. However, again, he does not explain the relevance of public opinion, or address the influence of the prevailing media discourse on public opinion and on the conduct of the country's foreign relations.

Overall, most personal accounts and memoirs explain the politics of betrayal in realist terms of the structural forces of the international environment which determine US interests and policies. Like most other realist accounts, they tend to ignore the relevance of public opinion both in the US and in Pakistan, and they generally do not discuss the role of the popular press in affecting public opinion and/or the bilateral relations of the country.

### **1.6.3 Literature Describing Pakistan's Preoccupations with the Internal and External Factors Affecting its Relationship with the US**

The literature addressing this theme explains Pakistan-US relations against a backdrop of particular preoccupations that not only derive from this relationship but also shape it over time and through changes in circumstances. For example, Owen Bennet-Jones states that Islamic extremists and other actors like Baluch

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid, 326.

<sup>79</sup> Iqbal Akhund, *Memoirs of a Bystander: A Life in Diplomacy* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006).

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, xvi.

and Pashtun nationalists have been calling for change and the overhauling of political institutions in Pakistan.<sup>81</sup> The influence of Islamic sentiment in the armed forces of Pakistan also cannot be denied, and has the potential to affect the future of Pakistani policy on Kashmir. These have been the major challenges and preoccupations of Pakistan's successive governments and they have continuously affected Pakistan's relations with its neighbours and with superpowers like the US.<sup>82</sup> Jones explains the politics of betrayal in Pakistan-US relations through Pakistan's preoccupations with its internal political problems.

In a similar way, Husain Haqqani explains that the relationship between the US and Pakistan has been shaped and affected by the military and religious elites in Pakistan.<sup>83</sup> Pakistan became an independent state based on the distinct religious identity of the Muslims in the former British India. After independence in 1947, the ruling elite used religious rhetoric and logic as a binding force for the nation. Because of the inexperience of the political elite, the civil and military bureaucracy controlled the system. The military demonised India using religious rhetoric against Hindu Brahmins in Congress in order to stifle internal opposition. Any parties or groups demanding their political rights were regarded as Indian agents who wanted to dismember the country. The US, in this scenario, was seen as the "country's provider of arms and finances."<sup>84</sup> However, the US was preoccupied with its global agenda, and established relations with Pakistan in order to strengthen the latter to use it to check possible communist aggression in the region. Any twists and turns in this bilateral relation should be viewed in the context of the specific and separate preoccupations of both countries.

Zahid Hussain argues that in the post 9/11 scenario, President Musharraf failed to stand firmly against the religious right.<sup>85</sup> He backpedalled on his promise to reform "controversial and discriminatory Islamic laws" that were continuously misused by "Islamic fanatics." The legislation preventing sectarian violence and the spreading of hatred was not enforced. The jihadist media, through channels such as audio and video recordings, pamphlets, books, etc., were flourishing and their material was easily available in the country. Private militias and extremist

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<sup>81</sup> Owen Bennet-Jones, *Pakistan: Eye of the Storm* (London: Yale University Press, 2002).

<sup>82</sup> Ibid, 54.

<sup>83</sup> Husain Haqqani, *Pakistan Between Mosque and Military* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2005).

<sup>84</sup> Ibid, 43.

<sup>85</sup> Zahid Hussain, *Frontline Pakistan: The Struggle with Militant Islam* (New York: IB Tauris & Co Ltd, 2007).

armies were not completely disarmed.<sup>86</sup> Musharraf failed to take concrete action against extremists, because of an “unholy alliance” which has existed between the "religious militants" and the ruling military since the inception of Pakistan. Any inconsistencies between foreign policy pledges and practice must therefore be assessed in the context of the internal handicaps that continue to preoccupy Pakistan.<sup>87</sup>

Similarly, Ahmad Rashid argues that since independence, the military in Pakistan has used the threat from India as a principal reason to build a national security state in Pakistan and to justify the prolonged rule of the military, with heavy spending committed to defence.<sup>88</sup> The military, through pro-extremist policies, has used Islamic militants to pursue Kashmir and Afghan policies, which have resulted in a strong bond between the country’s military and extremist groups.<sup>89</sup> This preoccupation has made it very difficult for Pakistan to take substantial measures "to curtail fundamentalism."<sup>90</sup> Rashid does not, however, make it clear how the "threat from India" has been communicated to people, or indeed discussed what role the media, especially the popular Urdu press, has played in the process.

Hilary Synnott analyses the issue of fundamentalism and proposes that Pakistan faces certain internal political, economic, and social challenges.<sup>91</sup> These "chronic" domestic problems have restricted the growth of its political and social institutions. The US and the other countries that have supported the military rulers in Pakistan for their own interests are also responsible for its institutional plight. Its underdeveloped institutions have not been able to deliver effectively for its own people, or for the country’s external partners like the US. In the absence of effective political and social institutions, the country is simultaneously fighting the war against terror and helping the growth of fundamentalism. The absence of effective institutions preoccupies the country and, therefore, its foreign policy decisions must be studied in this context.<sup>92</sup> Conversely, US support of the military rulers of Pakistan, restricting the growth of the political and social institutions the

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid, 184.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos: Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the Threat to Global Security* (London: Penguin, 2009), 124.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid, 145.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Hilary Synnott, *Transforming Pakistan: Ways out of Instability* (London: The International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2009).

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

country needs, could also be explained as a betrayal, but Synnott has premised his argument on the concept of national interest and demonstrates understanding of the realist argument. Consequently, Synnott also ignores the role of the media and popular press in explaining the US's role.

Shahid Amin argues that the ruling classes, narrow-minded official circles and the hate lobbies on both sides have contributed to the deterioration of relations between India and Pakistan.<sup>93</sup> Perceptions of India's efforts to undo Pakistan and Kashmir and other disputes have further worsened the situation over the decades.<sup>94</sup> Pakistan's quest for security was driven by fears aroused by its experience with India.<sup>95</sup> "The first task of Pakistani diplomacy was therefore to somehow find [a balancing power] against India. This has, ever since, remained the most important preoccupation of Pakistan's foreign and defence policies."<sup>96</sup> Thus, it was Pakistan's sense of insecurity in relation to India that pushed it to seek alignment with the US. However, Amin does not clarify the role of the Urdu press in communicating the discourse of "the hate lobbies" in India and Pakistan.

Some writers have expressed the belief that betrayal is an inherent problem in Pakistan, given the fact that India and Pakistan have a history of opposition, and for this reason, they have always remained on opposite sides. Sangat Singh, for example, makes a detailed analysis of Pakistan's foreign policy and argues that it is primarily based on "negative foundations."<sup>97</sup> Pakistan, due to its "history of enmity," has a permanent feeling of animosity against India. Therefore, all Pakistan's external relations are shaped and reshaped because of this permanent and "sole motivating factor."<sup>98</sup> Any adjustments in its foreign relations or important foreign policy decisions must always primarily be directed against India. Pakistan's decision to join alliances with the US, bringing the Cold War to the subcontinent, and its decision to develop relations with China and the USSR, were all directed against India. He also refutes Pakistan's claims of feelings of insecurity and threats from India and claims that it is not the insecurity but instead the "animosity of Pakistan" that directs its foreign relations. Following Singh's argument, the logical conclusion about the phenomenon of betrayal would be that

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<sup>93</sup> Shahid M. Amin, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: A Reappraisal*, second edition (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010).

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid*, 24.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid*, 39.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid*, 40.

<sup>97</sup> Sangat Singh, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: An Appraisal* (London: Asia Publishing House, 1970).

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid*, 173.

it is inherent in the nature of Pakistan given its permanent sense of animosity towards India and therefore, its foreign policy decisions should be seen in this context. The roles of factors like public opinion, media, and political leadership are once again not taken into account in producing and reproducing a "demonised other" in Pakistan.

Kanishkan Sathasivam, in his more balanced analysis, makes the argument that although US relations with Pakistan and India are two distinctive but related bilateral relations, "the historic rivalry and conflict between the two neighbours" provides the context for these relations.<sup>99</sup> Pakistan-US relations are cyclical in nature and have gone through various ups and downs throughout their history. Some significant events, such as the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and 9/11 attacks in 2001, have started a new cycle of relations between the two countries. However, the perceived threat from India remains the primary focus of Pakistani policy while negotiating its relations with the US.<sup>100</sup> Therefore, any significant decisions in Pakistan's foreign relations must be seen in the light of its apparently permanent "animosity against India."

Furthermore, P. James Farwell observes that Pakistanis have a fantastic ability to create conspiracy theories.<sup>101</sup> Conspiracy theorists or xenophobic writers create sensations among the public. Zaid Hamid is one example of such analysts. He is a defence analyst, and during several TV talk shows has claimed that Jewish, Christian, and Hindu lobbies have hatched conspiracies against Pakistan and the Islamic world. He also claims that the US is scared of Pakistan's nuclear capability, and that Israel, India, and the US are conspiring to destroy and dismember Pakistan.<sup>102</sup> For Zaid Hamid it is the conspiratorial nature of the US as perceived as an anti-Islamic force which defines the US politics of betrayal. Similarly, Ameer Hussain argues that the US and India are "the real enemies" of the Muslim world and Pakistan.<sup>103</sup> They are "conspiring against the nuclear

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<sup>99</sup> Kanishkan Sathasivam, *Uneasy Neighbors: India, Pakistan, and US Foreign Policy* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005).

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid*, 167.

<sup>101</sup> P. James Farwell, *The Pakistan Cauldron: Conspiracy, Assassination & Instability* (Washington DC: Potomac Books, 2011).

<sup>102</sup> Zaid Hamid, *Indus to Oxus: Memoirs, Experiences, Observations and Travels in the Melting Pot of History* (Brass Tacks, 2011); Zaid Hamid, *Mumbai - Dance of the Devil - Hindu Zionist - Mumbai Attacks and the Indian Dossier Against Pakistan* (Self Help Publishers, 2009); Zaid Hamid, 'TV Interview', *Youtube*, 2012 <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r45jslogAuk>> [accessed 10 December 2012]; Lambert M. Surhone, Miriam T. Timpledon and Susan F. Markseken, *Zaid Hamid* (VDM Publishing, 2010).

<sup>103</sup> A. Ameer Hussain, *America Aur India: Pakistan Kay Dost Ya Dushman* (Lahore: Progressive

program" of Pakistan. The US has been supportive of the Indian nuclear program but at the same time, the argument goes, it cannot allow a Muslim country to become a nuclear power. The US has strong objections to Iran's nuclear program as well. Pakistan-US relations can be better understood in the context of "conspiracies of Israel, the Jewish lobby in the US, and India."<sup>104</sup> Therefore, for Ameer Hussain, the US politics of betrayal can be rationalised through its anti-Islamic policies.

This literature describing Pakistan's preoccupations with certain factors such as demands for change in its political system, the hegemony of its military and religious clergy, Pakistan's attitude towards India, and the issue of religious extremism, explains the differences of interests and objectives of the two states. It is argued that the US politics of betrayal can be rationalised based on these preoccupations which drive the two states in different directions, with the result that, at times, they find themselves opposed to each other, a situation which is perceived as betrayal of one or the other partner. The role of the popular press in producing and reproducing "a demonised other" to establish and rationalise the politics of betrayal in international relations is generally not considered.<sup>105</sup>

#### **1.6.4 Literature from Marxist Perspective**

Mark Rupert has explained Marxist theory as means to understand "capitalism as an historically particular way of organising social life" in terms of the political, economic, and social factors affecting social relations at both domestic and international levels.<sup>106</sup> Capitalism in this view is not a phenomenon which has emerged from human nature, instead it is seen as a historically developed mode of socio-economic relations.<sup>107</sup> Capitalism is viewed as a form of social life in which human labour has become a commodity and is bought and sold on the

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Publishers, 2006).

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Other works in this category include C. Christine Fair, 'The US–Pakistan Relations after a Decade of the War on Terror', *Contemporary South Asia*, 20 (2012), 243–53; Nuzhat Maghfoor, 'India as a Factor in Pak-US Relations (1962-1971): MPhil Dissertation' (National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad, 1992); Hassan Abbas, 'Pakistan can Defy the Odds: How to Rescue a Failing State' (Institute for Social Policy and Understanding, 2009); Imran Khan, *Pakistan: A Personal History* (London: Bantam Press, 2011); Owen Bennett-jones, 'US Policy Options Toward Pakistan: A Principled and Realistic Approach' (Muscatine, IA: Stanley Foundation, 2008).

<sup>106</sup> Mark Rupert, 'Marxism and Critical Theory', in *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, ed. by Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 148–65.

<sup>107</sup> Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (Kindle Version: Amazon, 2012), 2–12.

market. Workers who are the real producers are free to sell their commodity of labour to anybody in a private owned free market economy. However, limits are put on this freedom as the means of production are in the ownership and control of private owners. Labourers therefore have to compete against each other and sell their labour to the owning class in order to get access to the means of production and to ensure their own survival by buying the material necessities for everyday life. The productive powers of human societies have been greatly increased by virtue of capitalism, but, this has been done in disabling, exploitative, and undemocratic ways.<sup>108</sup>

Tariq Ali, a prominent journalist and Marxist writer has translated this Marxist interpretation into the context of US-Pakistan relations. He believes that the US has always used Pakistan on its flight path of power.<sup>109</sup> Pakistani military and civil elites have always been used by the US to pursue its global agenda for power. As such, the US has always preferred to work with the military in Pakistan. A civilian opposition has also been supported by the US in order to maintain pressure on the military. Changes in the political setup of Pakistan have always been directed "to maintain the status quo" in the bilateral relations with the US.<sup>110</sup> In response, Ali argues, the Pakistani elites have also supported the US to "strengthen their grip on domestic power centres" and to "accumulate wealth by corruption and by abusing the aid" given by the US. Civilian and military elites cooperate with the US because the shared interest of the two is "the maximisation of power" through the accumulation of wealth.<sup>111</sup> The "greed for power and money" displayed by the Pakistani elite has actually "mortgaged the past, present, and future" of Pakistan to Washington.<sup>112</sup> The US has built up so much "influence on Pakistan" that in practice, American foreign policy "determines the domestic and external relations" of Pakistan.<sup>113</sup> For Ali, the local ruling elites have betrayed the poorest classes by siding with the international capitalist elites. The media, which is also owned and controlled by the capitalists, naturally protects the interests of the ruling elites. Consequently, there would be no point in studying a phenomenon such as the politics of betrayal.

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid, 11-12.

<sup>109</sup> Tariq Ali, *The Duel: Pakistan on the Flight Path of American Power* (London: Pocket Books, 2009).

<sup>110</sup> Ibid, 285.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid, 286.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid, 295.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid, 286.

Likewise, Feroz Ahmad, another Marxist writer, argues that in the post-colonial and post-independence period, the powerful Hindu merchant class in East Pakistan migrated to India, whereas the equally powerful trading class of Muslims migrated to West Pakistan, where the military, bureaucracy, and other centres of power were also located.<sup>114</sup> The unequal class structure of the two wings was to be addressed by the elite in the western wing, but unfortunately, no ruling class voluntarily abdicates its powers. Therefore, the theory here is that the capitalistic appetites of the West Pakistani bourgeois were further enhanced by the US's military and economic aid, which jeopardised the unity of the country.<sup>115</sup>

In another study, Feroz Ahmad analyses the 1971 break-up of Pakistan in the context of Pakistan-US relations.<sup>116</sup> He argues that US aid to Pakistan in the 1950s supported the bourgeois class of West Pakistan at the cost of the bourgeois of East Pakistan.<sup>117</sup> The US was the leading moneylender in the world in the post-World War II period and was actively looking for Cold War allies in order to provide economic and military aid to the third world ruling elites who were willing to cooperate with it. Without American economic and military aid, the West Pakistani elite would not have been able to compete with their eastern counterparts and establish a monopoly over them. Therefore, in one way or the other, the alliances with the US caused the alienation of the East Pakistani bourgeois, which ultimately resulted in breakup of the country into Pakistan and Bangladesh. Similarly, Aziz Ahmad argues that the primary interest of the US in Pakistan has been strategic, as Pakistan has always been viewed as a militarily important area that can be used to protect the US's worldwide imperialistic economic interests.<sup>118</sup> The major portion of the economic aid given by the US to Pakistan has been used to buy American commodities on unfavourable terms and has therefore caused further underdevelopment of the country.<sup>119</sup>

Overall, this selective review of the literature from the Marxist perspective shows that it explains the US politics of betrayal as a logical consequence of the tacit understanding between the ruling elite of Pakistan and the US in order to

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<sup>114</sup> Feroz Ahmed, 'Aiding Underdevelopment in Pakistan', *Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP)*, 42 (1975), 19–22.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Feroz Ahmed, 'Alliances and the Break-up of Pakistan', *Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP)*, 2 (1972), 10–12.

<sup>117</sup> Present day Bangladesh was East Pakistan before 16 December 1971

<sup>118</sup> Aziz Ahmed, 'American Alliances with Asian Countries', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 330 (1960), 59–66.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

protect their own interests. The role of the popular press is also marginalised, as the "media" is assumed to be owned and used by the capitalistic elite, which shapes public opinion to protect their own interests.<sup>120</sup>

### 1.6.5 Literature Attempting to Understand the Discourse on Pakistan-US Relations

Discourse, at least in Foucauldian terms, is "a way of speaking, thinking, or writing that presents particular relationships, situations, and events as self evidently true."<sup>121</sup> Michel Foucault describes discourse as "a complex, differentiated practice, governed by analysable rules and transformations" which may not be able to change the world or life, but at least has the potential to change their meanings.<sup>122</sup> Categories and domains of saying and doing things are specified and determined by the social and cultural organisation of discourse. The limits of what people can say and write about certain issues and themes are structured by the discourse employed. Power relations also emerge from discourse. Meaning and language are important factors in determining those power relations.<sup>123</sup> Foucault explains power as follows:

[power] is not something that is acquired, seized, or shared, something that one holds on to or allows to slip away; power is exercised from innumerable points, in the interplay of nonegalitarian and mobile relations.<sup>124</sup>

Language helps to define, contest, and construct the subjectivity of a people and their social organisation. The relations between the language used, the originator of a statement, the discourse itself and the understanding of the people hearing, reading, and interpreting the statement together determine these power relations.<sup>125</sup> Within a discourse, dominant voices exist that are most easily heard, as well as more dormant and passive voices which remain unnoticed.<sup>126</sup> Inside a discourse only certain things, events, and situations can be written, said, noted, recorded, or thought about.<sup>127</sup> Therefore, in order to challenge these

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<sup>120</sup> Other works in this category include Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, *If I Am Assassinated* (www.Bhutto.org, 2008); Vladimir Moskalenko, 'Pakistan's Foreign Policy', *Asian Survey*, 14 (1974), 267–78.

<sup>121</sup> Szarkowski, *Dominant Voice, Dominant Silence*, 76-92.

<sup>122</sup> Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1995), 211.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> Michel Foucault, 'Truth and Power', in *Michel Foucault: Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1984*, ed. by C. Gordon (London: Harvester Press, 1980).

<sup>125</sup> Shane Szarkowski, *Dominant Voice, Dominant Silence*, 76-92.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*

assumptions, a scholar has to step out of the parameters and configurations of discourse.<sup>128</sup> Foucauldian post-structuralism encourages deconstruction of the dominant voice in order to reveal the power-knowledge nexus.<sup>129</sup> To Foucault, not even suppressed voices can be trapped forever, as power's grip can always be modified in suitable conditions.<sup>130</sup> However, a precise strategy is required to recover those suppressed voices.<sup>131</sup>

Edward Said has adapted Foucault's discourse theory in terms of *Orientalism*, a term for the nature of western discourse on societies and cultures of the East, namely Asia, North Africa, and the Middle East. In doing so, Said argues that the representations offered by the western discourse are inaccurate and fictional, as such representations are tied to the western imperialist societies who produce and originate the discourse and use them as a means of asserting their authority and control over such regions.<sup>132</sup> Said further explains that the history of Asia written in the West, which is based on *Orientalism* as an intellectual norm used by western scholarship for cultural judgement, invented the "exotic East" and the "inscrutable Orient" which represented eastern cultures and societies as inferior.<sup>133</sup> This alleged inferiority is used to justify foreign/western intervention for purposes of improvement and development. In contrast to Said's thesis of *Orientalism*, Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit present their concept of *Occidentalism* and argue that the nationalist and nativist resistance in the Islamic world to the West as a source of modernisation has resulted in a stereotyped negative image of the West among both utopian radicals and nationalist conservatives in the East. These latter groups tend to view liberalism, capitalism, and secularism as destructive forces.<sup>134</sup>

In this context, Shane Szarkowski attempts to apply Foucault in order to understand the discursive construction of knowledge about the Pakistan-US relationship in relation to security, insurgency, and terrorism.<sup>135</sup> The study has examined how western analysts followed by American scholars created a dominant voice and are involved in a multilateral process to "portray and

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Michel Foucault, 'Truth and Power.'

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003).

<sup>133</sup> Ibid, 38-41.

<sup>134</sup> Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies* (New York: Penguin Press, 2004).

<sup>135</sup> Shane Szarkowski, *Dominant Voice, Dominant Silence*, 76-92.

compose a historical account in order to further concretise the image of a demonised other."<sup>136</sup> Therefore, the dominant voices of the West and the US have described Pakistan as "a failed state" through their discourse. The author, however, does not address the question of highlighting the silent or suppressed voices of Pakistani identity and self-knowledge.<sup>137</sup>

In a related way, Iftikhar H. Malik analyses the attitude of the American Press towards Pakistan movement during 1940-1947.<sup>138</sup> He argues that the coverage of the American popular press was based on "semi-truths" and "biased information" because the American media failed to ensure "the authenticity of statements before their publication" and the All India Muslim League's inability to "establish a viable public information machine in the USA to counterbalance misinformation on Pakistan."<sup>139</sup>

Zafar Ali, Mirza Jan, and Noshina Saleem have also analysed the projection of Pakistan's image in two American news magazines, *Time* and *Newsweek*, through conducting a content analysis.<sup>140</sup> The authors analysed the content published in the magazines between July and December of 2009. The study concludes that the US media predominantly projects "a negative image of Pakistan" that explains "negative public perceptions and mistrust on the US part. Pakistan is portrayed as a "failing state" due to political instability and its alleged support for terrorism. The authors argue that the US has "failed to succeed" in the War on Terror against the Taliban in Afghanistan and that therefore, its media attempts to "blame Pakistan for supporting the Taliban."<sup>141</sup> Muhammad Ashraf Khan and Fatima Imran have also conducted a similar study analysing the content published in *Newsweek*, *Time*, and *The Economist* between 26 November 2008 and May 2009.<sup>142</sup> Their study concludes that the US media projects "a negative image of Pakistan." The authors argue that journalists

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<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> Iftikhar H. Malik, *US-South Asian Relations, 1940-47: American Attitudes towards the Pakistan Movement* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991).

<sup>139</sup> Ibid, 254-255.

<sup>140</sup> Zafar Ali, Mirza Jan and Noshina Saleem, 'Portrayal of Pakistan by US Leading News Magazines', *Sci.Int (Lahore)*, 25 (2013), 965–70.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Muhammad Ashraf Khan and Fatima Imran, 'A Comparative Study of Portrayal of Pakistan in *Newsweek*, the *Time* and the *Economist* After 26/11 Incident in Mumbai: A Cultural Difference Approach', *Global Media Journal*, 2 (2009).

belonging to a different culture are unable to understand other cultures and therefore project "a negative image" of a foreign country.<sup>143</sup>

Conversely, Ayesha Ashfaq and Adnan Hussein argue that the projection of the US's image in the Pakistani media and other countries has changed from positive to negative and vice versa according to changes in its policies, foreign relations, and audience preferences. Therefore, the US's image in the Pakistani media has also changed along with the ups and downs in the Pakistan-US relationship.<sup>144</sup> Likewise, A.M. Hanan observes that Pakistani newspapers project "a positive image of the US" during times when Pakistan-US relations are comparatively smooth, and the two countries find themselves in harmony. The study argues that the press changes its tone according to the US attitude towards Pakistan.<sup>145</sup> Similarly, I.P. Cheema argues that the US projection of a negative image is a worldwide phenomenon, especially with regard to Muslim states. The US image in Pakistan has been negative because the "people of Pakistan" are "not happy" about US policies towards Pakistan.<sup>146</sup>

Noshina Saleem studied the US's image in two Pakistani English newspapers, *The Pakistan Times* and *Dawn* for the period 1979 to 1988.<sup>147</sup> According to the author's findings, during times when the US as a superpower safeguarded Pakistan's interests, the Pakistani press responded accordingly and projected a positive image. Therefore, the author argues, the projection of the US's image in the Pakistani press is interest-specific. In 1981, when the US resumed military and economic aid to Pakistan, the two English newspapers portrayed a positive and favourable image through their editorials. On the other hand, a negative image was constructed during times when the interests of the two countries diverged or the US expressed a hostile attitude. For example, when the US influenced France to cancel a deal relating to a nuclear processing plant in Pakistan, or when military and economic aid was halted under sanctions in 1990, the Pakistani press projected a negative image accordingly.<sup>148</sup> Noshina

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Ayesha Ashfaq and Adnan Bin Hussein, 'Superpower Syndrome: The Enduring Debate on Pro-Americanism and Anti-Americanism in Foreign Media', *Asian Social Science*, 10 (2014).

<sup>145</sup> A. M. Hanan, 'Media and Foreign Policy Relationships: Content Analysis of Dawn, The New York Times Editorials', *National Development and Security*, 14 (2005), 1–33.

<sup>146</sup> I. P. Cheema, 'No Need to be Upset over Anti-Americanism'  
<[http://pakobserver.net/200805/13/Article\\_sol.asp](http://pakobserver.net/200805/13/Article_sol.asp)> [accessed 1 June 2012].

<sup>147</sup> N Saleem, 'Editorial Treatment of US Image in Two English Dailies "the Pakistan Time" and "Dawn" with Special Reference to the Soviet Military Interventions: M.Phil Thesis' (University of Punjab, Lahore, 1998).

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

Saleem has also studied the role of Pakistani English newspapers in their projection of the US's image for the period 1991 to 2004,<sup>149</sup> finding that national interest determined and directed the projection of the US's image in the Pakistani press. The author also explains that the Pakistani press, being "an independent force," criticised the US War on Terror and expressed public concerns about the US military presence in Pakistan's border areas.<sup>150</sup>

F. Islam, in a similar study, evaluates US image projection in relation to the US missile attacks on Afghanistan during August-September 1998, the Washington Declaration about the Kargil War during July-August 1999, and the US President's visit to South Asia in March-April 2000.<sup>151</sup> The study examines the editorials of three English language newspapers: *Dawn*, *The News* and *The Nation*, and finds that the newspapers criticised the US and projected a negative image of the country in the case of the Kargil War and the missile attacks on Afghanistan because the US attitude was perceived as hostile to Pakistan.<sup>152</sup>

Similarly, M.A. Khan and A. Safdar analyse the projection of the US image in *Dawn* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* for the period between September 2001 and September 2004.<sup>153</sup> Their study rejects the media conformity theory and argues that the media does not necessarily conform with the foreign policy of a government. The authors observe that the Pakistani press communicated a highly "negative image of the US" on the issues of the War on Terror, the US attack on Iraq, nuclear issues, and in relation to perceived US interference in Pakistan's internal matters. The authors interestingly find the liberal and progressive *Dawn* more critical than the right-leaning conservative *Nawa-i-Waqt*, as the former clearly declared the US "an enemy country" to Pakistan. They also observe that Pakistani press remained opposed to the government's policy of support for the US led War on Terror.<sup>154</sup>

Discourse analysis, often in forms which do not draw on Foucault and Said, has been used to consider the role of the media and its discourse on Pakistan-US relations. However, most of the work based on the English language newspapers

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<sup>149</sup> Noshina Saleem, 'US Image in Pakistani English Dailies Dawn, The Nation, & The News with Special Reference to Pakistan-United States Relationships during Post Cold War Era (1991-2004): PhD Thesis' (University of the Punjab, Lahore, 2004).

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>151</sup> F. Islam, 'Image of US in Leading English Dailies of Pakistan (Dawn, the News and the Nation): M.Phil Thesis' (University of Punjab, Lahore, 2001).

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> M. A. Khan and A. Safdar, 'Image of US in Pakistani Elite Newspaper Editorials after 9/11 Incident: A Comparative Study of *the Dawn* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* with Special regard to Media Conformity Theory', *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences (PJSS)*, 30 (2010), 325–39.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

has been done for the purpose of media studies in order to judge the overall projection of the US, or of Pakistan, in positive or negative terms. The existing literature does not focus on the evolving history of the discourse, its themes and perspectives, or the ways in which such a discourse carries political implications for Pakistan-US relations.

#### **1.6.6 Discussion of the Reviewed Literature**

An important issue in relation to the foregoing literature is the level of analysis. In international relations, there are two important levels of analysis.<sup>155</sup> The first is known as the systemic level, which involves study of international relations at the level of the international system, as both independent and dependent variables. With regard to the dependent variables, patterns of state behaviour at the aggregate level are taken as an object for explaining the international system. Whereas, in the independent variable sense, the purpose of international relations theory is to explain the causal powers of the structure of the international system in understanding state behaviour.<sup>156</sup> The second level of analysis is the state level at which the purpose of theory is to explain state behaviour as a dependent variable, as it is affected by the sub state or unit level factors such as domestic politics.<sup>157</sup>

In this context, to realists national interest is a permanent thing and there is little space for the impacts of good or bad experiences in bilateral relations. When national interest requires to strengthen bilateral relations with some other state, the history of previous experiences is not expected to have any effects on the relationship. Moreover, the state is also treated as a "black box" and no deeper consideration is given to different stakeholders in the process of policymaking. For example, Hafeez Malik refers to pressure group politics and the influence of the Jewish and Indian lobbies on Pakistan-US relations, however he does not offer a deeper interpretation that how effective these lobbies are in shaping the foreign policies of Pakistan or of the US.<sup>158</sup> The influences of the media and of public opinion are also largely ignored. Both of these factors have however

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<sup>155</sup> Different writers have provided varying number of analysis i.e. two, three, four or even five levels of analysis. For details, see Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*, 13-18.

<sup>156</sup> Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 11-12.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> Hafeez Malik, *US Relations with Afghanistan and Pakistan*, 48-50.

gained increased importance in the democratic set up in shaping the national interest and interpretations of it.

It is also very common in the realist school of thought to make no distinction between short-term and long-term interests. The end of the Cold War was a major blow to realist thought because the bipolar balance of power in the international environment ended and the strategic environment and numerous national interests changed. Similarly, it is possible that a democratic process takes root in Pakistan in the near future, and political parties such as Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, Jamaat-e-Islami,<sup>159</sup> or other religious parties with anti-US rhetoric in their manifestos may come to power. If this happens, the question of whether or not such a government in Pakistan can avoid popular public perceptions of the US, especially in the presence of a free and vibrant media and politically aware masses, will be of great importance. Traditional realist thought has been unable to see beyond immediate national gains and interests of a country, and therefore have avoided discussing the future implications of Pakistani public opinion for the conduct of Pakistan-US relations.

The role of the media, political parties, and public opinion in foreign policy decision making is generally ignored in realist literature. As they exclude public opinion from the factors affecting foreign policy, realist writers ignore perceptions of betrayal, and specifically, the role of the media (especially the popular press) in producing and reproducing such perceptions. Realists explain the volatility of Pakistan-US relations as being due to changing national interests and attempts to maximise or retain power based on material factors, and for that reason, ups and downs are also driven by such interests, not by other factors or conditions. It is assumed that everything after every cycle becomes automatically the same and that these states pursue their interests in similar ways.

In summary, the realist school of thought follows a positivist ontology in assuming that reality is exogenously given and power defined in terms of interest which depends only on material realities. Security is the prime and permanent national interest, which is both measured and sought through material power. Therefore, no consideration is given to the variation of interests or even the internal conflicts of interests within states. Realists treat states as unitary, rational and the only significant actors in the international system. The role of domestic

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<sup>159</sup> Jamaat-e-Islami is rightist mainstream political party in Pakistan.

political actors like public opinion, the media, and political parties in determining the state's particular identity and behaviour is largely marginalised.

While realists mention the existence of perceptions of betrayal, but exclude public opinion as an effective factor of foreign policy. Such writers usually ignore or marginalise the importance of the phenomenon of betrayal. What they cannot explain is that national interest is perceived by states as a consequence of their particular social identities, and for this reason may not be fixed forever and should instead be considered as a dynamic process that changes over time in relation to a complex interaction of differing and conflicting agents and sub-agents within and outside the state. Governments may follow their national interest, but betrayal may affect the social perceptions of national interest. In other words, the realist writers discussed above tend to conceptualise Pakistan-US relations based on national interests and argue that the ups and downs experienced are only driven by material interest, when the process is in reality much more nuanced and complex.

The Marxist argument on bilateral relations is similar to the realist argument. The difference between the two is the ultimate impact of the decisions taken to protect the national interest. According to realist thinking, decisions taken by the ruling elite to protect the national interest ultimately benefit everyone. Marxists assume that the decisions taken by the elite to protect strategic interests only protect the interests of the elites, not those of the whole nation. Both arguments exclude the importance of significant factors like public opinion, domestic political stakeholders, and the media on bilateral relations.

Marxist literature also ignores the phenomenon of betrayal. Marxism is premised on the social evolution of societies through control of the historical means of production and of reproduction of themselves. The media, domestic political stakeholders like political parties and public opinion are seen as secondary agents of the ideological superstructure, but are also important elements of modern societies that play significant roles in the socialisation and evolutionary processes. Moreover, a phenomenon like betrayal is inherent in the behaviour of the socio-economic ruling class who will always tend to 'betray' or exploit the poor working classes in their domestic and international policies. Therefore, the phenomenon of betrayal is not taken into account because it is considered as a given reality.

The literature analysing the discourse on Pakistan-US relations attempts to deal with the role of the media in projecting a negative or positive image of the US. The majority of works from this perspective have focused on Pakistan's English language newspapers while ignoring the popular Urdu press which is more widely read and understood throughout the country. Moreover, none of the studies in this area have attempted to highlight the history of this discourse and the dominant voices, perspectives and themes privileged for inclusion, or the suppressed voices, perspectives and themes which are excluded from the discourse.

### **1.7 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THIS RESEARCH**

The objective of this research is to deconstruct the discourse of the Urdu press by analysing its news content in order to identify the dominant voices and to understand how such voices have established and rationalised a US politics of betrayal through different themes and perspectives. This is done while also recovering those voices which have remained suppressed or even silent and which could have worked as a counter argument to challenge the notions of a US politics of betrayal. Foucauldian post-structuralism encourages recovering the suppressed or silent voices in a discourse because, as was explained above, they cannot be trapped forever in a situation where power's grip can always be modified in determinate conditions with the help of a precise strategy.<sup>160</sup> Therefore, this work also intends to recover some of those unheard, excluded, and suppressed voices within the discourse through conducting interviews with prominent journalists and politicians. The complete absence or under representation of a counter argument certainly renders a discourse biased and affects perceptions in a different manner than that of a more balanced discourse.

In this background, discourse analysis serves as a methodological framework for this research. There are various kinds of discourse analyses which can be applied to study popular media discourses on relations between two countries. The term Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) more often used interchangeably with the term Critical Linguistics (CL) is one of the frequently applied frameworks for such studies.<sup>161</sup> However, critical discourse analysis having its roots in linguistics

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<sup>160</sup> Shane Szarkowski, *Dominant Voice, Dominant Silence*, 76-92.

<sup>161</sup> Ruth Wodak, 'What CDA is about - A Summary of its History, Important Concepts and its Developments,' in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. by Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (London: Sage Publications, 2001), 1.

regards "language as social practice" and considers the language to be crucial.<sup>162</sup> The focus of this research is more on the thematic meaning than on the language itself. Therefore, it is not based on critical discourse analysis and will not go into detail regarding the language structures, syntax, and grammatical choices that are applied in this discourse. Instead, it will engage with discourse analysis in a Foucauldian fashion in order to focus on the themes and perspectives included and excluded in the discourse at the macro level, with the objective of deconstructing the knowledge and highlighting its different building blocks. This deconstruction seeks to divide the discourse into different themes under which knowledge about perceived US betrayal of Pakistan has been created and rationalised since 1971. This process of deconstruction will also help to point out consistencies, changes, and excluded voices in those themes.<sup>163</sup> The nature of this present research is qualitative and subsequently its discourse analysis will yield qualitative results. Quantitative findings such as figures and numbers of published news content does not constitute the purpose as the objective is to understand the thematic structure and changing history of the discourse of the Urdu press.

Thus, the overall objective is to apply the above-described methodological framework to explain how the Urdu press in Pakistan has constructed knowledge about a US politics of betrayal since 1971 and to delineate the perspectives which might have challenged the notions of US betrayal, but which have not been included in the discourse.

### **1.8 HOW CAN THE HISTORY AND STRUCTURE OF DISCOURSE IN THE URDU PRESS BE STUDIED FOR A PERIOD OF OVER 43 YEARS (1971-2015)?**

Ideally, all the Urdu newspapers covering each interaction between Pakistan and the US should be thoroughly analysed in order to establish that the themes and perspectives regarding Pakistan-US relations have been identical and have helped to produce and reproduce the idea of US betrayal over a long period. However, such a task is too broad to attempt in the present research. Therefore, it has been practical to select two of the most popular newspapers, each of them adhering to different ideological traditions. To deal with the high volume of

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<sup>162</sup> Ibid, 1-3.

<sup>163</sup> Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 166-177.

interactions between the two states over such a long period, the selection of some significant cases which cover major portions of this time and which have been strongly portrayed as instances of a US betrayal of Pakistan has also proved helpful. These cases have been selected on the basis of their high profile, deep consequences, and importance. The most serious perceived betrayal by a partner state may be one that endangers the security and survival of its ally. Three cases of such a nature in this relationship are therefore chosen: the 1971 War leading to the creation of Bangladesh, US opposition to Pakistan's nuclear program between 1972 and 1998 and the Abbottabad operation in 2011. The background of each of these cases is set out briefly as context below.

### **1.8.1 The 1971 War**

The war between India and Pakistan in 1971 culminated in the disintegration of Pakistan and created a new independent country from formerly Pakistani territory, Bangladesh. Wars, especially wars of independence, involve multiple causal factors embedded in an extended historical course. The process of disintegration had begun long before the actual and ultimate separation was confirmed. In August 1947, based on the two-nation theory Pakistan gained its independence from the British Empire and became a country with the largest Muslim population in South Asia. Apart from religion, there was little in common between the eastern and western wings, which were separated by a thousand miles and had Indian hostile territory in between them. Their cultures, languages, and ethnicities were very different.

The majority of the population resided in the eastern wing and was overwhelmingly of Bengali origin.<sup>164</sup> People living in West Pakistan were divided in four different ethnic groups from Punjab, Sindh, North Western Frontier Province,<sup>165</sup> and Balochistan. Punjabis were the majority faction and dominated the newly independent country's military, bureaucracy, and politics. Since Independence, politicians, bureaucrats, and military officers from Punjab have dominated in power.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> Approximately 56 percent

<sup>165</sup> Renamed in 2010 as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK)

<sup>166</sup> Although the top positions like Governor General, President, Prime Minister, Army Chief etc. were held by other ethnicities, Punjabis dominated the government ministries and offices, bureaucracy, and military. The representation of Bengalis into these areas was very low and not proportionate to their population. However, according to Bose it is hard to say that this disparity was due to exploitation of West Pakistan as East Pakistan was poorer and economically weakened at the time of independence in 1947 having a fewer number of civil

The dominance of the political and bureaucratic elite of West Pakistan was not the only issue alienating the people in the eastern wing of the country. The capital of the state was located in the west and was therefore the centre of development too. The East Pakistani leaders claimed that there was a huge disparity between development expenditures spent in East and West Pakistan, which had caused the underdevelopment of the eastern wing of the country.<sup>167</sup> The status of the national language was given to Urdu, ignoring the Bengali language against the wishes of the Bengalis of East Pakistan. They were also often ridiculed by the Punjabis for their physiques and cultural habits. All these factors led to their estrangement and inspired them to demand autonomy for the province.<sup>168</sup>

The First General Elections were held on 7 December 1970 under the Martial Law government of General Yahya Khan after he had taken over from another military dictator, Ayub Khan. Khan had to step down in 1969 due to popular mass movements led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) in the west and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League in the east.<sup>169</sup> The Awami League produced a manifesto based on six points demanding maximum autonomy for the provinces leaving defence, foreign affairs, and currency under federal government control.<sup>170</sup> The PPP offered a program based on the concept of "Islamic socialism" promising food, clothes, and shelter for everyone while favouring a strong central government and opposing the six point agenda of the Awami League.<sup>171</sup>

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servants, army officers, and people holding managerial positions. But a clear disparity between the two parts of the country was a reality. Sarmila Bose, *Dead Reckoning: Memoirs of the 1971 Bangladesh War* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2014); Syed Shahid Husain, *What Was Once East Pakistan?* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011), 22.

<sup>167</sup> Bose is of the view that statistics presented by Bengali leaders were sometimes exaggerated that highlighted disparity but not necessarily discrimination.

<sup>168</sup> Syed Shahid Husain, *What Was Once East Pakistan?*, 20-34.

<sup>169</sup> Elections to be held in October 1970 were delayed until 7 December 1970 due to a cyclone catastrophe in East Pakistan. These elections were first in the sense that no direct elections on the basis of adult franchise to elect representatives for the federal government held before. However, elections on the basis of adult franchise were held for the provincial assemblies between 1947 and 1958. The elections for Punjab Assembly were held in March 1951, for North West Frontier Province in December 1951, for Sindh in May 1953 and for East Pakistan Legislative Assembly in April 1954; General Ayub Khan became President of Pakistan after a military coup in 1958 and remained in power till 1969; Pakistan People's Party (PPP) was established by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1967 and is a left of the centre mainstream political party in Pakistan, which ruled Pakistan during 1971-77, 1988-1990, 1993-1996 and 2008-2013.

<sup>170</sup> Syed Shahid Husain, *What Was Once East Pakistan?*, 21.

<sup>171</sup> Sarmila Bose, *Dead Reckoning*, 18-19.

The Awami League secured 160 out of a total 300 National Assembly seats establishing their majority to form a government.<sup>172</sup>

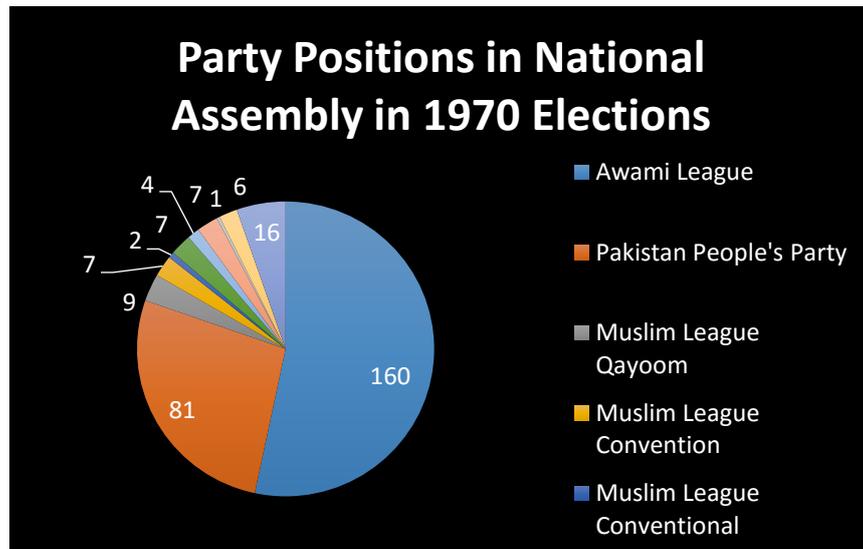


Figure 5, party positions in Pakistan's 1970 elections<sup>173</sup>

After the 1970 elections, the Awami League insisted on a new constitution on the basis of their six point agenda whereas political parties including the Pakistan People's Party wanted negotiations on the issue of provincial autonomy before the first session of the assembly was called by the President.<sup>174</sup> General Yahya called this session of the assembly at Dhaka in the east of the country on 3 March 1971. The PPP rejected the call and asked to postpone the session so that the

<sup>172</sup> The Awami League secured seventy five percent of polled votes with a turnover of fifty six percent in East Pakistan could not win a single seat in the west. Similarly, the PPP emerged as the single largest party in the west by winning 81 seats with twenty six percent of polled votes in West Pakistan and could not secure any seat from East Pakistan. Having the clear majority in the 300 seats assembly, Awami League was sure to form the government in the centre and in the provincial assembly of East Pakistan. Sarmila Bose, *Dead Reckoning*, 21-22; Syed Shahid Husain, *What Was Once East Pakistan?*, 30-34.

<sup>173</sup> M. Rafique Afzal, *Pakistan History and Politics, 1947-1971* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011), 396.

<sup>174</sup> The framing of the constitution of Pakistan was a long standing challenge for the opposing political forces in the country. The first constitution was adopted in March 1956 after nine years of independence. This constitution was abrogated in October 1958 after a coup leading to martial law by the Military Chief General Ayub Khan. The new military ruler developed and applied a second constitution in 1962 which provided for a unicameral Presidential system with the help of indirect elections. This constitution was also abolished after the imposition of martial law in 1969. The new military President and Martial Law Administrator General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan issued a Legal Framework Order on 31 March 1970 and announced the first direct and general elections to be held in October 1970 on the basis of one man one vote calling for proportional representation reserving 162 seats for East and 138 for West Pakistan. According to the Legal Framework Order the newly elected assembly would act as the legislative assembly and had to prepare a new constitution for the country within 120 days which had to be authenticated by the President. In case the assembly could not make the stipulated deadline the assembly would be dissolved and re-elected. Sarmila Bose, *Dead Reckoning*, 18-19.

major political parties could settle the issues first. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, as Chairman of the party, also threatened to launch a mass movement if his demand for postponement was not accepted. Under this pressure, President Yahya Khan rescheduled the session, an action which was viewed with suspicion by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman rejected the decision and asked for an immediate transfer of powers to the newly elected members. On 7 March 1971, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman announced a civil disobedience movement and proposed the non-acceptance of any orders and instructions from the federal government.<sup>175</sup>

The military government banned the Awami League and took military action by launching "Operation Searchlight" on 25 March 1971. The Awami League was banned and all other political parties were suspended. Strict censorship on the media was also imposed. The militant separatists "Mukti Bahini" announced the independence of East Pakistan and resisted the Pakistan Army. India entered into the war on 3 December 1971. The war ended on 16 December 1971 after the Indian forces entered Dhaka and the Pakistani military officially surrendered. Therefore, in the end, Pakistan's internal political problems resulted in the disintegration of the country. However, Indian military intervention gave the issue an international dimension. Pakistan expected the US, its military ally, to be supportive enough to defend its national security and integrity. However, President Nixon and his National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger had to try to convince an opposing Congress to lift bans on Pakistan's military and economic support.<sup>176</sup> Consequently, the US, in spite of being a military ally of Pakistan, could not help it to avert its territorial disintegration and, in its lack of action, appeared to betray its ally.

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<sup>175</sup> Sarmila Bose, *Dead Reckoning*, 22-24.

<sup>176</sup> The US military supplies to both India and Pakistan were already suspended since 1965. The Republican President Richard Nixon known for having soft corner for Pakistan vis-à-vis India was elected in 1969. Since his taking charge of the office, Nixon was interested in normalisation with China especially due to American deteriorated relationship with the USSR. Nixon objective was to take China on board to isolate the USSR. He wanted to utilise his good relationship with Pakistan to achieve objectives of his China policy.



Figure 6, General A.K. Niazi of Pakistan Army signing the document of surrender on 16 December 1971.<sup>177</sup>

### 1.8.2 Pakistan's Nuclear Program

In response to the Indian nuclear explosions in 1974, Pakistan, having had a bitter recent experience of disintegration, facilitated through Indian intervention in the 1971 War, decided to change the direction of its nuclear program. Pakistan signed an agreement with France for a nuclear reprocessing plant, an act which was opposed by its ally, the US. France, under US influence, changed the terms of the deal, resulting in its cancellation by the end of 1978. Moreover, the US imposed sanctions restricting Pakistan's economic aid in April 1979, suspecting its developments of nuclear weapons.<sup>178</sup>

US aid to Pakistan was resumed in early 1980s to enable the US to pursue its interests in Afghanistan. As the war in Afghanistan ended, the US interest in the region evaporated, resulting in the re-imposition of sanctions on US aid once again. Pakistan finally conducted its nuclear tests in May 1998 following Indian nuclear tests, resulting in increased sanctions on economic and military aid.<sup>179</sup> These new sanctions were perceived as a further betrayal of Pakistan by its ally.

### 1.8.3 The Abbottabad Operation

After 9/11, Pakistan accepted its position of a frontline state in the US led War on Terror against the Taliban and Al Qaeda. Pakistan lost thousands of lives including both civilians and military men and suffered financial losses of around 60 billion dollars. Despite this, Pakistan was suspected of supporting the Taliban

<sup>177</sup> Photograph taken from web <<http://www.bharat-rakshak.com/1971/Dec16/>> [accessed 1 June 2013].

<sup>178</sup> Adrian Levy and Catherine Scott-Clark, *Nuclear Deception: The Dangerous Relationship between the United States and Pakistan* (New York: Walker & Company, 2008).

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

in Afghanistan even though the country's army was fighting against the Taliban and other terrorist groups in Pakistan. Al Qaeda's Head, Osama bin Laden, who was the most wanted person in the War on Terror, was killed on 2 May 2011 in Abbottabad as the result of unilateral action taken by the US. Pakistan's intelligence and military services and government authorities were suspected of "complicity or inefficiency" in not having located Bin Laden before then. The US operations caused embarrassment to Pakistan by violating its sovereignty and not taking it into confidence. Pakistan was also enraged because it faced threats to its security and survival and perceived the US to have betrayed its ally.<sup>180</sup>

## 1.9 METHODOLOGY

For analysing the discourse of the Urdu press with regard to Pakistan-US relations, news content published about the above three cases, namely, the 1971 War, Pakistan's nuclear program and Osama bin Laden's killing in the Abbottabad operation were collected from two of the most popular Urdu newspapers in Pakistan, *Nawa-i-Waqt* and *Jang*.<sup>181</sup> The archives of the two newspapers exist mostly in hard-copy print form, and are stored in Pakistan. The required content from the newspapers was accessed from the Central Library of Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan and the District Library, Bahawalpur, between January-August 2014.

The newspaper content was archived and analysed in three stages. At the first stage, any content about the US-Pakistan relations appearing in the newspapers was captured through a digital camera and systematically stored in an external hard drive. The data for the two newspapers was stored separately. For each newspaper the data was stored in different folders created for each year starting from 1970. At the second stage, headlines and titles of the archived news content were carefully read to separate the news content related to the three selected cases of the US betrayal that is the 1971 War, Pakistan's nuclear program, and the Abbottabad operation. At the third stage, the news content was read thoroughly in order to organise the content into different themes creating separate electronic folders. The news content organised into different themes helped to analyse the discourse and write up of this present thesis.

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<sup>180</sup> Husain Haqqani, *Magnificent Delusions: Pakistan, the United States and an Epic History of Misunderstanding* (New York: Public Affairs, 2013), 271-316.

<sup>181</sup> News content, means editorial, news articles, columns, cartoons, and pictures published in the newspapers. Commercial advertisements were not included in the news content.

Semi structured interviews with some senior and prominent journalists and politicians were conducted as a strategy to recover the suppressed and excluded perspectives in the discourse (Appendix D). Senior and prominent means those mainstream journalists and politicians who have been in their profession ideally since or before 1971, or have at least written or spoken on different issues of Pakistan-US relations including the 1971 War, Pakistan's nuclear program and the Abbottabad operation. Since the purpose of this aspect of the present research was to identify the perspectives which were not represented in the discourse, the interviews were continued until it appeared that no additional perspectives were forthcoming, and most of the perspectives mentioned were being repeated. In total, twenty interviews were conducted, and these took place between January-August 2014.

#### **1.10 LIMITATIONS OF THIS RESEARCH**

First, this research is based on data drawn from the two Urdu newspapers, and therefore a generalisation about discourse in the Urdu press and the Pakistani media should be made keeping this fact in mind. The analysis is solely based on the data related to the three cases selected for this research and therefore, generalisation about this discourse must also keep this fact in mind.

Interviews for this research were conducted to discover the existence of some of the perspectives excluded with regard to the three cases. However, these interviews do not serve as a survey and this research cannot comment regarding the proportion of these alternate perspectives among Pakistani journalists and politicians. Although this research gives useful insight into the included and excluded themes and perspectives, it is not a comprehensive history of discourse in the Urdu press covering all interactions between Pakistan and the US. Moreover, due to time and space constraints, this research only focuses on discourse in the popular press on the Pakistani side, and does not analyse the US side.

This research also does not focus on psychological factors of public/individual perception and only discusses the history, themes, and perspectives of the discourse which are important in understanding the US politics of betrayal presented in the discourse.

## **1.11 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS**

This thesis is divided into five chapters. The current chapter has introduced and discussed the phenomenon of public perceptions of US betrayal, the importance of such perceptions to Pakistan-US relations, and the role of the media in the development of such perceptions. The chapter has also reviewed a wide range of relevant literature on Pakistan-US relations in order to highlight the gap therein and determine an appropriate conceptual framework. This chapter then discussed the methodology and limitations of this research.

Chapter two explains the Urdu press discourse on the 1971 War, as the first significant case of perceived US betrayal. The chapter explains how the dominant voices in the Urdu press produced and reproduced a sense of a US politics of betrayal in relation to the disintegration of Pakistan. In its conclusion, the chapter also discusses the alternate perspectives which did not appear in the Urdu press.

Chapter three discusses Pakistan's nuclear program and the US opposition to it and analyses the Urdu press discourse on the issue. The chapter attempts to explain how the dominant voices of the Urdu press produced, rationalised, and developed a discourse on a US politics of betrayal on the issue. Likewise, some of the alternative voices recovered through interview research are presented in the chapter.

Chapter four analyses the Urdu press discourse on the Abbottabad operation in 2011 and explains how the dominant voices presented it as a violation of Pakistan's sovereignty, thus confirming the event as a US act of betrayal and providing the rationalisation for such an act in terms of a developing discourse of US betrayal. Similarly, this chapter also presents some of the key alternative voices within Pakistan on the issue.

Chapter five concludes this research and discusses its findings in order to sum up the main themes and the excluded voices in the discourse. It argues that the idea of US betrayal has been produced, reproduced, and rationalised since 1971. This chapter also reviews how this discourse in the Urdu press has evolved over the period under study.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE 1971 WAR AND THE US POLITICS OF BETRAYAL: A STORY OF SHATTERED HOPES

The 1971 War between India and Pakistan, which resulted in the latter's territorial disintegration and the independence of Bangladesh, was a difficult situation for the US as a military ally of Pakistan. On the one hand, the US was accused of betrayal for not providing sufficient support to Pakistan to protect its territorial integrity.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, some in the international community also blamed the Nixon administration for offering unnecessary support by ignoring Pakistan's military operation and human rights violations in East Pakistan.<sup>2</sup> The Urdu press in Pakistan reflected the former view of the US's conduct.

After Kissinger's visit to China in July 1971, the US was appreciative of Pakistan's role, as hopes were high for normalisation of the US-China relationship, and as a result, the balance of power was expected to tilt in favour of Pakistan.<sup>3</sup> The US's supportive attitude during the crisis was reported by *Jang and Nawa-i-Waqt*, which possibly raised the expectations of the Pakistani people of what they could expect from their ally. The prominent voices in the discourse included the opinions of newspapers, journalists, and politicians across the right-left spectrum. The opinions published in the Urdu press subsequently constructed an image of the US as a betraying ally, which was suspected of conspiring against Pakistan as a Muslim country. The US was also accused of always being willing to have cordial relations with much larger India to use it as a counterweight against China, as well as being responsible for the underdevelopment of East

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<sup>1</sup> Abdul Sattar, *Pakistan Foreign Policy*, 132-134; Qayyum Nizami, *Pakistan-America Bantey Bigartey Tluqaat: Sovereign or Slave State* (Lahore: Jahangir Books, 2008); Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, *The Great Tragedy* (Lahore: Fact Publications, 1971); Iram Khalid, *Pakistan Foreign Policy: Evolution, Development, and Strategies*, ed. by Iram Khalid (Lahore: Peace Publications, 2013); Shahid M. Amin, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy*; Muhammad Asif Malik, Muhammad Hassan Ahmad and Tamkeen Anjum, *Foreign Policy Analysis: Pakistan in World Affairs* (Lahore: Publishers Emprium, 2009); Iqbal Akhund, *Memoirs of a Bystander*; Khurshid Hyder, 'United States and the Indo-Pakistan War of 1971', in *Readings in Pakistan Foreign Policy 1971-1998*, ed. by Mehrunnisa Ali (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001).

<sup>2</sup> Syed Shahid Husain, *What Was Once East Pakistan?*; Shuja Nawaz, *Crossed Swords: Pakistan, its Army, and the Wars within* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008); David M. Malone, *Does the Elephant Dance? Contemporary Indian Foreign Policy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Kamal Hossain, *Bangladesh: Quest for Freedom and Justice* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013); Gray J Bass, *The Blood Telegram: Nixon, Kissinger, and a Forgotten Genocide* (Knopf, 2013); Sarmila Bose, *Dead Reckoning*.

<sup>3</sup> *The Daily Jang*, news article, 1 August 1971, p.3.

Pakistan, causing civil unrest leading to demands for autonomy and separation, and of being unable to protect its ally from territorial disintegration in the wake of Indian aggression. Therefore, the shattered expectations of Pakistanis were strengthened by discursive representations which emphasised external factors instead of internal ones and even offered biased and misleading facts regarding the disintegration of Pakistan.

Section 2.1 of this chapter analyses how the discourse raised the expectations of the people about the US capacity to restrict war or at least to ensure Pakistan's security. This later led to feelings of US betrayal in the 1971 War due to its inability to save an ally from defeat and disintegration. Section 2.2 discusses the idea of a US conspiracy which was used to rationalise the perception of a US politics of betrayal. Section 2.3 explains the modalities of the US conspiracy presented as evidence of the conspiracy which were used to crystallise understanding of a US politics of betrayal in the 1971 War. Section 2.4 analyses the different causes of the conspiracy and US betrayal. Section 2.5 gives some alternate voices recovered through the interviews for this research, which rejected the idea of any form of US betrayal or conspiracy in relation to the 1971 War. Section 2.6 concludes the chapter by consolidating the argument regarding the perception of a US politics of betrayal in the 1971 War by referring to both the included and excluded voices of the discourse.

## **2.1 PERCEIVED STRATEGIC ADVANTAGE OF THE US-CHINA RAPPROCHEMENT**

The close strategic and friendly relations between Pakistan and the US were not very good since 1962, when the US increased its military aid to India against China. On the other side, the US was also annoyed with Pakistan for developing its ties with China in the period after Sino-Indian War of 1962. Although excitement over the US-China rapprochement in 1971 was a natural reaction on Pakistan's side, in fact, Pakistan played an important role in bridging the gaps between the US and China as it facilitated communication and contacts between the two countries. Consequently, *Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* expressed their enthusiasm over the changed circumstances (as shown in Figure 7).



Figure 7, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 18 July 1971 published this cartoon to reflect Pakistan's excitement and India's concerns with regard to opening of relations between China and the US. The cartoon showed President Yahya Khan bringing closer President Nixon and Chairman Mao Zedong to shake hands while in the background Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was shown as worried. The caption of the cartoon read, "what will happen now? (Indira Gandhi looked worried) Pakistan has played an important role in bringing both (China and the US) closer."<sup>4</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* argued that these changed circumstances and Pakistan's role in bringing them about would favour Pakistan's security, as it would result in strategic advantages to Pakistan and disadvantages to India.<sup>5</sup> It was argued that the US would feel obliged and in consequence Pakistan's influence over the US would increase vis-à-vis India. Where earlier Pakistan's relationship with China was believed to be the major reason for driving the US and Pakistan away from each other. Now in changed circumstances Pakistan would be able to get more military and economic aid. Moreover, the balance of power in South Asia would shift in favour of Pakistan thereby enhancing its security. The changed circumstances were also explained favourable because it would cause a strategic and diplomatic disadvantage to India as the US was expected to put its weight on Pakistan's side.

### 2.1.1 Expected increase in Pakistan's Influence on the US

First and foremost, it was argued that Pakistan would have more influence on the US vis-à-vis India. For example, *Nawa-i-Waqt* reported with a sense of excitement that President Yahya Khan in his forthcoming visit to the US in July 1971 would be able to inform President Nixon about India's "hostile and

<sup>4</sup> *The Daily Nawa-i-Waqt*, cartoon, 18 July 1971, p.1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 26 July 1971, p.1.

aggressive" attitude.<sup>6</sup> Consequently, the US was expected to do something about "Indian aggression."

In August 1971, the American House of Representative's Committee on Foreign Affairs attempted to force Pakistan to accept US foreign policy by putting a condition of suspending the aid until Pakistan accepted all the refugees back from India in the early stages of the 1971 crisis.<sup>7</sup> President Yahya Khan said in an interview that Pakistan would not accept any conditional aid. *Jang* appreciated his stance and concluded in an editorial that the President had clearly told the superpowers that in his presence none of them could make Pakistan a slave under pressure, for the sake of its selfish interests.<sup>8</sup> To confirm Pakistan's increased influence on the US, President Nixon was reported by *Nawa-i-Waqt* and *Jang* criticising the committee's attempt by arguing that it would not resolve the issue of East Pakistan.<sup>9</sup>

Moreover, *Jang and Nawa-i-Waqt* also noted that some members of the American House of Representatives demanded that India's aid should be stopped immediately in order to protect Pakistan against "India's designs" for Pakistan's disintegration. Republican member of the house, Edward Derwinski demanded that America should not cooperate with "criminal Indian foreign policy." He also insisted on continuing every kind of aid to Pakistan because its suspension would clearly mean that the US intentionally wanted to weaken Pakistan. For that reason, he requested that if it was necessary to establish that Pakistan was justified in receiving aid, before resuming the same and to create a balance, India must also not be given any kind of aid.<sup>10</sup> Edward Derwinski was also reported to argue that Pakistan was facing a difficult situation at home and he had little doubt that India would not try to exploit the conditions. "With all due respect to the Indian government," he went on to say, that their foreign policy was an attempt to "cover their internal blunders," and had started the "propaganda against Pakistan." He would not "bear at any cost" that Americans directly or indirectly cooperated with "such a foreign policy."<sup>11</sup> Thus, the discourse of *Jang and Nawa-*

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, news article, 8 August 1971, p.1; *Jang*, news article, 9 August 1971, p.1; A huge number of East Pakistanis migrated to India in the wake of Pakistan's military operation in East Pakistan started in March 1971.

<sup>8</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 5 August 1971, p.2.

<sup>9</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 7 August 1971, p. 8; *Jang*, news article, 6 August 1971, p.1., news article, 7 August 1971, p.1., and news article, 9 August 1971, p.1.

<sup>10</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 8 August 1971, p.1; *Jang*, news article, 9 August 1971, p.1.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

*i-Waqt* attempted to establish that in the changed circumstances Pakistan had comparatively more influence on the US administration which could be used against India and in benefit of Pakistan.

### **2.1.2 More Aid to Pakistan**

The changed circumstances were also explained as beneficial to Pakistan because there was a hope that as the result of improved relations, Pakistan would be able to get more military and economic aid from the US.<sup>12</sup> For instance on 27 July 1971, *Nawa-i-Waqt* reported that Pakistan would be able to get American military equipment of rupees 50 million, in excess to the equipment already agreed with the US.<sup>13</sup> The Urdu newspapers hoped that Pakistan would also be able to get some additional economic aid. Thus, in August 1971, the US approved a wheat purchase package of 10.7 million dollars for Pakistan, and a million dollar aid for East Pakistan on top of 70 million dollars aid already provided.<sup>14</sup> Additionally, President Nixon announced two million dollars more aid to Pakistan, arguing that there was already food shortage in East Pakistan, and the situation could get more averse if appropriate actions were not taken.<sup>15</sup> An editorial in *Jang* appreciated the American aid and regarded it as useful aid to Pakistan.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, it emerged through this discourse that Pakistan's efforts to bring China and the US closer were rewarding Pakistan in its securing more military and economic aid.

### **2.1.3 Strategic Disadvantage of India**

The Urdu press also explained the changed circumstances as a disadvantage to India. *Nawa-i-Waqt* explained that India used to get aid from the US, under the "pretext of the Chinese threat." However it would not be able to receive such aid anymore due to change in US-China relations. Moreover, after US and China coming closer with help of Pakistan, it was logical that both of them would support Pakistan, causing isolation to India. It was argued that Pakistan had not only

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<sup>12</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 26 July 1971, p.1.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 27 July 1971. p.1.

<sup>14</sup> *Jang*, news article, 2 August 1971, p.1.

<sup>15</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 7 August 1971, p. 8; *Jang*, news article, 6 August 1971, p.1., news article, 7 August 1971, p.1. and news article, 9 August 1971, p.1.

<sup>16</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 25 August 1971, p.2.

successfully won two strategic partners onto its side, but also had deprived India of an important supporter (as shown in Figure 8).<sup>17</sup>



Figure 8, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 30 July 1971 published this cartoon to reflect Indian frustration over China and the US siding with Pakistan. The cartoon showed that Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was using a pair of binoculars to find new strategic partners. The caption of the cartoon read, "we are left alone in this world (Indira Gandhi) India started to find new partners against America and China."<sup>18</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* observed that the immediate impact was India's anxiety and searching for allies against a China-America-Pakistan developing nexus. It was argued that the treaty of friendship signed between India and the USSR in August 1971 was actually driven by pressure created by this reconciliation (Figure 9).<sup>19</sup> A news article disclosed that India was also frustrated over US consideration of military aid to Pakistan. The Indian Minister of Defence Jagjivan Ram was reported to have said that American leaders seemed "mentally abnormal" as they were attempting to damage the cause of democracy and freedom, for which US itself had struggled.<sup>20</sup>



Figure 9, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 12 August 1971 published this cartoon to reflect Indian efforts

<sup>17</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 29 July 1971, p.1. and news article, 26 July 1971, p.1.

<sup>18</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, cartoon, 30 July 1971, p.1.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, editorial, 13 August 1971, p.3.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 16 August 1971, p.1.

to find new strategic partners against Pakistan, China, and the US. The cartoon showed Indira Gandhi embracing the USSR in response to the US and China standing together. The caption of the cartoon read, "peace treaty signed between the USSR and India."<sup>21</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* observed that India which was earlier supposed to be supported by both the US and the USSR, now was being seen as backed by the Soviets alone.<sup>22</sup> Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi was to visit the US in November 1971 and was expected to press for suspension of aid to Pakistan. However, it was reported that she would not be able to convince Nixon as he had already decided in the favour of Pakistan (Figure 10).<sup>23</sup> The US Secretary of State, William Rogers, clarified the position by telling the media that America was not pressing Pakistan for any particular political solution of East Pakistan, whereas he had advised India to remain patient and adopt a reconciliatory approach.<sup>24</sup> India rejected American appeals to avoid war while hastened its war preparations, but the US along with other major powers, continued trying to influence both India and Pakistan to avoid war.<sup>25</sup> Thus the US was characterised as pro-Pakistan in the cause of peaceful resolution of situation.



Figure 10, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 23 August 1971 published this cartoon to reflect the changed attitude of the US towards India. The cartoon showed Indira Gandhi begging for aid while President Nixon putting conditions on the aid. The caption of the cartoon read, "Nixon warns Indira: accept the suggestion for appointing the [UN] observers [on the border of India and East Pakistan, as suggested by Pakistan] or the [US] economic aid [to India] will be discontinued."<sup>26</sup>

According to both *Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt*, during the Indian Prime Minister's visit, Nixon advised Indira Gandhi to remove military forces from Pakistan's

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, news article, 12 August 1971, p.1.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, editorial, 17 August 1971, p.3.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, news article, 10 September 1971, p.2.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, news article, 3 October 1971, p.1; *Jang*, news article, 3 October 1971, p.1.

<sup>25</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 21 October 1971, p.1.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, cartoon, 23 August 1971, p.1.

border. She protested against US supply of weapons to Pakistan. She was described as failing to achieve the objectives of her visit, as America would not allow conflict between India and Pakistan.<sup>27</sup> Reportedly, Indira Gandhi remained unsuccessful in convincing the US to stop aid to Pakistan (Figure 11). However, differences between the Indian and American positions were clear, as India would not call its forces back from the border. Indira Gandhi agreed to talk to President Yahya Khan but only on controversial issues other than East Pakistan. Indira Gandhi also argued that East Pakistanis had elected their representatives, and therefore any talks regarding Bangladesh should be with the elected representatives, not with the military government.<sup>28</sup> After her visit to the US, *Jang and Nawa-i-Waqt* observed that Indira Gandhi was upset with the world, for not being able to understand her point of view, whereas she was determined not to pull back at any cost.<sup>29</sup> On the other side, President Nixon was also in favour of continuing to help Pakistan under the foreign aid program considering it essential for peace.<sup>30</sup> The Pakistani newspapers were hopeful that foreign countries including the US would not support India if it attacked Pakistan.<sup>31</sup>



Figure 11, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 24 October 1971 published this cartoon to argue that President Nixon to Indira Gandhi's disappointment denied accepting Indian position over the issue of East Pakistan. The cartoon showed Indira Gandhi walking with the Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin towards a fantasy house named Bangladesh, while attempting in vain to invite President Nixon to join them. The caption of the cartoon read, "America refused to be trapped into Bangladesh catch: Indira complains."<sup>32</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, news article, 6 November 1971, p.1; *Jang*, news article, 6 November 1971, p.1.

<sup>28</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 7 November 1971, p.1; *Jang*, news article, 7 November 1971, p.1.

<sup>29</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 8 November 1971, p.1; *Jang*, news article, 8 November 1971, p.1. and news article, 9 November 1971, p.1.

<sup>30</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 11 November 1971, p.1; *Jang*, news article, 12 November 1971, p.1.

<sup>31</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 12 November 1971, p.1.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, cartoon, 24 October 1971, p.1.

Overall *Jang and Nawa-i-Waqt* explained the changed circumstances as a disadvantage to India because the US being closer to Pakistan and losing interest in India as a counterweight to China, would give less importance to India. These changed circumstances were expected to favour Pakistan as the US would not be interested in giving military and economic aid to India, and it would support Pakistan's stance on the issue of East Pakistan.

#### **2.1.4 Diplomatic Disadvantage of India**

Pakistan's role in the US-China rapprochement was also interpreted as disadvantage to India not only in its bilateral relations with the US but also at the UN and multilateral diplomacy. President Nixon was reported demanding India stop the potential war and step back. On 29 November 1971, *Nawa-i-Waqt* reported that America had serious concerns about the situation in East Pakistan, and Nixon also asked the USSR to use its influence to stop India from war. In his letter to President Yahya Khan, President Nixon expressed his apprehensions about the situation. According to *Nawa-i-Waqt*, President Nixon promised that America was opposed to the war, and wished to settle the issues, and would try its best to avoid the situation getting worse in South Asia.<sup>33</sup>

According to *Jang and Nawa-i-Waqt*, the US in consultation with Britain had decided to take up the issue of India-Pakistan war at the UN.<sup>34</sup> It was also reported that America had also declared its support for Pakistan's suggestion of appointing UN observers on the borders of India and Pakistan to avoid escalation.<sup>35</sup> However, India did not agree to the suggestion and in consequence, the US stopped all its military supplies and licences for telecommunications and electronic equipments to India.<sup>36</sup> On 5 December 1971, the US also threatened to stop financial aid to India when India attacked Pakistan.<sup>37</sup> India was perceived as diplomatically isolated in the world.

On 5 December 1971, *Jang and Nawa-i-Waqt* disclosed that the American resolution in the Security Council was vetoed by the USSR. It was argued that an Indian and Soviet "conspiracy against Pakistan" was unveiled. The newspapers explained that the USSR had asked the Security Council to resolve the political

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid, news article, 29 November 1971, p.1.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, news article, 27 November 1971, p.8.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, news article, 2 December 1971, p.1.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, news article, 5 December 1971, p.8; *Jang*, news article, 3 December 1971, p.1. and editorial, 4 December 1971, p.3.

<sup>37</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 6 December 1971, p.8.

issue of East Pakistan while America claimed that India had committed "military aggression" against Pakistan. The resolution demanded both countries to stop the war and return military forces to their borders. Reportedly, although backed by the USSR, India's isolation at international level was visible as eleven members voted to support the resolution, two France and Britain abstained, whereas only two the USSR and Poland voted against it.<sup>38</sup> The USSR used its veto power a second time in twenty-four hours. The Soviet resolution about ending the war and massive killings within East Pakistan were backed by Poland and the USSR.<sup>39</sup> Pakistan's Urdu press reported India being isolated at the UN.

Pakistan's efforts for US-China rapprochement were further perceived to be paying back when the Chinese resolution was discussed and American representative George Bush argued that time must not be "wasted" as the world was looking at the Security Council. Bush was also reported to have explained that India had started a large scale offensive against East Pakistan with a hundred and twenty thousand soldiers, and therefore it was the duty of all the Security Council members to stop India from this "aggression." He further said that the crisis resulting from Indian attack should be resolved and must not be used as a political issue. The Security Council could not do anything and the session was suspended once again.<sup>40</sup> However, *Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* emphasised the full support of the US and China for Pakistan's security, although checkmated by the USSR backing India, at the Security Council.

Moreover, *Nawa-i-Waqt* reported that the US and China did not give up their support and they took the matter to the UN General Assembly, where the resolution demanding an end to the war and return of military forces to the borders was passed. American support was once again visible when on 9 December 1971 the American representative George Bush was reported to have told the General Assembly that responsibility for the current crisis lay with India.<sup>41</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt* endorsed Pakistan's representative to the UN Agha Shahi saying that the General Assembly's resolution about a ceasefire was Pakistan's "moral and political victory." The American representative Bush regarded Indian

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid, news article, 6 December 1971, p.1; *Jang*, news article, 7 December 1971, p.1.

<sup>39</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 7 December 1971, p.1.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, news article, 9 December 1971, p.1.

interference in East Pakistan as "unjust" and moreover India refused to accept the resolution.<sup>42</sup>

Hence *Nawa-i-Waqt* and *Jang* through their news coverage and editorial content highlighted the US providing full diplomatic support to Pakistan in opposing India at the UN and also attempting to influence the USSR in regard to the issue of the 1971 War. India was argued to have a disadvantage in its international diplomacy.

### 2.1.5 Balance of Power Shifting in Favour of Pakistan - Yet Not Enough to Save it from Disintegration

In wider terms, the changed circumstances were argued to be as a shift in the balance of power in favour of Pakistan. According to a news article, the US stopped its spy flights over China in July 1971, which was an indication of the changed relationship between the two countries. The initiative which symbolised initiation of cordial relations between China and the US was appreciated by *Nawa-i-Waqt* by explaining it as a strategic advantage to Pakistan.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, the US also made it clear to India that in case of an India-Pakistan war, if China intervened, the US would not provide any support to India (Figure 12).<sup>44</sup>



Figure 12, the cartoon published on 31 July 1971 in *Nawa-i-Waqt* reflected the US indifferent attitude to India vis-à-vis China. The cartoon showed Indira Gandhi trying to call President Nixon for help telling him about Mao Zedong trying to trespass Indian territory. The caption of the cartoon read, "America will not provide any help to India if China intervenes in Pakistan-India war."<sup>45</sup>

In July 1971, Pakistan informed the US and other powers about Indian shelling across the Pakistani borders with a hope that they would stop India from

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, news article, 11 December 1971, p.1.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, news article, 30 July 1971, p.1. and editorial, 1 August 1971, p.3.

<sup>44</sup> *Jang*, news article, 1 August 1971, p.8.

<sup>45</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, cartoon, 31 July 1971, p.1.

escalating the situation.<sup>46</sup> In this context, *Jang* advised the US and other powers to think how they could stop the probable war, when Pakistan was ready to respond to the Indian aggression.<sup>47</sup> It was a good sign for Pakistan that the spokesperson of the State Department expressed concerns over any situation that might lead to war between the two countries.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, *Jang and Nawa-i-Waqt* urged the United Nations and the superpowers to take some immediate steps to stop India in order to avoid the probable war, as it was feared that such a war could potentially involve the USSR and China.<sup>49</sup> In August 1971, President Nixon during a meeting of National Security Council warned India that an attack on Pakistan would have "serious consequences."<sup>50</sup> On 6 August 1971, *Jang* had already observed that one of the purposes of Nixon's forthcoming visit to China was pursuance of peace in South Asia.<sup>51</sup> Therefore, *Jang* argued, President Nixon's statements and intentions seemed in favour of Pakistan's security and the US was perceived putting its weight on Pakistan's side in a new balance of power in Asia.<sup>52</sup>

Consequently, it was observed by the Urdu press that America was trying to reduce the chances of war between India and Pakistan. It was argued that India was "exaggerating" the "dangerous situation" in South Asia. On 26 August 1971, a news article published with reference to *The Washington Post's* staff writer, Stephen Klaidman's report stated that one of the basic and important principle of existing US policy was to protect Pakistan's federation and unity at any cost.<sup>53</sup> However, there were some "pro-India US officials," such as former Ambassador Chester Bowles, who did not agree with the US policy of supporting Pakistan, as it was "annoying for an old friend" like India.<sup>54</sup>

On 26 November 1971, *Nawa-i-Waqt* reported William Rogers, the former US ambassador hinting, that because of its military agreements, the US would have to get involved on Pakistan's side, if the USSR joined India in the war.<sup>55</sup> Benjamin Oehlert, another former US ambassador to Pakistan, while talking to journalists at an Eid dinner in New York, affirmed that an agreement between the two countries

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<sup>46</sup> *Jang*, news article, 1 August 1971, p.1.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*, editorial, 3 August 1971, p.3.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 1 August 1971, p.1.

<sup>49</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 1 August 1971, p.1.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 13 August 1971, p.1; *Jang*, news article, 13 August 1971, p.1.

<sup>51</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 6 August 1971, p.3.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>53</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 26 August 1971, p.1.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 26 August 1971, p.8.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 26 November 1971, p.1.

was concluded in 1959. Agha Shahi, Pakistan's ambassador to the UN, was asked if Pakistan was considering protest, as the US was not fulfilling its responsibilities according to the agreement. Mr Shahi denied any considerations of protest as according to him the US had a realisation of the critical nature of circumstances in South Asia.<sup>56</sup> Thus, the discourse continued to interpret the balance of power in Pakistan's favour and there were hopes that the US would either convince India to avoid waging war or if it started the war, the US would get involved on Pakistan's side.

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 8 December 1971 reported that President Nixon after talking to his high-level advisors concluded that suspending military and financial aid to India was the right decision.<sup>57</sup> Later, White House sources reportedly confirmed that President Yahya Khan was ready to give larger autonomy to East Pakistan, whereas the Indian purpose of attacking Pakistan was to cause an independent country to disintegrate.<sup>58</sup> The American government was of the view that there was "no justification" for Indian forces to enter East Pakistan. It was argued by the US Department of State, the Urdu press observed, that India had caused failure of each and every effort to reduce tensions in the subcontinent. *Nawa-i-Waqt* also reproduced *The Washington Post's* report quoting a senior official of the State Department saying that from the beginning "India had plans" to cause East Pakistan's disintegration and the US was opposed to this outcome.<sup>59</sup>

Pakistan's Prime Minister Nurul Amin was reported to have said that the American warning to end "Indian aggression" was right and timely.<sup>60</sup> On 11 December 1971, *Nawa-i-Waqt* published a report from *The Voice of America* which blamed India for disturbing peace in the region by rejecting the American proposals for peace which were accepted by Pakistan.<sup>61</sup> Since India neither was responding positively to the US appeals nor to the UN efforts to cease hostilities, and the US was convinced of Indian intentions, therefore segments of the Urdu press expressed hopes that the US would intervene in favour of Pakistan. *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 12 December 1971 argued that three major powers of the world the USSR, China, and America were related to this war. The USSR was supporting India in its "imperialistic designs." China had assured Pakistan every kind of help.

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid, news article, 1 December 1971, p.1.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, news article, 8 December 1971, p.1.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, news article, 10 December 1971, p.8.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, news article, 11 December 1971, p.2.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, news article, 14 December 1971, p.1; *Jang*, news article, 14 December 1971, p.1.

<sup>61</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 11 December 1971, p.1.

China was not a superpower, like the other two therefore, it was time to ask the US to fulfil its duties under the defence agreements, such as SEATO 1954 and CENTO 1955. Although America had already declared "India an aggressor" and asked it to stop the war it was argued that it had to "do more practical things" to support its military ally.<sup>62</sup>



Figure 13, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 14 December 1971 published this cartoon to reflect US support to Pakistan against India. The cartoon showed President Nixon aiming at Indira Gandhi making her hands up. The caption of the cartoon read, "America gives ultimatum to India, [and Indira says to Nixon] please do not shoot me as I am died already."<sup>63</sup>

A columnist Marghoob Siddiqui observed that President Nixon was analysing the war situation and the Soviet involvement therein that might threaten the US interests in the region. He argued that it was the time for America to use its Defence Agreement of 1959 with Pakistan, in order to cope with this Indian-Soviet "conspiracy." The journalist noted that America had made two agreements with Pakistan in 1954 and 1959 respectively, which clearly guaranteed that in case of threats against Pakistan's territorial integrity America would help Pakistan by supplying military weapons, and even using its military forces. The journalist hoped that the US would send at least a part of its aircraft carrier of the Seventh Fleet towards the Bay of Bengal to help the Pakistani forces.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, editorial, 12 December 1971, p.3.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, cartoon, 14 December 1971, p.8.

<sup>64</sup> Marghoob Siddiqui, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 14 December 1971, p.2; *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 14 December 1971, p.3.



Figure 14, the cartoon appeared on 15 December 1971 in *Nawa-i-Waqt* disclosing that "US starts delivery of weapons to Pakistan."<sup>65</sup>

On 15 December 1971, *Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* stated that the Seventh Fleet containing fighter planes and nuclear weapons was moving towards the Bay of Bengal from the Gulf of Tonkin. According to the Department of Defence, the US had plans for an emergency evacuation of American citizens from East Pakistan. According to "credible sources" in newspapers, there were "signs of anxiety" on the Indian side as the Seventh Fleet was expected to arrive before the Indian forces could enter the East Pakistani capital. Reportedly, the US on Pakistan's request was also considering military aid to Pakistan on a massive scale. *Nawa-i-Waqt* argued that "Indian evil designs" backed by the USSR were bringing the world on the brink of the Third World War, especially when China and the US were all prepared to resist those designs.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>65</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, cartoon, 15 December 1971, p.8.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 15 December 1971, p.1. and editorial 15 December 1971, p.3; *Jang*, news article, 15 December 1971, p.1.

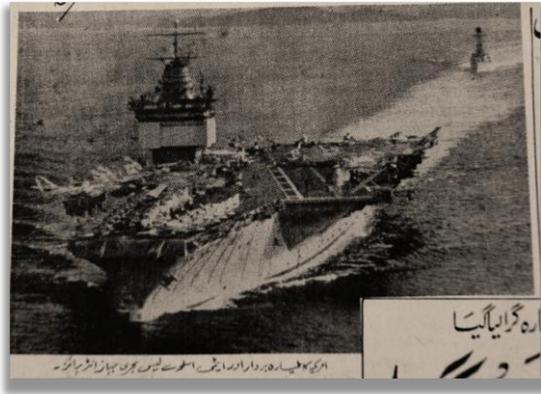


Figure 15, the photograph of "the American flight carrier and nuclear equipped ship Enterprise" which was part of the Seventh Fleet appeared in *Jang* on 16 December 1971.<sup>67</sup>

On 16 December 1971, when the Indian forces entered Dhaka and Pakistan had signed the surrender document, Pakistani newspapers still had hopes with regard to the US nuclear fleet that had reached Bay of Bengal. *Nawa-i-Waqt* and *Jang* reported that eight war ships including the nuclear Enterprise, a day before had crossed the strait of Melaka and entered into the Bay of Bengal.<sup>68</sup>



Figure 16, on 16 December 1971 *Nawa-i-Waqt* published the cartoon to reflect the deterrence and impact of the US expected help as the caption read, "Enterprise (the Seventh Fleet) has reached Bay of Bengal." Indian Prime Minister and Minister of Defence seem scared as they talk to each other saying "on our two sides is Pakistan, China in the north, and the Seventh Fleet in the south."<sup>69</sup>

<sup>67</sup> *Jang*, photo, 16 December 1971, p.1.

<sup>68</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 16 December 1971, p.1; *Jang*, news article, 16 December 1971, p.1. and news article, 16 December 1971, p.2.

<sup>69</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, cartoon, 16 December 1971, p.8.

The game was however over. Pakistan had already lost the war. A news article about the surrender was published on 17 December 1971 and the US had not lived up to its commitments to protect Pakistan's territorial integrity.<sup>70</sup> A senior journalist during an interview conducted for this research explained the reaction on Pakistan's side saying that there were high expectations from the US and "there was a general perception that America was with us and the Seventh Fleet was just around the corner." During the war, people had the perception that "Americans would come to our help as they were afraid of Chinese influence on the situation." However, when the time came, "they stepped back and let things happen."<sup>71</sup> A senior politician and foreign affairs expert of Jamaat-e-Islami said in an interview conducted for this research:

whenever we needed American help we did not find the feelings of friendship and cooperation. In case of the 1971 War, you can see how Russia cooperated with India, and how America cooperated with Pakistan. You should at least see that in separating our eastern wing from western part, what role was played by our allies. Americans put all their weight to break our arm and separate East Pakistan from us. And we kept listening to the announcements of that American fleet.<sup>72</sup>

In another interview for this research, a comparable argument was offered by a Pakistan People's Party politician and a former office bearer of the party by emphasising that "actually America facilitated the disintegration." He further explained his viewpoint:

they were doing 'diplomacy'. They were pretending that they would be with Pakistan. Then Yahya Khan helped with the opening with China. Moreover, when Kissinger went there, Chou En Lai said that we must not demolish the bridge. Pakistan is our bridge and we have to take care of this bridge. In fact, there was a difference in their words and practices. This has been the problem. There are hundreds of examples about America that it says one thing and does the other. Where it saved West Pakistan it became clear. He [Nixon] said to Brezhnev over the hotline 'now this is my territory'. If he had given a similar warning about East Pakistan and would have said 'no way, let them settle,' it would have avoided the disintegration.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 17 December 1971, p.1.

<sup>71</sup> Respondent 3

<sup>72</sup> Respondent 9

<sup>73</sup> Respondent 16

Similarly, another journalist explained Pakistan's reaction by saying:

The US created a decoy in 1971 that the American Seventh Fleet was coming and people expected some help from the US. However, when they [the people] saw that it was just a decoy or a false sort of expectations, disappointment was everywhere, not only in the media but among the people as well.<sup>74</sup>

A senior politician of Pakistan People's Party, who also served as federal minister, criticised:

American foreign policy decisions made especially in the 1950s when America had offered all help to Pakistan. But in spite of its commitments, it did not help at all in the 1965 War or in the 1971 War which was seen as a betrayal by an ally so why should the people of Pakistan love America?<sup>75</sup>

In sum, the US-China rapprochement facilitated by Pakistan was perceived as a significant advantage to Pakistan and disadvantage to India. It was argued that Pakistan would not only have more influence on the US, but would also receive more economic and military aid, and India would be isolated by losing America as its ally and supporter. Therefore, the US was identified by the Urdu press as a significant international ally who was brought back to Pakistan's side. However, the balance of power which was perceived as favourable to Pakistan did not help it to avoid its disintegration. The expectations of a military ally were shattered as the Seventh Fleet never arrived to support Pakistan's forces fighting against India. Pakistan's strategic advantage was perceived as having enough capability to save Pakistan from a potential war with India or in the case of war at least ensuring its security and territorial integrity. Conversely, the US neither avoided the war nor ensured Pakistan's territorial integrity. Consequently Pakistani hopes were shattered and betrayal dominated the discourse. Moreover, ideas of US conspiracy, the identified modalities of conspiracy and possible causes behind the same began to emerge and facilitate the rationalisation of a US politics of betrayal in relation to the 1971 War.

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<sup>74</sup> Respondent 17

<sup>75</sup> Respondent 14

## 2.2 A US POLITICS OF BETRAYAL RATIONALISED THROUGH THE IDEA OF CONSPIRACY

The idea of a US politics of betrayal in the 1971 War was ultimately in the Urdu press rationalised through the idea of conspiracy. It was argued that the US had been conspiring to harm Pakistan's unity and integration. All mainstream right and left-wing political parties hinted about this US conspiracy against Pakistan's territorial integrity. *Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* both supported the idea of a US conspiracy to explain the idea of a US politics of betrayal having caused Pakistan's disintegration. Such a rationalisation by the dominant voices of the discourse was not only provided after the war but also before the conflict was finished and would become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

After losing the war in December 1971, the responsibility of defeat was placed on "the biggest conspiracy" against Pakistan. On 17 December 1971, Head of Tehrik-e-Istiqlal and former Air Marshall Asghar Khan was reported to have said that Pakistan's strategy in war had failed due to some conspiracy.<sup>76</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt* endorsed his statement and argued that Pakistan's army was not defeated, rather it was "not allowed to fight due to a conspiracy" and the US failing to physically intervene was all suspected to be part of this "biggest conspiracy" (Figure 17).<sup>77</sup>



Figure 17, the cartoon is based on the statement of Air Marshal (retired) and Head of Tahrik-e-Istiqlal Asghar Khan who said, "Pakistan's strategy failed due to a conspiracy." The cartoon shows an invisible hand stopping Pakistan's army to fight whereas Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is being supported by the USSR.<sup>78</sup>

It was not only after the war that different political forces talked about the conspiracy against Pakistan's unity and integration but also there had been such frequent references since 1970. For example, Convener of Jamiat Ulema-e-

<sup>76</sup> A mainstream right of the centre political party

<sup>77</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 23 December 1971, p.3.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid*, cartoon, 17 December 1971, p.1.

Pakistan (JUP) Syed Mehmood Shah Gujrati on 3 April 1970, was reported to have told a press conference that money was being injected from outside into Pakistan (by America) to "destroy the unity of Pakistan."<sup>79</sup> He criticised Jamaat-e-Islami for "using the name of Islam" for their political purposes and for supporting the fulfilment of the "objectives of imperial powers."<sup>80</sup> Likewise, Fazl-ul-Qadir Chaudhry, President of Muslim League (Convention) told an election rally on 17 June 1970 that "some forces were trying to destroy the unity of Pakistan."<sup>81</sup> In an interview in *Nawa-i-Waqt* he said that India and America were even "trying to purge the very existence" of Pakistan.<sup>82</sup> In September 1970, he told his party workers that if political forces of the country could not resolve their differences "the conspiracy to disintegrate the country" would be successful.<sup>83</sup>

In the same manner Qayoom Khan, President of Muslim League (Qayoom) addressed a public rally in Peshawar on 21 March 1970, and told his audience that his party was entrusted to protect Pakistan against "foreign conspiracies" in order to protect Pakistan's physical and ideological borders.<sup>84</sup> On 8 April 1970, he addressed another election rally and claimed that "some foreign powers" were trying to increase their influence in the country by "conspiring with their local agents" in order to cause destruction of the country.<sup>85</sup>

Likewise, after the elections of 1970 Mufti Mehmood of Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) also hoped that no one would protect American interest anymore in Pakistan and newly elected parliamentarians of JUI and Pakistan People's Party would do their best to get rid of American influence.<sup>86</sup> On 27 February 1971, through a statement given to press, he asked President Yahya Khan to limit the activities of the American ambassador and other staff of the US embassy, in order to avoid any new conspiracy of the American CIA.<sup>87</sup> On 11 January 1971, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman also warned "the conspiring forces" to leave the country or they would be wiped out.<sup>88</sup> He believed that conspiring forces were frustrated after the Awami

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<sup>79</sup> Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan is a right wing political party.

<sup>80</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 3 April 1970, p.2.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 18 April 1970, p.2; Muslim League (Convention) was a right of the centre political party.

<sup>82</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 18 June 1970, p.1.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 1 October 1970, p.8.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 22 March 1970, p.8; Muslim League (Qayoom) was a right of the centre political party.

<sup>85</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 9 April 1970, p.1.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 16 December 1970, p.2; Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam is a right wing political party.

<sup>87</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 28 February 1971, p.1.

<sup>88</sup> Sheikh Mujibur Rahman did not specify or name the "conspiring forces," which he referred to.

League's victory in the election and were "trying to hatch" even more conspiracies.<sup>89</sup> Similarly, in January-February 1971, three rounds of negotiations between Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman could not reach any agreement between the two parties. Bhutto warned politicians of both East and West Pakistan that if they failed to be united conspiracies of disintegration would be successful.<sup>90</sup>

On 9 May 1970 *Jang* expressed its concerns over an international conspiracy. Since March 1970, there were several events of terrorist attacks in East Pakistan claiming lives and inflicting injuries on its poor citizens. Such activities were considered as demonstration of "some hidden conspiracy" fully prepared with the help of "some foreign hands." The newspaper was convinced that it had become an open secret that some "hostile world powers" wanted to "damage the unity and integration" of the country. The newspaper speculated that in order to weaken Pakistan the only option left to such powers was to cause Pakistan's disintegration.<sup>91</sup>

On 27 March 1971, *Jang* thereby was able to report political parties blaming "imperialistic conspiracies and designs for the disintegration of Pakistan" and it demanded a military action against the anti-state elements in East Pakistan.<sup>92</sup> However, in its editorial on 28 March 1971, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Awami League were accused of stubborn behaviour and testing the limits of patience of the military government.<sup>93</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt* advised Pakistani politicians who were demanding transfer of power that they had to read "the writing on the wall" and remain patient, because "Pakistan's arch enemy" India by "conspiring with world powers," was trying to make every effort to destroy Pakistan.<sup>94</sup>

Thus, the Urdu press and mainstream political parties consolidated the idea of a US conspiracy which would provide a rationalisation of a US politics of betrayal in the 1971 War. The idea of US conspiracy was also reinforced by suggesting steps to counter it. For example, On 11 July 1970 *Jang* suggested that keeping in view the deteriorating law and order conditions in the country politicians should put their efforts into foiling attempts of "some elements" who wished to delay or

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*Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 11 January 1971, p.1.

<sup>89</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 12 January 1971, p.1; Awami League was a right of the centre political party.

<sup>90</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 12 February 1971, p.1.

<sup>91</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 9 May 1970, p.5.

<sup>92</sup> *Jang*, news article, 27 March 1971, p.5.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid*, editorial, 28 March 1971, p.5.

<sup>94</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 26 July 1971, p.3.

cancel the elections of 1970.<sup>95</sup> Similarly on 7 February 1970, *Nawa-i-Waqt* urged Pakistanis to be united against the "possible injustice."<sup>96</sup> In a column in *Nawa-i-Waqt* appeared on 8 April 1970, R.A. Ali a journalist argued that Pakistan's enemies wanted anarchy by promoting differences. He observed that the "opportunists" were trying to gain benefit by "planting the seeds of provincial prejudices." The journalist advised that Pakistanis needed a single national identity, which religion provided them in order to "neutralise the poison of provincialism." Pakistanis were Muslim first and Bengalis, Punjabis, Sindhis, Baluchis, and Pakhtoons after.<sup>97</sup>

A senior politician of Jamaat-e-Islami in an interview conducted for this research also still held the US "equally responsible for the disintegration" and argued:

it is not possible at all that five hundred thousand Indian military forces could cross the international border and enter East Pakistan without the consent of the USA. In today's world, it is not understandable that any country could take independent decisions. So, it is not possible at all. And a country like India, which made this decision, acted with American consent. Moreover, we were part of SEATO and CENTO and we supported the US, and Badaber air base was circled in red by the USSR. And we accepted and bore all this, even the possibility of attacks. But when we needed them, we were told that Seventh Fleet had arrived. But Pakistan was torn into two pieces. Our forces had to surrender and they were taken as prisoners of war but the American fleet never arrived. So it is quite clear that if America wanted Pakistan not to be disintegrated, it could have played such a game. Therefore, America was part of this conspiracy. And 1971 is the worst example of America being a fair weather friend who could backstab you at the critical time.<sup>98</sup>

The various dominant voices of the discourse converged on the idea of US conspiracy against Pakistan's integration and suggested different ways to deal with it. However, arguments in the discourse diverged on the modalities and causes of the US conspiracy in the search for ways to explain US betrayal, further crystallising understanding of a US politics of betrayal.

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid, editorial, 11 July 1970, p.5.

<sup>96</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 7 February 1970, p.3.

<sup>97</sup> R.A. Ali, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 8 April 1970, p.3.

<sup>98</sup> Respondent 8

## 2.3 MODALITIES OF "CONSPIRACY" EXPLAINED THROUGH DISCOURSE

The different voices in the discourse agreed on the idea of US conspiracy but they differed on the ways which could be used to express such a conspiracy. Majority of voices including left and right-wing political parties as expressed through the Urdu press argued that the US interfered in Pakistan's domestic affairs by utilising political and diplomatic means. A few voices however went the extra mile to argue that undiplomatic channels such as the CIA, nongovernmental organisations, intellectuals, western media, suspension of financial aid to Pakistan, encouraging India to interfere, were also different means applied to achieve the objectives of the conspiracy.

### 2.3.1 Diplomatic Means Utilised to Conspire

It was gradually articulated that the US had "actually encouraged" the sentiments of separatism in East Pakistan. According to *Nawa-i-Waqt*, when on 25 February 1971, in his second annual report to the Congress on United States Foreign Policy, President Nixon attempted to highlight the cultural and other differences between the two parts of the country, it was actually a continuation of "an organised US campaign" to highlight the differences based on social, economic, and cultural distance in order to reinforce the idea of the Bengali nationalism. The newspaper argued that this was done to convince the younger generation that there was nothing common between the two wings except physical distance and mutual hatred. The newspaper explained that US attempts were made to create a sense that East Pakistan was "a colony" of West Pakistan, and Bengalis were "treated as slaves," while the federal government always behaved like "a step mother." The newspaper suggested that people who raised slogans of independent Bangladesh did not realise that it would only "serve the objectives" of America and India.<sup>99</sup>

The US embassy in Pakistan was blamed too for indulging in suspicious activities. Ambassador Joseph Simpson Farland was accused of interfering in Pakistan's internal matters and was suspected of support for political parties in order to weaken the influence of the left-wing parties in the country. On 2 April 1970, a senior leader of Pakistan People's Party Mubashir Hassan condemned the attempt on Bhutto's life. He associated the attempt with the US and told

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<sup>99</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 10 May 1971, p.3.

journalists that "the imperialists and their lackeys" were frustrated to the extent that Ambassador Farland, who had the support of local conservatives, was visiting different parts of the country to affect the upcoming elections of October 1970. He accused Americans along with their local conservative supporters of using "the sacred name of Islam" in order to "conceal their conspiratorial designs."<sup>100</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* with reference to "very credible sources" on 10 August 1970 reported a recent report by Ambassador Farland to the US State Department. The newspaper noted that according to the report after martial law in Pakistan in 1969, the left leaning parties were in "very strong position," and any elections would have resulted in a pro-China government in Pakistan. Reportedly, it was argued in the report that over the years, the Political Bureau of the US Embassy in Pakistan had made enormous efforts to condition the situation. Consequently, the report concluded, the US hoped that the results for the October 1970 elections would not be opposite to its expectations and Farland's interference was substantiated.<sup>101</sup>

On 1 September 1970, *Nawa-i-Waqt* reported and endorsed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's statement that elections to be held in October 1970 were not delayed due to devastating floods in East Pakistan, but instead the US and Government of Pakistan had two objectives. First, they wanted to strengthen right-wing parties. Second, in the mean time, the US wanted to pressurise Pakistan to start negotiations with India over Kashmir, so that any forthcoming government would be bound to engage in endless negotiations. He had already told journalists that the US wanted to press Pakistan for reconciliation with India over Kashmir.<sup>102</sup>

Ambassador Farland, once again came into lime light, in March 1971, when he reportedly saw Sheikh Mujibur Rahman for 45 minutes, in an unscheduled meeting at Dhaka. The question was raised about his "original mission" in Pakistan, as he was suspected of interference in domestic affairs. Suspicions were also raised because nobody knew what was discussed during the meeting. *Nawa-i-Waqt* also referred to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's previous "suspicious

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<sup>100</sup> The left-wing parties before 1970 elections blamed the US for supporting the right-wing parties in order to attract the conservative and religious vote bank. The US and right-wing parties both were perceived as opposed to left-wing parties having socialist or communist manifestos; *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 3 April 1970, p.2.

<sup>101</sup> The ambassador meant that in the elections of 1970 left-wing parties would not get overwhelming majority resulting in a pro-china government; *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 10 August 1970, p.8.

<sup>102</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 1 September 1970, p.3. and news article, 1 September 1970, p.2.

meetings" with the US official. The editorial advised politicians and government to stop Ambassador Farland and other US officials involvement in such activities which might increase a level of misunderstanding in East and West Pakistan.<sup>103</sup> The imminent danger of Pakistan's disintegration was thought to be averted by the military operation started in March 1971 and actions against the Awami League, but Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his party was suspected of having a secret alliance with India, supported and encouraged by the US and other powers.

According to *Nawa-i-Waqt* after Pakistan's successful control of the situation in East Pakistan due to military operation in March 1971, there were also signs of "another US conspiracy." A London based Pakistani revolutionary Tariq Ali<sup>104</sup> was reported to be in Calcutta to look after the struggle for the "Socialist Republic of Bengal." The idea was to unite Bengali populations divided between India and Pakistan in order to establish a socialist state. *Nawa-i-Waqt* regarded Tariq Ali as a "traitor" and expressed the possible involvement of America and the West in the conspiracy. It was argued, that "pro-America and pro-India" Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was his closest friend and right hand of Professor Rehman Subhan. Subhan was the person who fled to Washington, through Oman and London, after the military operation started in East Pakistan. Reportedly, he was a close friend of Tariq Ali's parents and during all his visits always stayed at their house in Lahore, and was in continuous contact with them.<sup>105</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt* was left speculating about the connections between US agents and socialist revolutionaries.<sup>106</sup>

On 29 March 1971, *Nawa-i-Waqt* in its editorial complained that such activities could be expected from India being Pakistan's "declared enemy," although ethics and norms of international relations demand non-interference in the domestic affairs of a country. It was therefore shocking for people that some countries like the US and UK, presumed to be Pakistan's friends and even allies, were demonstrating a similar "hostile behaviour." Pakistan's Foreign Office had summoned the ambassador and the high commissioner of the two countries to protest against negative media campaigns going on in their countries. The

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid, editorial, 2 March 1972, p.3.

<sup>104</sup> Tariq Ali is the author of *The Duel: Pakistan on the flight path of American power*.

<sup>105</sup> also revolutionaries

<sup>106</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 6 June 1971, p.3, Bashir Riaz, column, 22 August 1971, p.6, editorial, 23 August 1971, p.3, and Muhammad Iqbal Sohail, column, 9 October 1971, p.2.

newspaper advised the government to ask the US ambassador about his alleged meetings with "separatist" Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The ambassador was also reported to have been asked to clarify the US position and if it was supporting anti-state activities of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Awami League.<sup>107</sup> The newspaper asked the government to demand US recall of Ambassador Farland for his "suspicious activities."<sup>108</sup>

On the other hand, the right-wing parties were also concerned about US interference in domestic politics. Mufti Mehmood a senior leader of Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) expressed his concerns and told a press conference on 2 June 1970 that "American *samraaj*" by providing moral and financial support to likeminded parties was trying to create a government of its liking. He blamed the US embassy for open interference in domestic politics and vowed to continue the struggle for independence from "American *samraaj*."<sup>109</sup> He also claimed in his address to a conference on 27 June 1970 that he had credible evidence of the US smuggling weapons into Pakistan through Afghanistan in order to start a civil war and that Ambassador Farland was involved in anti-state activities trying to influence the forthcoming elections of October 1970.<sup>110</sup> The JUI kept demanding that the Government of Pakistan sent Ambassador Farland back to his country.<sup>111</sup>

Similarly, former Speaker of Punjab Assembly and senior politician of the Muslim League (Convention) told the public on 18 April 1970 that no "isms" except Islam was acceptable in Pakistan, whereas foreign powers under the pressure of their foreign policies were "trying to interfere" in the country's internal matters and were influencing ideas of people.<sup>112</sup> Former member of the National Assembly and a key figure of the party, Chaudhry Zahoor Elahi addressed the public in June 1970, and told them similarly that some foreign powers by using some of the local politicians were putting Pakistan's stability at stake.<sup>113</sup>

As a result of such accusations, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 19 June 1970 with reference to "credible sources" revealed that martial law authorities had decided to investigate the allegations of foreign aid to political parties. The investigation would be carried out by a judicial committee, headed by a supreme court Judge,

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid, editorial, 29 March 1971, p.3.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid, editorial, 2 April 1971, p.3.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid, news article, 3 June 1970, p.2.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid, news article, 28 June 1970, p.8.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid, news article, 31 July 1970, p.8.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid, news article, 19 April 1970, p.7.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid, news article, 7 June 1970, p.2.

and would be published before the forthcoming elections in 1970. Parties likely to be investigated included National Awami Party (Wali Group), Jamaat-e-Islami, Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam, Pakistan People's Party, National Awami Party (Bhashani), and Pakistan Labour Party.<sup>114</sup>

Thus, the Urdu newspapers reflecting different left and right-wing political views argued that the US had been interfering in Pakistan's internal affairs which signalled some conspiracy was in process against Pakistan. Left wing parties accused the US of supporting parties of the right and vice versa. The newspapers also observed and explained US interference and demanded the government take serious actions to stop such interference. President Yahya Khan was reported to have decided to carry on investigations into parties suspected of receiving external aid which supported the argument based on suspicions of US interference in Pakistan's domestic affairs through utilising official and diplomatic sources. US interference was presented as a modality for conspiracy as a basis for a US politics of betrayal in the 1971 War which caused Pakistan's disintegration.

### **2.3.2 The CIA, Media, NGOs and Other Sources Believed to have been Used to Interfere in Pakistan's Internal Affairs**

Some of the journalists, the Urdu press, and official sources explained some other modalities of US conspiracy apart from its utilisation of diplomatic means. The majority of these voices would argue that "the conspiratorial designs" were carried out by the CIA or the western media, whereas others explained that it was actually NGOs, sources of international aid, American intellectuals, or encouraging India to interfere in Pakistan's affairs which were the means to realise the conspiracy. However, such modalities explained generally by a few individuals or newspapers were presented as additional evidence and deep analysis. All this additional evidence would not only strengthen the idea of US conspiracy but would also help to rationalise the idea of a US politics of betrayal in the 1971 War.

The CIA was suspected of carrying out certain suspicious activities in the country. A journalist, Waqar-ul Rehman, in his column in *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 15 April 1970, highlighted "the dubious role of the CIA being the notorious American agency," entrusted to protect US interests all over the world. The journalist argued

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid, news article, 19 June 1970, p.1.

that the intelligence organization known for its "conspiratorial capabilities," was playing "a negative role," to protect US commercial interests all over the world. The journalist explained that wherever America wished to interfere, conspire, or create disturbance it entered its intelligence agents in the disguise of businessmen, tourists, intellectuals or even hippies to secretly achieve US targets. The journalist claimed that people coming from the US were generally CIA agents, trained and equipped to be used for military purposes. The journalist concluded that the US preferred limited activities as the old method of toppling governments was getting obsolete and the US had started considering intervention through the help of the CIA.<sup>115</sup>

Political leadership of East and West Pakistan and the military government failed to resolve political differences, mainly based on Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's six points agenda. The military action started on the night of 25-26 March 1971, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was arrested, all political activities were banned, and Awami League was blacklisted. Sarmila Bose describes the decision of military action as an element of surprise, as to this date no one is sure, what actually sabotaged the political dialogue, which was intact on 25th March.<sup>116</sup> On 26th March, at a White House Meeting, Henry Kissinger stated, "I have no idea what caused breakdown in talks. I was as much surprised as anyone else."<sup>117</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt* through its editorial however came up with the idea, as early as 27 March 1971 that the political dialogue failed because of a CIA conspiracy. The newspaper argued that actually the US "wanted to penalise" Pakistan by breaking it into two parts for developing its relationship with China. There was a further concern that activities of the CIA would not be restricted to East Pakistan and it would also continue in West Pakistan. Concluding paragraphs of the editorial were censored in an unusual way, which gave an impression that there were some instructions/changes at the last moments (as shown in Figure 18).<sup>118</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt* also explained the CIA's modes of working and objectives including toppling the local governments and directly intervening in the internal matters of a country. The newspaper associated the failure of political parties to resolve their

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<sup>115</sup> Waqar-ul Rehman, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 3 May 1970, p.3.

<sup>116</sup> Sarmila Bose, *Dead Reckoning*, 47-48.

<sup>117</sup> Cited by Sarmila Bose, *Dead Reckoning*, 48.

<sup>118</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 27 March 1971, p.3.

differences with the CIA and thereby facilitated understanding of a US betrayal of Pakistan with the aim of causing its disintegration.<sup>119</sup>



Figure 18, the image shows the editorial having title "the CIA's conspiracy," published by *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 27 March 1971. The editorial was censored in a unique way as black blocks were used to hide the text.<sup>120</sup>

Likewise, the western media, especially British and US newspapers, were also blamed for giving Bengalis and the Bengali leadership undue importance resulting in their stubborn and arrogant behaviour in their demands for autonomy. On 17 February 1970, *Nawa-i-Waqt* noted in an editorial that some elements in and outside the country, especially the American and British press had made it usual to write about Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as the next Prime Minister of Pakistan, which made him more arrogant. He was being given importance due to his six points agenda. It convinced Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to further enhance this idea in a hope to get more political benefit in the forthcoming elections in October 1970.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>120</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>121</sup> Ibid, editorial, 17 February 1970, p.3.



Figure 19, the cartoon published on 4 July 1971 in *Nawa-i-Waqt* with a caption "American and British newspapers are instigating India to attack Pakistan: political analysts." The cartoon shows Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi holding a three-pronged weapon of attack generally associated with Hinduism is using some western newspaper as a magic flying mat to attack Pakistan.<sup>122</sup>

On 17 May 1971, Pakistan's ambassador to the US, Agha Hilali was reported to have said, that the "American newspapers and television were biased" and not presenting Pakistan's point of view on East Pakistan. Propaganda against Pakistan was being promoted by the American media. Ambassador Hilali complained that news about the murder of a Dhaka University professor by Pakistan's military was denied by the Pakistan embassy, but it was not published in the US newspapers. Similarly the embassy had requested time on television to justify Pakistan's position which was also denied. Ambassador Hilali exclaimed with anger that there had to be some limit to bias.<sup>123</sup>

A senior journalist during an interview conducted for this research further explained the role of the US and western media saying that "in fact the US was watching the situation from a distance" whereas "the American and western media was observing what our military was doing in East Pakistan." Public opinion and official policies in the US and western countries were influenced because "military action and atrocities in East Pakistan were given exceptional projection." Consequently, "they actually accepted the separation of East Pakistan and establishment of an independent Bangladesh government."<sup>124</sup>

Thus, alleged biased attitudes of the western media as explained by *Nawa-i-Waqt* and Pakistan's Ambassador to US Agha Hilali in the Urdu press, provided additional means to conceptualise US betraying Pakistan in the 1971 War. Other

<sup>122</sup> Ibid, cartoon, 4 July 1971, p.1.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid, news article, 17 May 1971, p.1.

<sup>124</sup> Respondent 3

individual voices however explained many different modalities of US conspiracy to facilitate understanding of the US as a betraying ally. For example, a journalist S.M. Akhtar in his article published on 20 October 1971 in *Nawa-i-Waqt* argued that the issue of economic disparity between the two parts of Pakistan was exaggerated by American professors, working as economic advisors for the Planning Commission of Pakistan in Dhaka. The journalist accused the American advisors of trying to promote hatred in East Pakistan. The Institute of Economic Development based in Dhaka was responsible for conducting research on economic issues. The Bengali students working on economic problems were the students of those American professors. Therefore, the journalist claimed, the research and conclusions drawn about the disparity between East and West Pakistan were biased as they ignored the ground realities such as climate factors, availability of resources, and better utilisation of capital.<sup>125</sup>

A main headline appeared in *Nawa-i-Waqt* in the issue of 18 January 1971 stated, "America is hatching a serious conspiracy of creating two Pakistans instead of one." The details disclosed that this statement was based on the speech of a Rotary Club International's President Luther Hodges at the annual conference in Dhaka.<sup>126</sup> Rotary club members were reported to be angry over the controversial statement and they resented an effort to create differences between two parts of the country.<sup>127</sup> Moreover, on 14 May 1971, *Nawa-i-Waqt* claimed that international nongovernmental organisations such as Rotary International, Lions International, and Free Mason were actually "American spy bases" in Pakistan and hands behind such organisations were "the enemies of Pakistan."<sup>128</sup>

Furthermore it was argued that India finding "encouragement from some superpowers" had created difficult situations for Pakistan.<sup>129</sup> A banner headline stated "conspiracy of Russia, America, and India against Pakistan" with reference to the Chinese newspaper *The Peoples' Daily*. The newspaper explained that India had deployed large number of troops on the border of East Pakistan, and non-uniformed Indian armed soldiers were also infiltrating for violent activities into Pakistani areas. Although the US had declared its impartiality, it "wished to

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<sup>125</sup> S.M. Akhtar, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 20 October 1971, p.3.

<sup>126</sup> Rotary Club International is an international non-governmental organisation with an objective to bring together different professionals for providing social and humanitarian services.

<sup>127</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 18 January 1971, p.1.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid, editorial, 14 May 1971, p.3. and Khalid Mehmood Rabbani, column 19 and 20 June 1971, p.3.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid, editorial, 11 April 1971, p.3.

interfere" in the crisis being part of the conspiracy. The newspaper claimed that all Indian activities at the Pakistani border were part of the conspiracy.<sup>130</sup>

The Aid Consortium of Western Countries recommended suspension of all economic debts, as long as Pakistan could not reach a political solution of the problem. In response the Urdu press believed such a suspension was unfair, because problems for which the political solution was being advised were actually created by those powers themselves. The objective was to force Pakistan to form a government loyal and subservient to their interests. *Nawa-i-Waqt* expressed sorrow on behalf of the Pakistani public for their inability to differentiate between friends and enemies and selecting "wrong friends and allies," who were "betraying them at every step." It was supposed that some superpowers annoyed with Pakistan's "more neutral foreign policy" used India as their pawn in their attempt to punish Pakistan. India was able to find "traitors in Pakistan," who tried to create anarchy and deteriorated law and order conditions in the country to the extent that Pakistan's military had to take action. The conditions were thought to have been restored quickly against the expectations of disintegration by Pakistan's enemies. After the failure of the hatched conspiracy, the US and western powers were trying to destroy Pakistan through economic pressure. They were trying to achieve objectives through economic tactics, which they could not achieve through force.<sup>131</sup>

Thus, although the different voices of discourse developed a consensus on the idea of US conspiracy, they differed on the modalities. The majority of left and right-wing political parties accused the US of interfering in Pakistan's domestic affairs through diplomatic means whereas a few voices went to greater extent to explain some additional methods such as the CIA, western media, NGOs, American intellectuals, allowing India to interfere, and the suspension of aid utilised to achieve the "conspiratorial designs." All the modalities explained through discourse would enhance the understanding of the idea of US conspiracy and for that matter US betrayal.

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<sup>130</sup> Ibid, news article, 12 April, 1971, p.1.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid, editorial, 25 June 1971, p.3.

## 2.4 THE CAUSES OF US CONSPIRACY EXPLAINED THROUGH DISCOURSE

In addition to presenting the idea of a US conspiracy and explaining its modalities, the discourse also offered three different causes of such a conspiracy. First, in pragmatic terms, US strategic interests in South Asia would compel it to conspire and betray Pakistan. Second, the US perceived as driven by an international economic elite caused underdevelopment to maximise its material interests. Third, the US perceived as an anti-Islamic force would conspire against a Muslim country. Each cause explained through the discourse provided rationalisation to the idea of US conspiracy and betrayal in the 1971 War.

### 2.4.1 US Strategic Interests in South Asia

#### **An Impression of the India-US Nexus against Pakistan and China**

*Jang*, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, and different political parties remained highly critical of the US before its rapprochement with China. This criticism was silenced for a while between July-December 1971, but before this period the US was explained as a pro-India power. Although it had hostilities with the USSR in other matters, at least in supporting India against China both the superpowers were viewed as having found a common ground. Thus, the discourse could clearly identify a nexus between the US, the USSR, and India against China and Pakistan. This predated discourse would rationalise the US betrayal in the 1971 War. China was the main factor in this argument as the US and the USSR would remain closer to India while ignoring Pakistan's security concerns. The military aid given to India under the pretext of "the Chinese threat" would disturb the balance of power in South Asia against Pakistan.

*Jang* on 30 July 1970 in its editorial argued that India was receiving military aid from the US and the USSR under the pretext of the Chinese threat since 1962 which was increasing security threats to Pakistan. The newspaper advised the two superpowers to reconsider their policy of strengthening one country in the region, while keeping the other weaker.<sup>132</sup> Pakistan had requested a modern version of the US manufactured Patton Tanks, which was opposed by India. It was argued in the Urdu press that Pakistan's requests for military assistance had always been subject to Indian response. In August 1970, according to *Nawa-i-*

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<sup>132</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 30 July 1970, p.3.

*Waqt*, Americans were thinking of turning down Pakistan's request under Indian pressure. Consequently, they were accused of "being unfaithful friends," who loved their "double dealings" and always gave "a cold shoulder" to an ally. The American delayed response to the request was seen as proof of its indifference to Pakistan's security requirements. Therefore, the two newspapers advised Pakistan to avoid dependence on a "hypocritical partner" and build a relationship with someone, who would show interest and sincerity in Pakistan's security.<sup>133</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 4 October 1970 observed that India was increasing its defence capabilities with the help of the USSR whereas the US seemed indifferent to Pakistan's security needs.<sup>134</sup> The newspaper explained in another editorial that US military aid worth 75 million rupees to Pakistan was not appropriate to its requirements. The newspaper argued that although Pakistan militarily aligned itself with America in the 1950s, and by the time J.F. Kennedy became president was considered as a "most allied ally," the Kennedy administration had also started looking at non-aligned countries, such as India with a new respect, while ignoring the importance of military alliances.<sup>135</sup> The newspaper claimed that the US had totally ignored its contractual and moral responsibilities in the 1965 War, and it even ignored them for the next four years in supplying spare parts for already provided equipment.<sup>136</sup> US aid to India, a non-aligned country, was explained as a contradiction in the US foreign policy and a "disrespect" to an ally. *Nawa-i-Waqt* in its editorial on 17 May 1971, discussed US policies in South Asia. The US was blamed for favouring India against China, while ignoring its ally since 1962. It was argued that enormous military aid to India by the US and the USSR had increased the "arrogance of India," and for that reason had raised Pakistan's sense of insecurity. Therefore, in-fact US policies in South Asia had pushed Pakistan closer to China.<sup>137</sup>

The newspaper observed that Pakistan did not extend the lease of Badaber air base in Peshawar, which was used by the US for its spy missions against the USSR from 17 July 1959 to 7 January 1970. According to the newspaper, Americans were planning to shift the base to Ladakh, an area in Indian held Kashmir. It was seen as interference in a disputed territory. *Nawa-i-Waqt* also

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<sup>133</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 7 August 1970, p.3; *Jang*, editorial, 30 July 1970, p.3.

<sup>134</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 4 October 1970, p.3.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid*, editorial, 10 October 1970, p.3.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid*, editorial, 17 May 1971, p.3.

reported a resolution passed by Kashmiri political workers, who saw this act as "a conspiracy against Pakistan" and "its reliable friend China." It was argued that moving the spy base from Badaber to Ladakh was suspicious as it would further complicate the issue of Kashmir, given the fact that Pakistan and India had already fought two wars on the issue. It was claimed that the purpose was to besiege China and endanger the newly opened Silk Route, connecting China and Pakistan.<sup>138</sup>

On 5 May 1970, *Nawa-i-Waqt* and *Jang* reported that the Head of East Pakistan Jamaat-e-Islami, Professor Ghulam Azam, blamed the US for hatching the conspiracy to cause Pakistan's disintegration. Azam had told his party workers that the US and the USSR wanted the disintegration of Pakistan in order to strengthen and use India as a base against China. He explained that India due to its geographical location was not in a position to commit aggressive activities against China, and therefore the superpowers wanted East Pakistan to be separated to use this area as an Indian satellite territory against China.<sup>139</sup> Likewise Air Marshal Noor Khan, senior leader of the Muslim League (Council) told a press conference on 23 August 1970, that the US and the USSR were providing overt support to India by supplying weapons on large scale. He blamed both superpowers for attempting to make East Pakistan a common base against China. He said that changes in international politics had brought the US and the USSR together against China, and therefore both were supporting India for that purpose.<sup>140</sup> On 13 July 1970 Qayoom Khan, President of Muslim League (Qayoom) was also reported of accusing the US, the USSR, and India for their attempts to form a government in Pakistan subservient to India. He said that Pakistan and China were true friends and "conspiracies" were directed against this relationship.<sup>141</sup>

A senior politician of Jamaat-e-Islami argued in an interview conducted for this research that the People of Pakistan have concerns as "in 1971 America was openly backing India." He further explained that:

Pakistan was kept in the dark whereas separating East Pakistan from West Pakistan was part of the American strategy under long term planning, because the American

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid, news article, 12th February 1970, p.2.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid, news article, 5 May 1970, p.2; *Jang*, news article, 5 May 1970, p.8.

<sup>140</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 24 August 1970, p.1.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid, news article, 13 July 1970, p.8.

plan was to weaken Pakistan and become powerful in the region against China. And [also] to give an upper hand to India in the region against Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan, and China has been the American plan and part of its strategy. That is why this game is continuously going on since 1971.<sup>142</sup>

Thus, some of the political parties and the Urdu newspapers had been hinting for a long time that disintegration of Pakistan was on the US agenda in order to strengthen India against China. Such narratives in advance regarding US-USSR-India conspiracies to cause disintegration of Pakistan worked as a testimony of US betrayal for the future and help the people to rationalise their disappointment with the US.

### **US Desires to Forge India-Pakistan Confederation**

President Nixon was of the view, "peace for us [USA] is much less likely if there is no peace in Asia" and in his report to Congress on 18 February 1970, he suggested that for peace in Asia, the US had to show:

commitment to helping [the] partners develop their own strength. In doing so, we must strike a careful balance ... the one-fifth of mankind who live in India and Pakistan can make the difference for the future of Asia. If their nation-building surmounts the centrifugal forces that have historically divided the subcontinent, if their economic growth keeps pace with popular demands, and if they can avert further costly rivalry between themselves, India and Pakistan can contribute their vast energies to the structure of a stable peace. But these are formidable "ifs." We stand ready to help the subcontinent overcome them. These nations' potential contribution to peace is too great for us to do otherwise.<sup>143</sup>

There was a strong reaction in the Urdu press in Pakistan against this report and it was viewed as "a conspiracy" against Pakistan's integrity. *Nawa-i-Waqt* argued that the US in an attempt to attain its objectives against China was trying to pressurise Pakistan to accept Indian hegemony in the region and play second fiddle to India. The newspaper claimed that the US and the USSR had a wish to bring Pakistan and India closer to achieve their global objectives. It was argued that the United States had failed to realise Pakistan's "genuine feelings" and

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<sup>142</sup> Respondent 7

<sup>143</sup> Richard Nixon, "First Annual Report to the Congress on United States Foreign Policy for the 1970's.," *The American Presidency Project*, 18 February 1970, <<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=2835&st=report&st1=>> [accessed 1 June 2013].

emotions vis-à-vis India and had always drawn "wrong conclusions" based on "false cases." Whereas Pakistan wanted good friendly relationship with all powers, it was not ready to become "subservient" to anyone of them and could not accept "Indian hegemony" and leadership in the region at any cost.<sup>144</sup> While addressing his party workers, on 12 March 1970 at Karachi, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that he would "fix the traitors, secessionists, supporters of India-Pakistan confederation and lackeys of capitalists."<sup>145</sup> The working Committee of Muslim League (Council) passed a resolution on 16 March 1970 condemning President Nixon's report of 18 February and vowing to "foil all American conspiracies" against Pakistan.<sup>146</sup>

On 13 June 1970, a senior leader of Jamaat-e-Islami Wazir Ahmad Ghazi claimed that the US, in order to pursue its international agenda, wanted to see Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as Prime Minister of Pakistan, so that he could be used to facilitate the realisation of the "evil American designs" of forging a confederation of India and Pakistan.<sup>147</sup> It was also stated occasionally that Americans and Soviets were joined together in introducing and propagating socialism in Pakistan, in order to achieve a confederation of India and Pakistan against China.<sup>148</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt* argued that the US wanted to forge a confederation of India and Pakistan against China. Such a confederation would also favour the USSR given its hostilities with China. This was the reason, explained the newspaper, that to achieve these objectives, the US and West were supporting Sheikh Mujibur Rahman because of his different stance towards India. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was believed to be a supporter of resolving all issues with India, excluding the Kashmir issue. According to *Nawa-i-Waqt*, he had a top-secret meeting with the US Counsel General Archer Blood in Dhaka, but details of this meeting were not known even to his closest companions. The newspaper presumed that the Americans were hoping that with the possibility of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman voted to power, for first time in the history of Pakistan, there were chances that Pakistan and India would be able to end their mutual differences. On India's side, Indira Gandhi talking to a television channel in New York, had demonstrated similar hopes by insisting that all other issues should be

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<sup>144</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 23 August 1970, p.3.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 13 March 1970, p.8.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 17 March 1970, p.8; Muslim League (Council) was a right of the centre political party.

<sup>147</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 14 June 1970, p.2.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 24 September 1970, p.2.

resolved first, and the most complicated issue of Kashmir could be left for the last stage. *Nawa-i-Waqt* concluded that it was actually "a conspiracy" of forging a confederation of Pakistan and India, and the US, western countries, India and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman were part of "the controversial plan."<sup>149</sup>

Thus, some of the mainstream political parties and the Urdu press argued that the US wanted to compromise Pakistan's independence by suggesting a confederation of India and Pakistan, to make it a more effective counterweight to China. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman of the Awami League was suspected of being an "American agent" for his wish to resolve all issues with India, while ignoring the Kashmir issue. Apparently, the proposal of a confederation between India and Pakistan seemed in favour of unity between East and West Pakistan too but some of the left and right-wing political parties especially belonging to West Pakistan would see it another way. They would argue that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was being supported by the US as he was the one who would help to compromise Pakistan's independence to appease India and the US. However, if West Pakistan, where Sheikh Mujibur Rahman did have a very limited political influence as compared to that of East Pakistan, resisted the idea of an India-Pakistan confederation, then East Pakistan should be separated to make a confederation between India and East Pakistan. US alleged desires to forge an India-Pakistan confederation helped to rationalise the discourse of a US politics of betrayal in 1971 resulting in Pakistan's disintegration and at least use of East Pakistan to achieve American objectives.

### **US an "Enemy in the Guise of a Friend"**

On the other hand, Pakistan was explained as having China the only reliable international power at its back against the Indian threat to its security. On the other hand, the US was described as an "enemy" in the guise of a friend. The statements of influential political leaders such as Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, news reports and editorials of the Urdu press also endorsed the assumptions of China being a reliable partner as compared to the US. However, the US being a superpower opposed to China was represented as "annoyed" with Pakistan for developing its ties with China. *Nawa-i-Waqt* explained the nature of Pakistan-China relations which were annoying for the US. For example, the newspaper argued that in

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid, editorial, 28 October 1970, p.3.

providing China access to Europe and Middle East markets by the Silk Route, Pakistan had "annoyed the US."<sup>150</sup>

Similarly, important political figures of the country were also reported as explaining the reasons for the US being "annoyed" with Pakistan. For example, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, remained vocally critical of the US policies during his campaign for the General Elections of 1970. On 9 March 1970, while addressing a huge rally at Lahore, in his three hours speech, he discussed many political issues including Pakistan's foreign policy. He told the audience that in 1963, when he became foreign minister, the foreign policy of Pakistan was "subservient" to America to the extent that "the US ambassador used to instruct Pakistan" on each and every issue. Consequently, he further said, Pakistan was not on good terms then with China, the USSR, and Afghanistan. He emphasised that it was he who played his role in "liberating the foreign policy" of the country by "defeating the imperialist powers" at international level.<sup>151</sup> Bhutto with his narrative on the US and China alluded that the US did not want Pakistan to be on good terms with China. His use of the phrase "liberating foreign policy," communicated the sense that the US had made Pakistan's foreign policy hostage and Pakistan making a decision to develop its relations with China equalled its liberation from "American imperialism." Thus, the US was likely to punish Pakistan by showing an indifferent attitude to its security and supporting India as "enemy" to both Pakistan and China. The US was therefore characterised as an "enemy in the guise of a friend."

Similarly the Urdu press could explain that the US being irritated over Pakistan's increasing ties with China had caused serious consequence to Pakistan's security. At first, US actions and words about Pakistan were seen as far from being friendly. Second, India due to its increased military power had become "arrogant." *Nawa-i-Waqt* even argued that the US "in complicity with India" and the USSR had planned to "teach Pakistan a lesson."<sup>152</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* also argued that it was due to the support and backing of the two superpowers that India had become so "arrogant" that it would not listen to

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<sup>150</sup> The 800 miles Karakoram Highway built during 1959-1979, inaugurated in 1982, opened for general public in 1986 is one of many ancient silk roads connecting China with the subcontinent and is considered an important trade route for China and Pakistan <<http://factsanddetails.com/china/cat15/sub104/item441.html>> [accessed on 1 March 2014]; *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 9 April 1971, p.3.

<sup>151</sup> Yahya Javed Chaudhry, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 10 March 1970, p.8.

<sup>152</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 9 April 1971, p.3.

any international warnings or reprimand. The newspaper claimed that almost all countries except the Soviet Union had declared military action in East Pakistan starting in March 1971 as "Pakistan's internal matter." Conversely, the USSR "inspired by Indian propaganda" had asked Pakistan to "stop violent activities and bloodshed." Nevertheless, the newspaper observed, the Soviet Union was also "silenced after President Yahya Khan's appropriate reply" by asking it to advise India to "avoid interference in Pakistan's internal matters." However, the newspaper wrote, India by ignoring all warnings and advice was seen to continue meddling because of "the enormous military power" attained due to "patronage of the US and the USSR."

Pakistan would bring the US attention to this issue time and again but of no use. *Nawa-i-Waqt* reported that during the CENTO conference at Ankara in April 1971, Pakistan informed the member countries including the US, UK, Turkey, Iran, and others about Indian interference and open aggression against Pakistan. CENTO members were briefed about the situation and requested to use their influence to stop India from unacceptable activities.<sup>153</sup> Having been the responsible for adding to "India's arrogance" the US was expected to realise its duties to stop India from threatening Pakistan's security.

*Nawa-i-Waqt* explained that due to its alleged "arrogance" India was all set to wage war against Pakistan. On 11 May 1971, Indira Gandhi was reported to have said that India was seriously considering recognising "the so called Bangladesh's government in exile," and therefore it was even ready to face war with Pakistan and China. The newspaper advised the Indian premier that in-spite of having support from America and Soviet Union, she should think carefully before taking any decision in this regard. She was expected to consider the interests of "her poor citizens" instead "dancing to the tunes of the superpowers" (Figure 20).<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Ibid, news article, 2 May 1971, p.1.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid, editorial, 11 May 1971, p.3.



Figure 20, the cartoon shows Indian Prime Minister dancing with joy for the idea of receiving aid in the name of Bangladesh. The USSR, Britain, and the US would be probable sponsors. The cartoon also signifies India dancing on big powers' wishes. "India would receive significant aid from foreign countries in order to share the burden of so called Bangladesh."<sup>155</sup>

A senior politician of Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) also explained in an interview conducted for this research that:

it was not like the whole blame was given or transferred to America, the failure of the state to the extent was also blamed, and even Hamood-ur-Rahman Commission exposed the failures of different organs of state as well. Hamood-ur-Rahman Commission Report is an authentic document on the 1971 debacle and does not blame America. So how can we say that America was blamed for the failure of the state? Well I think that is the fact. If Congress was against Pakistan, so Congress is an American Congress. And if Congress does not support an ally against a neutral country so people and the Urdu media have every right to complain about that thing, because this thing is still not understandable in our culture that a friend and an ally betrays you at a difficult time. Well the fact that America warned India to invade West Pakistan was in American interest as well. They do not want to create another monster in South Asia. So that was not a favour for Pakistan. It was in their interest. When India crossed the international borders America failed to rescue and to help an ally and a friend and to stop the grave violation in the twentieth century, which was the highest violation of crossing an international border and attacking an independent country.<sup>156</sup>

Thus, some of the influential political figures and the Urdu press identified the US as "an enemy in the guise of a friend". It was argued in the Urdu press that the US was annoyed with Pakistan for developing its ties with China and in

<sup>155</sup> Ibid, cartoon, 18 May 1971, p.1.

<sup>156</sup> Respondent 15

response was supporting India to teach Pakistan a lesson. India backed by both superpowers had become more arrogant and did not hesitate to commit aggression against Pakistan. Such a characterisation of the US helped to understand its betrayal through a conspiracy in the 1971 War.

### **US Policy to Appease India**

The Urdu press further observed that Pakistan had kept the US informed about the situation and Indian intentions, whereas the US instead of siding with Pakistan had adopted a continuous policy of appeasing India. For instance, the US senators and government officials would issue statements which were seen as anti-Pakistan and pro-India. Pakistani officials and the Urdu press would strongly refute such statements. Not only the words but also US actions would be seen by the Urdu press as favouring India more than Pakistan, thus encouraging India to wage war against Pakistan. Therefore, the alleged US "policy of appeasing India" would provide rationalisation for the idea of a US politics of betrayal in the 1971 War.

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 19 August 1970 wrote that Pakistan had been urging the superpowers to "bring India to the right path" as otherwise, India would "cause human destruction by waging war" and "the superpowers would be responsible" for it.<sup>157</sup> The newspaper on 9 October 1971, observed that Pakistan had kept the US informed about Indian intentions to wage war against Pakistan and therefore expected the US to play its role to avoid the danger of war. The newspaper reported Mehmood Ali, Head of the Pakistan's mission to the United Nations to have informed the US Secretary of State William Rogers about "India's political motives" in rejecting the proposal of appointing UN observers on the Indo-Pakistan border. He was also informed that the "situation was really serious" and if India was not stopped, it would push both countries into war.<sup>158</sup> The newspaper also observed that Pakistan had notified America about "Indian provocative and aggressive activities" on the border, and had asked the American President to stop India from such activities.<sup>159</sup> The newspaper argued that the situation was also critical because in case of an Indo-Pakistan war, the USSR and China might be involved in the conflict.<sup>160</sup> The newspaper on 3 November 1971 wrote that the

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<sup>157</sup> Ibid, editorial, 19 August 1971, p.3.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid, news article, 9 October 1971, p.1.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid, news article, 12 October 1971, p.1.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid, news article, 22 October 1971, p.1.

US and other countries had not been successful in influencing India to stop from waging war, therefore it was "the US responsibility as an ally" to support Pakistan in case war happened.<sup>161</sup> Thus, the news reports and editorials of the Urdu press identified Pakistan as a "peace loving nation" and India as "an aggressor" attempting to impose war on Pakistan and the US in "a position to influence India" to avoid war. It was also argued that if war happened India would be responsible for the war and the US as a military ally had to support Pakistan. However, the US statements and actions reported in the Urdu press were at times contrary to the expectations.

For example, Senator Edward Kennedy, known for his "anti-Pakistan" and "pro-India" stance, was expected to visit Pakistan in August 1971. According to *Nawa-i-Waqt*, the Pakistani military had "taken control of the situation in East Pakistan," which made him very vocal against Pakistan in the American Senate, and was "pressurising his government" to stop Pakistan's military and economic aid. It was argued that he proved his "biased approach" with his "anti-Pakistan" and "pro-Indian behaviour." Therefore, *Nawa-i-Waqt* was of the view that "such a person" should not be invited and allowed to visit Pakistan as it might be "against the national interest."<sup>162</sup>

Consequently, Senator Edward Kennedy, who was not allowed to visit Pakistan, offered India a treaty of friendship and cooperation, and criticised the US President's policy towards Pakistan while reiterated that he would continue to argue that Pakistan's aid must be stopped, as long as it did not politically resolve the issue of East Pakistan.<sup>163</sup> Agha Hillali, Pakistan's Ambassador to the US addressed a press conference in order to refute Senator Edward Kennedy's allegations on Pakistan. He said that Senator Edward Kennedy had started using the phrase East Bengal instead of East Pakistan, after his visit to India, which was "enough evidence to show his bias." He also denied the allegations that Pakistan was using American weapons against its civilian population and there was a danger of food shortage in East Pakistan.<sup>164</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt* argued that the Americans such as Senator Edward Kennedy were not serving the purpose of peace instead, they were promoting war.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Ibid, editorial, 3 November 1971, p.3.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid, editorial, 9 August 1971, p.3. and Shareef Farooq, column, 9 August 1971, p.3.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid, editorial, 19 August 1971, p.3.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid, news article, 3 September 1971, p.1.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid, editorial, 19 August 1971, p.3.

Some of the Urdu newspapers and Pakistan's officials reacted strongly to any appeals directed to Pakistan to show restraint and patience. The US Secretary of State William Rogers and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko after their meeting in Washington, observed that the situation in the subcontinent was critical and both India and Pakistan should "remain patient, show restraint to avoid war and resolve their issues with peaceful mutual dialogue." On 3 October 1971, *Nawa-i-Waqt* criticised both world powers and held them responsible for this situation. The newspaper argued that both major powers provided military and economic aid to India to counterbalance China, and hence "disturbed the balance of power" in the region. India was also held "responsible" for this critical situation, whereas Pakistan had showed "utmost restraint and patience." The newspaper wrote that India, who admitted openly its interference in East Pakistan, should have been asked to "pull back and stop interfering in Pakistan's internal affairs." The newspaper wrote that the major powers were "not sincere about peace" in South Asia. The newspaper argued that if the powers like the US and the USSR were to "cross the limits in favouring India," in pursuance of their own interests, that would make "a proud nation" like Pakistan, "fight for its honour." Therefore, the newspaper argued, if the US and the USSR were sincere they should direct their advice towards India instead of Pakistan.<sup>166</sup> So, some of the Urdu newspapers explained that it was India backed by the two superpowers that was responsible for the deterioration of the situation in South Asia and therefore the superpowers should ask India to mend its ways not to Pakistan.

The Urdu press also reported and interpreted certain US actions as a "policy of appeasing India" while "unnecessarily pressurising" Pakistan. For example, *Nawa-i-Waqt* speculated that the Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's visit to the US in November 1971 would be decisive for war or peace. The newspaper wrote that President Nixon might not agree to her "suggestion to increase pressure on Pakistan" for a political solution. However, the US would continue its "policy of appeasing India," and the President would let her know that the US had already suspended the military aid to Pakistan.<sup>167</sup> Consequently, on 10 November 1971, *Nawa-i-Waqt* with reference to "its sources in Washington" reported that America cancelled \$3.6 million licences for weapons to Pakistan in order to remove "one of the major reasons of tensions between India and Pakistan." Spare parts of worth

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<sup>166</sup> Ibid, editorial, 3 October 1971, p.3.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid, news article, 5 November 1971, p.1.

sixty-six thousand dollars only would be provided to Pakistan. The newspaper also reminded that, since the 1965 War, the US had stopped weapons supply to Pakistan, and after 25 March 1971 supplies of spare parts were also suspended, except on already issued licences. Spare parts worth \$5 million had already been supplied. Now, the newspaper observed that after the cancellation of licences "the US would not provide any kind of military support" to Pakistan.<sup>168</sup>

This suspension of military supplies was seen by *Nawa-i-Waqt* as "another betrayal to appease India" similar to the one in 1965. The newspaper argued that it was "tragic," especially when the USSR was providing "full military support to India." The newspaper wrote that it was not clear whether the US had "rewarded Pakistan for its efforts" to bring China and the US closer or it was "being punished for making efforts for China's UN membership." The newspaper explained that whatever the reason was, this action would leave Pakistan's weapons "unusable and non repairable." Therefore, the newspaper advised that Pakistan should decide to gain "self sufficiency at least in conventional and ordinary weapons" such as small arms and ammunition.<sup>169</sup>

Moreover, President Nixon in a TV interview disclosed that the Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had concerns about Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's life, and therefore the Red Cross was expected to play its role in verifying his status as being alive. On 10 November 1971, *Nawa-i-Waqt* explained it as a part of "US policy of appeasing India" as President Nixon was giving more importance to the concerns of "Pakistan's enemy" instead of accepting Pakistan's position that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was "safe and sound in Pakistan's custody."<sup>170</sup>

Similarly, on 14 November 1971 the American Secretary of State William Rogers, during a conversation with journalists was reported to have said that "war will breakout between India and Pakistan," and if war was started "the United States would remain neutral" as it had friendly relations with both India and Pakistan. Secretary Rogers further said that the US had tried its best to convince both countries to avoid war, but border skirmishes were on the increase, thus worsening the situation.<sup>171</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt* also observed the statement with

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<sup>168</sup> Ibid, news article, 10 November 1971, p.1.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid, editorial, 10 November 1971, p.3.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid, news article, 10 November 1971, p.1.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid, news article, 14 November 1971, p.1.

suspicion and explained that the US had given "a green light to India" to attack Pakistan by making "its position clear" that it would not intervene in the War.<sup>172</sup>

Likewise, on 27 November 1971 the American President Nixon and British Prime Minister Edward Heath were reported to have appealed to Pakistan's President Yahya Khan to release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman which might be "helpful in avoiding the danger of war."<sup>173</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt* viewed the appeal or demand as "against Pakistan's interests," which would "weaken Pakistan's stance" on the issue. Therefore, the newspaper advised that Pakistan "must not follow any such suggestions" that might make it "subservient to India."<sup>174</sup> The newspaper explained that in a way the US was "unnecessarily pressurising Pakistan," which was encouraging India to wage war. The newspaper complained that the USSR was extending its full support to India, whereas China was the only country supporting Pakistan at all forums including the UN, while the US was showing indifference.<sup>175</sup>

Accordingly, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 4 December 1971, reported the Indian military attack on West Pakistan.<sup>176</sup> However, it was also reported that America had no intentions of bringing the issue to the Security Council and advised both India and Pakistan to resolve their issues by applying diplomatic methods.<sup>177</sup> As a result, the newspaper explained that the US following its "policy of appeasing India" had failed to stop the war, and it would not even provide its diplomatic backing to Pakistan at the UN, and would continue to "appease India." Thus, the Urdu press and Pakistan's government officials, while reacting to US statements and actions, confirmed US policy as one of appeasement to India to ignore Pakistan's security and encouraging India to wage war against Pakistan and cause its disintegration.

It appears that India remained an important factor in Pakistan-US relations, during the crisis in East Pakistan. The US was explained conducting its international relations in order to circle China and Pakistan with the help of India and the USSR. It was also argued that the US was willing to compromise Pakistan's independence by forcing it to enter in a confederation with India to use it as a more effective counterweight to China. The US was also described as an

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<sup>172</sup> War started on 23 November 1971 at the border of East Pakistan; *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 24 November 1971, p.1.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid, news article, 27 November 1971, p.1.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid, editorial, 28 November 1971, p.3.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid, editorial, 29 November 1971, p.3.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid, news article, 4 December 1971, p.1.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid, news article, 4 December 1971, p.8.

unreliable friend quite contrary to that of China which was explained as a "trustworthy" friend. It was also argued that the US was pursuing a policy to appease India at Pakistan's cost which resulted in its failure to stop the war and consequently caused Pakistan's disintegration. Thus, the US interest in India to use it as a counterweight against China was explained as the reason why it ignored Pakistan's security and finally caused the 1971 War and Pakistan's disintegration. Such a discourse provided a basis on which the idea of a US politics of betrayal in the 1971 War was rationalised.

#### **2.4.2 The US Described as an Anti-Islamic Force and Part of an International Non-Muslim Nexus Against Islam**

*Jang, Nawa-i-Waqt*, and most of the mainstream political parties of Pakistan described the US as an anti-Islamic force which was opposed to Pakistan because of its religious identity. It was further explained that the US was also part of a worldwide non-Muslim nexus against Muslims and therefore was opposed to Pakistan. The political parties belonging to both right and left accused their opponents of being American agents. In response, each political party rejected the accusation. Thus, the discourse of the political parties in the Urdu press was not solely focused on describing the US as an anti-Islamic, pro-Islamic, or a country indifferent to religious identity but to establish who was actually the "American agent."

The General Secretary of Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI), Maulana Ghaus Bakhsh Hazarvi<sup>178</sup> while addressing a public rally, on 10 March 1970 said, that everyone was duty bound to wage jihad against the US for its hostility to Muslims and friendliness with Jews.<sup>179</sup> He was also reported to have said that *fatwas* (religious rulings) against communism or socialism were attempts to distract attention from the facts, whereas "American rats"<sup>180</sup> were "strengthening Jews by opposing Arabs and passing such rulings."<sup>181</sup> He also told another rally that "the American *samraaj*" (imperial power) was "the worst enemy of Muslims" and

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<sup>178</sup> Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam abbreviated as JUI is a mainstream political party of the right-wing. The party mainly consists of Islamic religious scholars belonging to a Sunni faction of Muslims. Ulema-e-Islam means Scholars of Islam. Maulana Ghaus Bakhsh Hazarvi was the general secretary of JUI and therefore represented the view point of the extreme right.

<sup>179</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 11 March 1970, p.2.

<sup>180</sup> Jamaat-e-Islami and other Political parties of the right, who were opposing the concept of "Islamic Socialism" propagated by Bhutto, were referred as "American rats." Although JUI was also a right-wing party, it did not oppose Bhutto's ideology of Islamic Socialism.

<sup>181</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 11 March 1970, p.2.

involved in "various conspiracies to eliminate Islam." "Israel backed and encouraged by the US," he explained, was creating a "bloodbath for Muslims," and "dreaming of conquering Makah and Medina."<sup>182</sup> He further argued that "the US had always betrayed Muslims," as it "trapped Pakistan" into defence agreements, but "behind the scene provided India with weapons," in huge quantities, "encouraging Hindus to backstab Muslims."<sup>183</sup> Mufti Mehmood, a senior leader of the party was reported to have said that no issue of Islam could be resolved without giving "a funeral to American *samraaj*."<sup>184</sup>

The Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam described other right-wing political parties such as Jamaat-e-Islami and Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan as "American agents" who were trying to protect the interests of American *samraaj* by criticising Bhutto's concept of Islamic socialism. It also described the US as an anti-Islamic force. In response, Jamaat-e-Islami and Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan rejected the allegation and argued that the concept of the Islamic socialism presented by Bhutto was also "an American tactic" to restrict the development of the Islamic system in Pakistan.

On 10 July 1970, the Head of Jamaat-e-Islami, Syed Maududi was reported to have said in one of his public addresses that "some elements" were trying to eliminate Islam and for that reason, different foreign ideologies were being propagated in the country.<sup>185</sup> He also warned the people that acceptance of the ideas of 'socialism' and 'nationalism' would weaken the roots of the country.<sup>186</sup> Therefore, it was argued that the forthcoming elections of 1970 were referendum on socialism, capitalism, and the Islamic system of governance.<sup>187</sup>

Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP) also opposed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, his Pakistan People's Party and the ideology of Islamic Socialism in the elections of 1970.<sup>188</sup> The President of the Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan, Khawja Qamar Ul Din Sialwi, while addressing a conference on 28 July 1970, said, "the US was trying its best" to stop Pakistan from adopting an Islamic code of life and for that reason "it had bribed Bhutto" with full financial aid to raise "the propaganda of socialism." He

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<sup>182</sup> Makkah and Medina are the two most sacred cities for Muslims.

<sup>183</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 8 April 1970, p.1. and news article, 13 May 1970, p.2.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 30 May 1970, p.1.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 9 April 1970, p.8.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 22 April 1971, p.1.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 10 July 1970, p.2.

<sup>188</sup> Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan abbreviated as JUP is another right-wing political party and also a party that represents Islamic religious scholars but belonging to a different faction of Sunni Muslims. JUP not only opposed PPP in 1970 elections but also the JUI.

accused Bhutto of receiving 4 million rupees to propagate socialism and distract the people's attention from demands of an "Islamic system."<sup>189</sup> Consequently, left of the centre party PPP also rejected the allegations and in order to establish that it was not working on "the American anti-Islamic agenda" also described the US as "an anti-Islamic force" and declared Jamaat-e-Islami and other right-wing parties as "American agents."

In May 1970, about a hundred and thirteen religious scholars issued a religious ruling (*fatwa*), declaring the concept of socialism, un-Islamic. The Pakistan People's Party responded to the issue by associating the ruling with America. A senior party leader, Maulana Kauser Niazi, while addressing a public rally at Lalaa Moosa on 20 May 1970, criticised the religious clergy by calling them "American agents." He told the audience that "such rulings had actually damaged the cause of Islam" as during his Hajj visit, when he asked Muslims of Iraq, Egypt, Syria, and Aljazair the reason for their support of India against Pakistan, they replied that "it was because of religious clergy of Pakistan" who regards them "as infidels." They were fighting against Jews, which meant indirectly they were at war with America, because "Jews could not fight for a single day" without the American support, whereas "such rulings were backstabbing" those Muslims, fighting against Jews.<sup>190</sup>

In June 1970, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Chairman of Pakistan People's Party claimed that the two founding fathers of the Nation, Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan, were also murdered by American agents, because both of them believed in Islamic socialism. Bhutto further said that opposition to Islamic socialism and attempts on his life were also a "continuation of imperialist conspiracies."<sup>191</sup> So, Bhutto attempted to explain the US as an anti-Islamic force and argued that the US hostility towards Pakistan and Islam was not a recent phenomenon as it murdered two of the country's founding fathers because they believed in Islamic socialism and the US had objections to both Islam and socialism.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and his Pakistan People's Party also kept telling people that the US was not only against the concept of Islamic socialism, but its "policies were against Islam and the Muslim world." On 7 August 1970, while addressing a huge public gathering at Lahore, he was reported in the Urdu press as stating that the policies of both superpowers were against the Islamic and Arab world as "they

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<sup>189</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 29 July 1970, p.1.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 21 May 1970, p.2.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 9 June 1970, p.1.

were responsible for allowing the existence of Israel," which was being used "against Arabs and Muslims." He said Jamal Abdul Nasir of Egypt was "trapped by both powers" in similar way that "Ayub Khan was trapped" by the Tashkent Agreement in 1966.<sup>192</sup> On 26 July 1970, another Pakistan People's Party politician and candidate for the National Assembly from Lahore Malik Muhammad Akhtar also reiterated in the Urdu press the idea of an American conspiracy. He said that right-wing political parties such as the Muslim League and Jamaat-e-Islami were "conspiring with the American Imperialists" to win the elections in spite of knowing the fact that Americans had already "conspired to annihilate Pakistan" in 1965, by helping "its enemy India" during the war.<sup>193</sup>

Thus, political parties identified themselves as loyal to Islam and accused their political opponents of being "traitors" and "American agents" working on an anti-Islamic agenda. Discourse between them was focused to establish who was actually the American agent. Consequently, a common assumption was communicated that the US was an anti-Islamic force and anyone having close relationship or not speaking against the US would be considered as an American agent. By constructing an identity for the US as an anti-Islamic force, political parties also provided a further way to rationalise a perceived US politics of betrayal in the 1971 War.

Moreover, the Urdu newspapers and political parties also attempted to rationalise the image of the US as an anti-Islamic force in terms of a wider ideological confrontation. The US in this sense was described as part of a worldwide non-Muslim nexus mainly consisted of Christianity, Judaism, and Hinduism against Islam. A senior leader of Jamaat-e-Islami, Mian Tufail in March 1970, while addressing a huge public gathering at Loyalpur, told the audience that America, the Soviet Union, and India were united against Islam, and they were determined to harm the unity of Pakistan.<sup>194</sup> Maulana Ghaus Bakhsh Hazarvi of the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam elucidated that "India dared to cross Pakistan's international border" in 1965, simply at "American behest," whereas *The BBC* broadcasted the "baseless news" about Lahore falling, which was "enough proof" of the "conspiracy against Pakistan."<sup>195</sup> He was also reported to have told a public

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<sup>192</sup> Tashkent Agreement Declaration signed on 10 January 1966 was a peace agreement between India and Pakistan after the 1965 War; *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 8 August 1970, p.2.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 27 July 1970, p.8.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 13 March 1970, p.2.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 8 April 1970, p.1. and news article, 13 May 1970, p.2.

rally in Okara that the US had "violated the agreement," under which both countries had agreed to support each other in case of war with a third country.<sup>196</sup>

A columnist Saadi Sangrori discussed the "putrid intentions of *Hanood* and *Yahood*"<sup>197</sup> whose "wishes for expansionism" were a threat to world peace. He hinted at "a historical nexus" of Hinduism and Judaism against Muslims based on their "common hatred."<sup>198</sup> Similarly, "conspiracies of crusading powers against Islam have been overtly disclosed" was one of the headlines on the front page of *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 7 April 1971. According to details given below the published headline, it was with reference to *Al-Dawa*, a weekly magazine published from Saudi Arabia. The magazine had argued that "enemies of Islam" were conspiring and the "crusading powers were in the forefront" of such conspiracies. The magazine further wrote that it was clear from the events recently happening in East Pakistan that "such forces were working hard" to divide Pakistan into two parts.<sup>199</sup>

The Bangladesh crisis was also described in terms of ideological confrontation. *Nawa-i-Waqt* argued that considering this crisis as part of an anti-Muslim drive, the US and the West could also be suspected for their support of "such Indian designs" in assisting a traditional nexus of "*Hanood* and *Yahood*." As on Kashmir, India was supported by one or the other superpower, Israel had been supported by the US on Palestine. Jewish, Christian, and Hindu countries were "conspiring" against Pakistan as "the symbol of Islam" and home of Muslims. It was argued that the non-Muslim world had not been able to accept the ideology of Pakistan and was trying to refute the ideology.<sup>200</sup> The newspaper argued that the Pope's statement declaring military action in East Pakistan as "the bloodiest part" of human history was a "part of the conspiracy." Therefore, the newspaper suggested that Pakistan in such hostile conditions could only rely on God almighty but not on the non-Muslim countries being united against Pakistan.<sup>201</sup>

A columnist Shaukat Yousaf Khan argued that "propaganda against Pakistan" was actually driven by "ideological hostilities" and for that reason was planned

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<sup>196</sup> Ibid, news article, 21 October 1970, p.2.

<sup>197</sup> Hanood is a word used for Hindus, whereas Yahood is used for Jews

<sup>198</sup> Saadi Sangrori, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 1 April 1971, p.3.

<sup>199</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 7 April 1971, p.1.

<sup>200</sup> Pakistan was created as an independent country in the result of the struggle of people who identified themselves as a separate nation than the majority of Hindu population, on the basis of religion Islam; Farhat Mahmud, *A History of US-Pakistan Relations*.

<sup>201</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 16 August 1971, p.3., editorial, 23 September 1971, p.3., editorial, 5 October 1971, p.3., editorial, 25 October 1971, p.3., news article, 26 October 1971, p.1. and editorial, 25 November 1971, p.3.

and directed by the Jewish lobby which had a monopoly over the US media. It was argued that the US media had "ignored all ethical and professional codes of practices" in order to exploit the situations in East Pakistan. The columnist explained that the floods of 1970 in East Pakistan were one of the worst disasters, but instead of sympathising, "the US media severely criticised" Pakistan's government in order to "malign Pakistan." The columnist observed that the American media was pressurising the US government and the UN to play effective role to restrict the so-called bloodshed going on East Pakistan. The columnist argued that the American media was putting unnecessary pressure on the US government because it was already pressurising Pakistan on its internal matters. The columnist explained that this was a pre-planned and common strategy of the US and India to press Pakistan to allow deserters (refugees) to return to East Pakistan, so that "American agents" could also enter East Pakistan along with those refugees. The columnist argued that such American agents backed by more US resources would be facilitated by "other American agents" already present in Pakistan. The columnist concluded that actually "Christianity and Judaism" were making every possible effort to "confront the ideological forces" of Islam.<sup>202</sup>

Thus, some of the political parties and the Urdu newspapers identified the US as "an anti-Islamic force" being a part of a worldwide non-Muslim nexus against Islam mainly based on the followers of Judaism, Christianity, and Hinduism. Political parties played a significant role in the construction of the US identity as an anti-Islamic force because in attempt to express their loyalty with Islam and Pakistan each party would describe the US as hostile to Islam and Pakistan and they would also explain their political opponents as "American agents." Such a description of the US helped rationalise the idea of a US politics of betrayal in the 1971 War as a logical consequence of its anti-Islamic identity and Pakistan being a Muslim country.

### **2.4.3 The US Described as an International Capitalist Force Causing the Underdevelopment of East Pakistan to Protect its Own Interests**

*Jang*, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, and some of the political parties of Pakistan attempted to explain the causes of East Pakistan's poverty in socialist or Marxist terms of the ruling elite in collaboration with the US causing East Pakistan's

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<sup>202</sup> Shaukat Yousaf Khan, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 8 June 1971, p.3.

underdevelopment. In response, voices of political parties and the Urdu press in West Pakistan refuted the argument by detaching themselves from the ruling elite of West Pakistan and criticising them for the underdevelopment of the whole country and especially of East Pakistan. Therefore, the common point of the discourse admitted the US as "an exploitative capitalist force" and the debate remained focused that who was actually responsible within Pakistan of supporting the US and allowing the exploitation of the poor in the country. All dominant voices agreed in identifying the US as an exploitative force as a means of rationalising the discourse of a US politics of betrayal in the 1971 War as demands for provincial autonomy and even for independence in the form of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's six points manifesto were premised on the underdevelopment of East Pakistan.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, while suggesting a political system based on socialism as a solution, also blamed the economic exploitation of the capitalist ruling elite, who were supported by the international capitalist elite. He blamed former President Ayub Khan for not paying attention and resolving issues between India and Pakistan including the issue of Kashmir "under American pressure." He also accused the former Chief Minister of Sindh and a senior Muslim Leaguer Yousaf Haroon,<sup>203</sup> who was settled in New York and to his belief was supporting Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on behalf of the US.<sup>204</sup> He noted that President Ayub Khan was also responsible for the economic exploitation of East Pakistan, which resulted in alienation of Bengalis. He wrote:

... although he was hard working he was corrupt and his family members went on a veritable spree. He also suffered from many blind spots and had a heavy handed approach to problems. Above all, he bore an intense prejudice against East Pakistan. In his time the links between East and West Pakistan were critically weakened. On the surface the regime was stable, but a deep and dangerous decomposition was taking place. It was during this period that the plunder of Big Business reached its apogee. Ayub Khan built his power structure on the pillars of Big Business, Bureaucracy, and the Basic Democrats, all anti-people forces.<sup>205</sup> It was during the

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<sup>203</sup> Muslim League is a mainstream political party of the right-wing and Yousaf Haroon was a senior politician belonging to Muslim League and worked with founding fathers of Pakistan and served at various significant political positions including Mayor of Karachi during 1944-45 and Chief Minister of Sindh 1949-50.

<sup>204</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 10 August 1970, p.8.

<sup>205</sup> Bhutto alluded to Ayub Khan following the American capitalist model based on big business concerns, bureaucracy and basic democracy used for protecting the interest of the ruling elite.

latter part of this period that militant Bengali nationalism began to show its face.<sup>206</sup>

Hence, Bhutto described the US as international capitalist elite, which joined hands with the local ruling elite of both East and West Pakistan in order to continue its exploitation of poor belonging to both East and West Pakistan. This was the reason that on 20 September 1970, a Pakistan People's Party politician Malik Muhammad Akhtar, one of Bhutto's close companions, while addressing a huge election rally was cited in the Urdu press for claiming that "American imperialists" and their agents in Pakistan were afraid of Bhutto's popularity, as the PPP would deprive the US of their "sources of exploitation."<sup>207</sup> Bhutto was also reported by the Urdu press to have warned people to be cautious of the agents of imperialists who were trying to weaken Pakistan.<sup>208</sup> Subsequently, Bhutto and his PPP portrayed the election campaign as a contest between capitalism and socialism where the former was believed to be promoted by the US and the West and the PPP was presented as the champion of socialism. Therefore, political opposition inside the country was analysed by the PPP politicians as an American conspiracy for protection of its capitalistic interests at the cost of people of East and West Pakistan.

Likewise, the right-wing political parties belonging to both parts of Pakistan described the US as an exploitative force. For example, a senior office bearer of Jamaat-e-Islami Matee-ul-Rehman Nizami informed a press conference at Peshawar in April 1970, that since independence "under a conspiracy by ruling elites, capitalists, and their agents" the country had become home for ideological confrontations, which resulted in the accumulation of wealth in a few hands at the cost of the poor majority.<sup>209</sup>

Similarly, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman perceived the military as his major adversary, as at least twice he refused to see President Yahya Khan, after the elections in December 1970.<sup>210</sup> However, it was perceived in East Pakistan that the US completely backed President Yahya Khan during East Pakistan crisis in 1970-71. On 6 February 1970, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman told journalists that a

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<sup>206</sup> Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, *The Great Tragedy*, 12.

<sup>207</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 21 September 1970, p.4.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 5 November 1970, p.1.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 4 April 1970, p.8.

<sup>210</sup> "Telegram from US Embassy (Islamabad) to Department of State, 25 February 1971, Document 119 Vol. E-7, South Asia, 1969-72." (Washington, DC: US Department of State (Office of Historian), Foreign Relations, 1969-76).

senior East Pakistani leader joined hands with Ayub Khan in the conspiracy against the six point agenda of the Awami League.<sup>211</sup> On 4 July 1970, while talking to journalists Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said, twenty-three years earlier Muslims of India fought against the British and in response capitalists, feudal lords, and the bureaucracy made Muslims fight against each other after the formation of Pakistan.<sup>212</sup> However, the exploiting forces were afraid of his six points and for that reason they were saying to people that the unity of the country or even Islam was at stake.<sup>213</sup> Further, he also warned the "opportunist and selfish elements" to stop their "conspiracies to sabotage" the elections in the hope of continuing "exploitation of the poor."<sup>214</sup>

So the political voices from both the right and left-wing and from East and West Pakistan agreed on the idea that the US was "an exploitative force." These voices however diverged to argue whether the poor of East Pakistan were more affected than the people of West Pakistan or the exploitation equally affected the poor of the two wings of the country. The Urdu press participated in this discourse through communicating the political voices and adding its own analysis and opinion about the issue.

*Nawa-i-Waqt* at multiple times between 3 May 1971 and 5 June 1971 observed that Pakistan's foreign debts were increased manifold as compared to its annual national income through exports. The newspaper explained that the US and other countries in its circle wanted to use aid and debts as a means to their own ends. Therefore, the newspaper advised the government to decrease its dependence on them. The newspaper argued that Pakistan's economic structure was developed by American advisers in a manner, that capital gained from aid and debt was used either to produce consumer products or non productive ventures. The newspaper explained that small and insignificant factories such as those producing plastic items were built in Pakistan for which it had to import expensive raw materials. However, the newspaper argued, nothing was done to utilise critical national resources such as iron, steel, and natural gas. Therefore, it was concluded that "American advisors" were responsible for protection of the interest of a Pakistani elite resulting in a limited wealthy class, while leaving the

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<sup>211</sup> Sheikh Mujibur Rahman did not mention any particular name; *Jang*, news article, 8 February 1970, p.8.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 6 July 1970, p.16.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 14 July 1970, p.8; *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 13 July 1970, p.1.

<sup>214</sup> *Jang*, news article, 11 November 1970, p.8.

overwhelming majority of the people in poverty and misery. Consequently, the newspaper advised restructuring the whole economic system on a fair basis.<sup>215</sup>

Likewise, on 23 September 1970, *Nawa-i-Waqt's* editorial, based on the World Bank's President Robert McNamara's observation about five hundred million people in the world living below poverty lines which was expected to double in ten years time, blamed America and the western powers for this poverty. The newspaper argued that America having only six percent of the world population possessed thirty percent of the world's resources. America and other western powers were responsible for the poverty in underdeveloped countries as they did not allow trade on favourable terms and foreign aid and debts were used as "tools of exploitation" instead of helping the underdeveloped.<sup>216</sup>

Similarly, another *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt's* editorial, on 28 September 1970, discussed a report recently presented to a subcommittee of the US Congress about supplies of medicine at very high prices to underdeveloped countries, including Pakistan. According to *Nawa-i-Waqt*, the report revealed, that prices for some medicine being supplied to Pakistan were seventy to eighty times higher than international prices. It was argued, that there was a likely "nexus between American and domestic exploiters." The newspaper explained that there was a "sheer criminal abetment" on the part of Pakistani authorities and decision makers, who allowed the purchase of such expensive medicines that put an enormous burden on poor Pakistanis. The US was described as "responsible for this conspiracy" because they had "always tried to make money by using all exploitative tactics." It was also pointed out that for a long time the US had been providing loans with conditions whereby the amount of loan had to be used to purchase particular items from US companies. It was further explained that they were making money with debt services and they were also selling their items at higher prices. All this caused "exploitation of poor" Pakistanis.<sup>217</sup> Moreover, it was highlighted that generally political conditions were attached to the aid provided by the US. Therefore, the newspaper advised Pakistan to decrease its dependency on the foreign aid.<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 3 May 1971, p.3., editorial, 13 May 1971, p.3., editorial, 20 May 1971, p.3., editorial, 22 May 1971, p.3. and editorial, 5 June 1971, p.3.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid*, editorial, 23 September 1970, p.3.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid*, editorial, 28 September 1970, p.3.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid*, editorial, 1 July 1971, p.3., Arif Nizami, column, 2 July 1971, p.3. and editorial, 6 July 1971, p.3.

*Nawa-i-Waqt's* special correspondent in Dhaka Muhammad Faiz, on 1 June 1970 reported the internal factors of Bengalis' plight and argued that political parties in East Pakistan were misguiding the people by putting all the blame of underdevelopment on West Pakistan. The correspondent wrote that politicians in West Pakistan had not been able to "reply appropriately" to those allegations. At most, they blamed in return such critics as "foreign agents." The journalist suggested that the appropriate answer would have contained the facts and figures to prove that West Pakistan was not responsible for the plight of Bengalis, but colonial exploitation, geographical and environmental factors, the lazy attitude of Bengalis towards hard work and their emotional and irrational approach were a few of the main causes of their underdevelopment.<sup>219</sup>

Likewise, *Jang's* argument on the issue of foreign aid was not different. The aid was seen as a form of dependency, and therefore the newspaper advised Pakistan seek self-sufficiency and gradually decrease its dependence on the foreign aid and debts.<sup>220</sup>

Thus, left and right-wing political parties belonging to East and West Pakistan reported by *Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* described the US as responsible for the poor economic conditions in the country especially in East Pakistan. The Urdu press explained that the US exploited in collaboration with the local ruling elite. The US described as responsible for the economic plight of the country that caused disintegration of Pakistan provided a means to rationalise the discourse of a US politics of betrayal in the 1971 War as, the US caused the exploitation of an ally by pursuing its capitalist interest.

## **2.5 RETROSPECTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE DISCOURSE**

Senior journalists and politicians during the interviews conducted for this research responded to the role and discourse of the Urdu press in the 1971 War in two ways. First, admitting the fact that the narrative had serious issues and the US image presented in the crisis was not a factual and true picture of the US conduct. Second, they defended the narrative and criticised the US role during the crisis.<sup>221</sup> The discussions published by the Urdu newspapers helped construct Pakistan's perspective on the issue. However, opinions given space were at times

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<sup>219</sup> Faiz Muhammad, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 1 June 1970, p. 2.

<sup>220</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 14 February, 1970, p.5.

<sup>221</sup> Findings regarding such perspectives already added into previous sections of this chapter.

biased and misguided people about the policies and intentions of the US. Alternate arguments that might explain the US position were generally excluded.

Some of the alternate views recovered through the interviews for this research rejected the idea of a US conspiracy by emphasising more internal factors for the disintegration of Pakistan in 1971.

### **2.5.1 Internal Factors were More Important In Causing the Disintegration**

One senior politician who also served as Prime Minister of the country accepted that disintegration was caused because of internal issues and he stated:

the fact is that we did not give the due rights to the people of East Pakistan. When I was the Prime Minister, the biggest demand from the smaller provinces was that we need provincial autonomy. Had we given provincial autonomy at that time, East Pakistan would have been still with us. That is the reason when we deprive them of their rights and we usurp their rights, and we did not give them equal rights, and there was like a male chauvinism a Punjabi chauvinism that we are intellectually better, we are physically better, we are [more] presentable, we are taller and they are not, they do not have fair complexions. Therefore we used to looked down upon them and that caused confusion and had we been fair with each other neither America nor anybody else could have done anything.<sup>222</sup>

A former ambassador to the US and federal minister belonging to Pakistan Muslim League also did not blame the US for the disintegration of Pakistan and said:

West Pakistan's civilian, military, and political establishment refused to accept the results of elections of 1970 when East Pakistan, Bengalis had to form the government ... so we lost ourselves one half of the country because we could not resolve an internal political conflict. Then we expected Americans somehow to bail us out and General Yahya Khan kept expecting the Seventh Fleet to come to the Bay of Bengal to rescue us. So we expected the Seventh Fleet to come to our rescue but obviously Americans did not move their ships. However, they did counsel Indira Gandhi not to attack on our western front. So West Pakistan remained intact ... The fact of the matter is that we have been psychologically coming out of a colonial mind set, so we

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<sup>222</sup> Respondent 4

have got into an imperialistic mindset reliant on others, to pullout our chestnuts out of the fire.<sup>223</sup>

### **2.5.2 Biased and Misleading Discourse**

One of the respondents having a life time experience of Urdu journalism accused both the Urdu and English press of "misinforming the people." He explained that one of the reasons was that "the only TV channel was controlled by the government." According to his understanding, "it was never the United States policy that it would move its Seventh Fleet to defend East Pakistan and support Pakistan's position." However, this issue was "totally misconceived rather than a falsehood, that they [the media] were aware that this was not going to happen, but they publicised it." He further explained that this is one of the reasons that "why there is so much opposition to America among the common level of people, because they thought that they [US] promised and betrayed and did not prove to be Pakistan's true friend." Pakistan's military government and other political forces failed to recognise the sensitivity of the issue, in spite of the fact, that even China advised that "it should be identified, very politely, by Pakistan's establishment, and it should be recognised that there is a national issue in East Pakistan."

The journalist recollected that when any member of the press wanted to say the truth they:

were accused of being Indian and foreign agents. When someone tried to tell people that the Pakistani Army is being defeated, they were [laughs] not convinced and actually some of them were very angry, that is why such comments are being made, because media was telling them that we have conquered such and such places, we have got that mountain, and we have made the Mukti Bahini on the run, and we have done this and that.<sup>224</sup>

One of the reasons for the inability of Pakistani press to inform the people about the facts was the stringent control and suppression by the military government of the time. A senior journalist who also served for the Foreign Services of Pakistan said:

I think the big tragedy was that media was not free and media was nationalistic. We had anti-press laws, which

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<sup>223</sup> Respondent 10

<sup>224</sup> Respondent 1

remained intact until 1985, when they were set aside. The media was state owned [or state controlled] and it misrepresented the situation in East Pakistan. Yeah the tragedy is, now the facts are coming out, that President Nixon sided with Pakistan while the rest of the world and the American nation was greatly angered by the actions taken by the Pakistan army. You know that Pakistan was ruled by the Army.<sup>225</sup>

Pakistani newspapers under the strict control of the military government attempted to shape public opinion to support official policy and decisions. Pakistani media due to its biased representation of the US role and expected help raised false expectations in the masses. One of the most senior journalists of the country also believed that the role of the Urdu press was "absolutely misleading," as "during the 1971 War as in 1965 War, the media by and large and Urdu newspapers were fed completely by official agencies." The media told people that the Pakistan military was in a good position to win the war and "they did not tell the people what was [actually] happening" and for that reason on "16th of December when Dhaka fell people were taken by surprise" and even "newspapers themselves became very angry." Pakistani media especially the Urdu press failed to show a complete and true picture of the situation and "it did not perform its functions honestly and efficiently." It was argued by the journalist that Pakistan lost both the 1965 and 1971 Wars but the "press never told the people." In 1971, there was little room for telling lies about the victory as finally the "people saw that their country had lost." No one could hide the ground realities such as "the separation of East Pakistan ... Indian planes [that] were able to attack West Pakistan's civilian population," and Indians who had "occupied Pakistan's territory" which were known to everyone. Therefore, for the government and the media, "there was no possibility of telling lies on 71."<sup>226</sup>

When people expect some help from an ally or a friend and are disappointed by them they feel betrayed. A journalist explained similarly that:

the feelings and perceptions of US betrayal actually resulted from failed expectations ... For example, in the 1971 War people were expecting a particular kind of support from the USA, and when they did not receive this support they felt betrayed.

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<sup>225</sup> Respondent 2  
<sup>226</sup> Respondent 5

However, if their expectations were based on misunderstanding of the commitments by an ally then "political forces, civil or military and mass media can be held responsible for raising the expectations of the people." The respondent shared his information on the issue and claimed that:

in 1998 once I asked an American diplomat who was appointed on the Seventh Fleet in 1971, was the Seventh fleet really coming to rescue Pakistan? He smiled and said that issue was reported in the wrong manner to the public.

However, after the disintegration happened, America was blamed for its inability to save Pakistan in order to transfer responsibility for the events. In the opinion of the respondent "powerful political forces, civil or military used the media to make America a scapegoat for state failure in East Pakistan. It was easy to associate things with conspiracy." The respondent concluded:

even to this date people, who point out the wrong doings of the Pakistani government and military establishment in East Pakistan, are portrayed as traitors. A recent example is an attempt to murder a famous journalist who has been continuously writing and talking about atrocities committed by the Pakistani Military in East Pakistan.<sup>227</sup>

Thus, interviewees had different opinions about the issue. Most of them think that the media discourse was misleading, biased, and based on propaganda that raised popular expectations, which later caused a sense of betrayal on the part of Pakistanis. Others think that the role was not that biased as the US actually betrayed Pakistan and therefore it is the US who is to be blamed for its conduct and policies not the media for communicating the US response to the people.

## **2.6 CONCLUSION**

Between July and December 1971, when Pakistan needed the US on its side for deterrence purposes by projecting the balance of power in its favour, the Pakistani media gave a positive projection of the US, which raised expectations of their ally among the people. During the Bangladesh crisis in general and the 1971 War in particular, the Pakistani media, political parties and ruling elite failed to communicate a true and complete picture of the situation. When, all of a sudden, the people heard the news of defeat, they could not understand the reasons for losing a war in which, they had been told, their superpower military ally was ready

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<sup>227</sup> Respondent 20

to come to help under its obligations of past military agreements. Pakistani public expectations were shattered, and the people felt betrayed.

Although the US commitment to Pakistan was originally given in the context of a communist threat, and the 1959 agreement gave some guarantee against the threat from India, it was never meant to involve the automatic physical intervention of the US. Rather it provided for mutual consultations and appropriate actions mutually agreed that may include physical involvement. Therefore, from the responses of the respondents and the discourse analysis of *Nawa-i-Waqt* and *Jang* it is evident that the dominant voices of the newspapers, both the right and left-wing political parties, and of the journalists included in the discourse presented only one side of the picture. The alternate opinions which could have challenged the dominant voices of the discussion were largely excluded.

Consequently, the image of the US which was given through the discourse of the Urdu press was that of an unsympathetic ally, insensitive to the security of a friendly country. The US was portrayed as having anti-Muslim tendencies, as being involved in economic exploitation, and as causing the underdevelopment of poorer international partners. It was also accused of stirring up conflict situations and conspiring against an ally through interfering in its internal affairs for its own selfish ends, while sometimes extending half-hearted support which was not enough to save an ally from territorial disintegration. Different voices in the discourse established the concept of US betrayal of Pakistan in the 1971 War first by exaggerating the help which could reasonably have been expected from the US after the change in its relationship with China, and later by rationalising it through the idea of a US conspiracy, its modalities, and causes.

## CHAPTER THREE

### PAKISTAN'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM AND DOUBTS ABOUT US INTENTIONS

Pakistan's nuclear program, which was developed in response to India's interest in developing nuclear weapons in the 1970s, was opposed by the US on the basis of concerns about nuclear proliferation. A major section of academic scholarship on Pakistan's side accused the US of ignoring the security concerns of its ally vis-à-vis India and of opposing Pakistan's nuclear program and ignoring that of India.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, a significant majority of western and Indian intellectuals joined by a few Pakistanis criticised the US for not taking enough measures to restrict Pakistan from developing nuclear weapons.<sup>2</sup> The Urdu press predominantly echoed the former view of the US policy regarding Pakistan's nuclear program.

Multiple voices within the mainstream Urdu newspapers between 1971 and 1998 discussed Pakistan's nuclear program, primarily from Pakistan's

<sup>1</sup> Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, *If I Am Assassinated*; Jehangir Khan, 'US-Pakistan Relations'; Sultan Muhammed Khan, 'Pakistani Geopolitics: The Diplomatic Perspective', *International Security*, 5 (1980), 26–36; Muhammad Mushtaq and Muhammad Jawad Hashmi, 'Regional Hegemonic Aspirations of India: A Review of Indian Nuclear Program', *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences (PJSS)*, 32 (2012), 251–62; A.H. Nayyar, 'A Pakistani Perspective on Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation' (Islamabad: The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2008); Iram Khalid, 'Nuclear Security Dilemma of Pakistan', *Journal of Political Studies*, 20 (2013), 13–33; Major General Retired Mahmud Ali Durrani, 'Pakistan's Strategic Thinking and the Role of Nuclear Weapons' (Albuquerque: Cooperative Monitoring Center Occasional Paper 37, Sandia National Laboratories, 2004); Brigadier General (ret) Naeem Salik, 'The Evolution of Pakistan's Nuclear Doctrine' (Centre on Contemporary Conflict, Naval Postgraduate School, 2006), 70–84; Rasul B. Rais, 'Pakistan's Nuclear Program: Prospects for Proliferation', *Asian Survey*, 25 (1985), 458–72; A.Z. Hilali, 'Pakistan's Nuclear Deterrence'.

<sup>2</sup> Joe Stork, 'Pakistan's Nuclear Fix', *Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP)*, 143 (1986), 16–18; Levy and Scott-Clark; Linda Diaz, 'Pakistan's Nuclear Arsenals: A Threat to US Security', *Global Security Studies*, 3 (2012), 55–65; Andrew Bast, 'Pakistan's Nuclear Calculus', *The Washington Quarterly*, 34 (2011), 73–86; Azriel Bermant, 'Pakistan: Reducing the Risks of a Nuclear Disaster', 2013, 31–42; S.P. Seth, 'The Indo-Pak Nuclear Duet and the United States', *Asian Survey*, 28 (1988), 711–28; 'Report By Atomic Scientists Underscore Rise Of Pakistan's Nuclear Program', *Asian Scientist Magazine*, July 2011; Peter R. Lavoy and Feroz Hassan Khan, 'Rogue or Responsible Nuclear Power? Making Sense of Pakistan's Nuclear Practices', *Strategic Insights*, 3 (2004); Izuyama Marie and Ogawa Shinichi, 'The Nuclear Policy of India and Pakistan', *NIDS Security Reports*, 4 (2003), 59–89; Bhumitra Chakma, 'Road to Chagai: Pakistan's Nuclear Programme, Its Sources and Motivations', *Modern Asian Studies*, 36 (2002), 871–912; Ashok Kapur, 'A Nuclearizing Pakistan: Some Hypotheses', *Asian Survey*, 20 (1980), 495–516; Aditi Malhotra, 'Pakistan's Nuclear Factor', *Scholar Warrior*, 2011, 49–57; Samina Ahmed, 'Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons Program: Turning Points and Nuclear Choices', *International Security*, 23 (1999), 178–204; Samina Ahmed, 'Security Dilemmas of Nuclear-Armed Pakistan', *Third World Quarterly*, 21 (2000), 781–93; Samina Ahmed and others, *Pakistan and the Bomb: Public Opinion and Nuclear Options*, ed. by Samina Ahmed and David Cortright (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000).

perspective. One of the most prominent opinions was provided by journalists in the media itself. The newspapers generally expressed their opinions in the form of editorials associated with the newspapers instead of presenting them as any particular author's view. Others who expressed themselves through the newspapers included politicians and members of the ruling elite, senior scientists related to Pakistan's nuclear program and, at times, individual journalists and intellectuals. Most of the voices in the discourse were of Pakistani origin, however occasionally opinions of the foreign media, politicians, journalists, and intellectuals were included too.

The Urdu press discourse on Pakistan's nuclear program established that by ignoring serious security threats to Pakistan, the US did not equally oppose the Indian nuclear program. This, combined with the US failure to help Pakistan strengthen its conventional military defence against India between 1965 and 1981 meant that Pakistan arguably had no choice but to opt for nuclear options. Moreover, Pakistan's program always remained a direct response to the Indian nuclear program. Therefore, Pakistan kept arguing that it had no objection to signing the international Non-Proliferation Treaty provided India signed it first. However, the US continued to pressure Pakistan to unilaterally sign agreements on international monitoring and inspections. Thus in order to ensure its security, Pakistan had to keep the option of nuclear weapons open.

An important perspective presented in the discourse on Pakistan-US relations over nuclear weapons is also the Indian connection. India's criticism of the US showing an interest in Pakistan's security raised doubts in Pakistan as to the US's commitment to Pakistan. Consequently, when the US opposed Pakistan's planned purchasing of a French nuclear reprocessing plant and suspended military aid in 1979 and 1990, these actions were described as a US betrayal under Indian influence. It was also argued that US conduct was not merely a betrayal rather, it was a betrayal which formed part of a wider conspiracy. So, the discourse tended to explain different modalities and causes of that US conspiracy.

The modalities of US conspiracy as presented by the discourse included the US using the American and western media for propaganda purposes against Pakistan's nuclear program, the US deploying pressurising tactics including the suspension of military and economic aid, and interference in Pakistan's domestic politics to harm Pakistan's nuclear program. The three causes of US conspiracy included: first, the US being a hegemonic power which wanted to protect its

capitalistic interests and to keep Pakistan dependent on it. Second, the US, being an anti-Islamic force, would not allow a Muslim country to have a nuclear program for its development and security purposes. Third, the US preferred India over Pakistan as India is a larger country and is therefore comparatively more useful for the pursuance of US interests in South Asia.

All the perspectives on the nuclear discourse in key newspapers in the Urdu press, that is *Jang*, and *Nawa-i-Waqt*, as well as government officials, journalists and politicians belonging to both right and left-wing ideologies, all supported the idea that there had been a US betrayal of an ally. Excluded from the discourse were voices offering an alternate understanding of the issues rather than simply seeing it as a complete US betrayal as part of a conspiracy.

Section 3.1 of this chapter analyses the perceived US politics of betrayal vis-à-vis Pakistan's nuclear program and details how the different voices in the Urdu press expressed Pakistan's security threats and viewed the US response under Indian criticism with suspicion, and finally, how they observed the US as backtracking from its commitments. The Urdu press saw the US's opposition to Pakistan's nuclear program as a US politics of betrayal. Section 3.2 discusses how different voices in the Urdu press adhered to idea of a US conspiracy lying behind its perceived betrayal. Section 3.3 details different modalities of the US conspiracy against Pakistan. Such modalities mainly included using the US and western media for propaganda purposes, pressurising tactics such as the suspension of economic and military aid, and interfering in Pakistan's domestic politics. These modalities crystallised the idea of a US conspiracy against Pakistan. Section 3.4 presents the different causes, as described by the discourse, behind the US conspiracy and for that matter, behind the perceived betrayal of an ally. These described causes primarily included first, that the US, as a hegemonic power, wanted to keep Pakistan dependent on it. Second, that the US, as an anti-Islamic force, conspired against the nuclear program of a Muslim country, and third, that the US, in pursuance of its interests in South Asia, preferred India over Pakistan as an ally, India being a larger country. These described causes facilitated the rationalisation of the idea of a US conspiracy and a politics of betrayal vis-à-vis Pakistan's nuclear program. Section 3.5 concludes the chapter by summarising the discourse on the US betrayal vis-à-vis Pakistan's nuclear program, the argument behind the existence of a conspiracy, and its modalities and causes as constructed by the hegemonic voices of the discourse.

The conclusion also considers the alternative voices which broadly remained excluded from the press discussions.

### **3.1 THE US POLITICS OF BETRAYAL VIS-À-VIS PAKISTAN'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM**

Having a bitter experience of shattered hopes due to "US betrayal" in the 1971 War the Urdu press seemed conscious of security threats to Pakistan from India with regard to imbalance in conventional military power and more specifically due to India showing interests in developing nuclear weapons. Consequently, *Jang*, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, and the dominant voices of politicians, state officials, and journalists adhering to both right and left-wing ideologies expressed Pakistan's security concerns vis-à-vis India. The discourse in the Urdu press in post 1971 era started from highlighting the increasing imbalance in conventional military power between India and Pakistan creating a strategic disadvantage to Pakistan especially due to US sanctions on military supplies since the 1971 War. Additionally, India's nuclear tests on 18 May 1974 further enhanced Pakistan's threat perceptions with regard to India. Though the US empathised with Pakistan's critical security position and attempted to express its determination to help Pakistan overcome its problems, the Urdu press expressed doubts with regard to US commitment and its reliability as a military ally because of Indian criticism on US intentions to support Pakistan.

Thus, when the US was perceived backtracking from its earlier commitments or opposing Pakistan's nuclear program, the dominant voices noted that simultaneously it was supporting India's nuclear program or at least India was not subject to the same US opposition to its nuclear development. Therefore, the doubts that the US might once more give preference to India and betray Pakistan were confirmed after US opposition to the purchase of a French nuclear reprocessing plant and suspension of military aid in 1979 and 1990.

#### **3.1.1 Security Threats due to an Imbalance in Conventional Weapons Pushing Pakistan to Nuclear Weapons**

*Jang* on 12 March 1973 reported Governor Punjab Ghulam Mustafa Khar, as special messenger of President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, to have been sent to the US to convince Americans of Pakistan's security requirements. The newspaper argued on the one hand that Pakistan had entered defence agreements with the US, as it

wanted "security against the Indian threat" and had always been friendly with America. On the other hand after 1962, it was indicated that India got aid from both the US and USSR on the pretext of the Chinese threat, India also continued after the 1965 War to receive weapons from Soviet and other sources, and finally caused the disintegration of Pakistan with the help of those weapons. Therefore, the newspaper suggested that it was "unfair for the US" to treat both Pakistan and India equally, as latter was not threatened by Pakistan or China, instead the former faced a clear threat from the Indian aggression.<sup>3</sup>

Consequently, the US decision, in March 1973, to resume military supplies to both India and Pakistan was incomprehensible on the Pakistan's side. *Jang* on 17 March 1973 argued that in the past this policy had not worked and encouraged India to pursue its "aggressive designs." In future, it was less likely that this policy would promote peace and stability in South Asia. The newspaper argued that the US had claimed pursuing this policy to maintain the balance of power in South Asia, but there was the question of protecting a smaller state, Pakistan from a much larger and "aggressive country," India. Therefore, the newspaper concluded that American policy to give an equal treatment to both countries was in fact "unreasonable" and not in Pakistan's interest.<sup>4</sup>

A journalist in *Jang*, Asif Jillani on 15 July 1973 advised the US to reconsider its policies, because it could not ignore South Asia as India supported by the USSR could threaten the peace of the region.<sup>5</sup> *Jang* argued that peace between India and Pakistan could only be preserved through maintaining a balance of power in the region. Therefore, the US had a responsibility to fulfil its obligations towards Pakistan under the old agreements.<sup>6</sup> The newspaper noted that Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto therefore in line with this viewpoint expected some military assistance during his visit to the US in September 1973. However, no particular US assurances of military aid caused disappointment. The newspaper on 22 September 1973 argued that US assurances of political support to Pakistan were indeed important for Pakistan's security and survival. However, the kind of confidence a stronger defence gives a nation cannot be compared with that of political support. Therefore, the US was advised to realise this fact, and if it could not strengthen Pakistan's defence, then it must use its influence to resolve those

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<sup>3</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 12 March 1973, p.3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, editorial, 17 March 1973, p.3.

<sup>5</sup> Asif Jillani, *Jang*, column, 15 July 1973, p.3.

<sup>6</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 15 July 1973, p.3.

issues between India and Pakistan due to which Pakistan had to seek strength and depth in its defence capabilities. At the same time, the newspaper advised Pakistan to continue seeking good relations and military support from all the superpowers.<sup>7</sup>

*Jang* on 15 December 1973 conversely noted that the US cancelled the significant amount of 16.64 billion rupees India had to pay against the wheat purchases in 1973-74.<sup>8</sup> Subsequently, the newspaper regarded it as a policy to appease India and claimed that the US had also resumed military aid worth \$19 million to India, which would affect the balance of military power in the region, already disturbed due to increasing the military power of India. The newspaper also noted that India had been receiving military aid from the USSR and other sources, and US continuous rewards to India were perceived to threaten Pakistan's security and survival. The newspaper advised that if the US could not provide arms to Pakistan for the sake of peace and security, it was better not to provide any military assistance to India either.<sup>9</sup>

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in April 1974, once again demanded that the US lift the sanctions on supply of arms to Pakistan. He had requested the same during his visit to the US in September 1973. *Jang* seconded the Prime Minister's argument that the biggest deterrent to aggression in South Asia had been Pakistan's defence capability, and for that reason, as soon as the capability was weakened because of American sanctions on arms supply to both India and Pakistan since 1965, "India dared to commit aggression" in 1965 and 1971. The newspaper further argued that to "restrict expansionism" in South Asia, Pakistan needed a stronger defence. The newspaper explained that threats to Pakistan were multiplied because its western neighbour Afghanistan was also receiving aid from the USSR, and was allied with India in opposing Pakistan while claiming territory inside Pakistan. Conversely, the newspaper claimed, "Pakistan did not have territorial claims," and had "no wish to expand" its territory.<sup>10</sup> The newspaper on 22 September 1974 further argued that India during the previous twenty seven years had occupied the states of Kashmir, Hyderabad, Juna Gadh, Goa and Sikkim and its forces had entered East Bengal in 1971 to help the disintegration of Pakistan. The newspaper claimed that in its "obsession to become a regional

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid, editorial, 22 September 1973, p.3.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, news article, 15 December 1973, p.1.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, editorial, 16 December 1973, p.3.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, editorial, 1 May 1974, p.3.

superpower" India had conducted nuclear tests on 18 May 1974. For all these reasons, a stronger Pakistan, able to defend against Indian aggression was required for peace and security in South Asia.<sup>11</sup>

### **3.1.2 Expression of Pakistan's Security Concerns vis-à-vis India's Nuclear Program**

Information about the Indian nuclear weapons program, as early as 24 June 1971, increased Pakistan's security concerns. *Nawa-i-Waqt* endorsed the statement of I.H. Osmani, then Chairman of Pakistan's Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC), who said that international society had to take notice of "war obsessed Indian policies," and even consider taking India's nuclear reactor into international custody in order to restrict the possibility of developing a nuclear bomb. If India succeeded, some of the smaller countries in the region might also have to become involved in the race. The newspaper argued that by developing nuclear weapons India wanted to threaten the security of its neighbours and blackmail them, especially Pakistan, to evade its international obligations of non-interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan. The newspaper warned the superpowers that they had to realise the fact that allowing India to go ahead with its nuclear program would introduce a new series of nuclear states such as Canada, Sweden, Italy, Belgium, Germany, Israel, and Japan.<sup>12</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 1 July 1971 noted that the timing of Indian expression of interest in nuclear technology was important, as Pakistan was facing a severe internal crisis in East Pakistan. The newspaper argued that it was a blackmail tactic to pressurise Pakistan to accept Indian hegemony in the region. The newspaper claimed that the US, UK, USSR, and Canada were among the countries helping India to become a nuclear power. Therefore Pakistan had to make the superpowers realise their mistakes and provide protection against this potential nuclear threat from India.<sup>13</sup> *Jang* reported on 22 August 1972 that India possessed all the ingredients required to develop a nuclear device and was expected to conduct tests soon.<sup>14</sup> The newspaper on 27 November 1972 reported that the US was providing enormous aid to India, approximately 56.5 percent of total foreign assistance for various social and economic spheres, and also helping

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid, news article, 22 September 1974, p.8.

<sup>12</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 24 June 1971, p.3.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, editorial, 1 July 1971, p.3.

<sup>14</sup> *Jang*, news article, 22 August 1972, p.1.

it to build the largest nuclear reactor in Asia at Tarapur in 1963. The newspaper observed that American aid to Pakistan was far less in proportion as compared to that of India.<sup>15</sup> *Jang* on 30 November 1972 argued that Pakistan's interest in the nuclear program was therefore justified on the basis of "Indian aggressive designs." The newspaper claimed that installation of a nuclear power plant, at Karachi in November 1972, was Pakistan's first important achievement in the nuclear field. It was argued that progress in the nuclear field would help to meet the requirements of energy and defence. Therefore it was essential that Pakistan after achieving a milestone in the field of energy must pursue the other one of nuclear military security.<sup>16</sup>

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto told a press conference on 21 May 1974 "Pakistan could not be blackmailed" by a nuclear threat. He requested the nuclear powers to cooperate with Pakistan for peaceful purposes to enable Pakistan to speed up its implementation of its nuclear program. He said, Pakistan would convey its concerns to CENTO, USSR, Canada, France, Britain, and China. Bhutto further appealed to the United Nations to take notice of Indian tests and ensure that the Security Council would provide a guarantee against the Indian nuclear threat. Bhutto also told journalists that Pakistan would continue its nuclear program at a faster pace in order to achieve peaceful goals and that the purpose of Pakistan's nuclear program was to attain economic progress and the wellbeing of the people. Bhutto finally said that Pakistanis would eat grass and compromise on their necessities but not on their nuclear program.<sup>17</sup> Likewise Muneer Ahmad Khan, Chairman Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC) was reported by *Jang* on 21 May 1974, to have said that Pakistan needed nuclear energy for its survival and progress. He also said that Pakistan had talented scientists and enough reserves of uranium to implement a nuclear program successfully.<sup>18</sup> *Jang* on 21 May 1974 supported the statement of Muneer Ahmad Khan by explaining that small countries of the region such as Bangladesh, Nepal, and Burma were not in a position to reply to the Indian threat. Therefore, Pakistan had to take this responsibility.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Iqbal Ahmad Sadiqui, *Jang*, column 27 November 1972, p.4.

<sup>16</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 30 November 1972, p.3.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 21 May 1974, p.1.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 23 May 1974, p.1.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, editorial, 21 May 1974, p.3.

Pakistan's Foreign Office spokesman was reported on 20 May 1974 to have said that entire world was concerned about Indian nuclear tests on 18 May 1974 and so was Pakistan. The spokesperson further said that it was not an element of surprise as Pakistan had been warning international society, nuclear and superpowers about the Indian nuclear program and India's intentions for the previous ten years.<sup>20</sup> The spokesperson argued that the treaty of 1968 to restrict nuclear proliferation, signed under the supervision of the US and USSR had been undermined due to Indian intentions and actions.<sup>21</sup>

*Jang* on 22 May 1974 raised the question that while world powers failed to restrict India from conducting nuclear tests, was it possible at all to avoid proliferation? The newspaper's reply was in the negative, because India had generated concerns of security and survival for some non-nuclear countries. Therefore, the newspaper suggested that the five nuclear powers were duty bound to ensure security of the threatened states. However, a nation could not rely completely on international regulations and guarantees because they are "not powerful enough" to ensure the survival of a smaller country like Pakistan or to restrict the high headedness of a larger country like India. It was also feared that countries, which were important sources of nuclear supplies such as Canada, would no more provide nuclear support to other countries such as Pakistan in "the pretext of proliferation" because India had "deceived" them. Consequently, the newspaper concluded that it was the responsibility of the UN and superpowers, either to ensure avoiding new entrants into nuclear club through back doors, or to allow every state to get access to the technology.<sup>22</sup>

Aziz Ahmad, Pakistan's Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs was reported by *Jang* on 23 May 1974 to have told a press conference in Washington that Pakistan would ask the UN and all nuclear powers, especially the US to assure Pakistan of its security against the Indian nuclear threat. He said that the US had already provided such an assurance to India during its war with China in 1962. He said that Pakistan did not sign the treaty about non-proliferation because India refused to sign the same. In the given circumstances, he said, the US should reassure Pakistan for security against Indian nuclear threat.<sup>23</sup> In consequence, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was reported by *Jang* on 12 June

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<sup>20</sup> *Jang* did not mention the name of the correspondent.

<sup>21</sup> *Jang*, news article, 20 May 1974, p.1.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, editorial, 22 May 1974, p.3.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 23 May 1974, p.1.

1974 to have received a letter from Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to assure that India did not want to use nuclear technology for military purposes. However, the newspaper described the letter as "part of the Indian propaganda campaign" to convince the world of the "peaceful nature" of its nuclear program. *Jang* noted that Bhutto responded to the letter primarily with two suggestions. First, all nuclear powers or at least one of them would provide a guarantee to counter nuclear threats. Second, India must assure Pakistan of its peaceful intentions through signing more than one international arrangement for nuclear safeguards. The newspaper endorsed Bhutto's suggestions and urged superpowers to pay special attention to the issue.<sup>24</sup> Likewise some members of the National Assembly, during the budget session, were reported by *Jang* on 17 June 1974 to have asked the government of Pakistan to seek guarantees against a nuclear threat or to think about developing its own nuclear weapons.<sup>25</sup> Pakistani Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs, Aziz Ahmad on 20 June 1974, told the National Assembly that Pakistan would do everything to strengthen its defence, including requesting the superpowers to provide required assurances.<sup>26</sup>

*Jang* on 1 October 1974 noted that India wanted to keep the choices of nuclear weapons open and for that reason had opposed the Pakistani suggestion of creating a nuclear weapons free zone in South Asia. Therefore, the newspaper argued that India's program was neither peaceful nor were its intentions good. It had hegemonic ambitions in South Asia and wanted to expand its territories. The newspaper further wrote that it had caused the disintegration of a neighbour and wished to repeat the same. Hence Pakistan's intentions in making efforts for a nuclear weapons free zone were to highlight Indian aggressive intentions.<sup>27</sup> Iqbal Akhund, Pakistan's permanent representative in the UN, while talking to a delegation of officers from American War College in New York, was reported by *Jang* on 22 October 1974 to have explained Pakistan's intentions. He said that the proposed nuclear weapons free South Asia meant that all countries of the regions would promise not to construct nuclear weapons, offering their peaceful nuclear program for international inspection and observation, coupled with an assurance by the nuclear powers that they would not threaten or use nuclear weapons in this region. Pakistan knew, he explained, that application of this

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid, editorial, 12 June 1974, p.3.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, news article, 17 June 1974, p.1.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, news article, 20 June 1974, p.1.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, editorial, 1 October 1974, p.3.

suggestion would interfere in the sovereignty of countries, but this would ensure peace and stability.<sup>28</sup>

Fazal Elahi the President of Pakistan in one of his letters to the UN, was reported by *Jang* on 25 October 1974 to have emphasised, that practical steps were needed to protect sovereignty, political independence, and territorial integrity of the smaller and comparatively weaker states. He highlighted the need for realisation of the increasing threats of the nuclear war, and therefore the importance of controlling nuclear proliferation.<sup>29</sup> Similarly, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, during his visit to the USSR in October 1974, told Kosygin that achieving the objectives of a nuclear weapons free zone in South Asia, would help to maintain peace and security, through an effective control of the nuclear proliferation.<sup>30</sup>

Nayaz Saif a columnist in *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 13 December 1976 highlighted the General Assembly adopting Pakistan's resolution about nuclear proliferation and assurances by the nuclear states for the protection of non-nuclear states in December 1976. The columnist regarded it an achievement for Pakistan, but at the same time argued that it was unfortunate that in the past resolutions of the weaker states remained ineffective, given the fact that the UN was dominated by powerful actors like the US. Indian nuclear tests posed a serious threat to Pakistan's security, whereas the UN was not capable of providing credible assurance against these threats, especially in the context of historical experiences and facts on ground. The journalist further argued that the only way to get protection against these threats was to reply to it in the kind by acquiring the same nuclear technology.<sup>31</sup>

The prominent voices of *Jang*, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, journalists, and government officials speaking through the newspapers attempted to establish Pakistan's security concerns because of growing imbalance of conventional and nuclear military power in South Asia in favour of India. It was argued that the US, other nuclear powers, and the international society failed to restrict India from conducting nuclear tests, and therefore the US being an ally of Pakistan had a responsibility to reassure Pakistan's security against the Indian nuclear threat. It was also suggested that the US should also support Pakistan's proposals of a

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid, news article, 22 October 1974, p.1.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, news article, 25 October 1974, p.1.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, news article, 26 October 1974, p.1.

<sup>31</sup> Saif Nayaz, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 13 December 1976, p.3.

nuclear weapons free zone in South Asia to maintain peace and stability in the region. Such a situation demanded a positive and appropriate response from a military ally like the US.

### 3.1.3 US Response to Pakistan's Security Threats

The Urdu press represented the US empathising Pakistan's security concerns. *Jang* on 12 July 1974 noted that there was a realisation of Pakistan's problems in the US as Senator Henry Jackson, a probable candidate for the forthcoming presidential elections in 1976, told a press conference that the US had "better resume supplies of weapons" to Pakistan, as the USSR was trying to "cause its further disintegration." He also reportedly confessed that China and the US were supposed to help Pakistan in 1971 as the USSR helped India which had proved very effective for the latter. In general terms he expressed his concerns about the USSR, trying to increase its influence in the South Asian region.<sup>32</sup> The newspaper on 14 July 1974 further noted that Senator Henry Jackson had told the United States Committee on Finance, that according to his knowledge, US was aware that India had attempted to conduct nuclear tests in February 1974 and it was not the first attempt, as India had also done its first nuclear tests in the previous year. Therefore, he said, that the US was in full knowledge of Indian intentions about its nuclear program and was not doing much to control proliferation, instead it kept supplying nuclear equipment even after the tests.<sup>33</sup> *Jang* argued that even US parliamentarians were of the view that the US aware of Indian intentions of developing nuclear weapons failed to take appropriate measures to restrict India from such a development and therefore had a moral obligation to reassure Pakistan of its security against Indian nuclear threat.

Similarly, *Jang* on 12 August 1974 observed that President Gerald Ford after taking charge of his office in 1974 wrote a letter to Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto "affirming to fulfil all American promises" with Pakistan. He wrote that to support its important political allies had been "the corner stone" of the US foreign policy. Therefore, the newspaper noted that President Ford "assured Pakistan of observing" all international obligations in its relations with Pakistan and other nations. He also admitted that over the years "the solid and warm relationship"

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<sup>32</sup> *Jang*, news article, 12 July 1974, p.2.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 14 July 1974, p.1.

between the two countries had helped "the cause of peace" in the world.<sup>34</sup> Extracts from his views on foreign policy were also published in Pakistani newspapers according to which President Ford believed that "the US could help with weapons and financial aid" to other countries for their territorial integrity and security, but in any case "it would not help by sending its own military forces." Therefore, a hope was raised in the media that the Ford administration might think about resuming supplies of weapons to Pakistan.<sup>35</sup>

In the meantime *Jang* on 12 August 1974 observed that Secretary of State Henry Kissinger wrote a separate letter to Pakistan's Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs Aziz Ahmad, expressing his hope that "Pakistan and US would work together" for the cause of peace. Secretary Kissinger also appreciated the fact that over the years, "the two countries had discovered" that they had "several common objectives" and interests. Therefore, he hoped that the relationship would get even stronger in coming years.<sup>36</sup> *Jang* further noted that Kissinger in addressing the CENTO conference at Ankara on 22 May 1975 said that the US would continue to "take interest in the territorial integrity" of Pakistan along with supporting the reconciliation process between India and Pakistan after the Simla Agreement.<sup>37</sup> Similarly, *Jang* on 12 July 1975 reported a group of fifty Pakistani journalists visiting the US Department of State. The newspaper noted that the journalists were told by "high level officials" that "the US would not remain silent," if Pakistan's independence and territorial integrity was "threatened by any foreign aggression." The US officials also stated that the US had concerns over Soviet naval presence in the region, and it would not allow any of the South Asian countries to develop its relations with any power, in a way that would help to create hegemony of one power.<sup>38</sup>

While *Jang* appreciated such US statements in favour of Pakistan, at the same time it raised questions about the effectiveness of such statements. The newspaper on 13 July 1975 argued that because of the way in which the balance of power in the region had been disturbed and smaller countries had become subject to aggression, it was less likely that mere statements could help resolve the issue. The US had to "change its policy" of "providing half hearted support" to

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid, news article, 12 August 1974, p.1.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, news article, 12 August 1974, p.1.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, news article, 12 August 1974, p.1.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, news article, 24 May 1975, p.1.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, news article, 12 July 1975, p.1.

its allies and had to implement more practical measures to ensure their security. The newspaper hoped that unlike previous experiences this time, the US authorities would not abandon the relationship after taking it to the maximum heights because this action would cause more harm to a dependent ally.<sup>39</sup>

### 3.1.4 Indian Criticism on US Response

*Jang* on 16 December 1972 observed that India nonetheless was expressing its concerns over the possibility of American military aid to Pakistan. Indian Foreign Minister Sardar Sawaran Singh, while addressing the lower house of the Indian parliament in December 1972 was reported to have warned America for thinking about resuming military supplies to Pakistan, as it would affect the possibilities of normalisation of their bilateral relationship and peace in the region.<sup>40</sup> The newspaper on 16 March 1973 once again reported Sawaran Singh to have told the Indian parliament that it was unrealistic to place Pakistan on a par with India.<sup>41</sup> The newspaper on 17 March also reported President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to have stated that Indian protests were "unnecessary" and that Pakistan was aware of Soviet aid to India but it never protested. Conversely, Bhutto further stated that Pakistan and the US were attached to mutual defence agreements and the latter was not fulfilling its duties.<sup>42</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 12 October 1978 noted that Indian Foreign Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee criticised the American decision to resume military aid to Pakistan in 1978 and especially the American intentions to provide fighter planes to Pakistan.<sup>43</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 15 February 1979, reported the Indian Foreign Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee to have warned the US that it should not repeat the mistake of arming Pakistan as weapons could not help political stability and economic growth of a country.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, the newspaper on 18 March 1979 reported the Indian Defence Minister Ram Singh having said that India had firmly asked the US not to provide arms to Pakistan, as the latter did not face any threat from India, instead Pakistan was actually threatened by its internal and economic problems.<sup>45</sup> The newspaper on 2 April 1979 once again reported Vajpayee to

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid, editorial, 13 July 1975, p.3.

<sup>40</sup> *Jang*, news article, 16 December 1972, p.2.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, news article, 16 March 1973, p.1.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, news article, 17 March 1973, p.1.

<sup>43</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 17 October 1978, p.1.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, news article, 15 February 1979, p.1.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, news article, 18 March 1979, p.1.

have told the Indian Parliament, that India's relations with the US were improving, but the two countries had differences over the issue of arms supply to Pakistan.<sup>46</sup> The Urdu press nonetheless observed that India attempting to divert US attention from India's accumulation of conventional and nuclear military weapons was criticising US intentions to support Pakistan (as shown in Figure 21, 22, and 23).

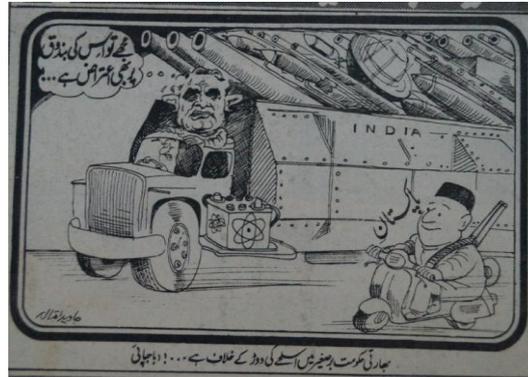


Figure 21, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 27 November 1978 published cartoon which reflected whenever the US considered fulfilling its obligations to provide military support to Pakistan India would start propaganda. The cartoon showed Indian Foreign Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee riding a heavily loaded truck with arms whereas personified Pakistan riding a meagre scooter and armed with a shotgun. The caption of the cartoon read, "I have reservations even at [Pakistan's] shotgun. Indian government is against arms race in South Asia: Atal Bihari Vajpayee."<sup>47</sup>



Figure 22, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 8 March 1979 published the cartoon to reflect Indian propaganda to influence the world about Pakistan's nuclear program while hiding nuclear weapons in its sleeves. The cartoon showed Indian Foreign Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee talking to world, "we are concerned that Pakistan will develop nuclear bomb ...the atom bomb is a very bad thing ... stop Pakistan from making an atom bomb ..."<sup>48</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, news article, 3 April 1979, p.8.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, cartoon, 27 November 1978, p.1.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, cartoon, 8 March 1979, p.1.



Figure 23, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 2 June 1982 published cartoon, which reflected Indian reaction to US consideration of supplying F-16 fighter aircrafts to Pakistan. The cartoon showed Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi shouting "F-16!" at the US President Ronald Reagan. The caption of the cartoon read, "Indira Gandhi will talk to President Reagan about the offer of American arms [especially F-16] to Pakistan."<sup>49</sup>

Furthermore, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 14 July 1982 noted that the most disturbing fact for India was the proposed supply of F-16 fighter planes that would enhance Pakistan's strike capability, and increase the range manifold. The newspaper also noted that it was also a cause of worry that the US had not taken any assurance that the supplied military equipment would not be used against India, and Pakistan would not try to become a nuclear power.<sup>50</sup> The reason for Indian criticism on American aid to Pakistan, *Nawa-i-Waqt* observed, was to somehow convince the US to stop the aid.<sup>51</sup>

Subsequently, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 28 July 1982 observed that just before her visit to the US the Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had changed her tone on American military aid to Pakistan. According to the newspaper, the change was not due to some change in Indian approach, but it was an attempt to create a better environment before Indira Gandhi's visit in order to get extra mileage.<sup>52</sup> However, the newspaper hoped that in spite of Indian pressure, the US would not change its policy of providing aid to Pakistan as long as it was in US interest vis-à-vis the Afghan War.<sup>53</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 2 August 1982 reported that Indira Gandhi could not convince the US to change its policy towards Pakistan. She was however successful in getting one billion dollars arms for India. The newspaper argued that it was understandable that being a larger country, the US could not ignore India,

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, cartoon, 2 June 1982, p.1.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid, news article, 11 November 1981, p.2.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, editorial, 14 July 1982, p.3.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, editorial, 28 July 1982, p.3.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

but did the US take any guarantee from India that American weapons supplied to it would not be used against Pakistan?<sup>54</sup> The newspaper explained that the US would sell its arms to a larger country like India to increase its profits.<sup>55</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt* advised Pakistan to think and cater for its own defence especially in a condition, where India was increasing its military power by all sources.<sup>56</sup>



Figure 24, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 4 August 1982 published cartoon to reflect US military aid to India. Indian Prime Minister was reported to have signed an agreement to buy military weapons of worth one billion dollars from the US. The cartoon showed Indian Prime minister as "dove of peace" flying back with military equipment from the US and the US President Reagan seeing her off. The caption of the cartoon read, "India will acquire one billion dollars American arms."<sup>57</sup>

The Urdu press on one hand observed India criticising the US intentions to resume military supplies to Pakistan or to place Pakistan at par with India. It was argued on the other hand that India wanted to acquire more weapons from the US while putting a pressure on it to deprive Pakistan of the same. Since, both the USSR and the US were providing India with weapons it was disturbing balance of power in the region against Pakistan's security.

### 3.1.5 Pakistan's Doubts on US Intentions

Indian criticism on the US intentions to resume military aid to Pakistan increased the doubts of the Urdu press that the US might be influenced by the larger country India. *Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* however appreciated, with a mixed response comprised of hopes and doubts, the US decision of March 1973 to resume military supplies to both Pakistan and India. During Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's visit to the US in September 1973, the US President Nixon was reported to have affirmed to "keep Pakistan-US friendship alive for ever." The

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, editorial, 2 August 1982, p.3.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, editorial, 26 August 1982, p.3.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, editorial, 2 August 1982, p.3.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, cartoon, 4 August 1982, p.1.

American President was also reported to claim that he had "great regard for Pakistanis" and "the US had always supported Pakistan" and "would continue to cooperate in future" with the same spirit. Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto responded with comparatively little enthusiasm and said that Pakistan was "an ally who always kept its promises" and "would happily do so in future." He further said that "Pakistan believed in peace" but "conditions that might cause disintegration" of smaller countries must be avoided.<sup>58</sup> The Bhutto-Nixon joint statement made headlines as the two leaders agreed that the problems of South Asia were to be resolved according to "generally accepted international norms" and "respect for territorial integrity" to guarantee peace and stability.<sup>59</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* later on 5 December 1973 reported that in spite of Indian pressure, the US had decided to supply military equipment of thirty million rupees with a possibility of adding more supplies for fifteen million. However, the newspaper argued that the US had not given any special favour to Pakistan as the supplies were ordered before the sanctions imposed during the 1971 War.<sup>60</sup> It was further argued by a columnist in *Nawa-i-Waqt* Abdul Nasir Ghauri that American weapons were crucial for Pakistan's security and survival as China and Arab or Muslim countries were not in a position to fulfil Pakistan's requirements. The columnist suggested that the nature of Pakistan's relations with the USSR did not leave any space to expect the required help from the communist superpower. Therefore, Pakistan had to rely on American weapons.<sup>61</sup>

*Jang* on 23 September 1974 reported head of the Indian Atomic Energy Commission to have told the session of International Atomic Energy Agency at Vienna that India had made a written agreement with the US, that enriched uranium would be used for the mutually agreed purposes only. The newspaper made it clear that the nuclear fuel supplied to India by the US was used at an American supplied reactor in Tarapur, near Hyderabad. The newspaper explained that those reactors had the ability to produce plutonium used in nuclear bombs. The newspaper also noted that according to the US Atomic Energy Commission, the supply of nuclear fuel was resumed, after receiving assurance from India that the fuel would not be used in nuclear tests.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> *Jang*, news article, 21 September 1973, p.1.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 22 September 1973, p.1.

<sup>60</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 5 December 1973, p.8.

<sup>61</sup> Abdul Nasir Ghauri, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 5 December 1973, p.3.

<sup>62</sup> *Jang*, news article, 23 September 1974, p.2.

*Jang* on 19 September 1974 argued that the US wanted to get an assurance from India not to use its plutonium for nuclear tests, even for peaceful purposes. The newspaper further explained that the US also wanted to make sure that India would not use waste or by products of uranium acquired through any reactor built with American financial or technical aid. However, India refused to give such an assurance.<sup>63</sup> The newspaper on 25 September reported the US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, to have told the United Nations that the US would stop supplying nuclear fuel to other countries if anyone tried to use it for nuclear tests. He said that America and some other countries supply nuclear fuel and equipment for peaceful purposes only.<sup>64</sup> *Jang* argued that the US would punish other countries including Pakistan by denying them nuclear support for Indian failure to assure the misuse of nuclear fuel.

Likewise *Jang* on 25 September and 17 October 1974 argued that American reservations on supply of weapons to Pakistan were not justified in the pretext of tensions between India and Pakistan, as there were other regions in the world where weapons were supplied in spite of the mutual tensions and hostilities between the countries. For example, the newspaper explained, Greece and Turkey were two countries having mutual tensions but the US had continued providing them with weapons, considering it a matter of national interest. Another example was Saudi Arabia and Jordan, in the Middle East, where the US was inclined to provide nuclear reactors and arms for the same reason. The newspaper complained that India was also able to get weapons from the USSR and other sources and had caused the disintegration of Pakistan taking advantage of a huge imbalance of power. It was also claimed that India would never agree to resolve any outstanding issues with a militarily weaker Pakistan. The newspaper noted that India had conducted nuclear tests ignoring its own economic difficulties, whereas the US was giving it enormous financial and food aid. The newspaper advised the US to consider that its policies were unintentionally and indirectly supporting the Indian nuclear program whereas denying the right to protect an ally and friendly country's territorial integrity and security.<sup>65</sup>

Subsequently, *Jang* on 30 October 1974 reported Henry Kissinger to have told the Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi that the US did not have any desire

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid, news article, 19 September 1974, p.1.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, news article, 25 September 1974, p.1.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, editorial, 25 September 1974, p.3. and editorial, 17 October 1974, p.3.

to interfere in the affairs of South Asia. He however advised India to remain patient and cooperate with international efforts to avoid an arms race, while the US believed in its promises to pursue a peaceful nuclear program. He clarified that the US realised the importance of India and therefore "a powerful India was not a threat to peace" and "the US was not opposed to India" becoming stronger.<sup>66</sup> At the same time, the newspaper expressed hopes that the US might resume weapons supplies to Pakistan during Kissinger's visit to Pakistan.<sup>67</sup> Conversely, the newspaper on 3 November 1974 expressed its disappointment, as Kissinger during his visit did not give any clear indication about easing the sanctions. The newspaper however speculated that the US might give sufficient financial aid to Pakistan which could be utilised to purchase defence equipment from France and Britain.<sup>68</sup> The newspaper emphasised that the US had to realise Pakistan's defence requirements and the two sides had to figure out some solution.<sup>69</sup> Similarly, Senator Khawja Safdar who was a right-wing politician of Pakistan Muslim League, on behalf of opposition through an adjournment motion in the senate, was reported by the Urdu press to have called the attention of the house to the issue of US arms supplies to Pakistan. The senator told the house that Kissinger during his visit to India had promised in Delhi that the US would not provide arms to Pakistan. Pakistani Minister of State, Aziz Ahmad responded to the motion and said that the government of Pakistan had hopes that America would remove the sanctions on the delivery of arms very soon, as the issue was strongly taken up during the negotiations with Henry Kissinger in his recent visit to Pakistan.<sup>70</sup> *Jang* was of the view that the US was ignoring Pakistan's genuine security requirements under the Indian pressure.

On the contrary, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was reported to have desperately told *the Sunday Observer*, on 1 December 1974 that if Pakistan did not receive the US arms, it would conduct a nuclear explosion. The Prime Minister said that there was no progress on the issue of American arms and Pakistan could not afford to suspend defence preparations. He informed the interviewer that Pakistan had access to knowledge and material regarding nuclear technology which could be utilised for development of a nuclear program

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid, news article, 30 October 1974, p.1.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, news article, 3 November 1974, p.1.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, editorial, 3 November 1974, p.3.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid, news article, 30 November 1974, p.1.

in the national interest. The Prime Minister further said that Pakistan had a nuclear reactor working in Karachi and a new heavy water reactor and separation plant would be installed soon. The Prime Minister made it clear that Pakistan was looking for conventional weapons and as long as it was able to get them would not go for a nuclear option.<sup>71</sup> Conversely, on 9 December 1974, Pakistan's Minister of State, Aziz Ahmad told journalists in Tokyo, that Pakistan had no desire to become a nuclear power and for that reason Pakistan was suggesting a nuclear weapons free zone in South Asia to effectively control the nuclear proliferation. However, he also made it clear that at some stage if India developed nuclear weapons, the situation would be different.<sup>72</sup> The Urdu press observed that the US insufficient response to Pakistan's security needs under Indian pressure was making Pakistan think opting the nuclear weapons option.

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on 10 March 1975 was however reported to have said that the US recent decision to resume military supplies to Pakistan in 1975 would not affect Pakistan's purchasing of arms from other countries but the major part of the arms would be acquired from the US.<sup>73</sup> On the question of continuing the nuclear program after resumption of US arms supplies, *Jang* reported that Prime Minister Bhutto changed his tone and said that Pakistan's nuclear program was essentially for peaceful purposes and therefore must be continued.<sup>74</sup> The newspaper argued that although the US decision to resume arms supplies was an important development, Pakistan needed to strengthen its defence especially where viewed in the perspective of a developing nexus between India, USSR, and Afghanistan.<sup>75</sup>

*Jang* on 21 April 1975 argued that the recent change of American policies towards Vietnam and Cambodia had increased the doubts and concerns of US allies all over the world. The newspaper also noted that the US also suspended military aid to its ally Turkey after the Cyprus crisis in 1974. Moreover, the newspaper suggested that given the differences between the US President and the Congress over the issue of foreign aid, the allies had to reconsider relying fully on the US for their defence. The newspaper also argued that trustworthiness of the US as an ally and credibility of its foreign policy commitments were being

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid, news article, 3 December 1974, p.1.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, news article, 11 December 1974, p.1.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, news article, 10 March 1975, p.1.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid, news article, 26 March 1975, p.1.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid, editorial, 14 March 1975, p.3.

questioned. The newspaper suggested that a clear foreign policy and a preferential treatment to its allied nations could help to restore the trust of the friendly countries. The newspaper also suggested that Pakistan needed the trust more than anyone else, as it was "already betrayed" in 1965 and 1971.<sup>76</sup>

*Jang* on 23 October 1975 reported Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to have visited France and talked to the French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing and Prime Minister Jacques Chirac to purchase one hundred million dollars of weapons and a six hundred megawatts nuclear reactor for power generation. Bhutto told journalists that Pakistan appreciated the US decision to lift the ban on arms supply, but for its defence requirements, it needed weapons from other sources too. He clarified that Pakistan was not looking for a nuclear reactor to develop nuclear weapons, instead it was needed to meet energy requirements.<sup>77</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 14 October 1976 argued that it was totally unacceptable for the US, to oppose a peaceful program of a struggling ally, repeatedly regarded as a "corner stone of policy," whereas at the same time, supporting an aggressor state like India with all nuclear facilities and equipments.<sup>78</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 16 October 1976 reported India to have registered its protest with the US State Department against US provision of six million dollars weapons and fighter aircrafts to Pakistan. According to the details, India had serious reservations about inclusion of A-7 bomber aircrafts.<sup>79</sup> The newspaper on 17 November 1976 reported with little excitement the US decision to approve the sale of seven million dollars, a hundred and ten A-7 light fighter aircrafts. The Urdu press had doubts about US intentions to fulfil its commitments because of the Indian pressure on the US. An insignificant space allocated to this piece of news published within a single column under a small heading reflected the newspaper's meagre excitement (Figure 25).<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid, editorial, 21 April 1975, p.5.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, news article, 23 October 1975, p.1.

<sup>78</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 14 October 1976, p.3. and editorial, 6 November 1976, p.3.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid, news article, 16 October 1976, p.8.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, news article, 19 November 1976, p.8.



Figure 25, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 19 November 1976 published a single column small piece of news with regard to "American Department of Defence approved sale of fighter aircrafts to Pakistan" which reflected little excitement of the Urdu press in Pakistan over resumption of US military aid.<sup>81</sup>



Figure 26, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 22 March 1979 published the cartoon reflecting Pakistan's decision to quit CENTO in March 1979. The cartoon showed impacts of mistrust of US allies as one after the other was leaving its military alliance. In cartoon American President Jimmy Carter was speaking to his Secretary of State Cyrus Vance standing beside a building named "American interests bloc" with its first floor named CENTO bloc and second as Arab bloc. Carter to the Secretary of State: "all building is getting evacuated ... go and get some new tenants!"<sup>82</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 9 April 1979 reported an unidentified spokesperson of Pakistan's Foreign Office to have said that Pakistan would not accept interference in its independence and the hegemony of any country. He continued saying that the mutual defence agreement between the two countries, was not practicable anymore due to repeated violations by the US, as it could not honour the agreement in the 1965 War, by imposing a ban on arms supply to Pakistan. He

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid, cartoon, 22 March 1979, p.1.

complained that though the ban was lifted in 1975, since then Pakistan could not receive any military aid. He also said that one of the reasons for disassociating Pakistan from CENTO was "US hostile attitude" towards the nuclear program. *Nawa-i-Waqt* was of the view that the US had been unsympathetic to Pakistan's security requirements in order to appease the larger country India.<sup>83</sup>

Similarly, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 5 November 1981 noted that the US Congress was to decide about the proposed economic and military aid of 3.2 billion dollars including F-16 fighter aircrafts and Pakistan had concerns over the slow pace of the process. The newspaper argued that it was a test of the American determination to cooperate with Pakistan, and therefore the US had to speed up the measures so that Pakistan's security and independence which was also a "corner stone" of US policy, could be ensured. The newspaper also hoped that this time the US would not be influenced by Indian propaganda against Pakistan.<sup>84</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 24 September 1982 further observed that a possible delay in supply of US arms to Pakistan was expected. The reason being cited was the non-allocation of appropriate funds for granting loans to Pakistan to purchase the agreed arms. The newspaper hoped that these were not traditional delaying tactics due to Indian pressure, whereby at no cost India would be granted a veto on Pakistan-US relations. Otherwise, the newspaper suggested that on the part of the US, unnecessary delay or walking away from its commitments would cause "bitter feelings" on Pakistan's side.<sup>85</sup>

In sum the Urdu press observed that given the past experience the US was more likely to be influenced by the Indian criticism of US intentions to resume military aid to Pakistan. Therefore the Urdu press expressed doubts that the US might betray again in order to appease the larger country India, as it did earlier in the 1971 War.

### **3.1.6 Confirmation of a US Politics of Betrayal**

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 5 December 1976 reported the US to have warned Pakistan, if it did not withdraw from its purchase of the nuclear reprocessing plant, its military and economic aid would be blocked. The newspaper expressed its disappointment over the US attitude towards an ally. It was argued that though this "American indifference and betrayal" was not a new phenomenon, its recent

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid, news article, 9 April 1979, p.1.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid, editorial, 5 November 1981, p.3.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid, editorial, 24 September 1982, p.3.

attitude was even more unbearable, because it was trying to reverse the agreement between two independent countries, Pakistan and France, in a sheer violation of international norms and morality.<sup>86</sup> A journalist in *Nawa-i-Waqt* Masood Javed Hamdani argued that Pakistan had been among the allies who had "suffered due to US betrayals," and for that reason, kept advising the US that unnecessary favours to India would not be of any benefit to its ally. The journalist advised that this attitude most likely would decrease the number of American allies and friends, all over the world and therefore, the US had to reconsider its attitude towards its allies.<sup>87</sup>



Figure 27, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 21 December 1976 published the cartoon, which showed American President, Jimmy Carter as a traffic sergeant, allowing Indian vehicle loaded with the Soviet heavy water and American Sky Hawk aeroplanes to come, while stopped Pakistan's truck loaded with French nuclear reprocessing plant.<sup>88</sup>

Mushahid Hussain a right leaning journalist who later turned politician, in his article in *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 9 September 1978, attempted to explain US opposition to Pakistan and preference to India. He noted that American opposition to the reprocessing plant, culminating in a temporary suspension of all economic and military aid was received in Pakistan, with the utmost dismay and with a perception of American "betrayal of an old and faithful ally." The journalist explained that the US always preferred India being a larger and more powerful country as compared to Pakistan and therefore in future it would continue to prefer India in the same manner.<sup>89</sup>

*Jang* on 10 April 1984 criticised the US and its western allies for showing "partial and unjust behaviour" towards Pakistan's nuclear program. The newspaper also condemned the US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations'

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, editorial, 28 November 1976, p.3.

<sup>87</sup> Masood Javed Hamdani, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 5 December 1976, p.3.

<sup>88</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, cartoon, 21 December 1976, p.1.

<sup>89</sup> Mushahid Hussain, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 9 September 1978, p.10.

efforts to put conditions on Pakistan's aid package.<sup>90</sup> The committee had proposed the aid package subject to verification of the US government that Pakistan was not making nuclear weapons.<sup>91</sup> The newspaper censured this "insulting behaviour" of US attitude towards Pakistan's "peaceful nuclear program."<sup>92</sup>

A politician and philanthropist, Vice Chairman of a right-wing small political party Pakistan Himayat Tahreek (Support to Pakistan Movement), Sheikh Saeed on 3 March 1984 was reported by *Jang* to have said that Pakistanis did not expect any help from the US due to their bad experiences of the past. He said that the US had assured Pakistan in 1971 that in the case of Indian aggression in East Pakistan the Seventh Fleet would be moved promptly for rescue, but when the time came, the Seventh Fleet remained a silent spectator. Therefore, he concluded that Pakistan could not "afford to trust" and rely on the US.<sup>93</sup>

In the meanwhile, *Jang* on 5 April 1984 noted that India had been expressing its concerns over the US arms supply to Pakistan.<sup>94</sup> The newspaper reported on 6 March 1986 that Pakistan was hoping and even requested twofold increase in US aid, which was turned down to Pakistan's disappointment.<sup>95</sup> The newspaper on 7 March 1986 argued that due to increasing inflation and up to sixty percent depreciation in the value of Pakistan's currency as compared to the US dollar, in the last six years, US aid would not be of much help to Pakistan.<sup>96</sup> Moreover, the newspaper on 26 March 1986 noted that the aid would also become conditional on the "peaceful nature of the nuclear program," after 30 September 1987.<sup>97</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 17 April 1998 wrote that recent events of missile testing by India and the rhetoric of its political leadership was enough to make everyone understand that Pakistan was bound to take reciprocal defensive steps and the US was advised to realise the fact. The newspaper further wrote, if the US had an

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<sup>90</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 10 April 1984, p.3.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, news article, 30 March 1984, p.1.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, news article, 31 March 1984, p.1., news article, 8 April 1984, p.1., editorial, 9 April 1974, p.3. and editorial, 10 April 1984, p.3.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid, news article, 3 March 1984, p.1.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid, news article, 5 April 1984, p.1.

<sup>95</sup> The US State Department stated in March 1986, that the amount of aid for the next six years would be approximately four billion dollars whereas Pakistan was expecting over 7 billion dollars; *Jang*, news article, 6 March 1986, p.1

<sup>96</sup> Ibid, editorial, 7 March 1986, p.3.

<sup>97</sup> The Pressler Amendment 1985 which enabled Pakistan to become an exception in the Symington Amendment 1976 regarding nuclear proliferation, would not be applicable after date, thus making the future aid conditional to US law. The aid was finally barred in 1990; *Jang*, news article, 26 March 1986, p.1. and editorial, 23 November 1990, p.3.

understanding of Pakistan's threats, then it had to abolish "the prejudiced" Pressler Amendment. Moreover, the newspaper argued that expressions of regrets over F-16s issue was appreciable, but not enough indeed, as more practical steps were required to return Pakistan's money.<sup>98</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 3 April 1997, reported a US nuclear policy analyst Michael Krepon to have stated in Karachi that Pakistan, contrary to its promises, had made advances in its nuclear technology. He said that the US agreed to give military aid to Pakistan, due to its Afghan policy with a condition, that it would not develop nuclear weapons. He argued that Pakistan was punished because it could not keep its promises.<sup>99</sup> A journalist in *Nawa-i-Waqt* Nusrat Mirza responded to allegations and wrote, that Pakistan could not be accused of betrayal for certain reasons. He argued that first of all, the US helped Pakistan to pursue its interests in Afghanistan and was always aware of Pakistan's security concerns and its interest and level of development of the nuclear program. He explained that the US knew everything about the program because of its intelligence sources including its links within Pakistan. The author argued that the US kept quiet because the success it was getting with the help of Pakistan was comparatively much bigger than the success Pakistan was getting in return. Therefore, it was a good deal for the US.

Nusrat Mirza further argued that in fact "the US betrayed Pakistan," as it changed its attitude after fulfilment of its objectives in Afghanistan. He explained that given the Soviet threats from the west and Indian threats from the east, Pakistan was justified in acquiring nuclear deterrence. The author also argued that the US emerged as a sole superpower at the end of Cold War and started criticising its ally Pakistan for its nuclear program so that it could not ask for its share in the benefits of the victory in Afghanistan in terms of setting up a Pakistan-friendly Afghan government. The author concluded that the US knew very well that Pakistan needed nuclear deterrence to cope with threats to its security, therefore, it was "not a betrayal on Pakistan's part" instead it was "the US who always betrayed."<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> A US official delegation visiting Pakistan expressed regrets on the issue of F-16s and admitted that the US had an understanding of Pakistan's security threats from India. The same delegation while visiting India told journalists that Pakistan was not a failed state and it had a certain importance in the region; *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 17 April 1998, p.1. and editorial, 18 April 1998, p.4.

<sup>99</sup> Nusrat Mirza, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 3 April 1997, p.4.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

Discussions in the Urdu press were mainly focused on the idea of US betrayal of its ally by targeting its nuclear program in order to appease India which had concerns about US positive responses to Pakistan's security. The idea of US betrayal was also endorsed by some of the journalists and politicians interviewed for this research. However, interviews disclosed that there were also some important voices which did not accept the idea of US betrayal vis-à-vis Pakistan's nuclear program. One such voice was of the chief editor of a mainstream right leaning Urdu newspaper, which explained the issue as follows:

Actually, expectations of Pakistanis, with reference to India, have been shattered, and because their basic problems [with India], such as Kashmir could not be resolved. They [Pakistanis] still expect from America. They repeatedly say that there should be third party intervention by America in this, and America can play a role in it. However, America says, that it would be better if both countries engage with each other. They say that they can facilitate but cannot interfere. After all India is a big country too. So, how could the US interfere without the consent of India? How is it possible that on Pakistan's insistence America along with Pakistan can convince India of something? If America cannot force Pakistan for doing anything, how can it force India? This is our problem. Our narrative has a problem, from the beginning, it is focused on India, America, and Pakistan. Our policy makers used to tell India and America, that we are with America, against the Soviet and communist threat. That is how we were allies. But, public perception was, that America was with us against India. There is a contradiction in both. Anyhow, now our understanding is that India and America are united against us. This is not the case. Not to speak of America, I think, now we should not treat even India as an enemy country. And we never treated India as an enemy country, before the 1965 War. India was not an enemy country. We need to go back to 1947.<sup>101</sup>

Thus, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, *Jang*, journalists writing for the two newspapers, and Pakistani government officials expressed Pakistan's security threats vis-à-vis India mainly emerging from the imbalance in conventional military power and India progressing in the nuclear technology. While the US was described empathising with Pakistan's security concerns, nonetheless the discourse pointed out strong reaction from India to the US showing interest in Pakistan's security. Therefore, doubts on the US intentions were expressed by the dominant voices, and when the US opposed Pakistan's nuclear program or stopped Pakistan's

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<sup>101</sup> Respondent 13: Chief Editor and senior journalist of a popular Urdu newspaper

economic or military aid it was described as a US politics of betrayal. However, there were some voices which mainly remained excluded from the discourse and possibly would have rejected the idea of describing India as an enemy country and doubts on US intentions being supportive to India while ignoring Pakistan.

### **3.2 CLAIMS OF A US CONSPIRACY AGAINST PAKISTAN'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM**

The discourse of the Urdu press not only established a US politics of betrayal with regard to Pakistan's nuclear program, but also explained it as a betrayal under "a wider conspiracy" with the involvement of the US, India, the USSR, and Israel. Different voices in the discourse described the US behaviour as "double crossing," "incomprehensible," "indifferent," "untrustworthy," "insufficient," "unreasonable," "showing double standards," "doubtful," and "unfair" to conspire against Pakistan's security by targeting its nuclear program, while supporting that of India.

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 2 July 1977 noted that in addition to pressurising Pakistan and France to reverse the agreement with regard to the French nuclear reprocessing plant, the US had also cancelled the deal for A-7s to Pakistan for which both countries had negotiated for more than three years. The newspaper on 21 July 1977 observed that under American pressure, Canada had also unilaterally cancelled the agreement, and denied the supply of uranium and necessary equipment for the nuclear reactor in Karachi to be used for power generation. Consequently, the newspaper regarded it an "American double cross" and argued that it was "a sheer injustice" to Pakistan to deny its due rights as an ally, in "the pretext of nuclear proliferation," whereas providing uranium and other nuclear accessories to India was in clear contradiction of its claims and concerns for non-proliferation.<sup>102</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 25 October 1978 reported that under US pressure France finally backtracked and offered Pakistan an alternate nuclear plant to meet its energy requirements, while ensuring non-proliferation. The US announced resumption of economic and military aid to Pakistan and the newspaper also noted that Pakistan rejected the changes in the design of nuclear reprocessing

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<sup>102</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 2 July 1977, p.3., editorial, 21 July 1977, p.3. and editorial, 23 July 1977, p.3.

plant.<sup>103</sup> Subsequently, the newspaper on 2 November 1978 argued that American opposition to Pakistan's efforts to purchase the nuclear reprocessing plant was "a betrayal of a friend." The newspaper also argued that such an opposition by the enemies could be understood, but this kind of behaviour by a friendly country and an ally was "incomprehensible."<sup>104</sup> The newspaper advised that in spite of American opposition, Pakistan had to remain firm and consistent in its demands for the reprocessing plant because this requirement was a matter of its survival.<sup>105</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 5 January 1979 with reference to US magazine *Newsweek's* disclosure reported that contrary to its earlier announcement of October 1978, the US had refused to resume military aid to Pakistan. The newspaper explained that Pakistan had requested purchase of military equipment due to the establishment of a pro-Soviet government in Afghanistan in 1978 and the increasing danger of Soviet expansion. The newspaper reported that the US Under Secretary of State, David Newsom, in his visit to Islamabad had advised Pakistan to accept the new circumstances in Afghanistan and therefore turned down the Pakistani request. The newspaper also claimed that after receiving a cold shoulder from its military ally, Pakistan had decided to disassociate itself from CENTO and transferred its ambassador to the US, Sahibzada Yaqoob Khan, to Moscow on 3 January 1979, with the objective of improving Pakistan's relations with the USSR. The newspaper also reported that Ambassador Khan, earlier in his farewell speech in Washington, said that historians of the future would note 1978 for its shift in a balance of power against western nations.<sup>106</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt* responded to the issue by arguing, that *Newsweek's* revelations were not surprising for Pakistan, as the US had been following this policy of indifference and giving a cold shoulder to its allies long before the newly changed circumstances in Afghanistan. However, the newspaper claimed that this was the first incident where the US had openly confessed its unresponsiveness.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid, news article, 20 October 1978, p.4. and news article, 25 October 1978, p.8.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, editorial, 24 October 1978, p.3. and editorial, 8 December 1978, p.3.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid, editorial, 2 November 1978, p.3.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid, news article, 5 January 1979, p.1.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid, editorial, 6 January 1979, p.1.



Figure 28, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 10 January 1979 published cartoon to reflect Pakistan's perception of the US with regard to *Newsweek's* disclosure of US turning down Pakistan's request for military aid after establishment of a pro-Soviet government in Afghanistan. The cartoon showed that the dual face of the US was exposed to its allies as it pretended as brave as a lion but actually was as coward as a sheep. The caption of the cartoon read, "America in the eyes of its allies."<sup>108</sup>

Subsequently, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 12 January 1979 reported the US Embassy in Islamabad to have issued a statement to clarify that *Newsweek's* information was not based on facts and the US would supply arms to Pakistan within the framework of its international and regional policies.<sup>109</sup> The newspaper on 13 January 1979 responded to the clarification and argued that due to past experiences of American "friendship and assurances" in hard times, there was little reason to be satisfied, trust, and depend on "the superficial clarification" of the American embassy.<sup>110</sup>

President Zia-ul-Haq on 17 March 1979 was reported by *Nawa-i-Waqt* to have told journalists that "he was not sure," if the US had lost its interest in the region, or "was there something else" keeping Pakistan and the US apart. However, he hoped that the US would adopt a positive attitude in the wider interest of peace and for the sake of Pakistan's territorial integrity. He also said that in the past Pakistan had considered itself as an ally of the US and the relationship between the two remained good, but in spite of all this, the American response to Pakistan's requirements had been insufficient.<sup>111</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* endorsed the President's views by noting that there was a growing "lack of trust" on the Pakistani side, as the US could not or would not help Pakistan according to Pakistan's expectations. The newspaper explained that most recently, the US had given "unfair treatment" to Pakistan's nuclear

<sup>108</sup> Ibid, cartoon, 10 January 1979, p.1.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid, news article, 12 January 1979, p.1.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid, editorial, 13 January 1979, p.3.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid, editorial, 17 March 1979, p.3.

program, which obliged France to walk away from its commitments. The newspaper further reminded its readers that the US also turned down Pakistan's request for acquiring conventional weapons and fighter aircrafts for its defence, whereas India was increasing its power by all means. The newspaper argued that previously India and the USSR cooperated with each other against Pakistan because the latter was an American ally, however, after quitting CENTO Pakistan was no more in defence ties with the US, yet both India and the USSR were still continuing their hostile attitude towards Pakistan as a friend of China. The newspaper also argued that the USSR was a superpower and therefore, it was unimaginable for Pakistan to challenge its strategy, whereas "Indian expansionist and aggressive designs" were not only threatening Pakistan's security, but also "threatening American interests in the oil rich Middle Eastern areas."<sup>112</sup> Thus, the newspaper suggested that it was "unreasonable of Americans" to regard India as a hegemonic power of the region while ignoring the security of its ally and failing to protect its own interests.<sup>113</sup>



Figure 29, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 10 April 1979 published cartoon to reflect on some secret and "illegitimate" affair between India and the US hinting a conspiracy against Pakistan.<sup>114</sup> The cartoon showed the US President Jimmy Carter bowing down to Indian Prime Minister Morarji Desai to express his love, as the caption of the cartoon read, "you are free to do anything ... all restrictions are only for Pakistan ..!"<sup>115</sup>

<sup>112</sup> The newspaper did not make it clear that how India was threatening the US interests in the Middle East, but most probably the newspaper was referring to the fact that Soviet presence in Afghanistan and India's relationship with the USSR would threaten Pakistan's security and in case Pakistan fell to Indian-Soviet aggression the next target of the USSR could be oil rich Middle East, therefore protecting Pakistan's security meant protecting US interests in the Middle East.

<sup>113</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 17 March 1979, p.3.

<sup>114</sup> The US-India relations were characterised as marital relations between same sex. In Pakistan's social and legal context such relations could be interpreted as illegitimate, immoral, and illegal as religion, society, and laws consider marital relations between similar sexes as a sin, social deviation, and a crime; Mobeen Azhar, "Gay Pakistan: Where Sex is Available and Relationships are Difficult." *BBC World Service, Karachi*, 27 August 2013.

<sup>115</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, cartoon, 10 April 1979, p.1.

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 3 September 1979 began to escalate the discourse on politics of betrayal by observing that "a wider international conspiracy" involving the US, USSR, Israel, and India was being hatched against Pakistan's nuclear program. The newspaper explained that Indian Prime Minister Morarji Desai knowing that India was far ahead of its neighbour, ignored the American President's request to help stop Pakistan from becoming a nuclear power, and declared that India faced no threat from Pakistan's nuclear program. One of the reasons for such a response, the newspaper speculated, was that India knew that the US would execute its plan to sabotage Pakistan's nuclear program with the help or in the name of Israel and therefore it did not need to annoy Arab countries. The newspaper further noted that Prime Minister Desai was removed from power soon afterwards most probably on American behest because he annoyed the US by not agreeing to become part of the conspiracy against Pakistan's nuclear program.<sup>116</sup>

Subsequently, *Nawa-i-Waqt* explained that the new Prime Minister of India, Chaudhry Charan Singh, on Indian independence day changed the Indian stance and expressed concerns over Pakistan's nuclear program.<sup>117</sup> Reportedly, he said that if Pakistan wanted to develop a nuclear bomb, it was surely against India, and therefore, the latter reserved the right to consider developing nuclear weapons. The newspaper argued that Prime Minister Singh's statement was actually "the expression of a conspiracy" of the US, USSR, Israel, and India, which at any cost wanted to stop Pakistan from becoming a nuclear power. The newspaper further explained that the US had one of four options to sabotage Pakistan's nuclear facilities. First, Americans through their commandos or by some other terrorist activity would secretly try to destroy Pakistan's nuclear plants. Second, India would be used to attack the facilities. Third, Israeli secret terrorists might be used for this purpose. Fourth, terrorists belonging to left-wing parties in Pakistan could be used to "achieve American objectives" of destroying Pakistan's nuclear program.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid, editorial, 3 September 1979, p.3.

<sup>117</sup> The change in the statements of two successive Prime Ministers, to *Nawa-i-Waqt* it was an evidence of conspiracy which the US was hatching against Pakistan's nuclear program. Prime Minister Desai was removed because he did not accept the US proposal to become part of the conspiracy and therefore was replaced by Chaudhry Charan Singh whose changed statement was a signal that India had agreed to serve the purpose of conspiracy.

<sup>118</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 3 September 1979, p.3.

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 26 September 1982 reported the US Ambassador to Pakistan, Ronald Spiers clarification of the policy of nuclear cooperation. He explained that due to legal restrictions, the US could not extend nuclear cooperation to a country which was a non-signatory of international agreements on non-proliferation. The newspaper argued that if this was the case, why were India and other countries such as Israel, South Africa, Brazil, and Argentine not subject to American opposition at the same level? The newspaper explained further that in the case of India which was a non-signatory of international non-proliferation agreements, the US continued to supply enriched uranium until 1981-82, and more recently transferred this responsibility to France. Therefore, it was "totally unreasonable" to deny nuclear cooperation to Pakistan, in the pretext of legal constraints and the US was betraying its ally.<sup>119</sup>

The main headline of *Jang*, on 2 March 1984, reported the US President's former Advisor for National Security, Zbigniew Brzezinski's special interview with the newspaper's correspondent Hanif Khalid (as shown in Figure 30). Brzezinski told Hanif Khalid that the US would not help Pakistan in the case of Indian attack even if such an attack was supported by the USSR. However, Brzezinski said that in the case of an Afghan attack on Pakistan, considering it communist aggression, the US would help Pakistan under its obligations of 1958 agreement.<sup>120</sup> *Jang* on 3 March 1984 reported a strong public reaction in Pakistan to Brzezinski's statement. The newspaper argued that the US position had become "more doubtful" regarding its "sincerity with Pakistan's security." The newspaper noted that common public reaction was that Pakistan was not dependent on the US or any other power for its defence and security, and it could defend itself on its own. A senior politician and former President of Azad Kashmir (Pakistani held Kashmir), Abdul Qayyum Khan told *Jang*, that circumstances were very challenging for Pakistan.<sup>121</sup> He said that the Pakistani nation needed unity in order to "cope with the threats and conspiracies" against its integrity. He further said that with such a statement, the former National Security Advisor had added to "the already suspicious position" of the US in the eyes of its friends. He also said that it was an "encouragement to India" to attack Pakistan on receiving "a signal from the USSR." He also exclaimed with wonder that he was unable to

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid, editorial, 26 September 1982, p.3.

<sup>120</sup> *Jang*, news article, 2 March 1984, p.1.

<sup>121</sup> Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan was a politician belonging to the right-wing political party All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference.

understand the purpose of Brzezinski's visit to Pakistan. He concluded that after the statement, Pakistan had to rely on its own for its defence and security.<sup>122</sup>



Figure 30, *Jang's* main headline published on 2 March 1984 reported the US President's former Advisor for National Security, Zbigniew Brzezinski saying "America will not help Pakistan in case of Indian attack" which was interpreted as a sign of a conspiracy instigating or at least giving a free hand to India to attack Pakistan.<sup>123</sup>

*Jang* on 25 April 1984 reported the US Ambassador to Pakistan Deane Hinton to have said that the US was ready to help Pakistan in its nuclear program, provided that it signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty and complied with the requirements of IAEA. He also said that due to tensions between India and Pakistan, it was dangerous to help either of them for military purposes. Moreover, he also expressed the concerns of the US government that a nuclear bomb in third world countries could be accessed by terrorist groups. Therefore, he concluded that the US would stop Pakistan's aid if it decided to conduct a nuclear explosion.<sup>124</sup> In comparison, *Jang* on 2 December 1984 published the 1984 report of George Town University's Centre for Military Strategy and International Analysis, according to which India had already acquired the capability to develop at least twenty-four nuclear bombs, whereas Pakistan would attain such a capability by 1990.<sup>125</sup> In this background, a politician and journalist, Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi who adhered to the right-wing argued in *Jang* on 8 December 1984 that it was "totally unfair of the US" to force Pakistan to abandon its efforts to acquire a nuclear capability by signing a permanent treaty especially, in the absence of any nuclear protection while ignoring India's progress in the development of nuclear weapons.<sup>126</sup> It was therefore a US betrayal of its ally

<sup>122</sup> *Jang*, news article, 3 March 1984, p.1.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 2 March 1984, p.1.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 25 April 1984, p.7.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 2 December 1984, p.2.

<sup>126</sup> Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi, *Jang*, column, 8 December 1984, p.3.

Pakistan to pressurise the latter to abandon its nuclear program while ignoring the same of India.

Though the dominant voices in the Urdu press adhering to both right and left-wing ideas described US opposition to Pakistan as a betrayal under a conspiracy, there existed other voices which would reject the idea of conspiracy. Some of such voices were identified through interviews conducted for this research. The chief editor of a popular right leaning Urdu newspaper did not agree to the idea of US betrayal or for that matter a conspiracy against Pakistan's nuclear program and described the US role in this regard as follows:

America has opposed Pakistan's nuclear program, took actions and applied sanctions on Pakistan, but the US did not do anything exceptional or out of the way, against Pakistan. Thus, America never followed a policy to besiege or alienate Pakistan in the world. Generally, this [nuclear program] has remained an important issue at bilateral level between Pakistan and the US. And even at this, sometimes it [US] expressed itself and other times just ignored it. As during Afghan jihad, it used to certify, that we were not making [nuclear weapons], but in fact we were. Now, according to the papers, of their own Secretary of State Shultz, America turned a blind eye to Pakistan... During the war against the Soviet Union, they ignored many things and as a result, Pakistan progressed in its nuclear program. Once again, after 9/11, all sanctions were lifted and the US accepted Pakistan's nuclear program.

President Khatami [of Iran] told Farid Zakariya in an interview, that you [US] have double standards. You treat the nuclear program of Pakistan and Israel differently, than that of Iran. My understanding is that in Pakistan, our intellectuals and policy makers deal with these things under cover. And political parties understand the importance of the relationship with America. They know that it would be difficult to do things without this [relationship]. But, they are unable to sell these things to the public, or they simply do not do it. So, our journalists and other related people, their shortcoming is that they do not see those things in their right perspective. And to provoke a popular sentiment or not even to provoke a popular sentiment, they actually attempt to instigate people. You [journalists and political forces] brought your own narrative of India, Israel, Yahood, and Hanood. All these things are to instigate people. [Being Journalists] our responsibility is to guide people, in the right and appropriate manner, while keeping the events and facts in view. What will happen if Pakistan's relationship with America deteriorates? Your economic problems would increase. IMF and other donor agencies will end their support for you. So, it will bring

more disadvantages to you. Therefore, we need to balance our approach to this extent [to convey the complete truth].<sup>127</sup>

Thus, primarily those voices were included in the discourse, which placed them near to the idea of US betrayal and most probably under a conspiracy. It was argued that US support to India's nuclear program and opposition to that of Pakistan was a US conspiracy against Pakistan's security because US's concerns about nuclear proliferation were not justified as it had actually supported India's nuclear program by providing nuclear fuel and other accessories to India. It was further observed that the US stopped Pakistan's economic and military aid in order to pressurise the latter on the purchase of a French nuclear reprocessing plant and the US also attempted to influence France to avoid supplying a nuclear reprocessing plant to Pakistan. It was however noted that the US announced to resume the aid only after the agreement for the purchase of a French nuclear reprocessing plant was cancelled under US pressure. The Urdu press on the basis of past experiences of Pakistan-US relations did not however trust US intentions to resume military aid to Pakistan. It was also observed by the Urdu newspapers that the US allowed India to increase its military power by all means and restricted the same to Pakistan. It was also argued that the US was hatching a conspiracy with the help of the USSR, India, and Israel against Pakistan's nuclear program and although India was a way ahead of Pakistan in developing nuclear weapons, the US was targeting Pakistan's nuclear program only. However, such voices remained excluded from the discussions of the Urdu press, which could argue that the idea of a US conspiracy and betrayal was not valid because the US at times ignored Pakistan's nuclear program allowing it to develop nuclear weapons.

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<sup>127</sup> Respondent 13: Chief Editor and senior journalist of a popular Urdu newspaper

### **3.3 MODALITIES OF ALLEGED US CONSPIRACY AGAINST PAKISTAN'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM**

The prominent voices of the Urdu press not only established a US politics of betrayal under a conspiracy but to back their argument they also explained the modalities of such a conspiracy. The discourse described at least three types of such modalities: first, US and western media used to propagate against Pakistan's nuclear program to set world public opinion against it; second, exerting external pressures on Pakistan primarily by using economic and military aid as a lever or turning a blind eye to India's nuclear program allowing it to progress in the development of nuclear weapons and increasing security risks to Pakistan; third, interfering in Pakistan's domestic politics in order to affect Pakistan's nuclear program.

#### **3.3.1 Media Used for Propaganda**

*Nawa-i-Waqt*, *Jang*, and journalists writing in the two newspapers highlighted that the American and western media were making propaganda against Pakistan's "peaceful" nuclear program while ignoring that of India. Such propaganda was described as a way to realise the US conspiracy to target Pakistan's nuclear program. Therefore, the role of the US and western media described in such a manner would facilitate the rationalisation of a US betrayal under a conspiracy.

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 29 December 1976 noted that the western media was making propaganda against Pakistan's interest in French nuclear reprocessing plant. The newspaper reproduced a *Washington Post's* editorial which expressed concerns about nuclear proliferation through the supply of a French nuclear reprocessing plant for Pakistan. *The Washington Post* argued that France had refused to cancel the deal, nonetheless it agreed that there was a chance that Pakistan could do so, as Pakistan wanted to purchase from the US one hundred and ten A-7 aircrafts of worth seventy million dollars, financed by Saudi Arabia. *The Washington Post* argued that the supply of the fighter aircrafts would have its own implications for the military balance in South Asia, whereas the American President had already spoken against large military sales and provision of nuclear technology facilitating nuclear proliferation. *The Washington Post* hoped that France could apply restrictions on its supply of nuclear equipment to Pakistan, whereas France had already claimed that it would provide a reliable fuel supply,

so that a country is not compelled to acquire its own reprocessing facilities. *The Washington Post* argued that such "reliable fuel supply" could also be misused by Pakistan.<sup>128</sup>

Similarly, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 20 May 1982 reported a study by International Institute of Strategic Studies, London, in May 1982 which was also published by the American and western press. According to the study, Pakistan had developed plutonium and was on its way to acquiring nuclear weapons.<sup>129</sup> The newspaper on 23 May 1982 reported the Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to have responded to the issue by saying categorically that Pakistan was definitely developing nuclear weapons and the US had adjusted itself to this situation.<sup>130</sup> The newspaper argued that while Pakistan's government sources had already rejected the allegations by reiterating the stance that Pakistan neither had nuclear weapons nor wanted to develop them, the Indian government and the western media was continuing its baseless propaganda against Pakistan.<sup>131</sup>

*Jang* on 4 November 1984 reported Richard Kennedy, the US State Department's Special Ambassador for Nuclear Power to have told journalists in Washington that concerns about Pakistan's nuclear program were exaggerated, as Pakistan was far behind in acquiring the capability of making a nuclear bomb. He also said that the US had a full realisation of the security concerns in Pakistan which had raised its desire to secure nuclear weapons, and the US was trying to remove those concerns. He further explained that due to the Soviet presence in Afghanistan, Pakistan's concerns were justified. He suggested that the only way to restrict Pakistan from developing nuclear weapons was to strengthen its sense of security. He further said, this was the reason that Pakistan was given 3.2 billion dollars aid. He also claimed that the US administration had accepted President Zia-ul-Haq's clarification that Pakistan's nuclear program was only for meeting energy requirements, and the US had the wish that other countries such as India, Brazil, and Argentine would also restrict their program to peaceful purposes.<sup>132</sup> Subsequently, *Jang* on 8 April, 9 April, and 5 November 1984 observed that the US Senate was trying to increase checks on Pakistan's nuclear program at the behest of Israel and India.<sup>133</sup> The newspaper explained that Indian and Israeli

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<sup>128</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 29 December 1976, p.7.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 20 May 1982, p.1.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 23 May 1982, p.1.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 23 May 1982, p.1.

<sup>132</sup> *Jang*, news article, 4 November 1984, p.2.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid*, editorial, 9 April 1974, p.3. and editorial, 5 November 1984, p.3.

lobbies were very active in the US and they were influencing the American media, and pressurising the American senate and government to take actions against Pakistan's nuclear program.<sup>134</sup>

In the same way, in *Jang*, a columnist Z. A. Suleri on 14 August 1990 argued that it was surprising that the US annoyed with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto during his lifetime, after his death "fell in love" with his daughter Benazir Bhutto. He explained that "the US was not comfortable" with a military ruler General Zia-ul-Haq who was interested in Islamisation and not ready to make any compromise on the nuclear program. On the other side, the columnist wrote, Benazir Bhutto also realised her father's mistake and by spending millions of dollars created a lobby in the US for her image building. That is how, the journalist concluded, a US and western sponsored media propaganda helped her to rise as a prominent political leader in Pakistan in hope that she would compromise the nuclear program.<sup>135</sup>

The leading voices in the Urdu press highlighted the negative role of the US and western media facilitating US conspiracy against Pakistan's nuclear program. However, there were some voices in Pakistan who did not agree to the idea of the US and western media making propaganda against Pakistan to facilitate US conspiracy. Some of those voices were identified through interviews for this research and included one of former ambassadors to the US and a senior right leaning politician who agreed to the stance of the US and western media and said:

they [US] understood that we were always in need of financial assistance and therefore they were concerned, their line of argument was that if we built nuclear weapons, we could proliferate the technology. Our counter argument was that everybody proliferates, at some level or the other. And our line of argument was that if we have purchased equipment to build our centrifuges that equipment has been sold by your suppliers, in most parts. So, your people are equally guilty of proliferating, as we might be. But, this was not an argument that was well received.

They thought that we would proliferate. While I was ambassador, this was what they would argue with me. And I argued by saying, there is no reason for them to suspect any such thing. But sadly, I was there in arguing away that we would never proliferate [but later] we were caught

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid, news article, 8 April 1984, p.1. and editorial, 5 November 1984, p.3.

<sup>135</sup> Z.A. Suleri, *Jang*, column, 14 August 1990, p.3.

proliferating. So, years later, Americans were proven right. So, this is why they were against developing our nuclear weapons.<sup>136</sup>

Thus, discussions in the Urdu press described the role of the US and western media as one of propagating against Pakistan's nuclear program and facilitating a US conspiracy with regard to it. Those voices which could have argued otherwise were excluded from the discourse.

### **3.3.2 Pressures Exerted on Pakistan**

Another modality of US conspiracy described by the discussions going on in the Urdu press was US pressure tactics utilised to besiege Pakistan in a way that it would finally abandon its nuclear program. These pressure tactics mainly included on one side suspension of economic and military aid, and on the other side turning a blind eye to India's nuclear program resulting in increased security concerns for Pakistan, increasing its demand for the US military and economic aid.

#### **US Aid Used as a Pressure Tactic**

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 9 April 1979 noted that economic and development aid to Pakistan was once more suspended by the US on suspicions of the installation of a plutonium reprocessing plant at Chashma partially built by Pakistan and capable of producing material that could be used for nuclear weapons. The newspaper observed that the government of Pakistan reacted against this decision by regarding it to be "a discriminatory attitude" and "dual policy" towards Pakistan. An unidentified spokesperson of Pakistan's Foreign Office was reported to have told journalists that Pakistan would not accept interference in its independence and the hegemony of any country.<sup>137</sup>

On 18 August 1990 *Jang* noted that the Pakistan-US Defence Agreement was to be renewed in 1990-91. According to the newspaper, Pakistan needed US support to redress the balance of power in the region, as India had advantage in the quantity of tanks with the ratio of 2:1 and of fighter aircrafts with 3:1.<sup>138</sup> In this situation, the newspaper on 23 August 1990 reported senators including Edward Kennedy and Stephen Solarz to have said that they would request the US Senate

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<sup>136</sup> Respondent 10: A former Pakistan's ambassador to the US and a senior politician

<sup>137</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 9 April 1979, p.1.

<sup>138</sup> *Jang*, news article, 18 August 1990, p.1.

to stop aid to Pakistan if it failed to conduct general elections in October 1990.<sup>139</sup> The newspaper on 25 August also noted that the US wanted to stop the aid if Benazir Bhutto was declared ineligible to contest elections on the corruption charges.<sup>140</sup> *Jang* on 23 August and 15 September 1990 criticised such American threats by regarding such an attitude as inappropriate. The newspaper argued that the US was interfering in Pakistan's domestic affairs, and was "treating Pakistan like its satellite," instead of an independent country. The newspaper also argued that the US attitude was enough to show, that it was "always interested to have governments" and policies of its liking, otherwise it would threaten to stop Pakistan's aid. The newspaper wrote that in international relations states need mutual trust, which was being affected by the US disappointing attitude. The newspaper warned that if the US did not change its attitude towards an ally and stopped Pakistan's aid, it would create a bad American image to other allies in the world. However, the newspaper concluded that Pakistan could survive even without the US aid but could not accept US pressure.<sup>141</sup>

Afterwards, in *Jang* a columnist Muhammad Akram Tahir on 6 November 1990 described US suspension of aid in 1990 under the Pressler Amendment of 1985, "as another US lever to interfere" in Pakistan's domestic affairs. He wrote that people rejected the Pakistan People's Party in the general elections of 1990 because of its alliance and engagement with the US. The writer acknowledged that the people of Pakistan had "always despised" the US for its interference in the internal affairs of the country. Therefore, he argued that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had secured popularity among the masses due to his anti-American attitude, General Ayub Khan had acceptance in public because he wanted Americans to be "friends not masters," and General Zia-ul-Haq was liked by the people, because he dared to reject trivial American aid by regarding it as "peanuts." The author explained that Benazir Bhutto and her party was rejected by the people "because of her connections" with the US. The journalist argued that significant evidence of the connections between the US and Pakistan People's Party was that Nusrat Bhutto the Chairperson of the PPP visited the US and allegedly asked the US authorities to suspend Pakistan's aid due to its nuclear program.<sup>142</sup> Therefore, stopping Pakistan's aid was a US tactic to appease a political party, which was supposed

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid, editorial, 23 August 1990, p.3.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid, news article, 25 August 1990, p.1.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid, editorial, 23 August 1990, p.3. and editorial, 15 September 1990, p.3.

<sup>142</sup> Muhammad Akram Tahir, *Jang*, column, 6 November 1990, p.3.

to protect the American interests in Pakistan with regard to its nuclear program. However, Irshad Ahmad Haqqani another columnist of *Jang* did not agree with the allegation that Nusrat Bhutto was involved in the suspension of the US aid. He argued that the US had decided to stop Pakistan's aid on its own and it was its pressurising tactic to interfere in internal affairs.<sup>143</sup> So while the two journalists opposed each other on a point that some local political forces such as PPP were involved in conspiracy against Pakistan's nuclear program or not, they agreed that the US interfered in Pakistan's internal affairs with or without the support of local politicians.

Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan a well known metallurgist and the most prominent scientist in Pakistan's nuclear program, was reported by *Jang* on 7 November 1990 to have told journalists that Pakistan could continue its nuclear program without US aid and it should not submit to American pressure.<sup>144</sup> On 11 November 1990, a political analyst Niaz Hussain Lakhwaira wrote in his column in *Jang*, that the US always gave its aid to Pakistan, while its interests in the region were threatened, whereas when US perception of its interests was changed, or had even slightest doubts about Pakistan's role, it would always stop its assistance.<sup>145</sup> Likewise, Benazir Bhutto on 8 May 1993 was reported by *Jang* to have told the media during her visit to the US, that "it was unfair of the US" to pressurise Pakistan. She said that if elected to power, even her government would not unilaterally sign the international agreements about non-proliferation, while India had no intentions to do so. She said that every single nation had the right to defend its borders.<sup>146</sup> *Jang* agreed with Benazir Bhutto's statement and argued that Pakistan's nuclear program was in fact related to its freedom, territorial integrity, and survival and for that reason, no power had the right to blackmail it in the pretext of military and economic aid.<sup>147</sup>

*Jang* on 8 August 1993 noted that there was a strong resentment and reaction towards the American attitude on the issue of 71 F-16s embargoed by the US.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Irshad Ahmad Haqqani, *Jang*, column, 16 November 1990, p.3.

<sup>144</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 7 November 1990, p.3.

<sup>145</sup> Niaz Hussain Lakhwaira, *Jang*, column, 11 November 1990, p.3.

<sup>146</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 8 May 1993, p.3.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Forty out of a total one hundred and eleven F-16 Fighter aircrafts, ordered by Pakistan in 1979-80, were delivered between 1983 and 1987. The remaining 71 aircrafts were embargoed in 1990 by the US provoking the Pressler Amendment, due to Pakistan's alleged progress towards nuclear weapons. Out of those embargoed aircrafts, twenty eight were manufactured and stored in the US, whereas Pakistan had paid 685 million dollars in advance. *Jang*, editorial, 8 August 1993, p.3.

Earlier, the newspaper on 27 July 1993 reported the US Ambassador to Pakistan, John Cameron Monjo to have told Pakistani caretaker Prime Minister Moeenuddin Ahmad Qureshi that if Pakistan could agree to roll back its nuclear program, all military aid could be resumed.<sup>149</sup> The Prime Minister Qureshi was also reported to have replied Ambassador Monjo that Pakistan's nuclear program was peaceful and it would not unilaterally sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty therefore it was "unfair to restrict delivery" of F-16s.<sup>150</sup> The newspaper on 7 August 1993 agreed with the Prime Minister's point of view and wrote that it was "also unfair to ask Pakistan" to pay for the storage of the aircrafts. The newspaper argued that if the US "truly valued Pakistan's friendship" it had to stop pressurising Pakistan through economic and military aid.<sup>151</sup>

It was argued in the Urdu press that the US was trying to use economic and military aid as a means to pressurise Pakistan to compromise its nuclear program which was its internal affair related to its security and economic development. It was also argued that unnecessary US pressure with regard to aid was causing a mistrust between the two countries as Pakistan was not ready to submit to unjustified US pressure.

### **Turning a Blind Eye to India's Nuclear Program and Being Unsympathetic to Pakistan's Security under Indian Pressure Resulting in Increased Security Concerns for Pakistan**

*Jang* on 30 October 1974 reported the Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to have told the US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger that the US was not asked to provide any guarantees regarding supply of arms to Pakistan, but the US should continue its policy of not supplying weapons to South Asian countries. The newspaper noted Secretary Kissinger to have replied that the US would not interfere in the affairs of South Asia.<sup>152</sup> Thus, the newspaper had presented a piece of evidence with regard to the US decision of restricting arms supplies to South Asian countries intended to appease India which was affecting Pakistan's security. With reference to a *BBC* radio report *Jang* argued that the US had not resumed supplies to avoid Indian opposition.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid, news article, 27 July 1993, p.1.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid, news article, 7 August 1993, p.1.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid, editorial, 8 August 1993, p.3., news article, 5 August 1993, p.1. and editorial, 7 August 1993, p.3.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid, news article, 30 October 1974, p.1.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid, news article, 3 November 1974, p.1.



Figure 31, *Jang* on 4 April 1975 published the above cartoon to reflect India's influence on the US with regard to military supplies to Pakistan. The cartoon showed Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi riding a cow of Soviet Arms whereas the personified US standing next to Pakistan shown as a sheep. The cartoon reflected comparatively huge arms supply of the USSR to India and meagre US arms supply to Pakistan. Still, Indian Prime Minister warned the US not to supply arms to Pakistan, as caption read, "this part of Asia is sacred cow country, sheep-man."<sup>154</sup>

Subsequently, *Jang* on 5 April 1979 noted that India through its active lobbies was pressing the US to reconsider its decision to supply arms to Pakistan whereas it was also angry at being treated on equal terms with Pakistan. The newspaper also observed that India also demanded that the US not provide loans for arms purchases on subsidised terms.<sup>155</sup> The newspaper criticised India for its undue pressure on the US, and advised Pakistan not to rely solely on the US, and to keep in contact with other friendly countries, so that it could fulfil its defence requirements.<sup>156</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 14 September 1982 reported the US official response to Pakistan's attempts to expand its nuclear program stating that Pakistan had not provided a guarantee regarding international protections for using a light water nuclear reactor at Chashma. Therefore, the US Department of State vowed not to allow Pakistan to build the nuclear plant by taking two immediate steps. First, all American firms were asked not to sell any nuclear equipment to Pakistan. Second, western nations too were asked not to provide any nuclear cooperation. *Nawa-i-Waqt* added its perspective that the Indian government had not agreed to any nuclear protection, international inspection, or monitoring of its nuclear plants

<sup>154</sup> Ibid, cartoon, 4 April 1975, p.1.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid, editorial, 5 April 1975, p.3.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

either, and in spite of that the US President Reagan announced resumption of the supply of nuclear fuel for Tarapur reactor.<sup>157</sup> On one hand the US was opposing Pakistan's nuclear program and on the other hand it was turning a blind eye to India's interest in development of nuclear weapons. Likewise, *Jang* on 18 December 1984 argued that the US was ignoring the fact that in response to Pakistan's military aid, India had received military equipment from the USSR, European Countries, and the US much higher in quantity compared to Pakistan. Similarly, the newspaper further argued that due to the US and western support, India was at a more advanced level of nuclear technology as compared to that of Pakistan, therefore it was "simply unjust" to criticise and target only Pakistan's nuclear program.<sup>158</sup>

*Jang* on 9 April 1984, with reference to the proposals for the Pressler Amendment presented in the US Senate in March 1984 to make aid to Pakistan conditional on its status as a non-nuclear weapons country, reported Pakistani parliamentarians to have argued that the US was doing such things under the pressure of a very active Indian lobby.<sup>159</sup> Similarly, when in 1986 the US turned down Pakistan's request to increase the aid for next six years, and to provide modern military equipment, *Jang* with reference to *BBC* radio report on 26 March 1986 argued that this was done because of pressure from the Indian government and the US Congress under the influence of Indian lobby.<sup>160</sup>

The Urdu press, journalists, politicians, and officials in Pakistan described US aid and ignoring growing Indian conventional and nuclear military power as a pressure tactic to make Pakistan compromise on its nuclear program. However, there were voices in Pakistan which did not agree about US pressure tactics. Some of such voices were identified through interviews conducted for this research who described the issue of US aid and its pressure tactics differently to the dominant voices included in the Urdu press. A senior right leaning journalist argued as follows:

my opinion is bit different about US attitude to Pakistan's nuclear program. I believe that the US always wanted Pakistan to become a nuclear power in order to avoid India becoming too powerful and hegemonic. It is also a fact that

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<sup>157</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 15 September 1982, p.1.

<sup>158</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 20 December 1984, p.3; Nafees Siddiqui, *Jang*, column, 18 December 1984, p.3.

<sup>159</sup> *Jang*, news article, 8 April 1984, p.1. and editorial, 9 April 1984, p.3.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 26 March 1986, p.1.

after passing the Pressler amendment, US presidents continued issuing certificates that Pakistan did not have the nuclear weapons. Technically, they were right, as Pakistan had developed the capability to develop the weapons but they did not have the weapons by that time. These were the days when Pakistan kept receiving aid from the US and rapidly advanced its nuclear program.<sup>161</sup>

Another right leaning senior journalist and chief editor of a leading Urdu newspaper also explained the issue of US aid:

...basic thing is that you are receiving aid while your economy has not been able to sustain and you are trying to divert the resources after receiving the financial aid. In such a situation an aid providing country would definitely object to unauthorised diversion of the financial resources.<sup>162</sup>

*Jang*, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, journalists, government officials, and politicians who spoke through the Urdu press generally described US aid and its overlooking India's nuclear program as a modality of US conspiracy against Pakistan's nuclear program. However, the voices which would not subscribe to the idea of US pressure tactics to enforce its agenda on Pakistan mainly remained excluded from the discourse. Some of such excluded voices identified through the interviews conducted for this present research argued that the US actually turned a blind eye to Pakistan's nuclear weapons program and that the US had genuine concerns about Pakistan diverting US economic aid to development of its nuclear weapons.

### **3.3.3 US Interference in Pakistan's Domestic Politics**

One more modality of US conspiracy described in the Urdu press was its alleged interference in Pakistan's politics. It was argued that the US would oust a ruling elite from power, which would not submit to US will and would protect pro-American political forces in the country in order to achieve its objectives. In this context, on 8 November 1990, Syed Asad Gilani a senior Jamaat-e-Islami leader noted in *Jang* that since the murder of Pakistan's first Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan in October 1951, there had always been echoes of American interference in Pakistan's domestic politics.<sup>163</sup> Historians and journalists in Pakistan always tried

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<sup>161</sup> Respondent 20: A senior journalist who worked for various Urdu newspapers and television channels.

<sup>162</sup> Respondent 13: A senior journalist worked as chief editor and columnist

<sup>163</sup> Syed Asad Gilani, *Jang*, column, 8 November 1990, p.3.

to see American involvement in the political instability in 1950s and even in first military takeover and martial law led by Ayub Khan in 1958.<sup>164</sup> Attempts were made to establish connections with the removal of Ayub in 1969, and the success of Awami League in 1970s elections and soon after with the disintegration of Pakistan.<sup>165</sup> In the post 1971 era, since Pakistan started showing its interests in the nuclear technology, the concerns about US interference in Pakistan's internal and domestic affairs continued. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's removal from power and death was associated with the US as a result of his tough stance on Pakistan's nuclear program.<sup>166</sup> General Zia-ul-Haq died in a plane crash on 17 August 1988. Pakistani media and intellectuals talked about possible American conspiracy behind the plane crash.<sup>167</sup> There seemed a general perception within Pakistan, (at least in the Urdu media discourse) that the US had made a deal with Benazir Bhutto to bring her to power through general elections in 1988, so that she could make desired changes in Pakistan's nuclear policy.<sup>168</sup> Benazir Bhutto's government was dismissed in 1990 on allegations of corruption after her differences with then President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and military leadership.<sup>169</sup>

A founding member of Pakistan People's Party and former Finance Minister Mubashir Hassan commented on the dismissal of Benazir Bhutto's government in 1990, alluding that the US was behind the removal of an elected government. Hassan said that the US had made a deal with Pakistan to abandon its support for Benazir Bhutto in return for getting some military concessions in the wake of Iraq-Kuwait War in August 1990.<sup>170</sup> On 16 August 1990, Abdul Qadir Hassan in his column in *Jang* responded to Hassan's comments by reminding him that it was the US who helped Benazir Bhutto to become prime minister, and for that reason some people in Pakistan used to call her "viceroy." He also argued that the US had assigned two jobs to Benazir Bhutto: first, to accept Indian hegemony and second, to sign international agreements for international monitoring and inspection of nuclear facilities. Since she failed to deliver on both, he further explained, the US agreed to remove her from power. He asked Hassan to make it

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<sup>164</sup> Ibid; Nizami; Mahmud.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 15 September 1990, p.3; Syed Asad Gilani, *Jang*, column, 8 November 1990, p.3.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid.

<sup>170</sup> Abdul Qadir Hassan, *Jang*, column, 16 August 1990, p.3.

clear which face of America he liked more, one of bringing Benazir Bhutto into power or the one ousting her from office.<sup>171</sup>

The main headline of *Jang*, on 17 August 1990, reported the US Ambassador's meeting with the President of Pakistan Ghulam Ishaq Khan. Reportedly, Ambassador Oakley warned the President that if there was any harm to Benazir Bhutto and her family, his government would not remain silent. Consequently, the President assured him of the security of Benazir Bhutto and her family.<sup>172</sup> The information published in the newspaper was presented as a piece of evidence to confirm US connections with Benazir Bhutto and its degree of interference into Pakistan's domestic politics. Conversely, Maulana Irshad-ul-Haq Thanvi, a journalist in *Jang* on 12 August 1993 argued that it was interesting that in spite of the US pressure, advice, or dictation successive Pakistani ruling civil or military leadership from Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to Nawaz Sharif did not compromise on crucial issues such as the nuclear program.<sup>173</sup>

Contrary to the discussions in the Urdu press describing US interference in Pakistan's domestic politics in order to conspire against Pakistan's nuclear program, there were some excluded voices which did not agree with the idea of US interference in domestic politics as a modality of its conspiracy and betrayal and were highlighted through interviews for this research. A senior office bearer of a mainstream right-wing political party expressed his views as follows:

America has never accepted Pakistan's nuclear program but there was a time when America did not put much pressure on us, due to Pakistan's inclusion in the fight against Soviet forces in Afghanistan. Therefore, we found a little space at this time. And in this space, we worked to complete our nuclear program. America also caused difficulties as we had to face sanctions such as Pressler Amendment and others. Yes, we have been subject to sanctions but in spite of all that America did not put such practical obstacles in the way of our work which could wipe out our program altogether but this was its own compulsion and we took some benefit of that and progressed our nuclear program.<sup>174</sup>

Thus, *Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* communicated those voices of journalists and politicians describing US interference in domestic politics as a modality of US conspiracy against Pakistan. It was argued that the US interfered in Pakistan's

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<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> *Jang*, news article, 17 August 1990, p.1.

<sup>173</sup> Maulana Irshad-ul-Haq Thanvi, *Jang*, column, 12 August 1993, p.3.

<sup>174</sup> Respondent 8: A senior political leader and an office bearer of a right-wing political party.

domestic politics in order to conspire against Pakistan's nuclear program. It was explained that though US punished some of the political figures in Pakistan who did not submit to US pressure and supported those who were more likely to make compromises on Pakistan's nuclear program, none of the ruling elite accepted to compromise a nuclear program which was essential for Pakistan's survival. Those voices were excluded from the discourse which would argue that the US did not effectively pressurise Pakistan to restrict its nuclear weapons program and therefore did not conspire and betray its ally.

### **3.4 CAUSES OF US CONSPIRACY AND BETRAYAL**

Discussions in the Urdu press also detailed the causes behind US conspiracy and US betrayal of its ally: first, it was argued that the US conspired against Pakistan because it was a hegemonic power which wanted to keep Pakistan dependent on its aid and to achieve this end it would make the ruling elite side with it; second, it was argued that the US conspired against Pakistan because it was an anti-Muslim power and would not allow a Muslim country to become a nuclear power; third, it was argued that the US conspired against Pakistan's nuclear program in pursuance of its interests in South Asia and preferred India as a larger country comparatively more effective in serving US purposes.

#### **3.4.1 The US as a Hegemonic Power Wished to Secure its Capitalistic Interests**

The Urdu press described Pakistan's nuclear program as essentially "peaceful" to meet energy and other civil requirements for the sake of country's development. Later when the Urdu press recommended that Pakistan amend its objectives to include development of nuclear weapons for the sake of security of the country, it was also premised on the argument that nuclear technology would be comparatively affordable in terms of cost as compared to heavy spending on conventional military power. However the Urdu press found the US conspiring against Pakistan's nuclear program and it was argued that actually it wanted to keep Pakistan dependent on it and would not allow Pakistan to attain a level of self-reliance. It was also observed by the Urdu press that the US would tend to side with the Pakistani ruling elite in order to realise its conspiracy against Pakistan's nuclear program.

## **The US Wanted to Keep Pakistan Dependent on US Aid**

Muneer Ahmad Khan, Chairman PAEC on 4 October 1975 was reported by *Jang* to have told the conference of International Atomic Energy Agency at Vienna that to meet its energy requirements Pakistan needed at least twenty nuclear power generation units in the next twenty-five years, whereas under the pretext of Indian nuclear tests, the superpowers had increased checks on Pakistan acquiring nuclear plants, equipments, and technical information. He further explained that the US and other superpowers were not even considering a country's compliance with safeguards and participation into regional or collective agreements for non-proliferation. Hence, the reaction of the world powers to the Indian tests had affected the cause of nuclear energy and was increasing difficulties for developing countries like Pakistan and consequently increasing their reliance on the US.<sup>175</sup>

Likewise, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, while addressing the inauguration ceremony of the nuclear power-plant at Karachi on 30 November 1972 was reported to have said that Pakistan wanted to use atomic energy for peaceful purposes only and for that reason had already accepted the international monitoring of its nuclear reactor. He demanded that the subcontinent had to be declared a nuclear weapons free region while he insisted that the survival of country depended on the effective utilisation of atomic science.<sup>176</sup> On 21 August 1974, Pakistan's Foreign Secretary Agha Shahi in his memorandum to the United Nations General Secretary suggesting a resolution in the General Assembly session about declaring South Asia an area free from nuclear activities for military purposes was reported to have argued that such an action would help to achieve peace, stability, and economic growth for developing countries of South Asia.<sup>177</sup> Muneer Ahmad Khan, Chairman PAEC, on 15 November 1975 was reported to have explained that Pakistan needed nuclear technology for power generation and the growth of agriculture.<sup>178</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 9 September 1976 therefore criticised the US concerns with regard to Pakistan's nuclear program and noted that many Asian, African, and Latin American developing countries had been trying to acquire nuclear technology, but the US had become unnecessarily critical since Pakistan started

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<sup>175</sup> *Jang*, news article, 4 October 1970, p.1.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 30 November 1972, p.1.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 23 August 1974, p.8.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 15 November 1975, p.1.

its efforts to purchase a nuclear reprocessing plant from France. The newspaper argued that the US was looking at each and every attempt for nuclear technology with suspicion, regardless of how peaceful the program and objectives were. The newspaper argued that it was "unfair on the part of the US" to support the nuclear program of "an aggressive country like India" and to oppose that of a smaller country like Pakistan. The newspaper concluded that it was clear from American practices that it did not want to see the progress of developing countries and wanted them to remain dependent on the US.<sup>179</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 14 October 1976 observed that France was determined to provide the reprocessing plant, in spite of American opposition. The spokesperson of the French government was reported to have told the media that France was against nuclear proliferation and it would take special guarantees and assurances from the countries receiving nuclear equipment. However, the spokesperson clarified that France was against unnecessary sanctions, and did not agree to the American suggestion of taking the used fuel back from countries in their use of the nuclear reprocessing plants.<sup>180</sup> The newspaper appreciated the French determination and resistance to the American pressure. The newspaper on behalf of the Pakistanis thanked the French government for not accepting US pressure and for not preferring any interests and purposes over "human ethics and morality." It was argued that the courage of the French government would have long lasting effects in improving Pakistan-France relationship and would also help to "strengthen status" and "trust" on France in the eyes of "developing countries sick of the American attitude."<sup>181</sup>

Moreover, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 6 November 1976 also expressed disappointment over unnecessary US opposition to Pakistan's peaceful nuclear program, which was also "a lesson for other smaller developing countries," to think carefully about relying fully on US aid. The newspaper argued that the US would provide limited economic assistance but could not see poor states becoming independent and self-reliant. It was claimed that energy was a critical issue for the entire world, especially for developing states like Pakistan. Pakistan wanted to purchase a reprocessing plant, so that burnt fuel could be reused after reprocessing. The newspaper concluded that given "the American attitude" Pakistan had to complete

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<sup>179</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 9 September 1976, p.3.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 14 October 1976, p.2.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid*, editorial, 14 October 1976, p.3.

its nuclear processing project and try to become self-reliant.<sup>182</sup> Likewise, the newspaper on 28 November 1976 also argued that the US was opposing Pakistan's purchase of the nuclear reprocessing plant, as it could not allow a developing ally to overcome its economic problems and becoming self-reliant.<sup>183</sup>

Saif Nayaz a journalist in *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 13 December 1976 also argued that in pursuance of their interests, superpowers like the US wanted to maintain their domination and hegemony over the smaller states, and for that reason wanted their energies to be diverted in useless endeavours, such as wasting their efforts passing resolutions in the UN.<sup>184</sup> The journalist explained that countries like China and Japan escaped the technological supremacy and hegemony of the superpowers, therefore, no superpower could threaten them, and they were not dependent on ineffective UN resolutions either. Consequently, the journalist advised Pakistan to come out of the shadow of American domination and technological superiority, in order to get credible security and economic growth.<sup>185</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 19 December 1976 observed the dilemma for Pakistan, as now, it had to decide to choose between the nuclear reprocessing plant and American aid.<sup>186</sup> The newspaper advised in favour of the nuclear reprocessing plant as it had great potential to meet Pakistan's requirements for energy and economic development. On one side, the newspaper explained that there was American aid for which other alternatives could be available, but on the other side if Pakistan surrendered to American pressure it would lose the rare opportunity to become self-reliant for energy requirements and strengthening its defence. Therefore, the newspaper suggested that the only option left to Pakistan for its survival and defence of its independence was to stand up to American pressure.<sup>187</sup>

Additionally, *Nawa-i-Waqt* explained that it was most likely that the US would be enraged and try to punish Pakistan. In this situation, while remaining patient, Pakistan had to try to convince the US of its defence and economic needs. In spite of all its efforts, if the US could not understand Pakistan's situation, then

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<sup>182</sup> Ibid, editorial, 6 November 1976, p.3.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid, editorial, 28 November 1976, p.3.

<sup>184</sup> Pakistan had proposed a resolution in the UN General Assembly to create a nuclear weapons free zone in South Asia.

<sup>185</sup> Saif Nayaz, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 13 December 1976, p.3.

<sup>186</sup> France under American pressure announced that it would not unilaterally cancel the deal for the nuclear reprocessing plant, however, it would not object if Pakistan was interested in cancellation. On the other hand the US had clearly asked Pakistan to choose between French reprocessing plant or US aid.

<sup>187</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 19 December 1976, p.3.

Pakistan might have to take the risk of abandoning American aid. The newspaper also argued that in spite of all of its effectiveness and appreciation, the American aid given to Pakistan in the past, helped a superficial form of economic growth and left Pakistan more dependent on the aid instead of moving it towards self-reliance. Consequently, the newspaper suggested, if the aid was stopped, it could be a blessing in disguise, just as China escaped Soviet aid in 1960 and adopted policies of self reliance, which helped its growth. In the same manner, the newspaper concluded, Pakistan could also adopt a similar policy of developing its own resources and decreasing its dependence on the American aid.<sup>188</sup>



Figure 32 *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 12 April 1979 published a cartoon to reflect that the US was attempting to trap Pakistan through its aid whereas Pakistan did not compromise on its national interest and rejected US aid in order to save its nuclear program. The cartoon showed Pakistan throwing away the bowl of begging while other developing countries were still carrying it. Pakistan personified as a person wearing the national dress said to the American President Jimmy Carter, "thank you America!" The board behind the American President informs "Sam Brothers Money Lenders: get loans here on strict and complicated terms, special aids are given on pledging the national identity (Carter)."<sup>189</sup>

Chairman PAEC, Muneer Ahmad Khan, on 5 September 1979 was reported to have told the Pakistan Engineering Congress at Lahore that the US was opposing the reprocessing plant because it wanted to keep Pakistan dependent with regard to nuclear fuel. He tried to justify Pakistan's need for a reprocessing plant by saying that it had enough resources of uranium and the proposed nuclear power plant at Chashma would operate with the reprocessed fuel. He argued that Pakistan's future economic progress was highly dependent on a successful nuclear program. He claimed that the Americans wanted Pakistan merely to buy a nuclear reactor, while leaving issue of fuel supply to them. He said that such a dependence was not acceptable for Pakistan because in the past under US

<sup>188</sup> Ibid.

<sup>189</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, cartoon, 12 April 1979, p.1.

influence Canada "ruthlessly suspended supply" of fuel and spare parts for the nuclear reactor at Karachi.<sup>190</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 29 October 1979 reported that a Pakistani delegation led by the Foreign Minister Agha Shahi had negotiated the nuclear program and aid with American counterparts. The newspaper noted that joint declaration disclosed that a deadlock was still there. The Pakistani delegation also assured on behalf of President Zia-ul-Haq that Pakistan did not want to develop nuclear weapons, whereas a similar assurance was already provided to Indian Prime Minister and President Carter.<sup>191</sup> In consequence *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 20 October 1979 advised Pakistan to remain firm on its stance with regard to pursuance of "a peaceful nuclear program." The newspaper argued that though the US was a superpower and Pakistan could not afford a confrontation, nevertheless it had some important interests in the regions, specifically in the oil rich Muslim countries. Therefore, sooner or later it would have to reconsider its policies towards Pakistan's nuclear program.<sup>192</sup> A year later on 3 November 1980, the newspaper also advised that it would be better for Pakistan's independence and sovereignty, if in addition to energy requirements, it could include in the objectives strengthening the defence through the use of nuclear technology, which would be comparatively affordable as compared to expenses on conventional military weapons and would also make Pakistan self-reliant in terms of its defence. The newspaper argued that superpowers would not allow developing countries to gain self-reliance in order to maintain their hegemony and ensure their capital interests with regard to their military industry.<sup>193</sup>



Figure 33, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 20 October 1979 published a cartoon to reflect that the US wanted to deprive Pakistan of its peaceful nuclear program, which was essential for its

<sup>190</sup> Ibid, news article, 6 September 1979, p.1.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid, news article, 19 October 1979, p.1.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid, editorial, 20 October 1979, p.3.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid, editorial, 3 November 1980, p.3.

economic growth. The cartoon showed American Secretary of State Cyrus Vans trying to snatch nuclear capability from Pakistani Foreign Minister Agha Shahi. The caption under the cartoon read, "differences between America and Pakistan over nuclear program could not be resolved."<sup>194</sup>

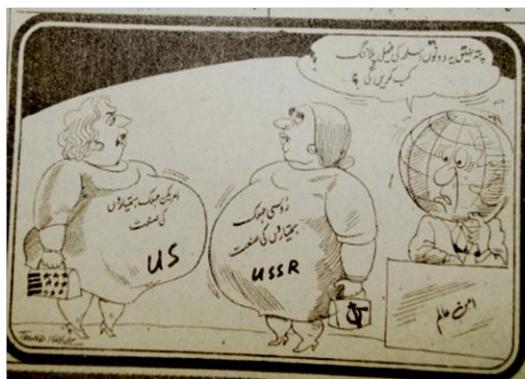


Figure 34, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 1 December 1980 published a cartoon to reflect that the peace was not threatened by Pakistan's nuclear program instead it was being endangered because of the military industry of the two superpowers, the US and the USSR, which were trying to maximise their profits by selling their arms to developing countries. The cartoon showed the US and the USSR personified as two women pregnant with their arms industry while world peace personified looked worried and thinking, as the caption read, "when will both of them think about family planning of arms?"<sup>195</sup>

Pakistani authorities, from President to Chairman PAEC, kept emphasising in *Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* that Pakistan's nuclear program was purely for "peaceful purposes" in order to attain economic development and it did not have any intentions to develop nuclear weapons.<sup>196</sup> A columnist M. Tufail on 2 March 1984 and Muneer Ahmad Khan Chairman PAEC on 10 and 28 March 1984 in *Jang* argued that Pakistan desperately needed to progress in the nuclear field in order to meet its energy requirements and to pursue the development of its industrial, agricultural, and health sectors by saving on the import of oil supplies as a major source of energy.<sup>197</sup> Similarly, *Jang* on 4 December 1984 argued that superpowers wanted to keep developing countries like Pakistan dependent on them by restricting their economic progress through a peaceful nuclear program.<sup>198</sup>

In response to articles in *Jang* written by a liberal journalist Abdullah Hussain, a series of eleven articles by a historian, a political analyst, and a journalist

<sup>194</sup> Ibid, cartoon, 20 October 1979, p.1.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid, cartoon, 1 December 1980, p.1.

<sup>196</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 19 October 1979, p.1; *Jang*, news article, 28 March 1984, p.2.

<sup>197</sup> M. Tufail, *Jang*, column, 2 March 1984, p.3; Muneer Ahmad Khan, *Jang*, column, 10 March 1984, p.3; *Jang*, news article, 28 March 1984, p.2.

<sup>198</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 4 December 1984, p.3.

Muhammad Iftikhar who also adhered to liberal views, published in *Jang* between 14 March and 7 April 1984, argued that the USSR and the US in spite of being rival superpowers had been treating the newly freed developing countries in the same manner. Abullah Hussain emphasised that it was only the US, who supported dictatorial regimes in developing countries, followed an anti-Muslim agenda by supporting Israel, and tried to make every possible effort to increase or at least maintain sales of its arms industry. Muhammad Iftikhar conversely argued that it was not only the US, but in fact both the superpowers which had the same objectives. Therefore, it was logical that the US would oppose the nuclear program of a dependent country, which was a permanent customer of its conventional weapons.<sup>199</sup>

*Jang* on 5 November 1984 criticised the American circles "exaggerating Pakistan's nuclear program" and argued that it was crystal clear that "so called critics" of the nuclear program "represented a specific prejudiced mindset." The newspaper explained that actual purpose of the US was to weaken Pakistan's economy in order to keep Pakistan dependent on it, instead of restricting nuclear proliferation and securing a peaceful future of the world.<sup>200</sup> Likewise, the newspaper on 7 and 13 November 1990 argued that aid was actually a tool of the powerful states to control developing countries and therefore suspension of US aid in 1990 was a blessing in disguise and Pakistan had to continue with its nuclear program while relying on its own resources.<sup>201</sup>

Syed Asad Gilani in his column in *Jang* on 8 November 1990 analysed the history of Pakistan-US relations and argued that the relationship between the two countries which had started on the basis of equality went through different stages: first as of ties between "a larger and a smaller" country; second between "a powerful and weaker" state; third between "a donor and an aid seeking" economy; and finally the stage of relationship between "a master and a slave." Subsequently, *Jang* on 22 and 23 November 1990 argued that the US had always attempted to secure its own "selfish interests" by keeping Pakistan dependent on its aid. For that reason, the newspaper concluded that Pakistan had to behave like a self-respecting nation in a manner that the US could realise the fact that

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<sup>199</sup> Muhammad Iftikhar, *Jang*, columns, 14-17, 19, 20, 22, 26, 27, 30 March & 7 April 1984, p.3.

<sup>200</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 5 November 1984, p.3.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid*, editorial, 7 November 1990, p.3. and editorial, 13 November 1990, p.3.

Pakistanis wanted to become self-reliant and were no more ready to accept dependence on US aid.<sup>202</sup>



Figure 35, *Jang* on 19 November 1990 published a cartoon to reflect aid as a US tactic to trap Pakistan to compromise its nuclear program. The cartoon showed personified US holding a bag full of US aid tied to a chain while Pakistan's Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif holding a hammer of new national policy to break the chains of US aid.<sup>203</sup>

A columnist M. Tufail wrote in *Jang* on 19 November 1990 that in fact none of the Islamic countries was capable of attaining self-reliance in the production of defence equipments. He explained that this was due to the fact that Islamic countries with financial resources lacked the requisite talent and technology, whereas the countries with technical and intellectual abilities were economically dependent on the US and the west. Therefore, he concluded that Islamic countries could attain self-reliance and "break the shackles of dependence," only if they cooperated with each other.<sup>204</sup>

It was argued in the Urdu press that Pakistan's nuclear program was meant to achieve level of self-reliance in terms of economy and military security and the US as a capitalist hegemonic force of the world did not want a developing country like Pakistan to become self-sufficient. It was explained that successful implementation of the nuclear program was meant to utilise the nuclear technology in medicine, agriculture, and production of cheaper energy that would help Pakistan accelerate its economic development. Moreover, it was also argued that the US wanted to maintain its financial profits through sales of its conventional weapons and would not allow Pakistan to become independent through utilisation of nuclear technology which was a cheaper source of military security.

<sup>202</sup> Syed Asad Gilani, *Jang*, column, 8 November 1990, p.3; *Jang*, editorial, 22 November 1990, p.3. and editorial, 23 November 1990, p.3.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid, cartoon, 19 November 1990, p.3.

<sup>204</sup> M. Tufail, *Jang*, column, 19 November 1990, p.3.

## **The Pakistani Ruling Elite Suspected of Siding with the US**

*Jang* on 4 May 1993 with reference to *The Voice of America* reported that Nawaz Sharif government dismissed in 1993 had approached the American government to ask the US to "condemn the dismissal" of an elected government and to put pressure in order to influence Pakistan to hold a free and fair elections. *Jang* condemned the alleged act of Nawaz Sharif while regarding it as an "invitation to interfere" in Pakistan's domestic affairs. The newspaper noted that Benazir Bhutto was already suspected for her "secret alliance" with the US and therefore not only was the US interfering on its own, but also the ruling elite of Pakistan in order to make it into power and to retain it sought such interference.<sup>205</sup> However, *Jang* on 8 May 1993 reported the US reaction to the dismissal of Sharif's government as different to that of Benazir Bhutto's government. Reportedly, the US regarded the removal of Benazir Bhutto from power as a form of "constitutional coup," whereas that of Sharif's government was considered a "continuity of democratic process." The reason cited was that the US government was not very pleased with Sharif's inflexible stance on Pakistan's nuclear program. The US was suspected of having links with Pakistani ruling elite and sought to check Pakistan's nuclear program with their help.<sup>206</sup>

On the other hand, on 19 May 1993, Nayyar Zaidi the correspondent of *The Jang Group* reported from Washington that according to his sources, Sharif during the last days of his government had agreed with the US to reconsider Pakistan's policy on the nuclear program, but his differences with the President Ghulam Ishaq Khan had already reached the point of no return.<sup>207</sup> *Jang* on 20 May 1993 regarded it as a serious allegation and advised Sharif to justify his position on this issue.<sup>208</sup> A columnist, Irshad Mehmood argued in *Jang* on 10 June 1993 that in fact Benazir Bhutto in her attempt to prove herself a leader of a liberal and progressive political party was a pro-American ready to protect American interests. The columnist wrote that Nawaz Sharif who was elected to power in 1990 for his anti-American postures had to surrender to American pressure and was no longer able to protect Pakistan's interests.<sup>209</sup> Former military chief, Mirza Aslam Baig, wrote in his column in *Jang* on 20 June 1993 that

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<sup>205</sup> Ibid, editorial, 4 May 1993, p.3.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid, news article, 8 May 1993, p.1.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid, news article, 19 May 1993, p.1.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid, editorial, 20 May 1993, p.3.

<sup>209</sup> Irshad Mehmood, *Jang*, column, 10 June 1993, p.3.

Pakistan's nuclear program was crucial for Pakistan's security, and for that reason, anyone who tried to make a compromise on it could not remain in power.<sup>210</sup>

Subsequently, Asar Chauhan a columnist in *Jang* on 9 May 1993 analysed the extent of the US interference in Pakistan's internal affairs and "dual policies" of the ruling elite. He noted that before the military takeover of 1977, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto complained of US interference and pressure on him due to Pakistan's nuclear program. The columnist argued that his daughter Benazir Bhutto who used to regard the US responsible for her father's "judicial murder," later in 1988 came into power with American help. The columnist noted that in the wake of Kuwait-Iraq War in 1990 and US involvement in it, while Nusrat Bhutto, the Chairperson of Pakistan People's Party, was leading the protest rallies in favour of Saddam Husain, where US flags and dummies of the American president were being burnt, at the same time, the Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto was visiting the US, and was "offering her services" to the American president. The columnist argued that apparently it looked as if Benazir Bhutto had once again made a deal with the US and would become the next Prime Minister in the forthcoming general elections of 1993 because the US wanted her to be in power to compromise Pakistan's nuclear program.<sup>211</sup>

The two newspapers through their editorials and other prominent voices from journalists and politicians explained that the US was a hegemonic power who would not allow Pakistan to gain the level of self-reliance on the basis of its peaceful nuclear program for civil purposes or even for military objectives. It was argued that progress in the nuclear technology would bring economic development, as Pakistan would save its economic resources in terms of its spending on energy sector and conventional military power. It was also argued that the US wanted to side with Pakistani ruling elite in order to keep Pakistan dependent on it. However, there were other voices which argued differently and were not allowed to take part in the discussions. Some of such voices were highlighted through the interviews conducted for this research. A senior journalist adhering to left-wing ideas argued:

although they [Americans] are opposed like us, as we are opposed to Pakistan making a nuclear bomb, because it

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<sup>210</sup> Mirza Aslam Baig, *Jang*, column, 20 June 1993, p.3.

<sup>211</sup> Asar Chauhan, *Jang*, column, 9 May 1993, p.2.

costs us very heavily... Why do both India and Pakistan have such large armies? [I think] Pakistan's productive resources are misused on them, [whereas] Pakistan's people are illiterate, Pakistan's people are half-fed or unfed, and Pakistan's forty percent population is definitely below poverty line. And then, they are uneducated, they are without shelters, and without jobs and burgeoning population, and there is a serious threat to Pakistan's society, you can say, blasting into a kind of armed anarchy in this area. That is all because of misplaced or misuse of Pakistan's limited resources. Or [otherwise] to enhance those resources, you need investment, so all the investments and all the assistance you get is being used on turning it [Pakistan] into a security state, and there is no security [laughs].<sup>212</sup>

Yet another senior liberal columnist explained:

[one] harm is our cost of security and development of the bomb. It would be more beneficial, if the same money could be utilised for the welfare of the people. Therefore, making of nuclear bomb has caused us harm. Pakistani media has not conveyed this perspective to people.<sup>213</sup>

Thus, the leading voices in the Urdu press including *Jang*, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, government officials, journalists, and politicians belonging to both right and left-wing ideologies explained one of the reasons behind US conspiracy against Pakistan's nuclear program. It was argued that the US being a hegemonic superpower did not want Pakistan to achieve a level of self-reliance through a cheaper source of energy and security and that the US always attempted to collaborate with the local ruling elites of Pakistan in order to protect its own financial interests. However, others who were not included in the discourse did not agree to the idea of nuclear weapons as a means of securing self-reliance and cheaper source of security. In order to facilitate rationalisation of the perception of a US politics of betrayal, the dominant voices of the discourse established a causality of US conspiracy and betrayal of its ally.

### **3.4.2 US Opposition to the Nuclear Program of a Muslim Country**

Discourse in the Urdu press presented another cause of US conspiracy and betrayal of its ally by describing the US as an anti-Islamic force. Pakistan's nuclear program was identified as that of a Muslim country which would be

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<sup>212</sup> Respondent 1: A senior journalist who worked for various Urdu and English newspapers.

<sup>213</sup> Respondent 3: A senior journalist who worked as an editor and columnist for various Urdu newspapers.

beneficial to whole Islamic world, whereas India's nuclear program was perceived as that of a non-Muslim country threatening its Muslim neighbour. Consequently, US opposition to Pakistan's nuclear program and support to that of India was rationalised on the basis of the anti-Islamic identity of the US. It was argued that the US was part of a wider conspiracy against the Muslim world and therefore was opposed to the nuclear program of a Muslim country.

Muneer Ahmad Khan Chairman of the PAEC was reported by *Jang* on 30 November 1972 to have told journalists that Pakistan's experiments in the field of nuclear technology would benefit "the entire Islamic world."<sup>214</sup> He claimed that Pakistan was "the first Muslim country" to start a nuclear power plant and many Muslim countries were showing their interest in the technology.<sup>215</sup> *Jang* on 30 November 1972 also endorsed the statement by appreciating that Pakistan was "the first Muslim country" to construct a nuclear power plant to produce electricity.<sup>216</sup> Thus, in the very beginning the Urdu press and Pakistan's officials identified Pakistan's nuclear program with Islamic identity and regarded development in Pakistan's nuclear program as beneficial to all Muslim countries. On the other hand *Jang* on 20 May 1974 explained Indian nuclear tests conducted on 18 May 1974 were "a grievous threat" by a "non-Muslim country" to the security of Pakistan as a Muslim state. The newspaper blamed the superpowers for providing resources and technical information to assist India. The newspaper feared that Israel and other countries would follow suit and therefore there was no reason why Muslim countries should not seek progress in nuclear technology.<sup>217</sup>

*Jang* on 22 May 1974 advised Pakistan to call an emergency meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC), as the Indian tests were "a threat to all Muslim countries." The newspaper argued that tests would encourage Israel and South Africa to follow suit, threatening the Arab and Muslim countries of Asia and Africa. The newspaper raised the question about the reason for restricting Muslim states from acquiring nuclear technology, when non-Muslim countries of the eastern and western blocs were armed with nuclear weapons. The newspaper asked if the United Nations and superpowers had any practical solution to save "Muslim countries" from "nuclear aggression,

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<sup>214</sup> Pakistan's first nuclear power plant at Karachi started its operations in November 1972.

<sup>215</sup> *Jang*, news article, 27 November 1972, p.4.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid*, editorial, 30 November 1972, p.3.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid*, editorial, 20 May 1974, p.3.

blackmailing, and exploitation." The newspaper advised Islamic countries to think about these issues and find some solution to the problem.<sup>218</sup>

Aziz Ahmad, the Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs, was reported on 27 June 1974 to have told the OIC Foreign Ministers' Conference at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, that Pakistan had proof that India and Israel had been cooperating in the development of nuclear weapons. He also informed the conference that India had enough plutonium to prepare seventeen nuclear bombs, whereas there was information that Israel had nuclear weapons. *Jang* argued that it was sure that in any future war "Israel could use nuclear weapons against Muslims." Therefore, it was natural for the international community to be concerned about nuclear proliferation, but it was of greater anxiety for Muslims. The newspaper argued that both "India and Israel were aggressors," as the former had caused the disintegration of Pakistan, whereas the latter had occupied Muslim territories. The newspaper claimed that these two countries had "a secret alliance" against Pakistan and other Muslim countries. For that reason, the newspaper proposed the argument that Pakistan had raised its voice for the protection of all non-nuclear states, especially Muslim countries. Consequently, it was advised that Muslim countries had to opt for one of only two available options. First, they had to seek credible assurances against the nuclear threat. Second, they had to try to develop their own nuclear power. The newspaper suggested that in these circumstances, "the defence of the Muslim world" had become the most important issue and Muslim states had to think how to fight against nuclear threats of aggressors like India and Israel.<sup>219</sup>

C. L. Sulzberger, an American journalist was reported by *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 3 November 1976 to have written in *The International Herald Tribune* that Pakistan had refused any monitoring or inspection controls for the reprocessing plants that had been developed internally based on the model of the French reprocessing plant, therefore it was less likely that it would be able to receive French nuclear equipment.<sup>220</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt* responded to the article by regarding it as "wishful thinking" and "part of anti-Muslim agenda" of the US and its media. The newspaper criticised the US for creating hurdles in Pakistan's efforts to acquire the nuclear reprocessing plant, on the basis of its "so called non-proliferation agenda," while it already had provided Israel with all the ingredients to develop

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<sup>218</sup> Ibid, editorial, 22 May 1974, p.3.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid, editorial, 27 June 1974, p.3.

<sup>220</sup> C.L. Sulzberger, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 3 November 1976, p.7.

nuclear weapons. The newspaper wrote that the US and Canada indirectly supported the Indian nuclear tests and were still supplying heavy water and nuclear fuel to India. The US was accused of "the highest form of hypocrisy," when it provided nuclear accessories to India under the pretext of previous agreements to secure the integrity of its international commitments, while ignoring all diplomatic ethics and norms by interfering in French sovereignty and Pakistan's legitimate efforts for nuclear technology. It was concluded that US opposition was due to the fact that "Pakistan was a Muslim country," a well wisher of Arabs, and wanted to see the unity of the Muslim world. Therefore, "animosity to Muslims" was a "common feature of Israel, India, and the US."<sup>221</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 5 November 1976 noted that Jimmy Carter, who remained vocal over the issue of Pakistan's nuclear program during his election campaign in 1976, was voted into power in the subsequent presidential elections. The newspaper argued that Carter being a Democrat was also expected to have a more pro-Indian approach, like his democratic predecessors Kennedy and Johnson. The newspaper noted that Carter, who also remained a staunch supporter of Israel during his election debates, was thought to be "more anti-Arab and anti-Muslims." Therefore the newspaper expressed its fears that opposition to Pakistan's nuclear program would "increase manifold" under the Carter administration.<sup>222</sup>

Subsequently, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 31 August 1977 also argued that though the two superpowers were trying to minimise the nuclear threat for them and their non-Muslim allies, Arab and Muslim countries were threatened by India, Israel, and South Africa. In these circumstances in a world where "might is right," it was advised that Arab and Muslim countries needed to be united, to develop their own nuclear capability to counter the nuclear threat from the non-Muslim aggressive states.<sup>223</sup>

Moreover, *Nawa-i-Waqt* through its editorials and some of its columnists such as Sabir Hussain Shakaib and Abdul Rasheed at different occasions during 14 December 1976 to 29 January 1979, criticised the US decision to start negotiations for sale of one hundred fighter planes to India and regarded it a move of the western nations under the influence of a "traditional prejudice since the time of Crusades." The newspaper argued that Pakistan was a country having

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<sup>221</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 4 November 1976, p.3.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid*, editorial, 5 November 1976, p.3. and editorial, 6 November 1976, p.3.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid*, editorial, 6 December 1976, p.3. and editorial, 31 August 1977, p.3.

its basis in Islam and always willing for the cooperation and unity of all Muslim countries of the world. Therefore, in spite of being America's ally, it could not expect any favours from the US. The newspaper noted that other Muslim countries such as Turkey and Arab countries, which were subject to Israeli aggression were also treated by the US in the same manner. Moreover, the newspaper and its columnists claimed that the American and Soviet "apparently separate moves" to support India's nuclear and military program were "actually part of a larger campaign" against Muslim world. For that reason, the newspaper advised all Arab and non-Arab Muslim countries to become united for their defence and take the full advantage of Pakistan being the "fortress of Islam." Muslim countries were also advised to develop a common base for enhancing defence capability of the Muslim world.<sup>224</sup>

Similarly, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 7 January 1979 analysed the need for reshaping Pakistan's foreign policy to ensure unity of the Muslim world to forge an organised Islamic bloc and to emerge as an effective power. The newspaper advised Pakistan to take appropriate steps to strengthen the unity of Muslim states, especially in the circumstances when requirements of Pakistan's security of independence and territorial integrity had become most important and critical.<sup>225</sup> The newspaper also suggested that given past experience, the US could not however be "trusted" for its assurances, as long as it did not change its behaviour towards Pakistan and the Muslim world.<sup>226</sup>

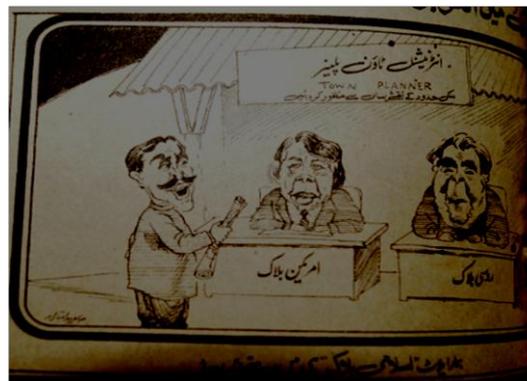


Figure 36, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 7 March 1979 published a cartoon to reflect Pakistan's preference to its identity as a Muslim country. The cartoon showed the US President

<sup>224</sup> Ibid, editorial, 14 December 1976, p.3., editorial, 10 May 1977, p.3., editorial, 21 July 1977, p.3., editorial, 25 July 1977, p.3., editorial, 31 August 1977, p.3., editorial, 6 November 1977, p.3., editorial, 17 September 1978, p.3., editorial, 24 October 1978, p.3., editorial, 2 November 1978, p.3., editorial, 8 January 1979, p.3; Abdul Rasheed, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 29 January 1979, p.3; Sabir Hussain Shakaib, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 21 February 1979, p.3.

<sup>225</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 7 January 1979, p.3.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid, editorial, 13 January 1979, p.3.

Jimmy Carter and Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev as "international town planners" willing to allocate space to Pakistan in their respective residential blocs, however Pakistan's President General Zia-ul-Haq shown as a potential client asking the both Presidents, as the caption read, "leave our plot in Islamic Bloc," hence rejecting to be part of either of Soviet or American bloc.<sup>227</sup>

Furthermore, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 8, 22, and 24 April 1979 argued that the US had stopped Pakistan's economic aid in April 1979 because of "its prejudice against Muslims." It was argued that the US could not afford to allow a Muslim state to master a modern technology for energy, as the latter could possibly extend its support to other Muslim countries to confront the Israeli threat. Therefore, the newspaper continued its argument that the object of the US opposition was not merely Pakistan but the whole Islamic world. The newspaper noted that Pakistan was the only country in the Islamic world with the potential and capability to make credible progress in the nuclear field to meet its own requirements in particular and that of the Islamic world in general. The newspaper advised Muslim countries, particularly Saudi Arabia, Libya, United Arab Emirates, and Iran to think wisely and carefully, how they could extend moral, material, and financial support to Pakistan for a common cause.<sup>228</sup>

In addition to increasing pressure on Pakistan over its nuclear program, *Nawa-i-Waqt* observed on 4 April 1979 that other Muslim countries were also under stress. Reportedly, for two years, France had been in the process of manufacturing a nuclear reprocessing plant for Iraq. The newspaper claimed that this plant was destroyed by some "hidden hands" possibly of Israel's supported by the US.<sup>229</sup> A columnist Sabir Hussain Shakaib in *Nawa-i-Waqt* expressed his concerns that this could have been done by the US to deprive another Muslim country of nuclear technology. The columnist argued that Saudi Arabia was also interested in acquiring the technology but given "the anti-Muslim prejudice" of the US, it was most likely that it would also be subject to similar pressure. Though Saudi Arabia and other oil rich Arab countries could use their oil supplies as a counter force, they did not have a stronger army to defend against US force, whereas Pakistan was conversely not an oil-rich nation but had a comparatively stronger army capable enough to protect its nuclear program. The columnist suggested that to balance the threat of the American use of military power,

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<sup>227</sup> Ibid, cartoon, 7 March 1979, p.1.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid, editorial, 8 April 1979, p.3. and editorial, 22 April 1979, p.3; G.A. Chaudhary, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 24 April 1979, p.3.

<sup>229</sup> Sabir Hussain Shakaib, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 4 April 1979, p.3.

Muslim countries had to develop a common nuclear program. Pakistan could well provide technical services and human resources, whereas Saudi Arabia and other rich Muslim countries could provide financial resources for this purpose. In this way, the journalist concluded, Muslim countries could acquire the nuclear technology and strengthen the defence of the Muslim world.<sup>230</sup>

On the other hand, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 5 September 1979 observed that the term "Islamic bomb" was frequently used as the US authorities and media thought that Pakistan's nuclear technology was being sponsored by other Muslim countries such as Libya and Saudi Arabia for future proliferation to those countries.<sup>231</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt* argued that the term "Islamic bomb" was an American creation well supported by other western countries with a purpose of "igniting an organised movement" of opposition to Pakistan's "peaceful nuclear program" while "ignoring the nuclear activities" of countries like Israel, South Africa, and India.<sup>232</sup>

Likewise, Malik Amjad Hussain a columnist in *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 14 November 1981 noted that under Reagan's presidency, while warmth was returning to the relationship between the US and Pakistan, they still had differences over their respective attitudes towards the Muslim world. The columnist argued that over the nuclear program, it was a positive sign that the American attitude had moved from its previous "bullying behaviour" in the Carter administration, but the point of concern was that Indian and Jewish lobbies in the US were still active against Pakistan. The columnist claimed that the change in attitude was because of the pressure of changed circumstances due to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. The columnist explained that Pakistan being a Muslim country had a different stance towards important issues of the Muslim and Arab world, whereas the US was all supportive of Israel and opposed to the Palestinian movement for freedom. The columnist noted that the US did not condemn Israel's attack on Iraq's nuclear reactor, whereas Pakistan took a different stance. Therefore, the columnist suggested that there was substantial and significant difference in American and Pakistani approaches to the issues of the Muslim world, which would challenge the smooth, stable, and long lasting relationship between the two countries.<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>230</sup> Ibid.

<sup>231</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 5 September 1979, p.1.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid, editorial, 8 September 1979, p.3., news article, 14 September 1979, p.1. and editorial, 3 November 1980, p.3; Waseem Baig Mirza, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 24 September 1979, p.3.

<sup>233</sup> Malik Amjad Hussain, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 14 November 1981, p.3.

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 9 and 12 June 1982 observed that in the wake of Israel's war with Lebanon in 1982, it was becoming clear that due to the lack of unity in the Islamic world at the behest of the US, USSR, or other non-Muslim countries, Muslims were becoming victims of the aggression. Kashmir, Cyprus, and Arab countries threatened by Israel, Eritrea, and Afghanistan were the examples of aggression of non-Muslim powers against Muslims. Therefore, it was advised that in order to ensure security of the Muslim world, Muslims needed to be united in the development of nuclear security.<sup>234</sup>



Figure 37, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 21 June 1982 published a cartoon to reflect "US backstabbing" attitude of Arab Muslims. The cartoon showed a personified US backstabbing an Arab, while shedding crocodile tears. The only descriptive word associated with the cartoon was "Israel," written on the dagger used for backstabbing."<sup>235</sup>

Consequently, *Jang* on 5 November 1984 observed that actually it was a "non-Muslim nexus between India, Israel, and the US against the Muslim countries behind "rigid and unjust American behaviour" towards Pakistan's nuclear program.<sup>236</sup> In two of its editorials published on 3 and 8 March 1986, *Jang* explained that the term "Islamic Bomb" was actually coined by the "*Hanood and Yahood*," anti-Muslim, and anti-Pakistan lobbies.<sup>237</sup> The reason, the newspaper cited was that according to perceptions of hostile lobbies, sooner or later, Pakistan's nuclear technology could threaten Israel's interests in the Middle East and Indian interests in South Asia. However, the newspaper regarded it a

<sup>234</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 9 June 1982, p.3., editorial, 12 June 1982, p.3. and editorial, 12 June 1982, p.3.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid*, cartoon, 21 July 1982, p.7.

<sup>236</sup> *Jang*, news article, 8 April 1984, p.1. and editorial, 5 November 1984, p.3.

<sup>237</sup> Hindu and Jewish non-Muslim lobbies

"baseless propaganda" to affect Pakistan's "peaceful nuclear program," which would share its benefits with other Muslim countries.<sup>238</sup>

The most important scientist with regard to Pakistan's nuclear program, Abdul Qadeer Khan in two of his interviews published by *Jang* on 14 March 1986 and 10 September 1990 argued that Pakistan wanted to progress in its nuclear program but scarcity of financial resources and sanctions imposed under "the anti-Islam policies" of the US and European countries were the main obstacles. He said that the US and western countries had perceptions that Pakistan's progress in the nuclear field could benefit the "entire Islamic world" and for that reason they were opposed to Pakistan's nuclear program.<sup>239</sup> On 28 January 1987 in an interview facilitated by Mushahid Hussain which was first published on 1 March 1987 by *Observer*, Khan told Indian journalist Kuldip Nayar that Pakistan had developed nuclear weapons and they could be used to defend Pakistan.<sup>240</sup> On 13 September 1990, *Jang* also argued that the US, Israel, and India were major anti-Islamic forces, and for that reason were opposed to Pakistan's nuclear program.<sup>241</sup> The newspaper argued that all non-Muslim powers had "joined hands against the Islamic world," and therefore Pakistan and other Islamic countries had to take a firm stance for their defence and security.<sup>242</sup>

Though discussions in the Urdu press generally explained the cause of the US conspiracy and for that matter betrayal vis-à-vis Pakistan's nuclear program on the basis of its anti-Muslim identity, there were some alternate but excluded perspectives which would not describe the US as an anti-Islamic force or US opposition to Pakistan's nuclear program on the basis of its religious affiliation. A senior rightist columnist explained in an interview conducted for this research:

the US had its rivalry with the Soviet Union and for this purpose Pakistan was inevitable for them. Although they had concerns about nuclear proliferation, they ignored or they avoided strong opposition and in this space President Zia-ul-Haq continued the nuclear program, which was started by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, with full force and pushed it too far.<sup>243</sup>

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<sup>238</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 3 March 1986, p.3. and editorial, 8 March 1986, p.3.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 14 March 1986, p.1. and news article, 10 September 1990, p.1.

<sup>240</sup> P.R. Chari, 'Nuclear Signaling in South Asia: Revisiting A.Q. Khan's 1987 Threat' (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2013).

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid*, editorial, 13 September 1990, p.3.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid*, editorial, 14 June 1993, p.3.

<sup>243</sup> Respondent 12: A senior columnist writing for various Urdu newspapers

Thus, *Jang*, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, government officials, the prominent journalists, and politicians belonging to both right and left-wing ideologies argued that the US was conspiring against Pakistan's nuclear program because it was an anti-Islamic force. Pakistan's nuclear program was identified as a nuclear program of a Muslim country which would benefit entire Muslim world. India's nuclear program was described as a program of a non-Muslim country. It was further argued that animosity to Muslims was a common feature of the US, India, the USSR, and Israel and therefore they were allied to conspire against the nuclear program of a Muslim country. It was also argued that Pakistan's nuclear program was mutually beneficial to all Muslim countries and threat from the non-Muslim and anti-Islamic forces was also common, therefore Muslim countries needed to cooperate with Pakistan for the success of its nuclear program. Those voices were excluded from the discourse which would argue that the US had a close cooperation with Pakistan and other Islamic countries during 1980s Afghan jihad and it was more anti-communist or anti-socialist than anti-Islamic state then.

### **3.4.3 The US in Pursuance of its Interests Preferred India over Pakistan**

The Urdu press and the dominant voices of its discourse also argued that the US was conspiring against Pakistan's nuclear program and hence betrayed Pakistan because India being a larger country of South Asia was more important to the US. Abdul Rasheed a columnist in *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 4 September 1976 observed that Henry Kissinger in his recent visit to Pakistan reiterated American policy to give importance to Pakistan's security. The columnist argued that the US expression of interest in Pakistan's security was "a farce," as in practice it had adopted a policy of indifference to Pakistan and of support to India. The columnist noted that the US was supplying nuclear fuel openly to India whereas threatening its ally, Pakistan, with the cessation of economic aid if it did not give up its efforts for a French nuclear reprocessing plant. He concluded that the US was a "flirt," claimed its love was a mere "hoax," and the US opposition to the nuclear program was because Pakistan after its disintegration in 1971 was not as attractive as it used to be and therefore much larger and powerful India was its centre of attraction."<sup>244</sup>

Subsequently, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 2 July 1977 observed that the US announced that it would provide India with of 5573 pounds uranium for its nuclear reactors.

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<sup>244</sup> Abdul Rasheed, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 4 September 1976, p.3.

The newspaper regarded it was a "double cross" by an ally, given the opposition to Pakistan's nuclear program on the basis of its so called reservations on nuclear proliferation. The newspaper claimed that there was clear difference in words and practice of the US as it always declared Pakistan's security a "corner stone" of its policy, but in practice at every occasion preferred its ally's enemy, India, backed by the USSR.<sup>245</sup> Similarly, Mushahid Hussain a rightist journalist/senator in *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 9 September 1978 analysed US policies towards South Asia and claimed that an explanation for American behaviour towards Pakistan was its "obsession with bigness, that is big cars, big buildings, big phrases, big money, big markets," and this obsession, expressed through the US diplomacy respected power in tangible terms. The journalist argued that such conception of power was based on the military might of a country, that is state apparatus, armed forces, missiles, nuclear weapons and in this framework more powerful countries were treated differently than the less powerful. As a result, the journalist explained, the Soviet Union or China would not face a direct response but Korea or Vietnam could be attacked directly. Similarly, Cuba could be bullied and marines could be sent to Cambodia. Brazil could be ignored when it attempted to take an independent posture but Chile could not be forgiven when it tried to assert its sovereignty. Likewise, India could afford to be defiant and yet qualify for American aid, but Pakistan had to remain pliant or to face the US rage.<sup>246</sup>

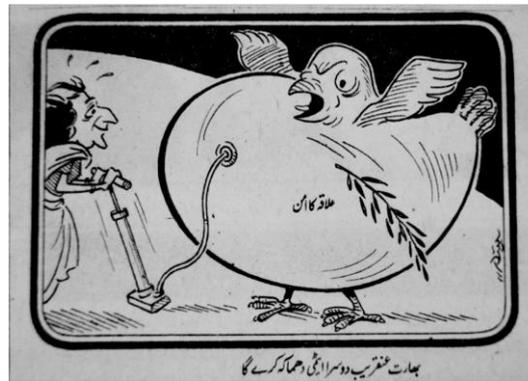


Figure 38, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 14 May 1982 published a cartoon to express its concerns over India's intentions to conduct another nuclear test explosion. The cartoon showed a dove, which is generally regarded as a symbol of peace, being inflated by the Indian prime minister and about to explode. The cartoon was intended to show that the US and other countries which criticised Pakistan's "peaceful nuclear program" as a danger to peace in South Asia would ignore the Indian nuclear program actually disturbing peace in the region. The caption of the cartoon read, "India will soon do the nuclear explosion for

<sup>245</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 2 July 1977, p.3.

<sup>246</sup> Mushahid Hussain, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 9 September 1978, p.10.

the second time."<sup>247</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 31 October 1982 observed that the US Ambassador to India, Liam Clark, had told the media that the US did not have a tilt or bias towards any country in South Asia. He also said that after the Indian Prime Minister's recent visit to the US, the nature of relationship between India and the US was improving and understanding of Indian concerns about American military aid to Pakistan was developing on the US side. *Nawa-i-Waqt* criticised the statement of the American Ambassador and wrote that whenever the US agreed to extend its support to Pakistan for the sake of its own interests, it always kept a door opened in favour of India. For that reason, when India purposively showed its favourable attitude to the US, it was readily appreciated by the American administrations, which subsequently impacted on its friendship with Pakistan. Therefore, the newspaper concluded that there was a possibility that the US would abandon Pakistan once more by stepping back on its commitment regarding military aid. Thus, Pakistan could not rely on American friendship and assurances and had to seriously think about strengthening its defence by alternate means.<sup>248</sup>

In the same manner, *Jang* on 3, 25, and 29 November 1984 argued that after the assassination of Indira Gandhi on 31 October 1984, President Reagan would prefer India over Pakistan in order to fill the vacuum created by the disappearance of a strong leader, who had dominated Indian foreign policy for fifteen years. The newspaper also noted that in the past US Democrats were thought to be pro-Indian but in current circumstances even the Republican administration was trying to appease India by supporting its nuclear program and making agreements for transferring arms technology, in addition to the provision of military aid.<sup>249</sup>

Later, the newspaper on 1 March 1986 reported that the public perceptions in Pakistan of Indian nuclear threats were therefore increasing. The newspaper referred to a survey conducted by *Gallup Pakistan*, in February 1986, which reported 53 percent of Pakistanis having the opinion that in case of war with India, it would definitely use nuclear weapons against Pakistan whereas this percentage in a similar survey conducted in 1981 was 48 percent.<sup>250</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> Ibid, cartoon, 14 May 1982, p.1.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid, editorial, 31 October 1982, p.3.

<sup>249</sup> *Jang*, news article, 3 November 1984, p.1., news article, 25 November 1984, p.2. and news article, 29 November 1984, p.2.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid, news article, 1 March 1986, p.1.

Nevertheless, the newspaper argued that the US looked unsympathetic to Pakistan's security concerns. *Jang* on 2 March 1986 reported that its panel of senior journalists had interviewed the US Ambassador Dean Hinton. The Ambassador was reported to have told the panel that the US had "suspicions about Pakistan's nuclear program," because if the program was for "peaceful purposes," Pakistan had to sign the international agreement for international monitoring without waiting for the Indian decision. Moreover, he also said that Pakistan's expectation to double US aid was not realistic and therefore was not possible.<sup>251</sup> *Jang* on 3, 8, and 11 March 1986 responded to the views of the American Ambassador by declaring the American attitude "clearly partial" and "unsympathetic." The newspaper argued that the US had always opposed Pakistan's nuclear program, in spite of the inspections and verifications of international agencies confirming Pakistan's claims about the peaceful nature of the program. Conversely, the newspaper claimed that the US had never objected to the Indian nuclear program and in addition to that it was providing all technical and financial assistance to India for advancement of the same. The newspaper noted that the US had recently signed agreements with India for the provision of modern computers and heavy water, which was a clear indication of the American tilt towards India.<sup>252</sup>

Saleem Yazdani a columnist in *Jang* on 5 March 1986 noted that as the Afghan issue was approaching its solution, American interests in Pakistan were diminishing whereas interests in India were on the increase for certain reasons. First, the columnist explained, the US wanted to make India a hegemonic and mini-superpower within South Asia. Second, the US was trying to increase its influence in India to restrict Soviet influence there with the hope of forging an India-Pakistan-China nexus against the USSR, which was not realistic given the Indian differences with Pakistan and China. Third, France, Italy, and some other European countries were interested in big Indian markets and by increasing its influence in India the US wanted to keep hold of the market while keeping out other interested parties. Fourth, the US had hopes to have a pro-American and pro-western Indian government after demise of Indira Gandhi. The journalist

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<sup>251</sup> Ibid, news article, 2 March 1986, p.1.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid, editorial, 3 March 1986, p.3., editorial, 8 March 1986, p.3. and editorial, 11 March 1986, p.3.

concluded that whatever the reasons were, it was "another betrayal" by the superpower threatening the security of its ally.<sup>253</sup>

*Jang* on 23 September 1988 noted that India had recently acquired from the USSR, two nuclear reactors of a thousand watt capacity each of them on very flexible terms along with the full transfer of technology without restrictions of international safeguards. The newspaper also pointed out that India had already received nuclear submarines as a part of its extensive defence ties with the USSR. On the other hand, the newspaper wrote, the US was also helping India in its nuclear program, as recently it had agreed to supply a super computer which had an important role in the development of nuclear weapons. The newspaper argued that it was "unreasonable" of an ally to restrict Pakistan's nuclear program while helping its enemy with the same. The newspaper also criticised the US for pressurising other countries such as France to prevent them from providing assistance to Pakistan's nuclear progress. The newspaper argued that if the US could not help Pakistan due to its own constraints, at least it should allow other countries to cooperate.<sup>254</sup>

In November 1988, *Jang* with reference to an American Journal *Defence and Foreign Affairs* pointed out that in the early months of 1989, the Indian Air Force would attain the capability of delivering nuclear weapons. The newspaper argued that the US and other countries kept opposing Pakistan's peaceful nuclear program while giving freedom to Indian nuclear development. Therefore, it was now clear that India had nuclear weapons and at least at this stage, the newspaper hoped that the US could change its attitude of undue favours to India and unnecessary criticism to Pakistan.<sup>255</sup> Later, in December 1988 the newspaper highlighted Indian intentions to conduct another nuclear explosion and advised Pakistan not to be hurried in giving up its nuclear options by signing international treaties.<sup>256</sup>

*Jang* on 7, 8, and 16 August 1988 reported that the Pakistani government had expressed hopes that the US would continue to provide aid to Pakistan for its security, whereas some in the political circles were reported to have forecasted deterioration in the relationship by the end of 1980s.<sup>257</sup> A mainstream right-wing

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<sup>253</sup> Saleem Yazdani, *Jang*, column, 5 March 1986, p.3.

<sup>254</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 23 September 1988, p.3.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid*, editorial, 11 November 1988, p.3.

<sup>256</sup> *Ibid*, editorial, 7 December 1988, p.3.

<sup>257</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 7 August 1988, p.1., editorial, 16 August 1988, p.8; Mushahid Hussain, *Jang*, column, 8 August 1988, p.3.

politician, Abida Hussain, on her return from the US, after attending the Democratic National Convention as an observer was reported to have told the media that according to her estimates, after meeting with American politicians and intellectuals, US interests in Pakistan would diminish with the evacuation of Soviet forces from Afghanistan. Therefore, she argued that the US would try to increase its ties with New Delhi, whereas Pakistan's nuclear program would "continue to haunt them." In this scenario, she concluded, Pakistan had to prepare itself on economic and diplomatic fronts to maintain its security and national integrity.<sup>258</sup>

On 30 November 1990, *Jang* reported senior staff consultant of the US Senate Committee for Foreign Relations, Peter Galbraith to have stated in an interview that Pakistan had to choose between nuclear weapons and American aid. The senator also said that India could not sign the international treaties because of its border disputes with China and for that reason Pakistan must not wait for India to sign international agreements.<sup>259</sup> The newspaper regarded it as "dual standards" and argued that Pakistan had issues of security with India and therefore the US must consider those issues. The newspaper also wrote that the Pakistani nation was not ready to make any deal at the cost of its national security.<sup>260</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 4 April 1997 reported the US Ambassador to Pakistan Thomas Jones to have told journalists in Islamabad that the matter of US military aid to Pakistan was an issue of the past and no more applicable and therefore, supply of embargoed F-16s was not possible.<sup>261</sup> He also advised Pakistanis to change their anti-Indian thinking in order to normalise their relationship with India.<sup>262</sup> The newspaper on 6 April 1997 wrote that the Ambassador's statement was symbolic of American thinking in line with making Pakistan subservient to India.<sup>263</sup> Pakistan's Ambassador to the US, Riaz Khokhar, was also reported on 15 April 1997 to have told journalists that the US had not refunded the money for F-16s.<sup>264</sup> Ahmad Shuja Pasha a columnist in *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 29 April 1997

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<sup>258</sup> *Jang*, news article, 16 August 1988, p.8; Abida Hussain has also confirmed these views in her memoir. Syeda Abida Hussain, *Power Failure: The Political Odyssey of a Pakistani Woman* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2015), 415-416.

<sup>259</sup> *Jang*, news article, 30 November 1990, p.1.

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid*, editorial, 1 December 1990, p.3.

<sup>261</sup> The supply of F-16s remained as one of the most important issue during the 1990s.

<sup>262</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 4 April 1997, p.3.

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid*, editorial, 6 April 1997, p.5.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 15 April 1997, p.1.

argued that there was no hope of getting the F-16s or the refund. The columnist noted that it was "unfair of the US," that in spite of being an ally, it was not able to understand Pakistan's position and its security requirements vis-à-vis India. The columnist argued that it was also "unjustified to pressurise Pakistan" on its nuclear program while ignoring that of India.<sup>265</sup>

Conversations in the Urdu press established that a cause of US conspiracy against Pakistan's nuclear program was its intentions to strengthen India more than Pakistan as the former being a larger country was more relevant than the latter. However, there were also some voices in Pakistan which would not agree to the idea of US supporting India at the cost of Pakistan's security. Such voices generally remained excluded from the discourse. Interviews for this research helped to find some of such voices. A senior journalist who also served as a career diplomat and adhered to liberal school of thought rejected the idea of the US supporting India's nuclear program being based on India's status as a larger country while opposing Pakistan's. The journalist said:

unlike India, Pakistan was caught, trying to sell nuclear technology to other states. Now, both were illegal, both had not signed anti-nuclear treaty, so they were free to do whatever they wanted to do. But, then the international community was free also, to take action against both of them. But, the methodology of becoming nuclear power in India and Pakistan was different. And one of the reasons that we are angry that India has been treated differently from us.<sup>266</sup>

Another senior journalist adhering to liberal values said:

this is a utopia for our people. We think that by acquiring an atom bomb we will become prominent in the world and no one can do any harm to us. We have faced many armed conflicts with India even after making a nuclear bomb. India sent its armed forces to our border, right after making the nuclear bomb. If America did not intervene, I think, the fighting would have escalated to worse.<sup>267</sup>

Thus, *Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* through their editorials, journalistic and political voices adhering to both right and left-wing thinking argued that the US conspired against Pakistan's nuclear program because it preferred India being a larger country and therefore betrayed its ally. It was argued that Pakistan after its

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<sup>265</sup> Ahmad Shuja Pasha, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 29 April 1997, p.4.

<sup>266</sup> Respondent 2:

<sup>267</sup> Respondent 3: A senior columnist who worked for various popular Urdu newspapers.

disintegration in 1971 had become even smaller as compared to much larger and powerful India and therefore the US was more interested in India than Pakistan. It was also argued that larger countries such as India being more powerful than the smaller countries such as Pakistan can afford to be defiant and pursue development of their nuclear weapons. Conversely, the US would not allow smaller countries like Pakistan to progress their nuclear program even for "peaceful purposes." It was observed that the US on the one hand was providing nuclear assistance to India and on the other hand was opposing Pakistan's nuclear program, which was a clear indication of its tilt towards the larger country. However, there were some alternate voices which were excluded from the discourse and which would argue that the US did not always preferred India as being a larger state and at times supported Pakistan's security through economic and military aid.

### **3.5 CONCLUSION**

In the post 1971 War era, the dominant voices of the Urdu press discourse such as *Nawa-i-Waqt*, *Jang*, government officials, journalists, and politicians from both the left and right-wings expressed Pakistan's security concerns as being due to the balance of conventional and nuclear military power tilting to India's advantage and Pakistan's disadvantage. In doing so, they hoped for and expected a positive and appropriate response from the US. However, strong Indian criticism of the US's response reflecting its interest in Pakistan's security raised concerns on Pakistan's side that the US might betray Pakistan again in order to appease India. Therefore, when the US opposed Pakistan's nuclear program and enforced sanctions on its military aid in 1979 and 1990, this was perceived as an expression of a US politics of betrayal and, most importantly, as a betrayal forming part of a wider conspiracy. Consequently, the discourse also analysed the modalities and causes of such a conspiracy. These modalities included the use of the American and western media for propaganda against Pakistan's nuclear program, US pressure tactics such as restricting economic and military aid, and US interference in Pakistan's domestic politics to harm Pakistan's nuclear program. There were three main causes behind such a conspiracy, as described by the dominant voices of the discourse. First, the US, being a hegemonic world power, wanted to protect its capitalistic interests and therefore attempted to keep Pakistan dependent on it. Second, the US, being an anti-

Islamic force, would not allow a Muslim country to have a nuclear program for its economic development and military security. Third, in order to protect its interests in South Asia, the US would prefer to be allied to a larger country, India, over the comparatively smaller Pakistan.

Conversely, some important voices, which could have refuted the arguments of US conspiracy and its betrayal (along with its modalities and certain causes) remained excluded from the discourse. Such voices were highlighted through the interviews conducted for this research. A senior liberal journalist concluded that:

the Urdu newspapers, they all support the nuclear program. They are very happy that Pakistan has an atom bomb. They do not like American opposition to nuclear weapons, and they keep saying that. In the English newspapers, sometimes, you know, somebody can raise a question that we do not need nuclear weapons, but not in the Urdu newspapers.<sup>268</sup>

Another journalist of liberal thinking admitted that:

in fact, the favourable aspects of the American perspective have not been conveyed to the people. Consequently, there exists a credibility gap, because of which people are not ready to trust America irrespective of the fact that things are genuine or not. Even if someone attempts to give an alternate perspective, people are already prejudiced against it.<sup>269</sup>

A right leaning journalist also explained the discourse of the Urdu press:

I think the media deliberately does not convey favourable aspects to people. It is because the media people see the existing public perceptions, and then present things in exaggerated and sensational manner, in order to stir the emotions. Media-men do little journalism based on principles of justice. They do more of sensational types of journalism. In this perspective, they do not convey the favourable aspects, in spite of the fact, that America has not done the wrong only, rather occasionally, it has also done some good to Pakistan.<sup>270</sup>

To conclude, it can be argued that the Urdu press discourse on Pakistan-US relations over the Pakistani nuclear program premised its argument on a

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<sup>268</sup> Respondent 5: A senior journalist/columnist who has written for many popular Pakistani newspapers.

<sup>269</sup> Respondent 11: A senior columnist, politician, and office bearer of a mainstream political party.

<sup>270</sup> Respondent 12: A senior journalist/columnist

perceived US politics of betrayal and a wider conspiracy which, it claimed, had certain modalities and causes. The Urdu press discourse on US role with regard to Pakistan's nuclear program was biased because the voices that could have challenged the hegemonic voices were excluded from the discourse.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE ABBOTTABAD OPERATION: VIOLATION OF SOVEREIGNTY, US BETRAYAL AS USUAL

The general response on the US side over the Abbottabad operation, in which Osama bin Laden was killed in a unilateral US action on 2 May 2011, was to question Pakistan's commitment as an ally in the War on Terror. It was argued that Pakistan was either accomplice in hiding Osama bin Laden or had been inefficient in detecting his presence on its territory. However, generally, the US argument emphasised the point that someone in Pakistan's military and government must have known about Osama bin Laden's presence in Abbottabad.<sup>1</sup>

The response on Pakistan's side differed to that of the US, as a Pakistani columnist responded to the Abbottabad operation by quoting Shakespeare:

While I admire and love Caesar, let there be no doubt that I love honour more for which I am prepared to lay down my life.<sup>2</sup>

The overall discourse about the Abbottabad operation expressed feelings of the hurt for Pakistanis due to the violation of their national sovereignty by an ally, who did not respect the huge sacrifices and alarming financial losses caused due to its participation in "a foreign war" started in 2001.<sup>3</sup> The honour of an ally was

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<sup>1</sup> Colin Cookman and Bill French, 'The Pakistan Aid Dilemma: Historical Efforts at Conditionality and Current Disputes Converge in the US Congress' (Center for American Progress, 2011), 1–11; C. Christine Fair; Susan B Epstein and K Alan Kronstadt, *Pakistan: US Foreign Assistance*; Karl Fischer and Ulrike Schultz, 'The USA and Pakistan – A Volatile Partnership'; Colin Cookman, Brian Katulis and Caroline Wadhams, 'The Limits of US Assistance to Pakistan: A Special Comprehensive Audit of all US Assistance to Pakistan is Essential' (Center for American Progress, 2011), 1–7; K. Alan Kronstadt, 'Pakistan-US Relations'; 'Aiding without Abetting: Making US Civilian Assistance to Pakistan Work for Both Sides' (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2011); Husain Haqqani, *Magnificent Delusions: Pakistan, the United States and an Epic History of Misunderstanding*; S Akbar Zaidi, 'Who Benefits from US Aid to Pakistan?' (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2011); Haider Ali and Hussein Mullick, 'Recalibrating US-Pakistan Relations'; C Christine Fair, 'Addressing Pakistan's Sovereignty Deficit' (Washington DC: The German Marshall Fund of the United States: Asia Program, 2011), 1–4; Shashank Joshi, 'The Broken US-Pakistan Relationship'; Marcia Clemmitt, 'US-Pakistan Relations: Is the Rocky Alliance Worth Saving?'; George Perkovich, 'Stop Enabling Pakistan's Dangerous Dysfunction'.

<sup>2</sup> Ikram Ullah, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 5 May 2011, p.3.

<sup>3</sup> Waqas Sohrab and Ishtiaq Ahmad Choudhry, 'Pak-US Relations in 21<sup>st</sup> Century'; Gulraiz Khalid, Ahsan Nazar and Maryam Anwar, 'Pakistan and US Relations'; Najam Rafique, 'Rethinking Pakistan-US Relations'; Imran Khan, *Pakistan*; Marvi Memon, *My Diaries* (Islamabad: Pictorial Printers, 2012).

also perceived as compromised when the powerful partner showed distrust by taking unilateral action. These feelings and their expressions were so strong that the government, which initially regarded success in the operation as "a great victory" and gave the impression that it was a joint venture, had to change its stance and within a few days criticised the US for violating Pakistan's sovereignty.

The genuineness of the operation was also questioned, and it was argued that the Abbottabad operation was "a fake and scripted event" to achieve some other ends.<sup>4</sup> It was suspected that Osama bin Laden was not killed in the operation, as he was believed to already have been killed long ago. Other voices argued that even if Osama bin Laden was killed in the operation, this was done under some conspiracy to achieve some other objectives and meet US interests. Regardless of the motives and reasons behind the operation, it was speculated that the operation would affect Pakistan for the worse.

In the Urdu press of Pakistan, the reasons behind the operation were explained in many different ways. Religious circles and parties of the right attempted to explain it as a sign of American hostility towards Islam and Muslims. In this view, Osama bin Laden was sketched as a symbol of Muslim resistance to "the evil and oppressive designs" of the US. It was argued that the US was "an anti-Islamic force" that had violated the sovereignty of a Muslim country in order to kill a "Muslim Mujahid" and possibly to attack the nuclear program of "a Muslim country."

Some perspectives were also included in the discourse which argued that either Pakistan knew about Osama bin Laden's presence there or had failed to know. Some voices originating from Pakistan, although very few in number, argued that it was a case of intelligence failure, and that Pakistan could not be singled out for this as it had also happened in the US. On the other hand, voices accusing Pakistan of having prior knowledge of Osama bin Laden's presence originated from the US or the west and were responded to by the Urdu press very strongly. The interviews with politicians and journalists conducted for this research revealed that there were also several perspectives which did not appear in the Urdu newspapers. These excluded or ignored perspectives could have worked as a counter argument to the themes presented repeatedly in the Urdu press.

This chapter discusses the way in which the Urdu press described the Abbottabad operation. Section 4.1 explains the reported responses of the

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<sup>4</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 4 May 2011, p.3.

government, opposition parties, and different social circles to the issue establishing the operation as an act of US betrayal. Section 4.2 analyses how the operation was seen as a "planned conspiracy" against Pakistan in order to fulfil some underlying US objectives. Section 4.3 describes the modalities of US conspiracy discussed in the discourse in order to strengthen the idea of the existence of such a US conspiracy. These modalities include US violations of mutually-agreed terms of cooperation and international law, the supporting of terrorist activities in Pakistan, and pressurising Pakistan to "do more" in the War on Terror. Section 4.4 analyses the causes of US conspiracy and betrayal. The causes include seeing the US as a hegemonic power siding with the local ruling elite to protect its interests, its possible targeting of Pakistan's nuclear program and setting a precedent for Indian action, and Osama bin Laden having been assassinated as a symbol of Islamic resistance to the anti-Islamic agenda of the US. Section 4.5 concludes the chapter by summarising the general impression with regard to a US politics of betrayal vis-à-vis the Abbottabad operation.

## **4.1 THE ABBOTTABAD OPERATION AND A US POLITICS OF BETRAYAL**

### **4.1.1 Initial Official Response**

The initial response to the operation, especially the official one, on the part of Pakistan was to convey to the world that the operation was a joint venture and not a unilateral action taken by the US, in essence, trying to refute the argument regarding Pakistan helping Al Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan. It seemed bent to admit the intelligence failure while attempted to justify it. The prominent voices included *Nawa-i-Waqt*, *Jang*, Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani, Director General ISI Ahmad Shuja Pasha, Pakistan's High Commissioner to UK Wajid Shamsul Hasan, Pakistan's Foreign Office, and Pakistan's Interior Minister Rehman Malik.

Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani, on 3 May 2011 in his interview with French news agencies, was reported by *Nawa-i-Waqt* and *Jang* to have declared that Osama bin Laden's death was "a great victory," and Pakistan's intelligence cooperation was with the US in this operation, which was "also acknowledged by President Obama." He also congratulated the US for the successful operation.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid, news article, 3 May 2011, p.1; *Jang*, editorial, 4 May 2011, p.6.

He said that Pakistan had lost thousands of its youth, women, children, and other citizens in the War on Terror.<sup>6</sup> He reiterated the fact that Pakistan had an agreement of intelligence sharing with the US and both countries had to strengthen the bilateral relationship.<sup>7</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 4 May 2011 also reported Prime Minister Gilani to have appreciated the statement of President Obama, in which he reportedly "fully acknowledged Pakistan's cooperation" in the operation.<sup>8</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 5 May 2011 reported the Prime Minister Gilani to have reminded the world that Pakistan was fighting against terrorism not only for itself, but also for the peace and stability of the whole world, and in this war had given more sacrifices than NATO forces and anyone else. He advised the western world to balance its attitude towards Pakistan. He expressed his determination that Pakistan would continue to play its due role in the War on Terror as without its cooperation this war could not be won. He said that Osama bin Laden was dead and the world had to move forward to take more steps for the eradication of terrorism. He said that Osama bin Laden was one among many foreigners, fighting against Pakistani forces in the tribal areas and as a result of Pakistan's military action against them, they were on the run and trying to hide themselves in populated and important cities.<sup>9</sup> In sum, Prime Minister Gilani appreciated the operation by regarding it "a great victory" and giving the impression that the operation was conducted jointly by the US and Pakistan.

There were other voices from official circles, reported by the Urdu newspapers on 3 May 2011, who supported the Prime Minister's stance. According to the Pakistan's Foreign Office, Pakistan's armed forces did not take part in the operation.<sup>10</sup> Although the Foreign Office contradicted the Prime Minister's impression of joint military action, it did not deny intelligence sharing with the US or did not comment on the US taking Pakistan into confidence. Therefore, the Foreign Office also backed the Prime Minister's statement of a cooperative action.

Pakistan's High Commissioner to the United Kingdom, Wajid Shamsul Hasan was reported by *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 3 May 2011 to have said that the operation against Osama bin Laden was evidence of cooperation between ISI and CIA, whereas the operation was carried out mutually by both America and Pakistan.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 3 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, and news article, 4 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, news article, 5 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, news article, 3 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

The ISI Chief, General Pasha was also reported by *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 3 May 2011 to have confirmed on a TV channel in Pakistan that the operation was carried out mutually by the US and Pakistan's military forces.<sup>12</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 3 May 2011 noted that Pakistan verified that Osama bin Laden was killed in an American military operation based on intelligence sharing. Pakistan's Foreign Office admitted that the American operation was according to its stated policy in which the US had already declared that the American military would conduct a direct operation to kill Osama bin Laden wherever he was found in the world. The Foreign Office called the death of Osama bin Laden a big shock to terrorist organisations all over the world, whereas it was also reflective of the international community and Pakistan's determination to pursue the War on Terror. The statement also reminded the world that Pakistan would continue to support all international efforts against terrorism, and its parliament, state institutions, and nation was united to eradicate terrorism.<sup>13</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 5 May 2011 reported the Interior Minister of Pakistan, Rehman Malik to have told journalists that everybody knew what happened in Abbottabad. He advised the media and politicians to avoid unnecessary statements and criticism on the issue. He said that it was not that big a thing as other circles were trying to project.<sup>14</sup>

Further, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 3 May 2011 also reported the western leaders talking to Pakistan's leadership and presented as supporting evidence for Pakistan's case. For example, the British Prime Minister David Cameron was reported to have called his Pakistani counterpart and congratulated Pakistan's role in the Abbottabad operation.<sup>15</sup> The Foreign Office's statement disclosed that President Obama called President Asif Ali Zardari and *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 4 May 2011 reported President Obama acknowledging the role of Pakistan's security agencies in sharing information in the Abbottabad operation.<sup>16</sup> According to official statements issued by the Government of Pakistan, reported on 4 May 2011 by *Nawa-i-Waqt*, the US Special Representative to Afghanistan and Pakistan, Marc Grossman in his meeting with Prime Minister Gilani, thanked Pakistan for its cooperation in the War on Terror and especially for intelligence sharing, which resulted in the killing of Osama bin Laden.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid, editorial, 3 May 2011, p.10.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, news article, 3 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, news article, 5 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, news article, 3 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, news article, 4 May 2011, p.1. and news article, 3 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, news article, 4 May 2011, p.1.

Additionally, Pakistani official sources looked bent to admit intelligence failure yet attempted to justify it. For example, the Prime Minister Gilani was reported on 3 May 2011 to have admitted that it was shameful for the whole world that in spite of all the latest technology, Osama bin Laden could not be captured previously. He said that Osama bin Laden was in a mountainous area of Abbottabad.<sup>18</sup> Likewise, the Prime Minister was also reported on 5 May 2011 to have said that it was a failure of the whole world not only of Pakistan that they had been unable to detect Osama bin Laden's presence in Abbottabad. He said that Pakistan could not be blamed for this failure, as the US or anyone else too was not able to find him. He explained that fighting against terrorism was a mutual responsibility of the international community not exclusively of Pakistan. He did not agree to attribute the success of the Abbottabad operation to the world and intelligence failure with Pakistan.<sup>19</sup>

Thus, official sources from Pakistan attempted to convey the sense that the operation was a joint effort, Pakistan was a committed partner giving sacrifices in the War on Terror, and therefore it should not be doubted as a betrayal by Pakistan. Between the lines, intentionally or unintentionally, there was a message that if the US had done otherwise, as suggested by some Pakistani authorities, and had mistrusted Pakistan, had violated its sovereignty, and disrespected its commitment and sacrifices it might have been seen as US betrayal.

#### **4.1.2 Criticism of the Operation and Pakistan's Official Response**

Right-wing political parties, journalists, newspapers, and the military criticised the Abbottabad operation in the press and the government's official stance on it. Most of them regarded it as US violation of Pakistan's sovereignty, rejected the idea of Pakistan being an accomplice to Al Qaeda and the Taliban, and accused the US of putting Pakistan's security at stake possibly by conspiring with some external forces or the ruling elite of Pakistan and undermined Pakistan's honour. There were demands from the US to leave the region, for the Pakistani government to revisit the relationship with the US, and those responsible in Pakistan to resign. There were also voices from left of centre who regarded it a "violation of sovereignty" and opposed Pakistan being characterised as an accomplice. All in all, the response of political forces and journalists in the

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid, news article, 3 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, news article, 5 May 2011, p.1.

newspapers endorsed forcefully that it was a violation of sovereignty and that Pakistan was not an accomplice, and thereby the idea of a US betrayal of its strategic partner was strengthened.

Nawaz Sharif President of right-wing Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) was reported between 8 and 12 May 2011 by *Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* to have said that the operation was an attack on the country's security and sovereignty and if Pakistan did not take it seriously more dangers could follow.<sup>20</sup> He said that the world had no reasons to question Pakistan's sincerity and ignoring thousands of lives sacrificed by Pakistan for the War on Terror.<sup>21</sup> Earlier on 3 May 2011 *Nawa-i-Waqt* reported Senator Ishaq Dar of PML (N) to have said that the prime minister should take parliament and people into confidence so that everybody could know the facts. He said that the government had not come up with a clear statement and celebrations in the world would soon be turned into anger and diverted against Pakistan. He said that according to President Obama's statement, the American military forces conducted the operation whereas Prime Minister Gilani had said that Pakistan's intelligence agencies shared information with the US. He asked the government to clarify why the US conducted the operation against Osama bin Laden in Pakistan?<sup>22</sup> Similarly, *Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 4 May 2011 reported Senator Raja Zafar-ul-Haq of PML (N) to have said that Pakistan would be affected the most by the incident.<sup>23</sup> Senator Zafar Ali Shah of PML (N) was also reported to have said that if someone could conduct an operation to kill nine people in Pakistan, "we are a nuclear state," and therefore some other operation might also be conducted in future.<sup>24</sup>

Imran Khan, Chairman of another mainstream right-wing opposition party Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, was reported on 4 May 2011 to have said that the US forces conducting the operation against Osama bin Laden had questioned Pakistan's sovereignty and integrity while increasing its security risks. He speculated that Osama bin Laden's killing would further deteriorate law and order in Pakistan. He argued that if Pakistan sent its military into its tribal areas at the US's will then why could not they be used for the operation against Osama bin

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<sup>20</sup> Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) abbreviated as PML (N) is a mainstream right-wing political party

<sup>21</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 10 May 2011, p.1., news article, 11 May 2011, p.1., news article, 12 May 2011, p.1. and news article, 12 May 2011, p.9; *Jang*, editorial, 8 May 2011, p.8.

<sup>22</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 3 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 4 May 2011, p.1; *Jang*, news article, 4 May 2011, p.3.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*.

Laden? He pointed out that the world was regarding Pakistanis as "hypocrites and cheats," but Pakistan's rulers had maintained silence.<sup>25</sup>

Professor Khurshid Ahmad, a senior politician of a right-wing opposition party Jamaat-e-Islami, was reported on 5 May 2011 to have rejected the government's stance and said that the statement of the Foreign Office was "shameless" and the operation was a failure of political leadership. He said that the nation would take revenge as the government remained indifferent while Pakistan's sovereignty was being attacked by the US.<sup>26</sup> Jamaat-e-Islami was also reported to have given a call for a nationwide protest on 6 May 2011 against the American operation. Party Head Munawar Hassan told the media that the nation should be united and resist "American oppression" and threats to Pakistan's security.<sup>27</sup> Moreover Sahibzada Fazal Karim, Chairman of Sunni Ittehad Council, yet another right-wing opposition party, was reported on 7 May 2011 to have asked the UN to take notice of the violation of Pakistan's sovereignty as the operation was a "clear violation of international law and the UN charter." He said that the operation had caused a sense of insecurity to the nation and therefore the government and opposition should be united in taking a similar and firm stance on the issue.<sup>28</sup>

Right leaning journalists and newspapers also criticised the operation and official stance of the government. A journalist in *Nawa-i-Waqt* Ahmad Jamal Nizami on 5 May 2011 criticised the government's stance on the operation and rejected the assumption that the operation was conducted on basis of Pakistan's information sharing with the US. He argued that if it was true then why was the Foreign Office saying that Pakistan's military and civil leadership did not know about the operation and why was the US stating that it was a unilateral and direct activity?<sup>29</sup> M. Riaz, another journalist in *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 5 May 2011 observed that the public was confused over the government's silence. He argued that the public was concerned because where the operation had posed serious questions to national security and sovereignty, Pakistan was already "paying the price" of US victories and defeats in the War on Terror. He explained that it was a more serious concern for Pakistan that foreign helicopters and commandos reached a sensitive place like Abbottabad, merely one kilometre away from the Pakistan's

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<sup>25</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 4 May 2011, p.3.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 5 May 2011, p.8.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 7 May 2011, p.8.

<sup>29</sup> The US authorities had clarified that the Abbottabad operation was a unilateral action taken by the US forces; Ahmad Jamal Nizami, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 5 May 2011, p.8.

Military Academy, to perform a military action, which remained unchecked by Pakistan's military and government.<sup>30</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt* appreciated that in a high level meeting it was agreed that the US ambassador should be summoned to the Foreign Office for an explanation and protest over violation of Pakistan's borders and sovereignty.<sup>31</sup>

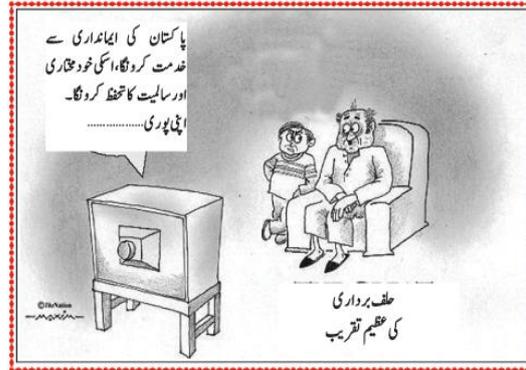


Figure 39, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 5 May 2011 published this cartoon to reflect the failure of political leadership to protect Pakistan's sovereignty. The cartoon showed that a Pakistani citizen and his child watching an oath taking ceremony of some newly appointed federal ministers on TV. Ironically, on 2 May 2011 few hours before the Abbottabad operation, these ministers were taking oath to join the federal government by promising, as the caption of the cartoon read, "I will serve Pakistan with full sincerity and protect its sovereignty and territorial integrity. My full..." The cartoon was a satire on the ruling elite who could not defend the sovereignty of Pakistan.<sup>32</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 5 May 2011 noted that Pakistan's military elite was also expected to take a tough stance on the operation considering it a serious violation of sovereignty of an ally. It was speculated by the newspaper that in a meeting, Pakistan's military leadership should take serious notice of the US conducting operation in its territory without taking Pakistan into confidence. The military was also expected to consider the possible reaction of Al Qaeda and Taliban.<sup>33</sup>

Voices from the left of centre and liberal corridors also echoed that of right-wing circles. Former Foreign Minister of Pakistan belonging to the ruling Pakistan People's Party, Shah Mehmood Qureshi on 12 May 2011 was reported to have said that the two countries had an understanding that there would be no American boots on Pakistani soil. He said that the US had violated the sovereignty of a country, which was cooperating in the War on Terror.<sup>34</sup> Earlier, the Federal Minister of Information, Firdous Ashiq Awan on 5 May 2011 was reported to have

<sup>30</sup> M. Riaz, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 5 May 2011, p.9.

<sup>31</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 5 May 2011, p.8.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, cartoon, 5 May 2011, p.8.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, news article, 5 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, news article, 12 May 2011, p.8.

told parliament through her policy statement that Pakistan had serious concerns and was not ready to accept the direct American operation on its territory. She said that the US should have informed Pakistan beforehand and that Pakistan's civil or military authorities did not have prior information of the operation. She explained that since 2009, Pakistan's intelligence agencies had been sharing information with the CIA and agencies of other friendly countries, which helped to trace Osama bin Laden. She accused the CIA of using information for its own purposes. She said that protection of Pakistan's sovereignty and national security was "a sacred duty" and that "Pakistan did not make Al Qaeda nor did it invite Osama bin Laden to come to Pakistan."<sup>35</sup> Altaf Husain, the Head of Muttahida Qaumi Movement was also reported on 5 May 2011 to have demanded the government take the nation into confidence over the operation while bringing all the facts into the public domain.<sup>36</sup> He also asked the government to call a round table conference of all political and religious parties immediately, where chiefs of all the armed forces and ISI could brief them about the American operation and killing of Osama bin Laden.<sup>37</sup>

Different voices in the discourse namely politicians belonging to right and left-wing rejected the government's initial stance by regarding the Abbottabad operation as "attack on the country's security and sovereignty." It was argued that there was ambiguity in the government's stance given the US official statements regarding the operation as a unilateral activity and Pakistan's official stance attempting to give the impression that the operation was based on Pakistan's intelligence sharing. It was also highlighted that the US had not only violated international law and the UN charter but also violated pre-agreed terms of cooperation by sending its troops on Pakistan's soil and not informing Pakistan about the operation in advance. The government was urged by the dominant voices of the discourse to take a clearer stance because Pakistan was already suffering due to its involvement in the War on Terror and the operation would further cause serious consequences to Pakistan in terms of deterioration of law and order. Generally, the government's initial response to the operation was rejected by the dominant voices in the discourse.

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid, news article, 5 May 2011, p.8.

<sup>36</sup> Muttahida Qaumi Movement abbreviated as MQM is a mainstream liberal and progressive party, which represents the urban class of Sindh Province.

<sup>37</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 5 May 2011, p.8.

### 4.1.3 Demands for an Investigation

A consensus was developed to hold a free and fair investigation of the operation to find the causes behind the failure of the civil and military leadership to intercept the US operation. However, political forces and civil society were divided on the nature of investigation to be held. There were three different types of demands, to hold investigations through a joint parliamentary commission, judicial commission, and through a formal litigation process. The common objective of all demands was to find out who in Pakistan was actually responsible or negligent for allowing the US operation to happen and to penalise the culprits.

Opposition parties were insisting on a judicial commission for holding an independent inquiry. The government looked interested in the parliamentary commission. Whereas some lawyers representing civil society were filing petitions in the High Courts and the Supreme Court. Embedded was the assumption in the demands that everyone was convinced that the US had violated Pakistan's sovereignty and the people were more interested in knowing if the military or civil leadership was conspiring with the US, than to know why Al Qaeda's Head was killed in Abbottabad. Therefore, the purpose of the requested investigations was to know if the US had violated Pakistan's sovereignty on its own or with the assistance of the ruling elite. All in all demands for investigations were to determine if the US had betrayed Pakistan's trust on its own or in collaboration with the ruling political and military elite.<sup>38</sup>

Renowned journalists, politicians, and intellectuals gathered in a seminar conducted by *PILDAT*<sup>39</sup> were reported on 4 May 2011 to have passed a unanimous resolution demanding the Government of Pakistan to form a joint parliamentary commission to investigate the case of Osama bin Laden's killing. The resolution also asked the government to explain the circumstances in which he was killed and how the government agreed to compromise on the sovereignty of Pakistan. Speakers at the seminar asked how were the Pakistani radars made

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<sup>38</sup> People were suspicious of Pakistan People's Party as in the past in 1988, 1993, and 2007 the media and public had a perception that the party came into power with some sort of US support. The US was suspected to have brokered deals between military and Pakistan People's Party for power sharing in the country. Pakistan's military being most powerful institution in the country has also been considered to have closer relationships with the US and therefore would listen to the US instead of some political party within the country. Husain Haqqani, *Pakistan Between Mosque and Military*; Haqqani, *Magnificent Delusions: Pakistan, the United States and an Epic History of Misunderstanding*.

<sup>39</sup> Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency, Karachi.

ineffective and American helicopters violated Pakistani airspace to hit their target and return without any interception.<sup>40</sup>

Parliamentarians in Pakistan belonging to both ruling and opposition parties were also seen to be unanimous in demanding proper investigation of the operation. Prominent politicians and members of the parliament were reported on 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, and 13 May 2011 to have demanded that the causes behind the operation should be properly investigated and parliament should be given in-camera briefing.<sup>41</sup> Senator Raza Rabbani of the ruling Pakistan People's Party was reported by *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 6 May 2011 to have said that only parliament was responsible for conducting such investigations. He said that the western media and countries did not want to see Pakistan stable, whereas the extremist forces also wanted to hijack the political structure of the country in order to enforce their agenda based on religious extremism in and outside the country. He argued that Pakistan could not therefore sell its sovereignty for a few pennies.<sup>42</sup> Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan of Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) was reported on 6 May 2011 to have demanded that the government bring the facts of the operation to the nation.<sup>43</sup> He argued that people wanted to know why one of the nuclear powers of the world was so fragile and four foreign helicopters could smash the sovereignty of an independent nation.<sup>44</sup> Nawaz Sharif was also reported on 11 May 2011 to have demanded holding a fair investigation through a judicial commission to fix the responsibility on individuals or institutions failing to protect the country's sovereignty.<sup>45</sup>

Likewise, the Punjab Bar Council was also reported on 8 and 10 May 2011 to have demanded a judicial commission comprised of serving and retired judges.<sup>46</sup> The council observed that apparently the purpose of the US operation was to increase pressure on Pakistan for particular purposes. The body argued that the failure of civil and military leadership to respond to the American operation was a

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<sup>40</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 4 May 2011, p.3.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 6 May 2011, p.3., news article, 8 May 2011, p.12., news article, 9 May 2011, p.1., news article, 10 May 2011, p.2., news article, 12 May 2011, p.1. and news article, 13 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 6 May 2011, p.3.

<sup>43</sup> Leader of opposition in the National Assembly of Pakistan.

<sup>44</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 6 May 2011, p.8.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 11 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>46</sup> An association of lawyers in Pakistan

sensitive issue of national security. The council on behalf of all lawyers' community condemned the US violation of Pakistan's sovereignty.<sup>47</sup>

The right leaning journalist Ahmad Jamal Nizami on 13 May 2011 advised the government to hold the investigations through a judicial commission as it would be beneficial in many ways. First, it would divert the attention of the whole world towards the commission whereas in the meantime the government would have sufficient time to formulate its strategy to deal with the situation. Secondly, the government could reshape foreign policy in light of the findings of the commission and in this way the responsibility to end or renew relationship with the US would be with the commission. Third, he advised that the jurisdiction of the commission could be increased to the extent that it could give directions and guidelines to improve the performance of the government and security institutions. The journalist wrote that the commission for expert advice could consult with former foreign ministers, foreign secretaries, and army generals.<sup>48</sup>

A barrister Javed Iqbal Jeffery was reported on 3 May 2011 to have filed a petition in the Lahore High Court against the American attack in Abbottabad by taking the position that it was "a sheer violation of the national sovereignty" of Pakistan and international law.<sup>49</sup> Another lawyer, Ishtiaq Chaudhry was reported on 5 May 2011 to have filed a petition in the Lahore High Court against the foreign, interior, defence, and information ministers of Pakistan for not taking the Pakistani nation into confidence over the issue of the American operation. The complainant requested the court to order the government to inform people about the real facts as the operation had questioned Pakistan's sovereignty and integrity.<sup>50</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 6, 10, and 11 May 2011 also reported similar petitions had been filed with the Supreme Court of Pakistan.<sup>51</sup>

Though all voices in the discourse converged at the point of holding a free and fair investigation with regard to the Abbottabad operation in order to determine the reasons for Pakistan's government and security institutions' failure to protect national sovereignty, they diverged on the method of investigation to be adopted. The ruling Pakistan People's Party wanted to hold investigations through

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<sup>47</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 8 May 2011, p.3. and news article, 10 May 2011, p.3.

<sup>48</sup> Ahmad Jamal Nizami, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 13 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>49</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 3 May 2011, p.8.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 5 May 2011, p.1. and news article, 7 May 2011, p.1; *Jang*, news article, 7 May 2011, p.3.

<sup>51</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 6 May 2011, p.3., news article, 10 May 2011, p.1. and news article, 11 May 2011, p.8.

a joint parliamentary commission whereas the opposition parties, journalists, and bodies of lawyers such as the Punjab Bar Council wanted to have investigation through a judicial commission. There were also petitions filed in the Lahore High Court and the Supreme Court of Pakistan to trial the civil and military institutions failing to observe their prime responsibility of protecting national sovereignty. Later on 21 June 2011, Prime Minister Gilani announced the appointment of a judicial commission to conduct the investigations.<sup>52</sup>

#### **4.1.4 Change in Official Response: US Betrayal Confirmed and Described in the Discourse**

As the discourse progressed, dominant voices from all stakeholders belonging to left and right, that is members of the government, opposition parties, the military, journalists, and the media, all confirmed the act of US betrayal and defined the features of this betrayal. For example, it was explained that the US betrayed an ally not only by violating its sovereignty but also by bypassing an ally, breaching the agreed terms of cooperation, ignoring old ties, compromising honour and sovereign equality, putting aside international norms and values, not following diplomatic conventions, helping the enemy of the ally, punishing its ally for its own mistakes, increasing financial difficulties of the ally, putting undue pressure, affecting a mutual cause, that is the War on Terror, interfering in the internal security system of the ally, and disrespecting the contribution and sacrifices of the ally and still asking it to do more. The opposition parties were trying to project that the reason for betrayal was a tacit understanding between the ruling elite and the US, whereas the government still attempted to refute the argument and attempted to establish that the betrayal was performed by the US on its own. A consensus was also developed to convey the message that no more betrayals would be tolerated by Pakistan, thus reconfirming that the operation was an established act of betrayal.

Prime Minister Gilani, who earlier regarded the operation "a great victory," shifted his focus to criticise the US for violating Pakistan's sovereignty, thus confirming the act of US betrayal. On 7 May 2011, he was reported to have expressed his serious concerns over the operation and said that there was no need to bypass Pakistan. He argued that keeping in view the old relationship between the two countries, the US should not have violated the sovereignty of

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid, news article, 22 June 2011, p.1.

Pakistan. He explained that it was a serious matter, especially in the presence of mechanisms for cooperation on defence and intelligence sharing. He said that Pakistan wanted a relationship with the US on the basis of mutual respect and equality.<sup>53</sup>

*Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 11 and 12 May 2011 reported the Prime Minister to have further emphasised that "Osama bin Laden was not a Pakistani citizen and no one from Pakistan invited him to come."<sup>54</sup> He asked who would answer for the martyrdom of thirty thousand civilians and five thousand security officials in Pakistan in the War on Terror.<sup>55</sup> He said that he was amazed at the unilateral action by the US because the operation in Abbottabad should have been a mutual act.<sup>56</sup> He stated that it would take some time to normalise Pakistan-US relations after the operation. However, he expressed his fears that deterioration in the bilateral relationship could also affect the war against terrorism.<sup>57</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt* appreciated the change in official response and advised the government to seek self-sufficiency in a way that diminishes its dependence on the US. The newspaper observed that the amount of damages incurred by Pakistan were almost 200 percent higher than that of aid received from the US.<sup>58</sup>

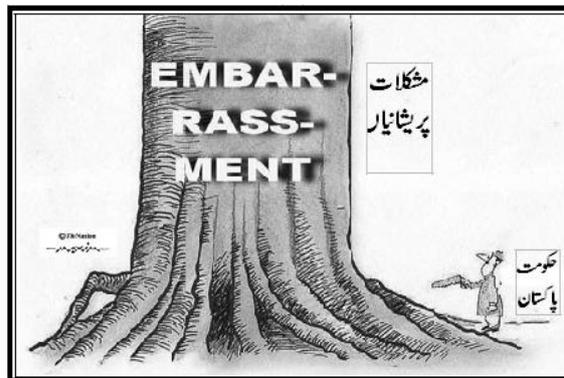


Figure 40, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 16 May 2011 published this cartoon to reflect Pakistan's embarrassment caused due to a US politics of betrayal. The cartoon showed a personified Government of Pakistan holding a tiny saw to cut a huge tree of embarrassment causing troubles to Pakistan in the result of the Abbottabad operation.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, news article, 7 May 2011, p.1. and news article, 7 May 2011, p.1; *Jang*, editorial, 8 May 2011, p.8.

<sup>54</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 11 May 2011, p.6.

<sup>55</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 12 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, news article, 13 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, editorial, 7 May 2011, p.10.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, cartoon, 16 May 2011, p.3.

Opposition parties, the government, and the media also suggested dealing with the issue in order to avoid any future betrayals of a similar kind. The Prime Minister was reported on 12 May 2011 to have told the Senate that the country was surrounded by grievous threats and no one should be given a chance to harm the national interest. He appealed to the nation to become united at this critical juncture for the sake of country's survival and to develop an appropriate strategy. He said that no one should be allowed to point fingers at Pakistan. He expressed his determination that there would be no compromise on the country's security and survival.<sup>60</sup>

The Prime Minister in his interview with *Time* was reported on 13 May 2011 to have said that cooperation between the CIA and ISI was ended already and Pakistan would only agree to allow drone attacks, provided that the US agreed to make mutual decisions. However, he warned that if the US wanted Pakistan's cooperation, it would have to win the trust of the people. He reminded the US that he was a public representative not a military dictator and therefore could not resist public reaction.<sup>61</sup> He also pointed out that public opinion in Pakistan was generally against the US and the government was also answerable to a parliament where opposition to the US was increasing and if he continued to work with the US, his government would be in danger.<sup>62</sup> Therefore no more betrayals by the US could be tolerated.

Foreign Secretary Salman Bashir in his media briefing stated that the results of any other operation like that of Abbottabad would be disastrous. He said that the public need not be disappointed, as Pakistan's armed forces and security institutions had the full capability to defend its sovereignty and independence. He explained that when the American helicopters entered Pakistan's airspace, two of its fighter aircrafts were ordered immediately to take off and when the information was received in Military General Head Quarters, the military forces present in Abbottabad were alerted.<sup>63</sup> He admitted that Pakistan knew about the operation when the American helicopter crashed. He warned that everyone should know for sure that Pakistan's armed forces know how to defend its sovereignty, especially its nuclear assets.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid, news article, 12 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, news article, 13 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, news article, 6 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid; *Jang*, editorial, 6 May 2011, p.6.

US Ambassador Cameron Munter was reported on 13 May 2011 to have called to Pakistan's Foreign Office to receive an official protest against the operation.<sup>65</sup> Pakistan regarded the operation as serious violation of its sovereignty and integrity. Foreign Secretary Salman Bashir made the US Ambassador realise that in future Pakistan would not tolerate such unilateral actions. He warned the Ambassador that in future if any similar action was required the US should share the information with Pakistan, so that Pakistani forces could take appropriate action against high value targets.<sup>66</sup>

The military leadership was reported by *Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 6 and 7 May 2011 to have agreed that any unilateral actions of similar kind in future would require reconsideration of Pakistan's cooperation with the US. The leadership was also reported to have agreed to decrease the maximum limit of the American military personnel in Pakistan. The military vowed to defend Pakistan's sovereignty and expressed determination to continue fighting against terrorism.<sup>67</sup> Former Military Chief, General Aslam Baig was reported on 9 May 2011 to have advised Pakistan to take a firm stance by taking all the relevant stakeholders onboard. He said that the US should be given a clear and straightforward message that Pakistan is a sovereign and independent nation, having the highest level of self respect.<sup>68</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 7 May 2011 reported the Director General of ISI, Lt. General Ahmad Shuja Pasha in his meeting with the CIA Station Chief in Islamabad, identified as Mark Carlton, gave an angry reaction over the operation. Publication of the name of an official of the American intelligence agency, though claimed to be incorrect by some Pakistani officials, was a violation of the agreed terms of intelligence sharing and reflected the level of worsening relationship between the CIA and ISI after the operation. However, he warned that the US would be held responsible if similar things happened in future as Pakistan would not accept such things at any cost. The news reports also disclosed that Pakistan had already started working on decreasing the number of the American intelligence and military officials, 370 in total, in Pakistan for different purposes. Initially, a list of fifty Americans was handed over to the US, asking them to leave the country.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Then US Ambassador to Pakistan

<sup>66</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 13 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 6 May 2011, p.1; *Jang*, editorial, 7 May 2011, p.6.

<sup>68</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 9 May 2011, p.8.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 7 May 2011, p.1.

Opposition parties were reported by *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 10 May 2011 to have asked the government to take up the issue at the UN as the operation was a violation of international law and the UN charter. If the government failed to take appropriate steps, in future it might represent a threat to Pakistan's nuclear assets. The government should think about suspending NATO supplies to Afghanistan through Pakistan.<sup>70</sup> *Jang* on 15 and 17 May 2011 and *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 15 and 16 May 2011 reported Nawaz Sharif to have suggested that in addition to revisiting and reviewing the relationship, Pakistan should demand that the US stop drone attacks and in case drone attacks were continued, NATO supplies should be blocked. He also observed that if the US regarded Pakistan a friend, it must respect its sovereignty and develop a relationship on the basis of equality. He suggested that the US had to change its policies towards Pakistan in the changed circumstances. He reminded the US that Pakistan is a sovereign and independent country and therefore the US had to stop "condemnable propaganda" against it.<sup>71</sup>



Figure 41, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 13 May 2011 published the photograph on the left to reflect followers of a major right-wing political party Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) protesting in Abbottabad against the US operation. The caption of the photo read "Abbottabad: Supporters of PML (N) protesting against the American operation."<sup>72</sup> Likewise, the newspaper on 16 May 2011 published the photograph on the right to show a protest rally in Lahore organised by another right-wing mainstream political party Jamaat-e-Islami.<sup>73</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 7 May 2011 argued that instead of decreasing the number of US military personnel in Pakistan, the government should expel all the Americans belonging to the US army or intelligence agencies in the interest of country. The newspaper concluded that the US should be responded to in "the tone and

<sup>70</sup> Ibid, news article, 10 May 2011, p.3.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid, news article, 15 May 2011, p.1. and news article, 16 May 2011, p.8; *Jang*, editorial, 15 May 2011, p.8. and editorial, 17 May 2011, p.6.

<sup>72</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, photo, 13 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, photo, 16 May 2011, p.8.

language which it understands."<sup>74</sup> The newspaper on 8 May 2011 advised that the US should be given a clear message that in future if it violated the sovereignty of Pakistan, it would respond with its full capacity and force.<sup>75</sup> The newspaper on 10 May 2011 also recommended that Pakistan should reject "the meagre" amounts of the US aid and try to achieve self sufficiency with the help of friendly countries such as China and Saudi Arabia.<sup>76</sup>

*Jang* on 14 May 2011 advised that Pakistan should give preference to its own interests by disassociating itself from the US war and considering negotiations with the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan. The newspaper argued that if the US for its own interests could talk about negotiations with Taliban in Afghanistan, there was no reason that Pakistan could not do so in Pakistan for the sake of peace and stability in the country.<sup>77</sup> The newspaper on 16 May 2011 also advised Pakistan to take tough decisions to ensure national security and respect of its sovereignty.<sup>78</sup>



Figure 42, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 13 May 2011 published the photograph on the left to show that civil and military leadership was taking serious notice of the Abbottabad operation. The caption of the photograph read, "Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani presiding over the meeting of the Defence Committee."<sup>79</sup> Later, on 15 May 2011 the newspaper published the photograph on the right to show that all military leadership was being questioned over their failure to stop the violation of Pakistan's sovereignty, the caption of the photograph read, "chiefs of Pakistan's armed forces participating in the joint session of the parliament."<sup>80</sup>

Cabinet's Defence Committee headed by Prime Minister Gilani was reported on 13 May 2011 to have decided that an inter agency mechanism having clear parameters would be developed to interpret the limits of cooperation with the US in the fight against terrorism. The committee agreed that the new mechanism

<sup>74</sup> Ibid, editorial, 7 May 2011, p.10.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid, editorial, 8 May 2011, p.14.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid, editorial, 9 May 2011, p.10. and editorial, 10 May 2011, p.10.

<sup>77</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 14 May 2011, p.6.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid, editorial, 16 May 2011, p.6.

<sup>79</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, photo, 13 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, photo, 15 May 2011, p.12.

would be according to "national interests and the expectations of people." The committee agreed that defence of "national sovereignty and security is a sacred duty and therefore must be done at any cost." It was also decided that Pakistan was ready to cooperate with the international community to eradicate terrorism but its sovereignty should be respected. The committee completely rejected and condemned the unilateral actions taken by the US and emphasised that mutual respect and trust should be the basis of international partnerships.<sup>81</sup>

*Jang* on 9 May 2011 reported that after a high level meeting between the President, Prime Minister, and the Chief of Army Staff of Pakistan the President House issued a statement asserting that the country's sovereignty would be defended at any cost. The details revealed that military and civilian leadership agreed that the US should be formally informed that any unilateral action in future would be dealt with seriously. The meeting also considered American allegations of complicity or inefficiency against Pakistan and it was decided that Pakistan would formally protest to the US for showing mistrust on it.<sup>82</sup>

Interviews done for this research also confirmed that there were journalists and politicians who considered the US operation as an act of betrayal and therefore needed to be responded to forcefully. A liberal respondent said that the media in general and Urdu newspapers in particular:

are very vociferous, they point out that they [the US] attacked Pakistani territory, or they have intruded into Pakistan's territory. And they [the Urdu press] do not like it. They also publish details. They are quite critical of American activities in this regard. They oppose drone attacks, they condemn drone attacks. They talk of sovereignty and suzerainty.<sup>83</sup>

According to some of the interview respondents, the Urdu press has also not been able to effectively focus on Pakistan's own internal factors with reference to Pakistan-US relations. As a result readers have perspectives which put all the burden of Pakistan's failures on the US. One of the respondents, a senior liberal journalist working as a Resident Editor of an important national daily and having more than twenty five years of experience of journalism said:

the problem is that we do not criticise our own government, our system, our setup, our institutions, and if we begin to

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid, news article, 13 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid, news article, 8 May 2011, p.1; *Jang*, editorial, 9 May 2011, p.6.

<sup>83</sup> Respondent 5

criticise our own system then we will be able to understand the nature of our relationship and expectations of others from us and their interests and our benefits.<sup>84</sup>

So, the change in the official response reported between 3 May 2011 and 7 May 2011 not only led to an evolving explanation of the US operation as an act of betrayal, but features of the betrayal were also made clear through the discourse. While opposition parties and media kept accusing the ruling elite of having an implicit understanding with the US, the government attempted to clarify its position in order to show that the ruling elite was not allied with the US. Finally, everyone agreed that the US had violated terms of cooperation between the two countries by violating Pakistan's sovereignty and therefore a stronger message should be conveyed to the US authorities so that in future they dare not to repeat the betrayal.

#### **4.2 "A PLANNED CONSPIRACY BEHIND THE ABBOTTABAD OPERATION"**

One dimension of the discourse going on in the Urdu press regarding the operation was the possibility of some larger US conspiracy behind the Abbottabad operation. *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 3 May 2011 reported with reference to a *Wiki Leaks* report disclosed that the US authorities knew about the presence of Osama bin Laden in Pakistan since 2003.<sup>85</sup> Consequently, the right leaning journalist Khalid Ahmad on 4 May 2011 raised the question why did the US not get Osama bin Laden before and why did it choose that particular time.<sup>86</sup>

*Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* between 3 and 13 May 2011 noted that the US failure to release any photographic evidence about the death of Osama bin Laden raised doubts about the operation being genuine.<sup>87</sup> Many TV channels initially showed some pictures of a dead body which were soon after regarded as fake.<sup>88</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 3 May 2011 also published a report of its correspondent Moeen Azhar which raised questions about the genuineness of the operation. The correspondent asked why the most wanted person in the world did not bother to

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<sup>84</sup> Respondent 6

<sup>85</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 3 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>86</sup> Khalid Ahmad, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 4 May 2011, p.3.

<sup>87</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 5 May 2011, p.1., news article, 6 May 2011, p.1., news article, 11 May 2011, p.2. and news article, 13 May 2011, p.1; *Jang*, editorial, 5 May 2011, p.6. and editorial, 10 May 2011, p.6.

<sup>88</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 3 May 2011, p.1.

change his appearance at least by shaving his beard? The reporter argued that it was not understandable that he was living in compound with unusual eighteen feet tall boundary walls where there were no telephone lines, internet, or any other modern system and the secret agencies including the CIA did not know about it. The correspondent further raised the question whether was Osama bin Laden being used by the US to support the falling popularity statistics of the American presidents, as President Obama was seeking re-election in 2012. Why did no one check the suspicious people coming to record Osama bin Laden's video statements? When the most important high value target of the world was surrounded, what lethal weapons did he have? While he could have been apprehended alive, why did the US forces preferred to kill him? If Pakistani forces knew about him why did they not take any action against him? Why did Pakistan involve the US in this operation?<sup>89</sup>

Likewise *Nawa-i-Waqt's* correspondent Itrat Jafri on 3 May 2011 wondered how the most wanted man agreed to live in a common and ordinary public area and also ignored his security by coming to Pakistan. The correspondent further wrote that it was also not understandable why he did not keep an exit way in the house and why he did not try to escape while he could do so? It was surprising that his premises were without guards, weapons, and any escape routes.<sup>90</sup> Moeen Azhar concluded that history would answer these questions but an important thing to note was why were the Pakistani authorities silent and afraid of telling the truth to people?<sup>91</sup>

The Afghan Taliban in their response to the operation were reported on 4 May 2011 to say that they did not have any credible evidence to verify the death of Osama bin Laden. The spokesman for the Taliban, Zabeeh Ullah, told the media through an email that America had not released any proof to verify the killing, and the close companions of Osama bin Laden had also not verified or denied his death, therefore the Taliban would not like to comment on the issue beforehand.<sup>92</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 3 May 2011 reported public reaction depicting the operation as a "conspiracy to malign Pakistan." A citizen Awais said that a few years earlier, when Musharraf was president, it was claimed that Osama bin Laden was killed. It therefore was quite probable that in future Osama bin Laden would be killed

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid, news article, 3 May 2011, p.3.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, news article, 3 May 2011, p.8.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, news article, 3 May 2011, p.3.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, news article, 4 May 2011, p.1.

again. A Pakistani Adnan Muneer said that the US had deliberately put the case of Osama bin Laden on Pakistan under a conspiracy and as long as "we the Pakistanis" would take aid from America they would continue to put such cases on "us." Therefore, "we" should reject American aid and start relying on "our own" resources. Another citizen, Raja Fiaz said that as long as "we" remained "cowards," the US would continue to put such "false cases on us." Therefore, "we" should reject American aid in order to adopt an independent foreign policy.<sup>93</sup> The newspaper on 3, 4, and 5 May 2011 also reported local people living in the neighbourhood saying that there was no Osama bin Laden in that premises and a person named Akbar used to live there along with his brother, leading a usual and simple life. They used to buy stuff for their meals from nearby shops and had two ordinary vehicles in their use.<sup>94</sup> According to news reports, the overall public reaction in Abbottabad was that of suspicion about the "operation being a fake like 9/11."<sup>95</sup>

A columnist Ajmal Niazi wrote in *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 4 May 2011 that the pictures of Osama bin Laden's dead body shown in the media were not genuine and apparently of a lookalike. He regarded the operation as a "scripted drama" which could be easily rejected for its "bad story plot." He argued that Abbottabad was not a perfect hideout for a person like Osama bin Laden, because the Americans did not have control over certain areas of Afghanistan, and they could not enter into Pakistan's tribal areas adjacent to Afghanistan border. Therefore, why would Osama bin Laden choose such an easily accessible place to hide while ignoring the difficult and inaccessible areas? The columnist argued that Abbottabad was chosen by Americans so that they could easily malign Pakistan's military and intelligence services.<sup>96</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 4 May 2011 also agreed that looking at the news regarding the operation, apparently it looked like it was not Osama bin Laden who was killed in the Abbottabad operation.<sup>97</sup> Moreover, a few photographs taken by someone taking part in the operation were published in the media. A news report analysis on 6 May 2011 argued that the people killed in the operation looked Pakistanis from their physical appearance and clothes and none of them

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid, news article, 3 May 2011, p.8.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid, news article, 3 May 2011, p.8., news article, 4 May 2011, p.8. and news article, 5 May 2011, p.3.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid, news article, 4 May 2011, p.3.

<sup>96</sup> Muhammad Ajmal Niazi, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 4 May 2011, p.2.

<sup>97</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 4 May 2011, p.10.

resembled Osama bin Laden.<sup>98</sup> Conversely, Seymour Hersh argues that before the Abbottabad operation Osama bin Laden's presence was verified through his DNA test facilitated by the Pakistani army and the ISI with the help of a Pakistani army's major and a doctor, Amir Aziz.<sup>99</sup>



Figure 43, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 5 May 2011 reported these photographs to argue that the person killed in Abbottabad operation was not Osama bin Laden. The caption of the photographs read, "according to social website 'Twitter' the picture on the right hand side is made with combining the original picture of the Osama bin Laden on the left hand side and the fake picture in the middle. Osama bin Laden's lookalike Zain Muhammad was actually killed in the operation: neighbour claims."<sup>100</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 5 May 2011 also noted that report of the incident was registered in the local police station of Abbottabad. However, the report was about a helicopter crash not about the killing of Osama bin Laden. The police sources told the media that after the incident when they reach the area, "the crime scene" was already surrounded by Pakistan's military security and they were not allowed to access the area.<sup>101</sup> Therefore, the newspaper argued that the whole operation looked like "an engineered act."<sup>102</sup>

A right leaning columnist Abdul Qayoom on 6 May 2011 argued that the operation was in fact "a US conspiracy" trying to get rid of ISI and Pakistan's armed forces by "maligning" them and ultimately to target Pakistan's nuclear program. The journalist wrote that Pakistan's civil and military leadership needed to understand "the conspiracy" in order to find a way out to counter it.<sup>103</sup> Another columnist in *Nawa-i-Waqt* Husain Ahmad Paracha on 6 May 2011 argued that the

<sup>98</sup> Ibid, news article, 6 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>99</sup> Seymour M. Hersh, 'The Killing of Osama bin Laden,' *London Review of Books*, 21 May 2015, <<http://www.lrb.co.uk/v37/n10/seymour-m-hersh/the-killing-of-osama-bin-laden>> [accessed 2 February 2016].

<sup>100</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 5 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid, news article, 5 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid, news article, 6 May 2011, p.3; *Jang*, editorial, 5 May 2011, p.6.

<sup>103</sup> Abdul Qayoom, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 6 May 2011, p.10.

US is "an arrogant power" that has disturbed the peace of the whole world. He wrote that the US would not stop "its arrogance" until a competing power challenged it. He advised that the government, intelligence agencies, and military of Pakistan should let people know about the facts of the operation and tell the US clearly to leave the region. He also advised that the government should make it clear to the US that if it wanted a relationship with Pakistan it should be on the basis of equality and mutual respect.<sup>104</sup>

In the same manner, *Jang* on 4, 9, and 10 May 2011 argued that the US operation in Abbottabad was a "drama" and conspiracy to increase pressure on Pakistan.<sup>105</sup> The liberal journalist Saleem Safi on 10 May 2011 in the newspaper endorsed the idea of US conspiracy by questioning the genuineness of the operation and argued that there was no credible evidence of Osama bin Laden dying in the US operation.<sup>106</sup> Likewise, another journalist Saeed Siddiqi in *Jang* on 11 May 2011 argued that Osama bin Laden's death was a puzzle and therefore the operation seemed a conspiracy because there was no proof of Osama bin Laden's death.<sup>107</sup> Yet another liberal journalist, Tariq Butt writing for *Jang* on 15 May 2011 argued that the Abbottabad operation was a US conspiracy to malign and weaken Pakistan's security institutions.<sup>108</sup>

Although the Urdu press predominantly argued that the US betrayed Pakistan under a conspiracy, there were a few exceptional voices who presented an alternate argument. For example, a liberal journalist and politician Shafqat Mehmood on 6 May 2011 in *Jang* argued that although the US violated Pakistan's sovereignty and betrayed its ally, Pakistan had to review its own strategy to effectively fight against terrorist groups in the country so that in future no one could use such pretexts to betray Pakistan.<sup>109</sup> Likewise, another liberal columnist of *Jang* Safdar Mehmood on 12 May 2011 urged Pakistan to take a rational approach to fight against terrorism more effectively.<sup>110</sup> In the same manner, another liberal columnist of the newspaper Rahim Ullah Yousafzai on 15 May

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<sup>104</sup> Hussain Ahmad Paracha, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 6 May 2011, p.10.

<sup>105</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 4 May 2011, p.6., editorial, 9 May 2011, p.6. and editorial, 10 May 2011, p.6.

<sup>106</sup> Saleem Safi, *Jang*, column, 10 May 2011, p.6.

<sup>107</sup> Saeed Siddiqi, *Jang*, column, 11 May 2011, p.6.

<sup>108</sup> Tariq Butt, *Jang*, column, 15 May 2011, p.6.

<sup>109</sup> Shafqat Mehmood, *Jang*, column, 6 May 2011, p.6.

<sup>110</sup> Safdar Mehmood, *Jang*, column, 12 May 2011, p.6.

2011 argued that Pakistan's military and the government knew about the US operation but they did not do anything to avoid direct confrontation with the US.<sup>111</sup>

Another alternative voice appeared to be of a New York based Pakistani columnist, Tayeba Zia Cheema who wrote in *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 4 May 2011 that a school of thought in Pakistan was not ready to accept Osama bin Laden's killing in the operation and were regarding it as another American conspiracy against Pakistan. She argued that for Pakistan's security the armed forces and intelligence agencies had to concentrate on their work instead of interfering in domestic politics. She concluded that although it was a bitter truth, Pakistanis had to come out of their egoistic shells to see the facts with their eyes open and instead of trying to put things under the carpet and deny their mistakes and negligence, they should develop sound strategies for the future.<sup>112</sup>

Another critical voice was of a foreign affairs expert and former Ambassador to the US, Abida Husain, who diplomatically speaking, was reported by *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 6 May 2011 to have argued in an interview that it was not rational thinking that Pakistan opposes the US and expects help from it in return. She said it is not possible if "we" wish to take help from the US and in return one is not ready to provide the same. She said that regardless of the fact that Osama bin Laden's presence in Pakistan was due to "our" inefficiency or complicity, Osama bin Laden's presence in Pakistan and the US's unilateral operation were the harsh realities which needed to be accepted and Pakistan needed to be defended. She also said that "we" were saying loud and clear that Osama bin Laden was not in Pakistan but he was found there. She said that "we" made some agreements with the US and in return received military and economic aid. She concluded that now Pakistanis had to decide if they were to perceive the US as "an enemy" or they could accept themselves as "pro-Americans." If they decided to call the US "an enemy" then it would not give any aid.<sup>113</sup> On the other hand, she said if it comes out with the investigations that any institution in Pakistan had helped Osama bin Laden to hide, Pakistan would become isolated in the world.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Rahim Ullah Yousafzai, *Jang*, column, 15 May 2011, p.6.

<sup>112</sup> Tayeba Zia Cheema, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 4 May 2011, p.2.

<sup>113</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 6 May 2011, p.3.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 12 May 2011, p.3.

The interviews for this research also found some further alternate voices which rejected with more clarity the idea of a US conspiracy. A senior liberal journalist argued:

actually Pakistan's sovereignty was violated by Pakistan's intelligence agencies because it was they who brought Osama bin Laden here. And I do not think they were ignorant or unaware of who is staying [there]. I think they were hosting him [says with emphasis], I mean Osama bin Laden.<sup>115</sup>

Different voices in the discourse on the Abbottabad operation with few exceptions who agreed that Pakistan was not making the due efforts in the War on Terror and it had to review its own strategy, predominantly argued that the US betrayed Pakistan under a conspiracy. The genuineness of the operation was questioned by arguing that there was no credible evidence of Osama bin Laden's death in the operation because the Taliban, general public reaction, and local police sources did not verify Osama bin Laden's death. Moreover, it was pointed out that pictures shown on social media and television channels were also not genuine. It was also argued that the US had conspired to malign Pakistan's security institutions and increase pressure on Pakistan to ask the latter to "do more" in the War on Terror. Consequently, it was generally argued that the US betrayed Pakistan under a conspiracy to achieve some other objectives.

#### **4.3 THE MODALITIES OF A US CONSPIRACY WITH REGARD TO THE ABBOTTABAD OPERATION**

The discourse not only argued that the US betrayed Pakistan under a conspiracy but also characterised the modalities or ways in which this conspiracy was being practiced. It was argued that the US was not satisfied with Pakistan's performance in the War on Terror in spite of the fact that Pakistan already had suffered enough due to its involvement in the War on Terror, therefore the US conspired to increase pressure on Pakistan. Such a pressure was presented as evidence of the US conspiracy leading it to betray Pakistan by violating its national sovereignty. Further, it was also argued that the US violated the agreed terms of cooperation between the two countries and international law to achieve its underlying objectives of the conspiracy to malign Pakistan and press it to "do

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<sup>115</sup> Respondent 1

more" in the War on Terror. The US was also accused of supporting terrorism directly or indirectly in Pakistan which was also presented as a modality of the US conspiracy against Pakistan.

#### **4.3.1 US Violation of Agreed Terms of Cooperation and International Law**

A consensus was developed in the discourse that the US had failed to inform Pakistan prior to the operation as required by the mutually agreed terms of cooperation, and in addition to that also breached international law by violating the sovereignty of an independent country. Such violations of terms of cooperation and international law were presented as a possibility of the US conspiracy against Pakistan.

The Foreign Secretary Salman Bashir was reported by *Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 6 May 2011 to have argued that due to general concern in Pakistan, the incident of Osama bin Laden's killing needed to be seen in the right perspective. He explained that the US did not inform Pakistan about the operation and jammed its radar systems. He told the media that the American President and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff informed their Pakistani counterparts at 4 am after the operation. He emphasised that the agreed terms and conditions of Pakistan-US cooperation must not be violated. He also said that Pakistan-US cooperation could be realised within limits and if someone needed Pakistan's cooperation it should also be prepared to cooperate.<sup>116</sup>

Likewise, Pakistan's Army Chief, General Kayani was reported by *Jang* on 7 May 2011 and *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 6 May 2011 to have presided over the corps commander's conference to discuss the issue of the operation which agreed that although Osama bin Laden's presence in the Abbottabad was an intelligence failure, there was no comparison with the successes of ISI, as it had arrested or killed more than a hundred Al Qaeda leaders and operatives with or without the help of the CIA. It was observed in the conference that there was an agreed cooperation mechanism between ISI and the CIA under which the former provided information about Osama bin Laden to the latter. However, it was argued that the CIA violated the terms of the agreed mechanism of cooperation by not informing Pakistan of new developments in the intelligence.<sup>117</sup> Additionally,

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<sup>116</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 6 May 2011, p.1; *Jang*, editorial, 6 May 2011, p.6.

<sup>117</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 6 May 2011, p.1; *Jang*, editorial, 7 May 2011, p.6.

Pakistan's former Military Chief and President, Pervez Musharraf was also reported on 6 May 2011 to have confessed that he had made an agreement with the US to give them access to an airbase in Pakistan, however the Americans were not allowed to use it for fighter aircrafts.<sup>118</sup> Subsequently, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 7 May 2011 reported the ISI Chief General Pasha to have protested to the CIA station chief in Islamabad for not sharing intelligence before the operation and said that it was an expression of US mistrust of Pakistan.<sup>119</sup>

*Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* between 6 and 13 May 2011 highlighted that experts on international law such as J.R. Robertson, analysed the legal position of the Abbottabad operation and explained it as "a sheer violation of international law." He accused President Obama for ordering an operation to "violate human rights" and setting a precedent for the agencies of others to carry out "terrorist activities" in other countries.<sup>120</sup> Subsequently, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 13 May 2011 reported the Foreign Secretary to have told the US Ambassador that though "Osama bin Laden's killing was a success" the US should have taken Pakistan's Government and armed forces into confidence. He complained that the US failed to provide any prior information regarding the operation and he also told the US Ambassador that the operation was a violation of international law.<sup>121</sup>

Conversely, the interviews for this research found some important voices which emphasised Pakistan's violation of the agreed terms of cooperation. For example, a politician belonging to Pakistan People's Party and a columnist of *Nawa-i-Waqt* argued that there was "sort of hypocrisy in Pakistan's policy" in the case of Osama bin Laden.<sup>122</sup> Yet another liberal journalist argued that Pakistan has adopted a double-faced policy which has not only affected its foreign relations, but also caused an increase in terrorism at home. The journalist said:

during this period, our policy and especially our defence and foreign policies have been double-faced. We were saying something to America and the west and continued doing other things here. We have been saying that we are against militants, but we were promoting militancy. So what happened here in Pakistan after 9/11 has been due to our double-faced policies. Osama bin Laden was living in

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<sup>118</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 6 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 7 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 6 May 2011, p.1., news article, 7 May 2011, p.3., news article, 9 May 2011, p.1., news article, 13 May 2011, p.3. and news article, 13 May 2011, p.8; *Jang*, editorial, 8 May 2011, p.8.

<sup>121</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 13 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>122</sup> Respondent 11; Respondent 16

Abbottabad for a long period, his wife gave birth to a child in a hospital in Mansehra, and did not we know about it? He managed to build such a large building and we could not know about it?<sup>123</sup>

Different prominent voices in the discourse namely *Jang*, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, Foreign Secretary Salman Bashir, Military Chief General Kayani, Former President and Military Chief Pervez Musharraf, and ISI Chief General Pasha discussed the possibility of the US conspiracy as it not only breached mutually agreed terms of cooperation by failing to inform Pakistan before the operation, but also international law to violate the sovereignty of an independent country. Such violations were highlighted as a modality of US conspiracy and would help rationalising a US betrayal of its ally in the War on Terror.

#### **4.3.2 Supporting Terrorism in Pakistan**

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 3 May 2011 claimed that Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan which was fighting against Pakistan was being operated by the Indian intelligence agency Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) and the American CIA. The newspaper explained that because Pakistan enjoyed peace at its border with Afghanistan during the Taliban government which was friendly to Pakistan, after 9/11 the American and international media "propagated the War on Terror" and consequently, Pakistan's government and military had to side with the US against the Afghan Taliban. The newspaper also argued that the war against the Afghan Taliban was not Pakistan's war and therefore the CIA in collaboration with RAW supported Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan to perform terrorist activities in Pakistan to make it realise that terrorism was also a threat to Pakistan.<sup>124</sup>

*Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* between 3 and 19 May observed that apart from threats from other states, that is the US, Afghanistan, and India Pakistan would have to face the reaction from terrorist organisations as Afghan Taliban, Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan, and Al Qaeda could increase their terrorist activities in Pakistan to take revenge.<sup>125</sup> Therefore, the expectations of serious consequences of "the US violation of sovereignty" made the issue more serious and facilitated a rationalisation of a US politics of betrayal under a conspiracy.

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<sup>123</sup> Respondent 3

<sup>124</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 3 May 2011, p.8.

<sup>125</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 3 May 2011, p.10., news article, 4 May 2011, p.8., editorial, 4 May 2011, p.10. and news article, 8 May 2011, p.12; *Jang*, editorial, 19 May 2011, p.6.

Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan in its immediate response vowed to take revenge for Osama bin Laden's death. The spokesperson of the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan, Ehsan Ullah Ehsan, told *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 3 May 2011 that from this point forward Pakistan would be their first target. He said that Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan would aim at Pakistani rulers whereas America would be the second target. He accused Pakistan of complicity in the operation and argued that America alone could not conduct the operation.<sup>126</sup> Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan was reported on 8 May 2011 to have threatened to carry out terrorist activities including suicide bombings in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the US.<sup>127</sup> The Afghan Taliban were also reported on 6 May 2011 to have announced the formation of a special unit to take Osama bin Laden's revenge.<sup>128</sup> Likewise, Al Qaeda was reported on 5 and 7 May 2011 to have announced that they would take revenge for the assassination of Osama bin Laden and continue his mission by targeting the US and its agents. Al Qaeda also emphasised that it would start a resistance movement in Pakistan. Al Qaeda also asked all Muslims in Pakistan to protest against Osama bin Laden's assassination and start a rebellion against the state where Osama bin Laden was "murdered."<sup>129</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 4, 8, and 15 May 2011 reported the intelligence agencies of Pakistan to have issued security alerts to the provincial governments, federal government, and the law enforcing departments against the possible terrorist activities as a fall out of the Abbottabad operation. According to the issued threat alert, Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan and other extremist groups could attack important personalities in the government, intelligence and law enforcement agencies, offices of foreign countries, and other important personalities.<sup>130</sup>

Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan took the responsibility for one of the deadliest suicide attacks on newly trained cadets of a Pakistani paramilitary force, the Frontier Constabulary, on 13 May 2011 at Shabqadar, leaving at least 150 injured and 90 dead. The spokesperson of Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan Ehsan Ullah Ehsan told the media that it was the first revenge for "the martyrdom of Osama bin Laden" and there would be more to follow.<sup>131</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt* argued that Pakistan was facing

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<sup>126</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 3 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 8 May 2011, p.10.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 6 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 5 May 2011, p.3. and news article, 7 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 4 May 2011, p.3., news article, 8 May 2011, p.3. and news article, 15 May 2011, p.3.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 14 May 2011, p.1. and editorial, 14 May 2011, p.10; *Jang*, editorial, 14 May

the adverse consequences of US activities.<sup>132</sup> *Jang* on 14 May 2011 argued that although there was the possibility of local elements such as Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan being involved in terrorist activities, it was more likely that these terrorists were backed by the US, India, and Afghanistan.<sup>133</sup>



Figure 44, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 14 May 2011 published this photograph to report terrorist incident at Shabqadar to reflect the adverse consequences in terms of terrorist backlash Pakistan would face. The caption of the photograph read, "officials inspecting the destroyed vehicle after suicide blasts and a person taking an injured child to hospital."<sup>134</sup>

On the other hand, interviews for this research found some important voices which rejected the idea that the CIA and RAW were behind the increasing terrorist activities in Pakistan. For example, a liberal journalist argued:

if Americans say they say rightly that we have adopted a double-faced policy. On one side they tell us that we are fighting [against terrorism] and because of that militancy has been increased in our part. Terrorism has increased due to our own double-faced policies. If we had taken action against them from the beginning they could not have increased. Now, they have come out of tribal areas and have spread in cities, it is just because of the double-faced policies of our civilian and military leadership.<sup>135</sup>

Generally, in the discourse threatening statements of Al Qaeda, Taliban, and Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan reported by *Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* were followed by a severe terrorist incident. Additionally, the US and India through their respective intelligence agencies were accused of supporting terrorist activities in Pakistan. The issue became far more serious for Pakistanis as they realised the immediate reaction to the US unilateral operation in Abbottabad. Thus, the impacts of a US

2011, p.6.

<sup>132</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 14 May 2011, p.10.

<sup>133</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 14 May 2011, p.6.

<sup>134</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, photo, 14 May 2011, p.8.

<sup>135</sup> Respondent 3

politics of betrayal under a conspiracy on Pakistan became more real than imagined.

#### 4.3.3 Pressurising Pakistan to "Do More" in the War on Terror

The discourse helped characterise a modality of the US conspiracy against Pakistan by highlighting US increasing pressure to do more in the War on Terror while not acknowledging the sacrifices and contributions of Pakistan in the war. *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 4 May 2011 reported Prime Minister Gilani to have emphasised the need and importance of positive and constructive communication regarding the operation and have asked the American and western media to realise the sensitivity of the issue and avoid giving a different interpretation to the facts. He also warned the media and American think tanks against attempting to create misunderstandings between the two countries over Afghanistan.<sup>136</sup> He suggested that the US, being responsible for the trust deficit between the two countries, should talk directly to Pakistan instead of speaking to Pakistan through the media. He warned that if the US decided to stop its aid and cooperation, Pakistan would also have to take some tough decisions which might affect the bilateral relations. He also complained that Pakistan's citizens were dying but the US was making a nuclear deal with India.<sup>137</sup>

Likewise, Foreign Secretary Salman Bashir was also reported by *Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 6 May 2011 to have told the media that Pakistan had "always been asked to do more" while ignoring its "sacrifices and contributions" in the War on Terror and that allegations against ISI of inefficiency or having links with Al Qaeda were baseless. He reminded the world that Pakistan had supported the international community in the War on Terror and had made sacrifices for it. He said that we do not need sympathy but Pakistan must not be pressurised. He reminded the US that ISI had arrested important leaders of Al Qaeda including Khalid Sheikh, Abu Zubaydah, and Abu Hamza. Moreover, he argued that the American strategy to bomb Tura Bora was a mistake causing the Al Qaeda's leadership to flee to Pakistan and other areas. He said that Pakistan's advice not to bomb Tura Bora was not considered by the US. He confessed that Pakistan-US relations were at a critical juncture, yet both countries had to move forward.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 4 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 13 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 6 May 2011, p.1; *Jang*, editorial, 6 May 2011, p.6.

A former Military Chief, General Aslam Baig was reported on 7 May 2011 to have argued that if Osama bin Laden was unarmed why was he not arrested? He said that everybody knew that Osama bin Laden was killed long ago and therefore the US game which started with lies was ended with lies. He said that it was absolutely wrong to say that Pakistan had failed to perform its duties.<sup>139</sup> A right leaning columnist in *Nawa-i-Waqt* Javaid Qureshi on 9 May 2011 analysed the situation and argued that both Pakistan and the US were not happy with each other over the operation, yet the US had to realise that Pakistan could not bear a repetition of "do more" demands, as it had already suffered enough and was doing a lot. The US was also advised to realise the fact that Pakistan was involved in someone else's war but the US could not continue this war without Pakistan's help. Therefore, the US should quit the practice of baseless allegations and start talking about cooperation for mutual interest.<sup>140</sup>

Najam Sethi, former (caretaker) chief minister of Punjab, TV anchorperson, and a journalist in *Jang* on 10 May 2011 pointed out that the US did not have the appropriate evidence to accuse Pakistan of being accomplice to Osama bin Laden's presence in Pakistan and they could not answer why the ISI exchanged information about Osama bin Laden with the CIA. Therefore, the journalist argued, the US should not place emphasis on Pakistan's complicity because it would deteriorate the Pakistan-US strategic relationship, while the US needed Pakistan's support in the War on Terror. However, the journalist claimed that the US had encouraged its media to take up this issue to increase pressure on Pakistan. Conversely, the journalist speculated, if in future the US was able to find some evidence about ISI being accomplice the situation might change and the US authorities would pressurise Pakistan directly.<sup>141</sup>

Nawaz Sharif, a former prime minister and then opposition leader was reported by *Jang* on 15 and 17 May 2011 and *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 15 and 16 May 2011 to have said that it was really sad that 3000 people lost their lives in 9/11 but since then, Pakistan had lost 35,000 civilians including 5,000 security personnel.<sup>142</sup> He said that Pakistan suffered the maximum loss of human lives, while unemployment and poverty also increased in the country and in spite of all

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<sup>139</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 7 May 2011, p.8.

<sup>140</sup> Javaid Qureshi, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 9 May 2011, p.10.

<sup>141</sup> Najam Sethi, *Jang*, column, 10 May 2011, p.6.

<sup>142</sup> President of *PML (N)* and the most prominent leader of opposition then, now serving as Prime Minister since 2013. Also served as Prime Minister from 1990-1993 and 1997-1999.

that Pakistan was being treated as a criminal.<sup>143</sup> *Jang* on 13 May 2011 also argued that although Pakistan was already doing enough and suffering because of its involvement in the US led War on Terror, the US was thankless and pressurising Pakistan to "do more" to fight against terrorism beyond its capacity.<sup>144</sup>

However, the interviews for this research highlighted some existing perspectives which did not agree that the US had conspired or betrayed Pakistan in order to pressurise it to "do more." A right leaning journalist in his detailed response stated:

look! its matter of national interest of each country. The US has been protecting its own interests and for the sake of its interest if betrays Pakistan, it is not a new and strange phenomenon. If the US giving money to Pakistan, it is not a matter of betrayal, the US is following its own interests. As they say it is a stick and carrot policy, when someone is hungry they offer a carrot, but they keep their stick to use if required. They prefer their global interest more than anything else, and if someone is against that interest they do not ignore.

For the incident of Osama bin Laden, at their part, they accuse Pakistan army, especially ISI, they blame Pakistan for this. They tried but they could not find any evidence. If they had found the evidence, they would propagate it. But our negligence and inefficiency was proved at international level.

Such a dangerous person was living so closer to Pakistan Military Academy, and they caught him, we did not. But problem was also theirs not ours. So, in all this, a message was conveyed regarding negligence, our laziness, and disinterest, which caused embarrassment to our government. Out of that embarrassment they protested to the US for not taking Pakistan into confidence before conducting the operation.

Their point of view was that if they had shared the information, Pakistan would alert him. They did not trust us. There were very harsh questions in the National Assembly, and people of ISI and military were called to the parliament which demoralised our army. It was a shame.<sup>145</sup>

Similarly a liberal journalist stated:

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<sup>143</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 15 May 2011, p.1. and news article, 16 May 2011, p.8; *Jang*, editorial, 15 May 2011, p.8. and editorial, 17 May 2011, p.6.

<sup>144</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 13 May 2011, p.6.

<sup>145</sup> Respondent 12

nobody will give us billions of dollars for free. It is give and take. We do not have the understanding of the give and take. We take the money and cannot understand why the US is asking for Osama bin Laden?<sup>146</sup>

Generally, it was argued in the discourse that the US had ignored Pakistan's contributions and sufferings due to its involvement in the US led War on Terror in order to pressurise Pakistan to "do more" in terms of the eradication of terrorism. Such a pressure on Pakistan which would raise suspicions about US intentions in violating the sovereignty of its ally was presented as a modality for the expression of the US conspiracy which consequently would facilitate rationalisation of a US politics of betrayal with regard to the Abbottabad operation.

#### **4.4 THE CAUSES OF US CONSPIRACY AND BETRAYAL WITH REGARD TO THE ABBOTTABAD OPERATION**

The discourse on Pakistan-US relations with regard to the Abbottabad operation not only established the US act of betrayal under a US conspiracy but also analysed the underlying causes of a US politics of betrayal.

##### **4.4.1 An Alleged Tacit Understanding between the Ruling Elite and the US**

While the dominant voices explained the betrayal and its different aspects, there was also a debate about the causes of betrayal. Opposition parties and the media were insisting that it happened because of a secret alliance between the ruling elite and the US, whereas the civil and military leadership attempted to explain it as an exclusive action of the US. Hence, debate was not whether it was a betrayal or not, the discussion also began to be focused to argue whether the ruling elite facilitated the act of betrayal or not.

Senator Professor Khurshid Ahmad of Jamaat-e-Islami on 4 May 2011 was reported by *Jang* to have said that Pakistan had to make its own way and had to come out of the War on Terror.<sup>147</sup> Munawar Hassan of Jamaat-e-Islami on 5 May 2011 was reported by *Nawa-i-Waqt* to have said that the Americans had failed to provide credible evidence of Osama bin Laden's death. He argued that the Pakistani ruling elite had proved that they preferred American orders over national security. He said that "the American terrorists" were set at large in the country and

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<sup>146</sup> Respondent 6

<sup>147</sup> *Jang*, news article, 4 May 2011, p.3.

the rulers were ignoring them.<sup>148</sup> However, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 5 May 2011 appreciated that Pakistan's institutions relating to national security, foreign policy, and defence finally seemed in agreement on developing a new strategy due to criticism of the opposition. The military officials in a high level meeting were reported to be of the view that at the moment the country's defence and security was more important than the relationship with the US and for that reason, anyone who dared to violate its sovereignty would face a response with full strength. The report also disclosed that the national security institutions were assigned the task to be on alert to defend borders and not to allow any future adventurism.<sup>149</sup>

Imran Khan, Chairman of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, was reported by *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 6 May 2011 to have criticised Pakistan's ruling elite for being subservient to the US. He said that Pakistan's ruling elite did not have the courage to tell the US that Pakistanis had the same rights as that of Americans. He accused the rulers of putting Pakistan's security at stake.<sup>150</sup> Consequently, on one side he asked the US to leave the region, as soon as possible, whereas on the other side he demanded that the President, Prime Minister, and Army Chief resign for their failure.<sup>151</sup> Other opposition parties and circles of civil society such as the High Court Bar Association were also reported demanding resignations of top civil and military leadership for the same reason.<sup>152</sup>

The Prime Minister was reported by *Jang* on 6 and 8 May 2011 and *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 7 May 2011 to have responded to opposition's criticism by saying that he would take political parties into confidence, call a meeting of the Defence Committee, and give his policy statement in the Senate to clarify the position.<sup>153</sup> However, the Head of a major opposition party Nawaz Sharif between 8 and 12 May 2011 on multiple occasions was reported by *Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* to have suggested that the Abbottabad operation was a tragedy bigger than the fall of Dhaka in 1971.<sup>154</sup> He said that Pakistan was passing through a critical time and was surrounded with multiple dangers and that the government had to "take steps

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<sup>148</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 5 May 2011, p.8.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 5 May 2011, p.8.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 4 May 2011, p.3.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 6 May 2011, p.3.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 7 May 2011, p.8., news article, 8 May 2011, p.1., news article, 8 May 2011, p.2., news article, 8 May 2011, p.3. and news article, 9 May 2011, p.8.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 7 May 2011, p.1; *Jang*, editorial, 6 May 2011, p.6. and editorial, 8 May 2011, p.8.

<sup>154</sup> Thus, he hinted about a possible conspiracy of India and the US, as some people believe that it also happened in the 1971 War. The politicians and media play a role in reproducing the perceptions of betrayal.

in accordance with the people's expectations" in order to reinstate national honour.<sup>155</sup>

Similarly, *Jang* on 8 May 2011 advised the government to devise a sound strategy to respond effectively to the threats to Pakistan's sovereignty, security, and independence.<sup>156</sup> The newspaper on 9 May 2011 argued that the ruling elite of the country had to realise their responsibilities with regard to defending the national sovereignty of the country. The newspaper suggested that the ruling elites had to reconsider their own weaknesses and mistakes and utilise their energies to strengthen the country instead of prolonging their rule.<sup>157</sup>

Other politicians of the opposition such as Imran Khan were also reported on 10 May 2011 to have said that the government was still trying to please its "foreign masters" and that the Prime Minister should have dismissed the army chief for his failure to stop the American intervention. It was also advised that the government should allow an open debate on the issue in the parliament recognising the fact that the US had shown disrespect to Pakistan's sovereignty.<sup>158</sup> Conversely, Shah Mehmood Qureshi of Pakistan People's Party was reported by *Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 9 and 10 May 2011 to have said that when he was the foreign minister, Prime Minister Gilani and President Zardari issued directions to provide visas to the Americans without following the due procedure of ISI clearance. He also argued that putting responsibility of the issue on the shoulders of ISI and the military was not appropriate as according to the constitution, both institutions work under the Prime Minister's command.<sup>159</sup> Therefore, it was suggested in the emerging discourse that there was a tacit understanding between the ruling elite and the US.

Military Chief General Kayani was reported on 10 May 2011 to have emphasised the need to take the people of Pakistan into confidence in order to build a national consensus over the issues of national security.<sup>160</sup> Subsequently, Prime Minister Gilani was reported on 11 May 2011 to have said that he believed that "there was no one in Pakistan who would think against the national interest" and therefore everyone has to be united to take the country out of the crisis. He

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<sup>155</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 10 May 2011, p.1., news article, 11 May 2011, p.1., news article, 12 May 2011, p.1. and news article, 12 May 2011, p.9; *Jang*, editorial, 8 May 2011, p.8.

<sup>156</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 8 May 2011, p.6.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid*, editorial, 9 May 2011, p.6.

<sup>158</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 10 May 2011, p.3.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 10 May 2011, p.1; *Jang*, editorial, 9 May 2011, p.6.

<sup>160</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 10 May 2011, p.1. and news article, 10 May 2011, p.3.

told the senators that the "government was not sleeping" while the operation took place. He said that at 2 a.m. Military Chief General Kayani informed him over the phone about the helicopters and expressed his suspicions that it might be the US. The Prime Minister said that on this information, he directed the Defence Secretary to make inquiries with the US Ambassador. He said that General Kayani called him again at 6 a.m. and a high level emergency meeting was called at the President House.<sup>161</sup>

Likewise, Information Minister Firdous Ashiq Awan was reported on 12 May 2011 to have told the media that the operation against Osama bin Laden was a sensitive issue and opposition parties and the media should not speculate on such a critical issue. She said that parliament was being given in-camera briefing over the issue. She suggested that the opposition parties should bring any suggestions into the parliament instead of giving statements in the media, and they should bear in mind that Pakistan could not live on its own in this modern world and it was already cooperating with the US in many fields.<sup>162</sup>

However, the right leaning journalist Ahmad Jamal Nizami on 12 May 2011 advised that Pakistan for the sake of its survival and security should come out of the shadow of "slavery to America."<sup>163</sup> Similarly, opposition parties such as Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) rejected Prime Minister Gilani and his government's position over the issue. Nawaz Sharif was reported on 15, 16, and 17 May 2011 to have told journalists that the government's stance over the issue was still weak. He said that his party was not satisfied with the government's proposal in the parliament to revisit the relationship with the US rather government should have given a more stronger message and formed a judicial commission to penalise those who failed to defend national sovereignty.<sup>164</sup>

*Jang* on 11 May 2011 urged the government to accept the demands of the opposition to form the judicial commission and take the issue to the International Court of Justice.<sup>165</sup> The newspaper on 12 May 2011 also demanded the government develop a consensus to counter any US adventurism in future because if such an action repeated the situation could spiral out of the

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<sup>161</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 11 May 2011, p.6; *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 12 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>162</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 12 May 2011, p.1. and news article, 12 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>163</sup> Ahmad Jamal Nizami, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 12 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>164</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 15 May 2011, p.1. and news article, 16 May 2011, p.8; *Jang*, editorial, 15 May 2011, p.8. and editorial, 17 May 2011, p.6.

<sup>165</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 11 May 2011, p.6.

government's control and nobody would be able to save the ruling elite.<sup>166</sup> The newspaper on 16 May 2011 suggested that Pakistanis were people of honour and therefore at any cost, they were not ready to accept "slavery" in their relations with the US. The newspaper advised the ruling elite to leave their subservient and submissive behaviour with the US, reject US hegemony, and determine ways to live with honour and respect. The newspaper also emphasised that to ensure Pakistan's sovereignty and independence the ruling elite should at least follow parliament's joint resolution in which it was decided that if the US violated Pakistan's sovereignty again, NATO supplies to Afghanistan would be blocked and in case of US drone attacks, the drones would be shot down.<sup>167</sup>

However, the interviews for this research pointed out that a perspective also exists that Pakistan has not been able to perform well in terms of its economy because of its own policies, and therefore it is not justified to blame the US or any other country for its underdevelopment. One of the major reasons, as explained by some of the respondents, has been that Pakistan has to spend a huge portion of its budget on its defence. A liberal journalist explained his perspective:

Pakistan's establishment, is actually responsible for this kind of deterioration because Pakistan did have resources and it could develop as a very rich, you can say, agricultural country. It can even produce so many products like dairy products. It could produce all kinds of fruits and it could even develop lot of industry. It has copper, aluminium, and so many other [elements]. Aluminium and copper both, I mean, can get you a lot of money. Even now there is no industry which is functioning there. It could have started with 30 million rupees, but now cost is exceeded to 300 million. But no investment is being made on that because they do not have money. They are spending it on the payment of their instalments of loans and they are spending it on the civil services and on the armed forces. And from the civilian funds now they also pay pensions of the armed forces personnel who have retired, and who retire early. They are the earliest to retire and receive pensions from our kitty, I mean from the civilian budget.<sup>168</sup>

The hegemonic voices of the discourse namely *Jang*, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, political parties of the opposition, and journalists generally argued that the reason behind the perception of a US politics of conspiracy and betrayal with regard to the

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<sup>166</sup> Ibid, editorial, 12 May 2011, p.6.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid, editorial, 16 May 2011, p.6.

<sup>168</sup> Respondent 1

Abbottabad operation was that local ruling elites were siding with the US in order to protect their own material interests. It was argued that it was due to the weakness of the country's rulers that the US violated Pakistan's sovereignty. Consequently, the ruling elite tended to defend their position and argued that it was the US who betrayed Pakistan on its own without their help. However, the Urdu newspapers and opposition parties rejected the government's position and advised the ruling elite to mend their ways.

#### **4.4.2 Pakistan's Nuclear Program and Setting a Precedent for India Described as "the Real Target"**

Targeting Pakistan's nuclear program was explained by dominant voices in the discourse, as another underlying US cause for the violation of Pakistan's sovereignty. It reinforced the idea that the US in spite of being a strategic partner always remained insincere to Pakistan's security. It failed to rescue Pakistan in 1971 while the country was disintegrating. When Pakistan in response to the Indian nuclear program and harsh experience of disintegration pursued its nuclear program, the US always opposed it. Similarly, in the post 9/11 period the US was attempting to target Pakistan's nuclear program under different pretexts. Statements of Afghan and American authorities were presented as evidence by newspapers of US intentions towards Pakistan's nuclear program.

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 5 May 2011 reported that the spokesperson of the Afghan Defence Ministry expressed concerns over the security of Pakistan's nuclear programs. He said that it was the incompetence of Pakistan's intelligence agencies for being unable to find Osama bin Laden out which also put a serious question on the security of its nuclear weapons. Former Foreign Minister of Afghanistan Abdullah Abdullah was also reported to have accused Pakistan military establishment of complicity and said that "there were elements in the military" who knew about Osama bin Laden's presence in Abbottabad, which reflected support of such elements for Al Qaeda and the Taliban. Therefore, he further said that there were chances that Al Qaeda or the Taliban might get access to Pakistan's nuclear weapons through "those elements" in the military.<sup>169</sup> Likewise, the newspaper on 9 May 2011 reported the US Senator Lugar arguing that Pakistan was not a safe country, as Osama bin Laden hid himself for six years and because there was a clear divide between Pakistan's government and

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<sup>169</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 5 May 2011, p.8.

military in which the latter was more powerful than the former and suspected of having "some elements" supporting Al Qaida or the Taliban, its nuclear weapons could go into the hands of "terrorist organisations."<sup>170</sup>

The Head of Jamaat-e-Islami, Munawar Hassan on 6, 8, and 12 May 2011 was reported as saying in an interview that the purpose of the US operation was to target Pakistan's nuclear program. He argued that these objectives might be realised in future with help of India.<sup>171</sup> A journalist in *Nawa-i-Waqt* Khalid Lodhi on 11 May 2011 argued that it was actually "a US conspiracy hatched with the collaboration of India and Israel" to target Pakistan's nuclear program.<sup>172</sup> Hafiz Saeed Ahmed, Head of Jamaat-ud-Dawa, was reported on 4 May 2011 to have said that "the US had hatched some conspiracy against Pakistan with the help of India and Afghanistan." And for that reason, Hafiz Saeed Ahmed further explained, India was threatening Pakistan with the possibility of conducting a similar operation in the future. He argued that the objective was to "target Pakistan's security and integrity" by making propaganda against the safety of Pakistan's nuclear program on the grounds that it might go into hands of terrorists who had "safe havens and access into Pakistan's settled areas."<sup>173</sup>

Former Military Chief Aslam Baig in his interview with *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 6 May 2011 was reported to have said that the contradictory statements of civil and military leadership were a grievous threat to the country's future. He said that the ruling elite were confused due to the public reaction to the operation. He said that Prime Minister Gilani wanted to hide his own inefficiency and failure by regarding it as a failure of the whole world. He said that "the US and India had prepared a charge sheet" against Pakistan and its ruling elite were showing indifference to the realities that would threaten its nuclear program in the future. He argued that Pakistan was surrounded by extreme dangers and if the ruling elite continued to hide its criminal negligence, it would ultimately have severe effects on national security. He advised the ruling elite to admit their failure and inefficiency, take the nation into confidence, and come out to protect the national interests. He said that the ruling elite would be answerable to the nation, and people would not let them escape.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> Ibid, news article, 9 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid, news article, 6 May 2011, p.8. and news article, 12 May 2011, p.1; Khawja Saqib, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 8 May 2011, p.14.

<sup>172</sup> Khalid Lodhi, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 11 May 2011, p.3.

<sup>173</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 4 May 2011, p.8.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid, news article, 6 May 2011, p.1.

Abdul Qadeer Khan, known as the father of Pakistan's nuclear program on 11 May 2013 was reported by *Nawa-i-Waqt* to have said that "the nuclear program is a symbol of Pakistan's prestige and honour" and if some power succeeded in harming it, Pakistan would become "subservient and a satellite of others." Therefore, he advised the nation to be prepared to fight for its independence, sovereignty, and protection of its nuclear assets to ensure survival of the country.<sup>175</sup>

*Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* between 12 and 19 May 2011 advised Pakistan take appropriate measures to save its nuclear program which the US wanted to target. The newspapers wrote that Pakistan should disassociate itself from the war of American interests and force US led NATO forces to leave the region as soon as possible. The newspapers argued that sooner rather than later, the US would conduct similar operations to find Mullah Omer and Ayman al Zawahiri and with every passing day would keep increasing its "aggressive activities" on Pakistan's independent soil unless it achieved its "ultimate target" Pakistan's nuclear program.<sup>176</sup>

Thus, dominant voices argued that the US actually wanted to target Pakistan's nuclear program and the Abbottabad operation was a mere pretext to achieve its objectives. The explanation was also given in terms of ruling elites of the country siding with the US while ignoring national security. Moreover, the US perceived as an accomplice in Pakistan's disintegration in 1971 at the hands of India and opponent of Pakistan's nuclear program and supporter of Indian ambitions for the same, once more was characterised as a facilitator for "Indian aggressive designs" towards Pakistan. Consequently, the discourse described one of the US hidden motives behind the Abbottabad operation as setting a precedent of unilateral action against non-state actors. It was speculated that India could also

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<sup>175</sup> Abdul Qadeer Khan appearing on Pakistani television on 4 February 2004 made a public confession with regard to his involvement in "illegal nuclear dealings" and proliferating nuclear weapons technology to other countries. However, Khan pardoned soon after by President Musharraf, has been hailed as a national hero by the majority of Pakistanis. The issue of "Abdul Qadeer Khan network" being exposed also contributed to the anti-American public perceptions in Pakistan as many Pakistanis believe that it was a US conspiracy to defame one of Pakistan's national hero in order to target Pakistan's nuclear program. 'Chronology: A.Q. Khan,' *The New York Times*, 16 April 2006, <<http://nytimes.com/2006/04/16/world/asia/16chron-khan.html?pagewanted=all>> [accessed 1 June 2013]; *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 11 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>176</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 12 May 2011, p.10., news article, 15 May 2011, p.4. and news article, 15 May 2011, p.12; *Jang*, editorial, 19 May 2011, p.6.

follow the American example and violate Pakistan's sovereignty which could lead to a war or even a nuclear war between India and Pakistan.

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 3 May 2011 reported Indian Interior Minister P. Chidambaram to have said that the Abbottabad operation had proved that "Pakistan was a safe haven for terrorists." He accused Pakistan of providing refuge to "masterminds, controllers, and accomplices of Mumbai attacks" and India wanted to apprehend those "terrorists." He said that the US was "justified" in acting against Osama bin Laden and his companions after the terrorist attacks of 9/11. Indian Foreign Minister S.M. Krishna was also reported to have said that terrorist organisations attack thousands of innocent people and therefore the world had to continue its efforts to eradicate terrorism by destroying "the safe havens of terrorists in Pakistan."<sup>177</sup> Likewise Indian Military Chief General V.K. Singh was reported on 5 May 2011 by *Nawa-i-Waqt* to have told journalists that India would also not hesitate to conduct surgical strikes on the pattern of the American operation in Pakistan as Indian forces had the full capability to conduct such strikes.<sup>178</sup> Waseem Akhtar, Head of Jamaat-e-Islami Punjab, was reported on 7 May 2011 to have said that the Indian military chief General V.K. Singh and others dared to threaten Pakistan due to the failure of military and civil leadership in defending the country's sovereignty.<sup>179</sup> The newspaper reported unidentified authorities of Pakistan's Ministry of Defence to have informed the US that any adventurism from India might result in the nuclear war.<sup>180</sup>

A columnist Khalid Ahmad in *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 6 May 2011 responded to the Afghan and Indian reaction to the operation. He raised the question about who pushed Osama bin Laden into Pakistan, especially in a condition when he was continuously ill and needed regular treatment nearly every month. He wrote that actually India and Afghanistan were responsible for it. "India out of its enmity" wanted to start a new phase of War on Terror directed against Pakistan and for this purpose was using Afghanistan and "the US was playing in their hands." However, the columnist suggested that Pakistan should accept the US presence in Afghanistan and warn them of "Afghan and Indian hypocrisy and evil designs."<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 3 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 5 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 6 May 2011, p.2.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid*, news article, 7 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>181</sup> Khalid Ahmad, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, columns 3 May 2011, p.3. and 6 May 2011, p.3.

*Nawa-i-Waqt* argued that Abbottabad being a sensitive place because of having certain offices of Pakistan's security forces was a significant place for the operation. "In this pretext Pakistan's enemy India had attempted to blame Pakistan for sponsoring terrorism."<sup>182</sup> However, the newspaper argued, if the news of Laden's killing in Abbottabad were true, as apparently presented by the US, it certainly would bring new security concerns to Pakistan. The newspaper speculated that India could use it as pretext to attack Pakistan's sovereignty. Therefore, the newspaper advised Pakistan's military and political leadership to be cautious of Pakistan's security.<sup>183</sup>

Conversely, interviews for this research highlighted an existing perspective with regard to Pakistan losing international support for bearing terrorists on its soil. One of the liberal journalists and former career diplomat argued:

there is falsification. I think Pakistan is alone in this. Pakistan is a very isolated country and the violation of sovereignty, is one of the fruits of this isolation. You say you are sovereign, but if you have foreigners on your territory, doing terrorism across the border, then you really cannot claim to be sovereign. You have areas, on your territory, where there is no governance, even one third of Karachi, there is no state, somebody else is ruling. In Balochistan a very large area, is not under government control. In the Frontier and the tribal areas, also this is the state of affairs. I think about sixty percent of Pakistan's territory, lacks governance, which means that drones are the only effective way of killing people who are international terrorists. Pakistan cooperated with the drone technology. It cooperated actually in targeting certain individuals, who were endangering Pakistan, but then the policy changed. Because the drones were also killing those terrorists that Pakistan did not want to target.<sup>184</sup>

The different voices in the discourse especially the right-wing political parties and journalists suggested that the underlying cause of US betrayal and conspiracy was to target Pakistan's nuclear program. Additionally one possible motive or at least an effect of the US operation was also explained as setting a precedent for India to violate Pakistan's sovereignty under the pretext of taking action against non-state actors reportedly harboured by Pakistan. It was reported that it could lead to more disastrous consequences of full scale war or even

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<sup>182</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, editorial, 3 May 2011, p.10.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid*, editorial, 3 May 2011, p.10., news article, 4 May 2011, p.8. and news article, 8 May 2011, p.12; *Jang*, editorial, 19 May 2011, p.6.

<sup>184</sup> Respondent 2

nuclear war. Thus, the effects on Pakistan of the US operation were described as serious and far reaching and would help to rationalise the idea of a US politics of betrayal with regard to the Abbottabad operation.

#### **4.4.3 Osama bin Laden's Assassination as an Act against "A Symbol of Muslim Resistance"**

While the rightist newspapers, politicians, and religious clergy described Osama bin Laden as a symbol of Islamic resistance to US policies against Islam and Muslims, however, the left leaning or liberal newspapers or politicians did not conversely describe him as "terrorist." For example, Prime Minister Gilani, reported by *Jang* on 11 May 2011, in his speech in the Parliament said Osama bin Laden was not a Pakistani citizen and no one invited him to come to Pakistan but did not explicitly describe him as a terrorist.<sup>185</sup> Moreover, the operation was also seen as yet another manifestation of the ruling elite siding with the US. As a result there were protests and memorial services observed all over the country. The Abbottabad operation was described as the US war against Islam and Muslims, thus providing a way to rationalise the perception of a US politics of betrayal and conspiracy.

Memorial services for Osama bin Laden were observed throughout the country which were reported by the Urdu press. *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 3 May 2011 reported one such service observed in Lahore by Jamaat-ud-Dawa lead by Hafiz Muhammad Saeed who reportedly had tears in his eyes during the service whereas other participants were also seen praying and crying in grief.<sup>186</sup> Hafiz Saeed Ahmed was reported to have told the participants that Osama bin Laden was "a great motivating personality for Muslims" who offered "tremendous sacrifices for Islam and Muslims" which would be remembered forever. He said that the rulers of Pakistan were "hostile to Muslims" but "friendly to enemies of Allah." He said that the behaviour of the rulers on the killing of Osama bin Laden was disappointing. He said that Pakistan was created in the name of Islam and therefore on this issue the "feelings and emotions" of the rulers should be same as that of "Pakistani nation and Muslims."<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> *Jang*, editorial, 11 May 2011, p.6; *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 12 May 2011 p.1.

<sup>186</sup> Hafiz Saeed Ahmed is a religious philanthropist and accused by India to be involved in the Mumbai attacks of 2007.

<sup>187</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 3 May 2011, p.8., news article, 4 May 2011, p.8. and news article 10 May 2011, p.3.

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 3 May 2011 explained that one reason behind the US dumping Osama bin Laden's dead body into the sea might be to avoid him getting the status of "martyrdom." The newspaper wrote that Osama bin Laden's death was a historic event for the Islamic movement led by him with the possibility of it becoming more dangerous with him being dead than alive. The newspaper explained that it could affect or decrease the global movement of "jihad" but could not eliminate it. The newspaper noted that the Americans were happy indeed to get rid of their "enemy number one" but they would be amazed to know that Osama bin Laden would continue to haunt them even after his death.<sup>188</sup> The newspaper also reported hundreds of people gathered to protest in Quetta to pay homage to Osama bin Laden and condemn his killing by the US. The American flags were burnt by the enraged protesters who were also chanting slogans to curse America. The rally was lead by a religious and right-wing political leader of Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (Ideological) and member of the National Assembly Maulvi Asmat Ullah who declared that Osama bin Laden was the "hero of Muslims" and his "martyrdom" had deprived the Islamic world of a "great Mujahid."<sup>189</sup>



Figure 45, *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 5 May 2011 published the photograph on the left to show citizens in Multan burning American flag to protest against the assassination of Osama bin Laden.<sup>190</sup> Likewise, the newspaper published the photograph on the right to show supporters of a right-wing political party Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (Fazal-ur-Rehman) in Quetta during a protest rally holding pictures of Osama bin Laden and chanting slogans against the US.<sup>191</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 11 May 2011 reported Maulvi Asmat during the session of the National Assembly, along with some other members without the permission of the speaker, to have prayed for Osama bin Laden and extended condolences to his family members. Speaking at a point of order, he was reported to have said that

<sup>188</sup> Ibid, news article, 3 May 2011, p.8.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid, photo, 5 May 2011, p.8.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid, photo, 7 May 2011, p.8.

the US had accepted the "Islamic identity of Osama bin Laden" by offering Islamic rituals before dumping his body into the sea, therefore Muslims had also the right to pray for him.<sup>192</sup> The Urdu newspapers also reported Pakistani mainstream political and religious leaders too have described Osama bin Laden as a "symbol of Islamic movement of resistance" against the US. *Nawa-i-Waqt* on 5 May 2011 reported Chairman of Sunni Itihad Council Sahibzada Fazal Karim to have said that the world's "ruthless imperialist powers" had speeded up their conspiracies against Pakistan because it was a Muslim country. He said that the US wanted to treat Pakistan like Kabul and Baghdad but it should know that every child of Pakistan was ready to sacrifice its life to protect its nuclear assets for the honour of the country. Another political and religious leader said that the number of killings which history would put on Osama bin Laden's account would not be greater than that of Bush and Obama.<sup>193</sup>

Senator Sajid Mir, the Head of an important right-wing political and religious party Markazi Jameeat-e-Ahl-e-Hadith, on 5 May 2011 was reported to have said that one could differ from Osama bin Laden's method and way of thinking, yet the world had to find out why people like Osama bin Laden had emerged. He said that to stop more Osamas emerging, injustice in the world had to be eradicated and that Muslims were the largest in number being killed and at the same time being accused of terrorism. He explained that the US was an "enemy of Pakistan" attacking its sovereignty and targeting its nuclear program and that the common man had started viewing the role of the Pakistan's military with suspicion which was not a good thing for the nation. He suggested that the Islamic world would have to develop independent policies to come out of the shadow of American hegemony. Otherwise Muslim countries would continue to become victim one after the other. He also suggested that the US would have to stop helping Israel and India so that Palestinians and Kashmiris could get their due rights.<sup>194</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on 16 May 2011 reported Politicians and religious scholars belonging to most of the political and religious parties of Pakistan to have gathered in Lahore and demanded the government to stop "spying on Muslims" in the name of intelligence sharing with the US, striking down US drones, blocking NATO supplies, and asking the US to vacate any bases in Pakistan. They also

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<sup>192</sup> Ibid, news article, 11 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid, news article, 5 May 2011, p.8.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid, news article, 5 May 2011, p.8. and news article, 9 May 2011, p.8; Khawja Saqib, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 8 May 2011, p.14.

demanded an end to "any secret agreements" with the US. They argued that any Muslim could not be declared a terrorist on the basis of "false propaganda." They argued that the US was engaged in "a war against Islam" and its "intentions were to occupy Muslim lands of Afghanistan and Pakistan."<sup>195</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt* noted that the joint declaration issued at the end of the gathering demanded the government to end the relationship with the US, recall its ambassador to the US, and expel the American ambassador to Pakistan. The declaration also noted that the US always "backstabbed and betrayed Pakistan" being a Muslim country and therefore the government should declare the US "an enemy country." The declaration also demanded the government call an emergency meeting of the Organisation of Islamic Conference to decide a mutually agreed strategy to deal with the situation.<sup>196</sup>

*Nawa-i-Waqt* and the right leaning journalists also portrayed Osama bin Laden as a symbol of "global jihadist and resistance movement" against America and the west for the cause of Islam and Muslims.<sup>197</sup> For example, the right leaning columnist Attaul Rehman on 3 and 4 May 2011 concluded that although President Obama claimed that the US was not opposed to Islam, no one could deny the fact that the US had actually "enslaved" many Muslim countries directly such as Afghanistan and Iraq, and indirectly such as Palestinians with the help of Israel and Kashmiris with the help of India, and Osama bin Laden was resisting the US against this "oppression."<sup>198</sup>

Some of the journalists also described Osama bin Laden as the symbol of an "ideology of resistance" whose death would further enhance his movement and would also affect Pakistan's domestic politics.<sup>199</sup> One such right leaning journalist Salman Ghani, in his poetic style of narrative on 5 May 2011 in *Nawa-i-Waqt* wrote that Osama bin Laden's body in spite of it being dumped into the sea was still lying in Abbottabad and was too heavy to be removed by the two countries. He wrote that this body would not be buried into history, and it would remain there and continue to influence Pakistan's politics in general and of the region's in

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<sup>195</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 16 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid.

<sup>197</sup> Muhammad Ajmal Niazi, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 8 May 2011, p.2; *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 9 May 2011, p.1. and news article, 12 May 2011, p.1; Rafiq Ghaznavi, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 10 May 2011, p.11.

<sup>198</sup> Attaul Rehman, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, columns, 3 May 2011, p.11. and 4 May 2011, p.11.

<sup>199</sup> Rana Abdul Baaqi, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, columns, 5 May 2011, p.10; Amira Ehsan, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 5 May 2011, p.10; Anees Ul Rehman, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, 5 May 2011, p.11; Taufiq Butt, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, 5 May 2011, p.11; Syed Adnan Farooq, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 6 May 2011, p.9.

particular. He explained that after 9/11 when the US started its War on Terror and Pakistan became an ally, in reaction the people of Pakistan gave a heavy mandate to religious parties which did not agree with the government's policy to join the war. He wrote that similarly Pakistanis had been rewarding the Bhutto family by electing them in various elections because Zulfikar Ali Bhutto opposed the US. Similarly, people would keep Osama bin Laden's death in mind and return their sympathies in domestic politics by rejecting those parties supporting the US against Osama bin Laden.<sup>200</sup>

The journalist argued that there would be agreements and disagreements with Osama bin Laden but after his death he would become a "symbol of resistance to global imperialism" and would turn into a movement. This was the reason, he explained, that President Obama had to say that "Osama bin Laden was not a leader of Islam," sounding as Obama himself held such a position. He further argued that Al Qaeda had already spread in the form of smaller groups, all over the world and worked as the common ideological platform for those groups. Now after the assassination of their ideological leader they had a dead body to "decorate and honour their movement" that would help the growth of the "ideology" and Pakistan would not be able to escape from it.<sup>201</sup> He further explained that the first signs of such a phenomenon were the memorial services and protests being held throughout the country to pay "tribute to the resistance movement." He regarded the assassination of Osama bin Laden without due trial and legal procedure to prove any allegations, as injustice. He wrote that the US could not be given the right to declare anyone terrorist through propaganda and kill people under this pretext.<sup>202</sup>

Likewise, another right leaning columnist Muhammad Ajmal Niazi on 8 May 2011 in his column took the credit for writing of Osama bin Laden as a "shaheed (martyr)" and appreciated all those newspapers and journalists who dared to write about him so. He wrote that Osama bin Laden was an Arab and "leader of Afghan Mujahedeen" who succeeded in becoming a "militant leader of humanity and the Islamic world." He argued that Osama bin Laden was "a brave Muslim" and wrote history by fighting against an "anti-Islamic superpower." He wrote that it was "an honour" for Osama bin Laden as he had scarred the whole of America and was killed by it bestowing upon him "the status of martyrdom." He argued that anyone

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<sup>200</sup> Salman Ghani, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 5 May 2011, p.9.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid.

killed under US conspiracies becomes "a martyr." He wrote that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Shah Faisal, Zia-ul-Haq, and Benazir Bhutto got "the status of martyrs" because they were "killed under US conspiracies."<sup>203</sup> The columnist on 11 May 2011 wrote that Osama bin Laden's "struggle for independence and honour was jihad" against the US oppression of Muslims all over the world.<sup>204</sup>

Conversely, in interviews conducted for this research some of the respondents highlighted that Pakistan's rightist elements having sympathies with the Taliban, started viewing the US after 9/11 as an enemy of Islam and Muslims. According to some of the respondents of interviews after 9/11 rightist elements in Pakistan started very strong propaganda against the US describing it an anti-Islamic force. A senior right leaning journalist and Chief Editor of a mainstream Urdu newspaper argued:

the real problem has emerged in Pakistan-US relations after 9/11. After 9/11 the rightists of this country, religious elements had sympathies with the Taliban. And when action was taken against the Taliban in Afghanistan, it triggered very strong propaganda against the US. Prior to that the US was a friend or betraying friend, but those religious elements did not consider it enemy. Now the religious elements came up with a pro-Taliban narrative. They put India, Israel, and America in one category and started propaganda.<sup>205</sup>

Likewise, a liberal journalist explained:

you see, the theory is that America is opposed to Islam, and Muslims' [point of views] have been presented by Urdu media. The Americans and right-wing channels, political parties, and even the religious parties were all united so long as they were fighting against the Soviet Union. Religious parties were supported by America. They got their resources from them, and then there was backing from the Americans, then there was no problem. At that stage the attacks on United States were also very nominal, because that was the Zia-ul-Haq's period. And first of all there was the dictatorship that forged that policy.

But when Americans started bombing the Taliban, then the right-wing parties and the religious parties, became anti-American. So now they are more anti-American [laughs] than the leftists, you know, because they think that their [Muslims'] Kingdom or Kingship in Afghanistan has been snatched from

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<sup>203</sup> Muhammad Ajmal Niazi, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 8 May 2011, p.2.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid; Muhammad Ajmal Niazi, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, column, 11 May 2011, p.2.

<sup>205</sup> Respondent 13

them.<sup>206</sup>

The discourse in the Urdu press described Osama bin Laden as a "symbol of Islamic resistance" against "American imperialism" and the Abbottabad operation was explained as part of "the US war against Islam." The protests and memorial services held by political and religious forces in the country were widely covered by the Urdu press representing both left and right leaning media. The killing of Osama bin Laden was also explained in terms the ruling elite siding with the US, causing disadvantage to the underprivileged and suppressed classes of Muslims. Thus a rationalisation of a perceived act of betrayal was offered by all the dominant voices in the discourse.

#### **4.5 CONCLUSION**

Pakistan's official response to the US operation in Abbottabad changed from an accommodating perspective to a highly critical one, due to the severe criticism from opposition parties and the local media. The criticism of the government also increased after the US authorities and media raised questions around the reasons for Osama bin Laden's presence in Abbottabad. Initially, Pakistan's Prime Minister declared the US operation "a great victory" and tried to give the impression that the action against Osama bin Laden was mutually taken by the US and Pakistan. However, a few days later the government had to change its stance by declaring the unilateral US action "a severe violation of Pakistan's sovereignty," and "disrespectful to its sacrifices" in the War on Terror.

While the Pakistani opposition parties and local media in general and the Urdu press in particular were censuring the government and military for their failure to protect Pakistan's sovereignty, they kept demanding investigations to identify those responsible. The expression of such demands appeared in parliament, courts, non-governmental organisations, the media, and the public. The focus of such demands was on investigating the reasons for Pakistan's failure to defend its sovereignty so that in future such unilateral actions by the US could be checked.

The Abbottabad operation was also explained in the Urdu press as a planned conspiracy against Pakistan. It was argued that the operation was "a US's staged play" and that Osama bin Laden, who had been believed to be killed long ago,

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<sup>206</sup> Respondent 5

was not in fact killed in Abbottabad. Therefore, the conspiracy stated that the US had conducted a fake operation in defence of its vested interests. It was also argued that regardless of whether Osama bin Laden was killed in Abbottabad or not, the action was a clear conspiracy against Pakistan.

Evidence with regard to the possibility of a US conspiracy was also presented in the discourse. First, it was argued that the US had violated mutually-agreed terms of cooperation by not informing Pakistan before the operation, and had also violated international law to pursue some underlying objectives. Second, it was argued that the US, in collaboration with India, was supporting terrorist activities in Pakistan. Third, the US was said to be willing to increase its pressure on Pakistan to convince it to do more against Al Qaeda and the Taliban and to bring the battlefield into Pakistan from Afghanistan.

The underlying objectives behind the alleged US conspiracy and betrayal were also analysed. First, it was argued that in order to protect its interests, the US as a hegemonic power sided with the Pakistani ruling elite to betray Pakistan. Second, speculation was put forward that the operation could be a full dress rehearsal to attack Pakistan's nuclear program in the future. The purpose of the operation could be to convince the international community that Pakistan's armed forces and intelligence agencies were not capable of curtailing terrorists, and that therefore, the possibility of terrorists accessing Pakistan's nuclear weapons was very high. Therefore the US would pressurise Pakistan to curtail or roll back its nuclear program. It was also argued in the discourse that the US, as usual, wanted to strengthen India and to weaken Pakistan. Such an action would also set an international precedent for India to violate Pakistan's security.

Finally, the Urdu press particularly presented the operation as part of the US's ongoing war against Islam. Osama bin Laden was described as a symbol of Islamic resistance to the US. He was portrayed as "a Mujahid," who had been struggling for the rights of the Muslims all over the world. Memorial services and prayers were organised throughout Pakistan to pay homage to a person who was considered "a martyr of a greater cause." The protest rallies organised by different political and religious parties criticised the American violation of sovereignty of a Muslim country to kill "a Muslim dissenter," and claimed that it had possibly been aimed to target "the nuclear program of a Muslim country." Though India and Israel were also suspected of being involved in the conspiracy

to hit a Muslim target, the major emphasis was on the US as a sponsor and patron of the "oppressive activities" of Israel and India against Muslims.

The interview research disclosed a few alternate perspectives which were not given space in the discourse. However, the interviews also confirmed the hegemonic voices in the discourse. In general, Pakistan's reaction as presented by the discourse was well summarised by a senior politician and high level government functionary belonging to a left-wing party, who stated that:

we as a brave nation, we as a nation, for respect of our sovereignty, took a stand, and we boycotted the Bonn Conference. And we also asked the United States to apologise to Pakistan. And at the same time we also requested them to vacate Shamsi Base, and at the same time, we said the new terms of engagement would be made through the parliamentary committee on our national security, and it will be vetted by the parliament, and beyond that no concessions will be acceptable.<sup>207</sup>

Overall, it was argued that many Pakistanis felt disrespected, hurt, and dishonoured due to the perceived US politics of betrayal under a conspiracy based on violations of mutually-agreed terms of cooperation and international law, supporting terrorist activities in Pakistan in order to pressurise it to "do more" in the War on Terror. The US objectives were characterised as pursuing its interests with the help of the Pakistani ruling elite, targeting Pakistan's nuclear program, setting a precedent for India to violate Pakistan's sovereignty, and assassinating Osama bin Laden as a symbol of Islamic resistance to suit the anti-Islamic agenda of the US.

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<sup>207</sup> Respondent 4

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSION

This chapter concludes the research by taking an overview of the history and structure of the Urdu press discourse since the 1971 War in section 5.1, then analysing the relevance and contribution of this research in the context of the existing literature on Pakistan-US relations in section 5.2. Section 5.3 analyses some important factors that can be said to be responsible for the bias in the discourse. Section 5.4 discusses the Pakistani public, media, ruling elite, and the US with regard to the biased discourse. Section 5.5 suggests some future research dimensions, and finally, section 5.6 offers some concluding remarks based on the overall findings of the thesis.

#### **5.1 OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORY AND STRUCTURE OF THE URDU PRESS DISCOURSE ON PAKISTAN-US RELATIONS SINCE THE 1971 WAR**

US betrayal of Pakistan as a military ally was first perceived during the Sino-Indian War of 1962, when the US started offering enormous military aid to India, and more seriously later, when it suspended military aid to both Pakistan and India during the 1965 War. Though the balance of power in South Asia was expected to be disturbed by US aid to India in 1962, Pakistan attempted to maintain the balance by strengthening its ties with China. Later, in 1965, although the suspension of military aid was perceived as a US betrayal, the Pakistani government, politicians, and journalists did not place much emphasis on US politics of betrayal because the net outcome of the war with India was claimed as a victory. The Urdu press in Pakistan, however, could view and describe US betrayal in the 1971 War in more concrete terms as Pakistan lost its eastern territory, which became Bangladesh. Therefore, the 1971 War can be seen as the tipping point of the Urdu press discourse in describing the US as a betraying partner.

The 1971 War was in fact a story of shattered hopes for Pakistanis. The dominant voices of the discourse included the important Urdu newspapers such as *Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt*, as well as politicians and journalists who espoused both right and left-wing ideologies. The hopes were raised higher when Pakistan

played a role in the normalisation of the relationship between China and the US in July 1971. It was argued that India would not be able to wage a war against Pakistan because China and the US were siding with Pakistan, and even if it waged war, it would not be able to succeed. However, India soon not only waged war but also succeeded in providing military support to the armed resistance in East Pakistan, resulting in Pakistan's defeat and its consequent dismemberment. The Urdu press propagated the probable military involvement of the US on Pakistan's side during the war. The US Seventh Fleet, which carried nuclear weapons, was reported to have been sent by the US to support Pakistan's military, which seemed to be about to defeat Indian forces in December 1971. However, when Pakistan's military had to surrender and over 90,000 of Pakistan's military and civilians were taken as prisoners of war, East Pakistan became an independent country, Bangladesh, and Pakistanis felt betrayed by the US's ultimate lack of action in support of its ally.

Moreover, after the war it was argued that the US not only betrayed Pakistan due to its own limitations, but that it also caused Pakistan's disintegration through a conspiracy. All the dominant voices of the discourse highlighting US conspiratorial designs since 1970 after the War became self-fulfilling prophecies. All the diplomatic and non-diplomatic means through which US was perceived to be interfering in Pakistan's internal matters were perceived as the modalities of a US conspiracy against Pakistan. Further, the causes behind the conspiracy were also analysed in the discourse. First, it was argued that the US's strategic interest in using India as a counterweight to China was the cause of a US conspiracy and its betrayal. Second, it was argued that the US was an anti-Islamic force which was conspiring with other non-Muslim countries to dismember a Muslim country. Third, it was argued that the US was a hegemonic imperial power which wanted to protect its interests and which had caused East Pakistan's underdevelopment through its exploitative policies that resulted in the sense of deprivation and demands for autonomy and independence arising on the part of the Bengali population of East Pakistan.

The alternative voices to those arguments listed above would argue that internal socio-political and socio-economic factors were the more relevant causes behind Pakistan's disintegration and, for that reason, their proponents, who would not agree with the idea of US betrayal and conspiracy, were excluded from the discourse. Some such important voices of politicians and journalists were

identified through the interviews conducted for this research. Some of the interviewed politicians and journalists belonging to both right and left-wing views argued that internal political, economic, and social factors were the actual causes of Pakistan's disintegration and loss of East Pakistan, and they also expressed the belief that the Urdu press discourse was frequently biased and misleading during the East Pakistan crisis and the 1971 War.

Afterwards the dominant voices of the discourse argued that the country's shattered hopes had also shattered the confidence of Pakistanis with regard to the US as a reliable ally. In the post 1971 War era, Pakistan's security threats were perceived as increasing due to an imbalance of conventional military weapons and India's interest and progress in its nuclear weapons program. Pakistan conveyed its security threats to the US, and the latter responded positively by expressing its interest in Pakistan's security. However, India severely criticised the US response, which raised Pakistani doubts about the US's determination to support Pakistan's security. The different voices in the newspapers justified these doubts by arguing that in the past, the US had been unable or unwilling to help Pakistan avoid its own disintegration, and had appeased India. Consequently, when the US opposed Pakistan's interest in purchasing a nuclear reprocessing plant from France and suspended its military aid in 1979 and again in 1990, these acts were perceived as a US politics of betrayal, confirming Pakistani doubts.

It was also argued by the prevalent discourse in the Urdu press that the US was conspiring against Pakistan's security and its nuclear program, and that this was therefore a betrayal under a planned conspiracy. The discourse helped to provide different modalities of the US conspiracy which mainly included pressure tactics such as the grant or withdrawal of military and economic aid and US interference in Pakistan's domestic politics in order to affect Pakistan's nuclear program. The causes behind the US conspiracy and perceived betrayal were also analysed. First, it was argued that the US, being a hegemonic capitalistic power, wanted to protect its capitalistic interests by keeping an ally dependent on its military and economic aid. Second, it was argued that the US, being an anti-Islamic power, did not want a Muslim country to become a nuclear power and gain that level of self-reliance. Third, it was argued that in South Asia, India, as a larger country, was more useful to the US in protecting its economic and strategic

interests and that the US therefore opposed Pakistan's nuclear program while supporting that of India.

The alternate voices which potentially refute the argument of a US politics of betrayal and conspiracy were, once again, excluded from the discourse. Some examples of these voices were discovered through the interviews conducted for this research. Some politicians and journalists with both right and left-wing views argued that although Pakistan had some genuine security concerns vis-à-vis India, US concerns with regard to nuclear proliferation were also genuine and not a conspiracy. In fact, to contain the Soviet expansion in Afghanistan, the US needed Pakistan's support and therefore turned a blind eye to Pakistan's nuclear program in the 1980s to a certain extent. It was also argued that although the US had reservations about Pakistan's nuclear program, it did not take any substantial action to sabotage it. The idea of a US conspiracy and betrayal vis-à-vis Pakistan's nuclear program was therefore not based on fact.

The latest phase of cooperation between Pakistan and the US began after 9/11. This time, the Urdu press neither expressed hopes nor doubts about the US as an ally. Instead, from the very beginning it opposed Pakistan's involvement in the War on Terror. Consequently, when the US conducted a unilateral operation in Abbottabad against Osama bin Laden on 2 May 2011, Pakistan's government initially regarded the killing of Osama bin Laden as "a great victory" and gave the impression that the operation had been conducted jointly. Later, under severe criticism from the media and some politicians, it had to change the focus of its narrative to accuse the US of violating Pakistan's sovereignty. The discourse in the Urdu press became more focused on the violation of Pakistan's sovereignty and less on Osama bin Laden's presence in Abbottabad. It was argued once again that the US had betrayed Pakistan as part of a conspiracy to achieve some other objectives against Pakistan. The evidence detailed to strengthen the possibility of the conspiracy included US violations of mutually-agreed terms of cooperation for the War on Terror and international law, supporting terrorist activities in Pakistan, and pressurising Pakistan to "do more" in the War on Terror.

In the same manner as in the past, the causes of US conspiracy and betrayal were also analysed. First, it was argued that the US, as a hegemonic power, had betrayed Pakistan in collaboration with the Pakistani ruling elite. Second, it was argued that the US wanted to target Pakistan's nuclear program and also wanted to set a precedent for India to violate Pakistan's national sovereignty under the

pretext of searching for wanted terrorists. Third, it was argued that Osama bin Laden had been a symbol of Islamic resistance and therefore the US conducted the operation to assassinate him to follow its anti-Islamic agenda.

Although a few exceptional voices in the Urdu press were allowed to discuss the possibility of Pakistan's failure to play an effective role in the War on Terror, once again voices categorically rejecting the idea of a US conspiracy and a politics of betrayal were excluded. The interviews for this research identified some political and journalistic voices holding both right and left-wing views who rejected the idea of a US conspiracy and betrayal, and argued that Pakistan knew about the presence of Osama bin Laden in Abbottabad and therefore that it was ultimately Pakistan, and not the US, who had betrayed their ally.

Thus, this research has helped to build understanding of the history of the discourse in the Urdu press on the perceived US politics of betrayal. The discourse has existed at least since the 1971 War, and its dominant voices have constructed a sustained idea of a US politics of betrayal. In the 1971 War, the US was characterised as an ally who had betrayed Pakistan by failing to support it in avoiding the disintegration of the country. In the post 1971 era in the case of Pakistan's nuclear program, the US was characterised as a betraying ally who was no longer trusted not to betray again. Finally, in the post 9/11 era during the War on Terror, and before and after the Abbottabad operation, the US was analysed as "an enemy" and a hostile force which was habitually betraying Pakistan, its supposed ally. Therefore, the Urdu press discourse on Pakistan-US relations since the 1971 War has characterised a perceived US politics of betrayal in a continuous and incremental manner.

The discourse of the Urdu press has also developed a general structure with regard to its characterisation of a US politics of betrayal. At first it establishes an act of betrayal, such as the US failure to support its ally to protect its national integrity in the 1971 War, the US opposition to Pakistan's "peaceful nuclear program" and ignoring of the security concerns of its ally, or the US violation of sovereignty and mistrust in its ally in the Abbottabad operation. Second, it is generally argued that the US betrayed Pakistan as part of an ongoing conspiracy, most of the time acting in collaboration with other hostile powers such as India, Afghanistan, Israel, or even the USSR. Third, the discourse discusses different modalities of US conspiracy, such as using pressurising tactics, or propaganda through the American and western media, and interference in Pakistan's internal

affairs, using both diplomatic means such as its diplomatic staff in Pakistan and undiplomatic means, such as the CIA and non-governmental organisations. Fourth, the discourse details different causes of the perceived US politics of betrayal which generally fall into three categories. First, the causes are explained in pragmatic terms such as with reference to national interests based on power, for example the US preference for India as a larger country which can be used as a more effective counterweight to China. Second, the US is characterised as a hegemonic capitalistic power that wishes to protect its interests by exploitation of the underprivileged with or without the cooperation of the local ruling elite. Third, the US is characterised as an anti-Islamic force which betrays its Muslim ally because of its religious identity. The main voices included in the discourse are those of the newspapers through their editorials, cartoons and photographs, journalists through their columns, and politicians, government and military officials through their statements.

## **5.2 HOW DOES THIS RESEARCH RELATE AND CONTRIBUTE TO THE EXISTING LITERATURE ON PAKISTAN-US RELATIONS?**

The past literature on Pakistan-US relations is closely related to this research, although it does not consider public opinion or, for that matter, its contribution as a significant factor affecting international relations. However, there are numerous examples in the history of international relations, as mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, which demonstrate that though public opinion is not always the most decisive factor, it is still an important factor in the conduct of a country's foreign relations.

Analysis of the Urdu press discourse on Pakistan-US relations, as one of the important contributing factors to public opinion in Pakistan, has also helped to build understanding of the history of popular press perceptions with regard to a perceived US politics of betrayal, which in turn contributes to anti-Americanism in Pakistan. A US politics of betrayal has been perceived and analysed thoroughly by the Urdu press at least since the 1971 War. This research has also helped to understand the general structure of the discourse which has discussed the US politics of betrayal since the 1971 War. The discourse is predominantly premised on the idea of US betrayal and conspiracy.

Although the existing literature does not focus on the structure and history of the Urdu press discourse on Pakistan-US relations, it helps to strengthen the

arguments of the discourse, which are mainly premised on the idea of US betrayal, conspiracies, and modalities of conspiracies. The existing literature has mainly engaged with the objective study of verifiable facts which have been used to rationalise the US politics of betrayal by characterising the causes of such betrayal. The realists would not agree with the idea of a betrayal in international relations, as national interest is the factor which matters and not the so-called betrayal, sincerity, or faithfulness of a country. However, realists describe an "act of betrayal" as a change in a state's policy according to the requirements of its national interest. Similarly, Marxists would argue that changes in policy are always an issue of exploitation of the underprivileged for the protection of the interests of hegemonic powers. Likewise, writings from the perspective of some particular preoccupations would argue that Pakistan-US relations are defined by one or the other invariable factors, such as Pakistan's preoccupation with India as an "enemy" or the "religious extremism in the country," or the US being an anti-Muslim power. For example, Dennis Kux, in adhering to realist traditions, argues that the reason for the volatility in Pakistan-US relations has not been "American fickleness or Pakistani stubbornness" but instead that the interests of both states have often been at odds.<sup>1</sup> Tariq Ali, a Marxist writer on Pakistan-US relations, argues that Pakistan's military and civil elites have always been used by the US to pursue its global agenda for power.<sup>2</sup> Ameer Hussain, who arguably can be viewed as writing from the perspective of US's preoccupation with its anti-Islamic agenda, argues that the US and India are "the real enemies" of the Muslim world and Pakistan, a view which is taken to define Pakistan-US relations.<sup>3</sup>

The above-mentioned explanations of Pakistan-US relations from three different categories of the existing literature are not ignored by the hegemonic voices of the Urdu press discourse, rather, they selectively utilise them for their own rationalisation of the perceived US politics of betrayal and conspiracy. Any voice in the discourse, depending on its background and political orientation, argues to define the causes of the perceived US betrayal in a specific way. For example, right-leaning journalists, politicians, and newspapers such as *Nawa-i-Waqt* generally explain the US as an anti-Islamic force, which conspires to betray its Muslim ally. Similarly, journalists, politicians, and Urdu newspapers such as *Jang*, which hold a liberal or leftist perspective, characterise the US as a

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<sup>1</sup> Dennis Kux, *Disenchanted Allies*, xviii.

<sup>2</sup> Tariq Ali, *The Duel*.

<sup>3</sup> A. Ameer Hussain, *America Aur India*.

hegemonic, capitalistic power which conspires to betray its dependent ally. More pragmatic voices have also spoken from both the left and the right. Examples include Mushahid Hussain, a right leaning journalist; Abida Husain, a right leaning politician; Najam Sethi, a liberal columnist at *Jang*; and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, a politician of the left. Each of these individuals would define Pakistan-US relations in terms of their respective national interests with or without referring to the idea of a US betrayal or conspiracy. However, when placed in the overall structure of the discourse, such explanations directly or indirectly serve to rationalise by providing causality to the idea of a US politics of betrayal and conspiracy.

Literature from the perspective of discourse analysis is the closest category to describe this present research. However, the majority of the studies identified in the literature review at the beginning of this thesis come from the field of media studies, which attempts to study the impact or role of the media as an independent or dependent means of mass communication. Moreover, most media studies works are also based on English language newspapers and do not give due importance to the popular Urdu press. Consequently, they have not shown interest in the history and structure of the Urdu press discourse on Pakistan-US relations, which provides a way to understand the negative public perceptions of the US in Pakistan. In contrast, this research breaks new ground by attempting to explain the history and structure of the Urdu press discourse on the perceived US politics of betrayal and therefore helps to rationalise incremental anti-Americanism in Pakistan.

The literature review carried out for this research also refers to another aspect of the discourse analyses of Pakistan-US relations. Given the limited number of studies conducted in relation to the Urdu press discourse on Pakistan-US relations, this area of study seems to have been poorly served by prior researchers. The voices that have had the privilege to communicate through the Urdu press have also had access to the existing academic literature, which may well be regarded as hegemonic in terms of its quantity and access, and they form the most important part of the overall discourse on Pakistan-US relations. Therefore, the arguments of the dominant voices of the Urdu press are also informed by the wider, hegemonic academic discourse. Consequently, journalists or politicians whose knowledge is dependent on such a discourse in the media or in academic works are less likely to break the tradition and characterise the causes of the perceived US politics of betrayal differently. For example, journalists

and politicians may not consider that one of the reasons that the US is perceived as a betraying or conspiring ally is because it has been historically characterised as such in a systematic manner over a long period of time.

Thus, this research allows a different way to see Pakistan-US relations from the perspective of discourse analysis by breaking the hegemonic traditions of the prior academic discourse, that is it sees the relationship through the discourse in the Urdu press, and offers criticisms of, and alternatives to, that discourse. This study also facilitates the understanding that people contributing into the Urdu press discourse have access to a wider discourse which is also hegemonic, and which does not easily allow them to see the relationship from any new perspective.

Finally, it can be argued that the US politics of betrayal as perceived and analysed by the Urdu press is a social construct or reality that has been produced and reproduced through overall discourse in society, whereas the Urdu press is a part of the overall discourse on Pakistan-US relations. The Urdu press has characterised the US politics of betrayal at least since the 1971 War and has developed a structure of this discourse which argues that the US not only betrays Pakistan but also conspires against it. This discourse also analyses different modalities and causes for the perceived US politics of betrayal and excludes alternative voices which could possibly refute the argument presented by the hegemonic voices of the discourse. Such a biased discourse which only includes the voices which identify, define, and rationalise a US politics of betrayal is likely to strongly contribute to the increasing anti-American sentiment in Pakistan which is one of the constraining factors to the smooth conduct of Pakistan-US relations.

### **5.3 SOME POWER FACTORS CAUSING AN IMBALANCE IN THE DISCOURSE**

Multiple factors in Pakistan determine and control the boundaries of the popular media discourse. Institutional forces, such as the civil and military ruling elites, are among such factors as they have been influencing the media through governmental controls in order to maximise their own internal political benefit.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> For example see Rai Shakil Akhtar, *Media, Religion, and Politics in Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000); Zamir Niazi, *The Press in Chains*; Madiha Afzal, On Pakistani Anti-Americanism.; Interviews with politicians and journalists conducted for this research also confirmed the control of the ruling elites on Pakistani media and their impact on the media discourse.

Media organisations are primarily business enterprises, and therefore their corporate interest is also a factor that influences the way they characterise the US as a betraying and conspiring ally. The discourse woven around conspiracies has a sensational appeal to the public and for that reason, in order to increase and maintain their popularity and to protect their financial interests, Pakistani media outlets often premise their arguments on conspiracies.<sup>5</sup> Apart from formal institutional forces, the discourse has its own power which also helps to determine its boundaries.<sup>6</sup> One of the senior liberal journalists interviewed for this research stated that:

there are so many factors that affect the discourse of the Urdu Press. Religion, poverty, ignorance, institutional pressures, media controls but most important is that no one wishes to say something which is not popular, which is not easily accepted. We sell stereotypes because they are easily sold.<sup>7</sup>

Likewise, a right leaning journalists observed that:

now, people are against the US at grassroots level and no politician is so daring to say anything which goes in favour of Americans. The same is the case with the print media, they do not want to say something which is not accepted by the people and which goes against the interests of those people who help their businesses. The media has failed to provide the complete picture of the reality.<sup>8</sup>

In Pakistan's context, institutional forces such as the civil and military ruling elites, media organisations and the power of the established discourse itself are the most important power factors that influence and determine the boundaries of the discourse.

#### **5.4 THE PAKISTANI PUBLIC, THE MEDIA, THE RULING ELITE, THE US AND A BIASED DISCOURSE**

Husain Haqqani has observed that Pakistan's narrative of Pakistan-US relations has been biased and misleading.<sup>9</sup> Likewise Adam Ellick in a

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<sup>5</sup> Marco Mezzera and Safdar Sial, 'Media and Governance in Pakistan', 39. Respondents of the interviews conducted for this research also confirmed this factor.

<sup>6</sup> Most of the journalists and politicians interviews for this research confirmed the power of discourse.

<sup>7</sup> Respondent 6

<sup>8</sup> Respondent 11

<sup>9</sup> Husain Haqqani, *Magnificent Delusions: Pakistan, the United States and an Epic History of*

documentary for *The New York Times* in May 2010 argued that "in most of the world conspiracies are the stuff of fringe but in Pakistan they make for the mainstream [media]."<sup>10</sup> The documentary reflected that Pakistanis, including the educated urban classes, believe in US conspiracies against their country based on its perceived anti-Islamic agenda, global interests, and the view of the US as an exploitative capitalistic force. Ellick's documentary endorses the findings of this study by arguing that in order to improve ratings and increase revenues, the popular media in Pakistan has generally premised its analyses of Pakistan-US relations on the themes of US betrayal and conspiracy, and Pakistani people at large have, unsurprisingly, been affected by this stereotyped, biased discourse. The documentary also argues that anti-Americanism in Pakistan is not only due to the biased discourse of the popular media but also because of the US's failure to communicate more effectively with people of Pakistan. Ellick also argues that Pakistan's ruling civil and military elite has been using the continuous argument of US betrayal in order to associate Pakistan's internal failures with external forces conspiring against Pakistan.

The Pakistani public needs to realise the fact that in order to maximise their ratings and profits, the media in general and the popular press of Pakistan in particular have produced and sustained a discourse on Pakistan-US relations which is biased and which promotes certain stereotypes and prejudices. The majority of Pakistanis subscribe to a religious identity and are a patriotic people, sensitive to the security and survival of their country, but they should understand that both Pakistan and the US have their own interests in the bilateral relationship and their policies towards each other are based on those interests, which may sometimes be at odds. This researcher's conversation with the research students and faculty members of the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Bahauddin Zakariya University, Pakistan in May 2015 concluded with the consensus that Pakistanis expect that the US should be a faithful ally and help Pakistan in every critical situation. They also believe that the US has always betrayed Pakistan when the latter required support by the former. However, the participants in the conversation agreed that in reality, the US or Pakistan may not

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*Misunderstanding*, 1-7.

<sup>10</sup> Adam B. Ellick, 'America's Image Problem in Pakistan [Video Documentry]' (United States of America: *The New York Times*, 2010)  
<<http://www.nytimes.com/video/world/asia/1247467920759/losing-the-media-war-in-pakistan.html>> [accessed 15 April 2014].

live up to the expectations of each other, depending on their respective constraints which, in turn, are based on their interests.

The Pakistani media in general and the popular press in particular should be giving comparatively more space to the excluded voices on Pakistan-US relations and adopt a more realistic approach to analyse the relationship instead of premising their argument on the ideas of US betrayal and conspiracy. Otherwise, the Pakistani media may lose its credibility in the future as people's access to information sources increases due to the growth of satellite TV channels, the internet, and social media.

Pakistan's civil and ruling military elites, who speak through the country's media, also need to realise the importance of public perceptions, especially with regard to the gradual growth of democracy in the country. Although the ruling elites understand the significance of Pakistan-US relations, they do not convey this to the public. On the one hand, they use it as a negotiating tool to tell the US that despite public opposition they are willing to continue in alliance with the US, and on the other hand, they use the US as a scapegoat for their internal failures.<sup>11</sup> However, with the growth of democracy in the country, public opinion is being given more importance and therefore, in future it may be more difficult for the ruling elites to continue both with their relations with the US and with fuelling negative public perceptions at the same time.

The US also needs to realise that it has failed so far to communicate effectively with the people of Pakistan. Ellick's documentary reflected that US officials visiting Pakistan mostly avoid clear communication with the media, leaving more space for speculation and conspiracy theories.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, while developing its policies towards Pakistan it should consider the people's and the media's likely reactions to them and take appropriate measures to properly convey the intentions behind certain actions.

## **5.5 FUTURE RESEARCH**

This research has analysed the discourse of two newspapers in the popular press in Pakistan with regard to the perceived politics of betrayal in Pakistan-US relations and ideas of US conspiracies. However, the US has also accused Pakistan of betrayal, for example when Pakistan was suspected of hiding Osama

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<sup>11</sup> Howard B. Schaffer and Teresita C. Schaffer, *How Pakistan Negotiates with the United States: Ridding The Roller Coaster* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2011), 1-7.

<sup>12</sup> Adam B. Ellick, 'America's Image Problem in Pakistan'.

bin Laden in Abbottabad and supporting the Taliban in Afghanistan.<sup>13</sup> Consequently, negative public perceptions do not exist only on Pakistan's side; such perceptions have also been witnessed among the American public. For example, during the East Pakistan crisis, President Nixon and Henry Kissinger could not support Pakistan beyond a certain point because of high levels of anti-Pakistan sentiment with regard to the military operations in East Pakistan which started in March 1971.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, a similar study on the American popular press could help to build understanding of the history and structure of the discourse on Pakistan-US relations along with identification of the voices which have been both included and excluded in the discourse.

This study can also be expanded to other newspapers, such as those of the English press in Pakistan, to compare the history and structure of the discourse in the Urdu and English newspapers. Other forms of discourse, such as television, radio, social media, film, art, and works of fiction, can also be considered in future research to understand their respective roles in contributing to negative public opinion in Pakistan and the US with regard to their respective attitudes towards the other country.

## 5.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Urdu press discourse on Pakistan-US relations since the 1971 War has clearly been biased, as it has only included voices characterising the US as a betraying ally. The argument of a US politics of betrayal has been primarily premised on US conspiracies which, in turn, are based on its identity as an anti-Islamic, hegemonic, capitalistic power and its interest in India as the larger country in South Asia. The discourse has excluded alternative voices which do not agree with the idea of a US politics of betrayal and conspiracy. Such a biased discourse contributes to the anti-American sentiments of many Pakistanis. The Pakistani media in general and the Urdu press in particular should decrease its focus on US conspiracies by giving more space to the excluded alternative voices in order to make the discourse it presents more balanced.

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<sup>13</sup> *Nawa-i-Waqt*, news article, 4 May 2011, p.3., news article, 4 May 2011, p.8. and news article, 5 May 2011, p.1.

<sup>14</sup> For example Gray J Bass, *The Blood Telegram: Nixon, Kissinger, and a Forgotten Genocide* (Knopf, 2013), 1-6.

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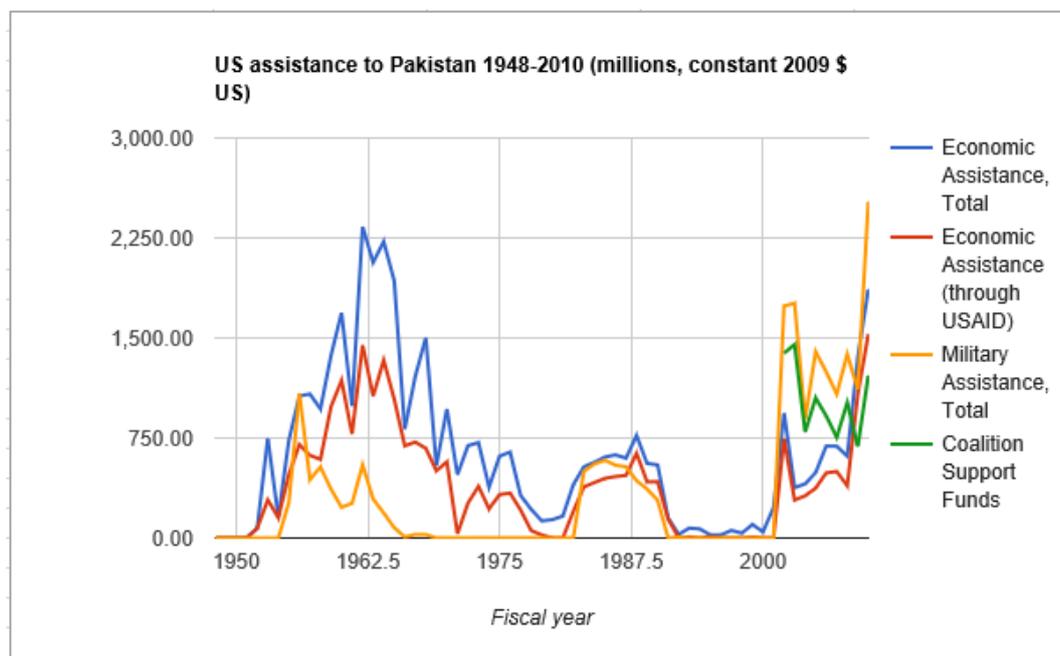
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## APPENDIX-A

### US Aid to Pakistan 1948-2010



### Summary of US Aid to Pakistan 1948-2010

Year	Economic Assistance, Total	Economic Assistance (through USAID)	Military Assistance, Total	Coalition Support Funds
1948	0.77	0	0	
1949	0	0	0	
1950	0	0	0	
1951	2.89	0	0	
1952	74.25	73.55	0	
1953	748.29	286.23	0	
1954	156.95	152.24	0	
1955	733.15	477.18	266	
1956	1065.67	700.89	1086.5	
1957	1079.65	619.9	437.59	
1958	968.22	589.59	533.13	
1959	1367.93	985.25	366.81	
1960	1689.84	1181.35	230.39	
1961	989.53	780.04	260.47	
1962	2334.65	1446.28	549.02	
1963	2066.77	1063.68	292.31	
1964	2222.66	1334.16	187.55	
1965	1928.9	1041.58	77.38	
1966	816.28	691.28	8.4	
1967	1213.36	719.38	26.33	
1968	1501.68	672.5	25.98	
1969	541.76	504.31	0.5	
1970	968.32	570.93	0.87	

Year	Economic Assistance, Total	Economic Assistance (through USAID)	Military Assistance, Total	Coalition Support Funds
1971	474.25	31.21	0.73	
1972	692.87	261.87	0.42	
1973	715.35	387.63	1.24	
1974	381.97	219.13	0.95	
1975	614.34	326.02	0.92	
1976	644.1	336.78	1.28	
1977	319.16	209.4	0.92	
1978	214.92	55.49	1.52	
1979	128.81	23.31	1.2	
1980	137.53	0	0	
1981	164.16	0	0	
1982	400.6	200.07	1.2	
1983	534.18	383.29	499.77	
1984	568.05	415.84	555.9	
1985	607.26	447.53	583.53	
1986	623.56	460.91	545.82	
1987	599.07	469.53	534.54	
1988	769.14	635	430.69	
1989	559.72	421.27	367.06	
1990	548.07	422.37	283.44	
1991	149.59	141.78	0	
1992	27.14	0.57	7.2	
1993	74.19	7.98	0	
1994	68.43	0	0	
1995	23.13	10.1	0	
1996	22.79	0	0	
1997	57.17	0	0	
1998	36.32	0	0	
1999	102.14	6.72	0.22	
2000	45.72	0	0	
2001	228.02	0.54	0	
2002	937.34	744.74	1739.7	1386.06
2003	377.93	284.81	1760.23	1450.98
2004	406.12	316.56	891.39	794.11
2005	490.42	374.04	1397.06	1050.15
2006	689.43	488.46	1246.1	916.13
2007	688.62	498.91	1079.72	755.74
2008	614.48	392.05	1378.32	1014.9
2009	1353.65	1076.25	1114.26	685
2010	1867.13	1529.53	2524.61	1220.5

Note: All figures are in US\$ (millions). Figures are adjusted for inflation and presented in 2009 constant dollars<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Guardian* <<http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2011/jul/11/us-aid-to-pakistan>> [accessed on 1 February 2015]

## APPENDIX-B

<b>Significant Political Parties of Pakistan and their Popular Support Based on General Elections for National Assembly in May 2013<sup>1</sup></b>		
Political Parties	Popular vote	Percentage
<b>Pakistan Muslim League (N)</b>	14,874,104	<b>32.77%</b>
<b>Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf</b>	7,679,954	<b>16.92%</b>
<b>Pakistan People's Party</b>	6,911,218	<b>15.23%</b>
<b>Independents</b>	5,880,658	<b>12.96%</b>
<b>Muttahida Qaumi Movement</b>	2,456,153	<b>5.41%</b>
<b>Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (F)</b>	1,461,371	<b>3.22%</b>
<b>Pakistan Muslim League (Q)</b>	1,409,905	<b>3.11%</b>
<b>Pakistan Muslim League (F)</b>	1,072,846	<b>2.36%</b>
<b>Jamaat-e-Islami</b>	963,909	<b>2.12%</b>
<b>Awami National Party</b>	453,057	<b>1.00%</b>
<b>Mutahida Deeni Mahaz</b>	360,297	<b>0.79%</b>
<b>Pakhtun-khwa Milli Awami Party</b>	214,631	<b>0.47%</b>
<b>National Peoples Party</b>	197,829	<b>0.44%</b>
<b>Pakistan Muslim League (Z)</b>	128,510	<b>0.28%</b>
<b>Bahawalpur National Awami Party</b>	113,365	<b>0.25%</b>
<b>Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam Nazryati</b>	103,098	<b>0.23%</b>
<b>Awami Muslim League</b>	93,046	<b>0.20%</b>
<b>Sindh United Party</b>	82,634	<b>0.18%</b>
<b>Tehreek-e-Tahaffuz-e-Pakistan</b>	76,358	<b>0.17%</b>
<b>Awami Jamhuri Ittehad Pakistan</b>	71,175	<b>0.16%</b>
<b>Pakistan Muslim League (J)</b>	71,773	<b>0.16%</b>
<b>Jamiat Ulma-e-Pakistan</b>	67,966	<b>0.15%</b>
<b>Balochistan National Party</b>	63,979	<b>0.14%</b>
<b>National Party (Pakistan)</b>	61,148	<b>0.13%</b>
<b>All Pakistan Muslim League</b>	54,231	<b>0.12%</b>
<b>Pakistan National Muslim League</b>	52,398	<b>0.12%</b>
<b>Pakistan People's Party (Shaheed Bhutto)</b>	50,046	<b>0.11%</b>
<b>Qaumi Watan Party</b>	46,574	<b>0.10%</b>

<sup>1</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan 2015

<b>Tehreek-e-Suba Hazara</b>	<b>43,265</b>	<b>0.10%</b>
<b>Majlis-e-Wahdat-e-Muslimeen</b>	<b>41,520</b>	<b>0.09%</b>
<b>Sunni Ittehad Council</b>	<b>37,732</b>	<b>0.08%</b>
<b>Sunni Tehreek</b>	<b>25,485</b>	<b>0.06%</b>
<b>Sindh Taraqi Passand Party</b>	<b>23,397</b>	<b>0.05%</b>
<b>Qoumi Wattan Party</b>	<b>19,253</b>	<b>0.04%</b>
<b>Awami Workers Party</b>	<b>18,650</b>	<b>0.04%</b>
<b>Balochistan National Party (Awami)</b>	<b>12,866</b>	<b>0.03%</b>
<b>Hazara Democratic Party</b>	<b>11,052</b>	<b>0.02%</b>
<b>Mohajir Qaumi Movement</b>	<b>10,575</b>	<b>0.02%</b>
<b>Jamote Qaumi Movement</b>	<b>10,468</b>	<b>0.02%</b>
<b>Saraiki Party</b>	<b>5,236</b>	<b>0.01%</b>
<b>Kissan Ittehad</b>	<b>4,367</b>	<b>0.01%</b>
<b>Falah Party</b>	<b>4,207</b>	<b>0.01%</b>
<b>Awami Justice Party</b>	<b>3,803</b>	<b>0.01%</b>
<b>Pakistan Justice Party</b>	<b>3,230</b>	<b>0.01%</b>
<b>Islamli Tehreek</b>	<b>2,694</b>	<b>0.01%</b>
<b>Christian Progressive Movement</b>	<b>2,523</b>	<b>0.01%</b>
<b>Mohib-e-Wattan Nowjawan Inqilabion Ki Anjuman</b>	<b>2,503</b>	<b>0.01%</b>
<b>Mutahidda Qabil Party</b>	<b>2,399</b>	<b>0.01%</b>
<b>Voter Turnout</b>	<b>45,388,404</b>	<b>55.02%</b>
<b>Registered voters</b>	<b>84,207,524</b>	<b>100%</b>

## APPENDIX-C

### Important Newspapers and their Circulation in Pakistan<sup>1</sup>

Name of the Newspaper (Daily)	Language	Place of Publications	Year Founded	Recorded Circulation
<b><i>Nawa-i-Waqt</i></b>	Urdu	Lahore, Karachi, Rawalpindi, Multan	1941	<b>500,000</b>
<b><i>Jang</i></b>	Urdu	Karachi, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Multan, London	1946	<b>850,000</b>
<b><i>Pakistan</i></b>	Urdu	Lahore, Islamabad, Karachi, Peshawar	1997	<b>279000</b>
<b><i>Express</i></b>	Urdu	Lahore, Islamabad, Karachi, Peshawar, Quetta, Multan	1998	-
<b><i>Khabrain</i></b>	Urdu	Islamabad, Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar, Multan, Haiderabad, Muzafarabad and Sukkar	2000	<b>232,000</b>
<b><i>Dunya</i></b>	Urdu	Lahore, Islamabad, Karachi, Quetta, Faisalabad, Gujranwala	2011	--
<b><i>Nai Baat</i></b>	Urdu	Lahore, Karachi, Peshawar, Quetta	2011	--
<b><i>Dawn</i></b>	English	Karachi, Islamabad, Lahore	1947	<b>109,000</b>
<b><i>Business Recorder</i></b>	English	Karachi, Islamabad, Lahore	1965	<b>22,000</b>
<b><i>The Frontier Post</i></b>	English	Peshawar, Quetta, Lahore	1985	--
<b><i>The Nation</i></b>	English	Lahore, Karachi, Islamabad	1986	--
<b><i>Pakistan Observer</i></b>	English	Islamabad, Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar, Quetta, Muzaffarabad	1988	--
<b><i>The News International</i></b>	English	Karachi, Lahore, Rawalpindi, London	1991	<b>120,000</b>
<b><i>Daily Times</i></b>	English	Lahore, Karachi, Islamabad	2002	--
<b><i>Pakistan Today</i></b>	English	Lahore, Karachi, Islamabad	2010	--
<b><i>The Express Tribune</i></b>	English	Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad, Peshawar	2010	--

<sup>1</sup> The data is based on Shahzad Ali, Growth of Print Media in Pakistan from the Perspective of Economic and Social Indicators, 35-53.

## APPENDIX-D

### Questionnaire for Semi Structured Interviews with Journalists and Politicians

1. Why do you think that relations with the US are important for Pakistan?
2. In your opinion what has Pakistan lost and gained in its relationship with the USA?
3. How do you see Pakistan-US relations in future? Will it get better or worse?
4. Why have the people in Pakistan anti US perceptions? (According to Pew survey 2012 around 75% of Pakistani population hate US)
5. Media and Political parties are one of the important sources of information for Public. What do you think that these sources of public information communicate information based on facts or they deliberately frame the information to serve some particular purpose?
6. In your opinion what is the importance of public perceptions for Pakistan's foreign relations with the US?
7. In your opinion what is the role of Pakistan's print media especially Urdu newspapers in development of Public perceptions of US?
8. Does the print media plays a uniform role in these perceptions or is there any variation of role within?
9. Does the prominent Urdu press spreads information independently and based on facts or is there any influencing factor or factors that may force it to disseminate framed information with some particular purpose to serve?
10. Does prominent media groups like *Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* become mouthpiece of some particular political forces and why?
11. How do you see the role of Urdu print media in representing the US role in 1971 war and creation of Bangladesh? Do you agree with their representations of US in this issue?
12. How do you see the role of Urdu print media in representing the US attitude towards Pakistan's nuclear program? Has this representation been factual or based on myths?
13. How do you see the role of Urdu print media in representing the US violating Pakistan's sovereignty in Post 9/11 period especially in the case of the Abbottabad operation on 2 May 2011?
14. Would you like to suggest any corrective measures for press in order to balance its role regarding public perceptions or you think Urdu press is already playing a balanced role?

## Consent for Participation in Interview Research

1. I volunteer to participate in a research titled "Politics of Betrayal: Pakistan–US Relations since 1971" conducted by PhD student Mr Shakil Akhtar under supervision of Dr. Philip Constable from University of Central Lancashire, Preston, UK. I have read and understood the information sheet provided by the researcher.

2. My participation in this project is voluntary. I understand that I will not be paid for my participation. I may withdraw and discontinue participation at any time without penalty. If I decline to participate or withdraw from the study, I have the right to do so.

3. I understand that most interviewees in will find the discussion interesting and thought-provoking. If, however, I feel uncomfortable in any way during the interview session, I have the right to decline to answer any question or to end the interview.

4. Participation involves being interviewed by a researcher from University of Central Lancashire, UK. The interview will last approximately 60 minutes. Notes will be written during the interview. An audio tape of the interview and subsequent dialogue will be made. If I don't want to be taped, I will inform the researcher.

5. I understand that the researcher will not identify me by name in any reports using information obtained from this interview, and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure. Subsequent uses of records and data will be subject to standard data use policies which protect the anonymity of individuals and institutions. However, I also understand if the researcher needs to publish my name and designation in his report will ask for my permission separately and explicitly.

6. I understand that this research has been reviewed and approved by the relevant committee for Studies Involving Human Subjects at the University of Central Lancashire, UK.

7. I have read and understand the explanation provided to me. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

8. I have been given a copy of this consent form.

Signature of Participant

Name of Participant

Date

Signature of the Investigator

For further information, please  
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WEDNESDAY JUNE 27, 2012

## **Pakistani Public Opinion Ever More Critical of U.S.**

74% Call America an Enemy

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## Pakistani Public Opinion Ever More Critical of U.S.

74% Call America an Enemy

Following a year of tensions between their country and the United States, Pakistanis continue to hold highly unfavorable views of the U.S. and offer bleak assessments of the relationship between the two nations.

Roughly three-in-four Pakistanis (74%) consider the U.S. an enemy, up from 69% last year and 64% three years ago. And President Obama is held in exceedingly low regard. Indeed, among the 15 nations surveyed in both 2008 and 2012 by the Pew Global Attitudes Project, Pakistan is the only country where ratings for Obama are no better than the ratings President George W. Bush received during his final year in office (*for more, see “Global Opinion of Obama Slips, International Policies Faulted,” released June 13, 2012*).

Only 13% of Pakistanis think relations with the U.S. have improved in recent years, down 16 percentage points from 2011. Strengthening the bilateral relationship is also becoming less of a priority for Pakistanis. While 45% still say it is important to improve relations with the U.S., this is down from 60% last year.

Moreover, roughly four-in-ten believe that American economic and military aid is actually having a negative impact on their country,

### Pakistani Views of U.S. Remain Grim

	2009	2011	2012	11-12 Change
<i>Is the U.S. more of a...</i>				
Partner	9	6	8	+2
Enemy	64	69	74	+5
Neither	12	9	10	+1
Don't know	15	16	8	-8
<i>U.S. favorability</i>				
Favorable	16	12	12	0
Unfavorable	68	73	80	+7
Don't know	16	16	9	-7
<i>Confidence in Obama</i>				
Confidence	13	8	7	-1
No confidence	51	68	60	-8
Don't know	36	24	34	+10
<i>U.S.-Pakistan relations</i>				
Improved	27	29	13	-16
Not improved	43	44	58	+14
Don't know	30	26	29	+3
<i>Improving relations is...</i>				
Important	53	60	45	-15
Not important	29	22	35	+13
Don't know	18	18	20	+2
<i>Impact of U.S. econ. aid</i>				
Mostly positive	--	--	12	--
Mostly negative	--	--	38	--
No impact	--	--	17	--
Don't know	--	--	33	--
<i>Impact of U.S. military aid</i>				
Mostly positive	--	--	8	--
Mostly negative	--	--	40	--
No impact	--	--	15	--
Don't know	--	--	37	--

while only about one-in-ten think the impact is positive.

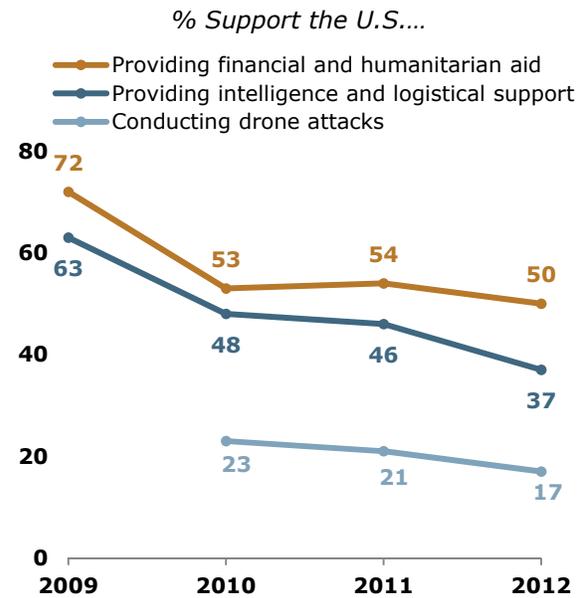
Additionally, over the last few years, Pakistanis have become less willing to work with the U.S. on efforts to combat extremist groups. While 50% still want the U.S. to provide financial and humanitarian aid to areas where extremists operate, this is down from 72% in 2009. Similarly, fewer Pakistanis now want intelligence and logistical support from the U.S. than they did three years ago. And only 17% back American drone strikes against leaders of extremist groups, even if they are conducted in conjunction with the Pakistani government.

Since 2009, the Pakistani public has also become less willing to use its own military to combat extremist groups. Three years ago, 53% favored using the army to fight extremists in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and neighboring Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, but today just 32% hold this view.

Overall, concerns about extremism have ebbed since 2009, when the Pakistan military was battling Taliban-affiliated groups in the Swat Valley area near Islamabad. Then, fully 69% were concerned that extremists might take control of Pakistan, compared with 52% today.

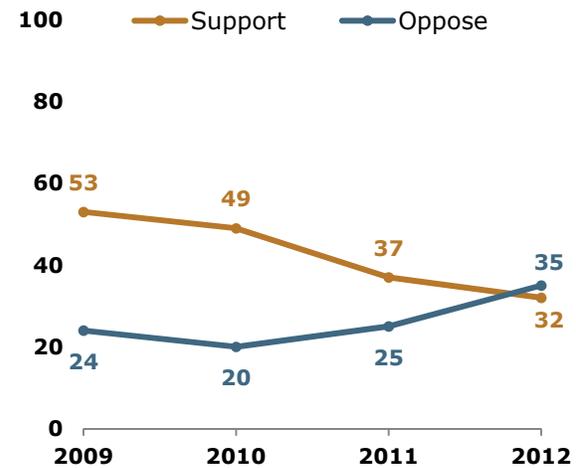
While concerns about extremism may have decreased, extremist organizations remain largely unpopular. Majorities, for example, express a negative opinion of both al Qaeda and the Taliban, as has been the case since 2009. In 2008 – before the peak of the Swat

### Decreasing Support for U.S. Help Fighting Extremist Groups



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q133a-c.

### Waning Support for Using Pakistani Army to Fight Extremists



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q132.

Valley conflict – pluralities expressed no opinion about these organizations.

When Pakistanis are asked more specifically about the Afghan Taliban and Tehrik-i-Taliban (also known as the TTP or Pakistan Taliban), opinions are again, on balance, negative, as they were in both 2010 and 2011.

Views are somewhat more mixed, however, regarding Lashkar-e-Taiba, a radical group active in Kashmir and widely blamed for the 2008 Mumbai terrorist attacks. Roughly one-in-five Pakistanis (22%) have a favorable view of Lashkar-e-Taiba, while 37% give it a negative rating and 41% offer no opinion.

Meanwhile, a solid majority (64%) offers no opinion about the Haqqani network, a group associated with the Taliban that is active on both sides of the Pakistan-Afghanistan border, but is largely believed to be based in the FATA region of Pakistan.

Respondents in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province consistently express more negative views about extremist groups than those in other provinces. Al Qaeda, the Taliban, Tehrik-i-Taliban, the Afghan Taliban and Lashkar-e-Taiba all receive especially poor ratings in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Pakistanis who pray five times per day are also more likely than those who pray less often to offer negative views of extremist groups.

These are among the key findings from a survey of Pakistan by the Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with 1,206 respondents between March 28 and April 13. The sample covers approximately 82% of the Pakistani population.<sup>1</sup> The poll in Pakistan is part of the larger 21-nation spring 2012 Pew Global Attitudes survey. Throughout the report, unless otherwise noted, trends from 2011 refer to a survey conducted in Pakistan from May 8-15, 2011, following the May 2, 2011 U.S. military raid that killed Osama bin Laden.<sup>2</sup> The May 2011 survey showed that, with a few exceptions, the killing of bin Laden had

### Little Support for Extremist Groups

	Fav %	Unfav %	DK %
<i>Al Qaeda</i>			
2012	13	55	31
2011	12	55	33
2010	18	53	28
2009	9	61	30
2008	25	34	41
<i>The Taliban</i>			
2012	13	66	20
2011	12	63	24
2010	15	65	29
2009	10	70	20
2008	27	33	40
<i>Tehrik-i-Taliban</i>			
2012	17	52	32
2011	19	51	30
2010	18	51	31
<i>Afghan Taliban</i>			
2012	14	45	41
2011	15	50	35
2010	16	49	34
<i>Lashkar-e-Taiba</i>			
2012	22	37	41
2011	27	37	36
2010	25	35	40
<i>Haqqani network</i>			
2012	5	31	64

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q46b, Q46d & Q134a-d.

<sup>1</sup> For more on the survey's methodology, see the Survey Methods section of this report.

<sup>2</sup> An earlier survey had been conducted in Pakistan in April 2011 – overall, results showed few differences between the two 2011 polls. For more, see "U.S. Image in Pakistan Falls No Further Following bin Laden Killing," released June 21, 2011.

little impact on America's already low ratings in Pakistan. The current poll reveals that, in some key areas, Pakistani views of the relationship between the two countries have become even more negative in the year since the Abbottabad raid.

### High Marks for Khan, Low Ratings for Zardari, Gilani

Pakistanis continue to express considerable discontent with conditions in their own country. About nine-in-ten (87%) are dissatisfied with the country's direction, barely changed from last year's 92%. Similarly, 89% describe the national economic situation as bad; 85% held this view in 2011. And overwhelming majorities rate unemployment, crime, terrorism, and corruption as very big problems.

The dismal public mood is reflected in poor ratings for the leaders of the incumbent Pakistan People's Party (PPP), President Asif Ali Zardari and former Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani. Only 14% view Zardari favorably, little changed from last year, but down significantly from 64% in 2008. Gilani, who was recently convicted of contempt and dismissed from office by Pakistan's highest court, fares only somewhat better, at 36% favorable. Gilani received similarly poor ratings last year, although as recently as 2010 a majority of Pakistanis expressed a favorable view of him.

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#### Khan Tops Leader Ratings

	% Favorable				
	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
	%	%	%	%	%
Khan	--	--	52	68	70
Sharif	76	79	71	63	62
Kayani	--	--	61	52	54
Chaudhry	--	61	61	51	51
Musharraf	44	--	--	--	39
Gilani	--	67	59	37	36
Zardari	64	32	20	11	14

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q46a, Q46c & Q46e-i.

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The most popular leader included on the survey is Imran Khan. Seven-in-ten Pakistanis offer a favorable opinion of the former cricket star and leader of the Pakistani Tehreek-e-Insaf party (PTI). This is essentially unchanged from last year, but up significantly from 2010.

Former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif is also generally well-regarded – about six-in-ten offer a positive view of the leader of the country's main opposition party, the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N). Sharif has consistently received high marks in recent years, although his ratings are down somewhat from the 79% registered in 2009.

Slightly more than half rate Chief of Army Staff General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani and Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry favorably. Ratings for both the army chief and the chief

justice have slipped slightly since 2010. Former President (and military chief) Pervez Musharraf, who has occasionally suggested he may return to Pakistani politics, receives relatively poor ratings.

Meanwhile, the military continues to receive overwhelmingly positive marks from the Pakistani public – 77% say the institution is having a good influence on the country. Roughly six-in-ten (58%) also say this about the court system.

### Negative Views of India

Only 22% of Pakistanis have a favorable view of traditional rival India, although this is actually a slight improvement from 14% last year. Moreover, when asked which is the biggest threat to their country, India, the Taliban, or al Qaeda, 59% name India.

Pakistanis have consistently identified India as the top threat since the question was first asked in 2009. The percentage fearing India has increased by 11 points since then, while the percentage naming the Taliban has decreased by nine points.

Despite these negative sentiments, 62% of Pakistanis say it is important to improve relations with India. And roughly two-thirds support more bilateral trade and further talks to try to reduce tensions between the two nations.

Most Indians also want better relations, more trade, and further talks between the two nations. Still, Indian attitudes toward Pakistan remain largely negative. Roughly six-in-ten Indians (59%) express an unfavorable opinion of Pakistan, although this is down slightly from 65% in 2011.

India is not the only country, however, where negative views of Pakistan prevail. Majorities or pluralities give Pakistan a negative rating in six of the seven other countries where this question was asked, including China, Japan, and three predominantly Muslim nations – Egypt, Jordan and Tunisia.

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### India a Greater Threat Than Taliban or al Qaeda

	% Saying greatest threat			
	2009	2010	2011	2012
	%	%	%	%
India	48	53	57	59
Taliban	32	23	19	23
Al Qaeda	4	3	5	4
All/None (Vol)	7	11	9	7
Don't know	9	10	10	7

"Of all these threats I have named, which of these is the greatest threat to our country?"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q126.

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**Also of Note:**

- A 43%-plurality of Pakistanis expect the economy to get worse over the next 12 months, while just 26% think it will improve. Still, there is more optimism than in 2011, when 60% said the country's economic situation would worsen in the coming year.
- China continues to receive high marks in Pakistan. Nine-in-ten Pakistanis consider China a partner; only 2% say it is more of an enemy.
- Pakistanis and Indians agree that Kashmir should be a priority for their countries. Roughly eight-in-ten Pakistanis and about six-in-ten Indians say it is *very* important to resolve the dispute over Kashmir.
- Those who identify with Imran Khan's Tehreek-e-Insaf party are especially likely to oppose American involvement in the battle against extremist groups in Pakistan, including American aid to areas where extremists operate and intelligence and logistical support to the Pakistani army.

## About the Pew Global Attitudes Project

The *Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project* conducts public opinion surveys around the world on a broad array of subjects ranging from people's assessments of their own lives to their views about the current state of the world and important issues of the day. The project is directed by Andrew Kohut, president of the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan "fact tank" in Washington, DC, that provides information on the issues, attitudes, and trends shaping America and the world. The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* is principally funded by The Pew Charitable Trusts.

Since its inception in 2001, the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* has released numerous major reports, analyses, and other releases, on topics including attitudes toward the U.S. and American foreign policy, globalization, terrorism, and democracy.

*Pew Global Attitudes Project* team members include Richard Wike (Associate Director), Juliana Menasce Horowitz, Katie Simmons, Jacob Poushter, and Cathy Barker. Other contributors to the project include Pew Research Center staff members James Bell (Director, International Survey Research), Bruce Stokes (Director, Pew Global Economic Attitudes), and Elizabeth Mueller Gross (Vice President), as well as Bruce Drake, Neha Sahgal, Carroll Doherty, and Michael Dimock. Additional members of the team include Mary McIntosh, president of Princeton Survey Research Associates International, and Mike Mokrzycki. The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* team regularly consults with survey and policy experts, regional and academic experts, journalists, and policymakers whose expertise provides tremendous guidance in shaping the surveys.

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### Pew Global Attitudes Project Public Opinion Surveys

<u>Survey</u>	<u>Sample</u>	<u>Interviews</u>
Summer 2002	44 Nations	38,263
November 2002	6 Nations	6,056
March 2003	9 Nations	5,520
May 2003	21 Publics*	15,948
Spring 2004	9 Nations	7,765
Spring 2005	17 Nations	17,766
Spring 2006	15 Nations	16,710
Spring 2007	47 Publics*	45,239
Spring 2008	24 Nations	24,717
Spring 2009	25 Publics*	26,397
Fall 2009	14 Nations	14,760
Spring 2010	22 Nations	24,790
Spring 2011	23 Publics*	29,100
Spring 2012	21 Nations	26,210

\* Includes the Palestinian territories.

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The *Pew Global Attitudes Project's* co-chairs are on leave through 2012. The project is co-chaired by former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, currently principal, the Albright Stonebridge Group, and by former Senator John C. Danforth, currently partner, Bryan Cave LLP.

All of the project's reports and commentaries are available at [www.pewglobal.org](http://www.pewglobal.org). The data are also made available on our website within two years of publication. Findings from the project are also analyzed in *America Against the World: How We Are Different and Why We Are Disliked* by Andrew Kohut and Bruce Stokes, published by Times Books. A paperback edition of the book was released in May 2007.

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# 1. Views of the U.S. and American Foreign Policy

Pakistanis continue to have overwhelmingly negative attitudes toward the United States. Eight-in-ten currently express an unfavorable view of the U.S. Among the 21 nations included in the spring 2012 Pew Global Attitudes survey, only Jordanians offer more negative ratings.

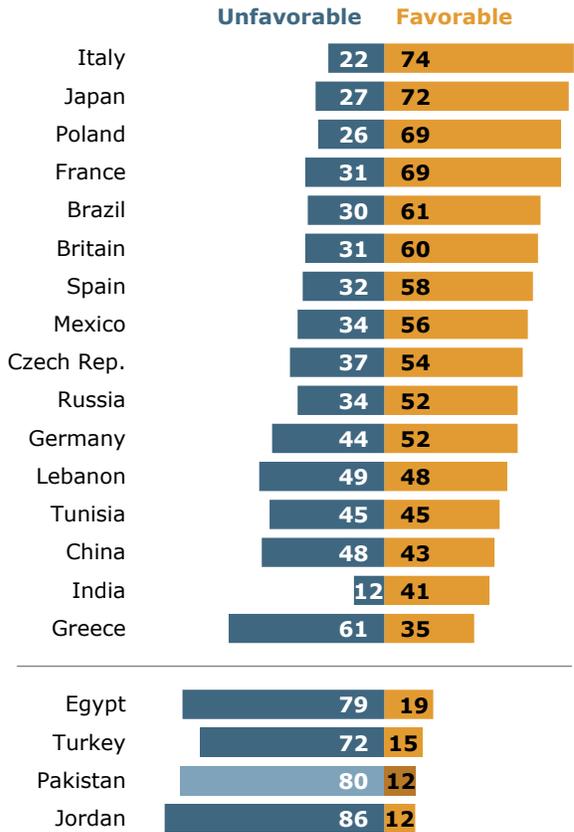
Similarly, President Obama gets poor marks from Pakistanis – only 7% have confidence in him to do the right thing in world affairs. And key aspects of American foreign policy are widely unpopular. Most believe the U.S. acts unilaterally on the world stage, and there is widespread opposition to American anti-terrorism efforts.

A 74%-majority of Pakistanis see the U.S. as an enemy, and most think U.S.-Pakistani relations have failed to improve over the last few years. Moreover, for a growing number of Pakistanis, enhancing the relationship between the two countries is not an important priority.

Pakistanis express mixed views about American involvement in the fight against extremist groups. On balance, there is support for American financial and humanitarian aid to areas where these groups operate, as well as for U.S. intelligence and logistical assistance to the Pakistani military. Support for both, however, has declined in recent years. And few back American drone strikes.

Over the last decade, the U.S. has provided billions of dollars in aid to Pakistan in an effort to increase bilateral cooperation and improve its image. But these policies are not seen in a positive light by Pakistanis – many say that both American military and economic assistance are having a negative effect on the country.

## Pakistan and Jordan Give U.S. Its Lowest Ratings



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q8a.

## Low Ratings for U.S., Obama

Fully 80% of Pakistanis have a negative opinion of the U.S., up seven percentage points from last year. This view has become more common over the course of the Obama era. In 2008, during President George W. Bush's last year in office, 63% expressed a negative view of the U.S.

### Opinion of U.S. Worsens in Pakistan

	1999/ 2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
<i>Views of U.S.</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Favorable	23	10	13	21	23	27	15	19	16	17	12	12
Unfavorable	--	69	81	60	60	56	68	63	68	68	73	80
Don't know	--	20	6	18	18	17	16	17	16	16	16	9

1999/2000 survey trend provided by the U.S. Department of State.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q8a.

Throughout Obama's presidency, few Pakistanis have held a positive view of the American leader. Today, six-in-ten say they have little or no confidence in him, down slightly from last year, but up from the 51% registered in 2009. Obama's ratings are very similar to those received by President Bush in 2008, when 61% expressed a lack of confidence in the former president.

### Obama Rates as Badly as Bush

	<i>Bush</i>		<i>Obama</i>			<i>08-12</i>	<i>09-12</i>
	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Change	Change
	%	%	%	%	%		
Confidence	7	13	8	8	7	0	-6
No confidence	61	51	60	68	60	-1	+9
Don't know	31	36	32	24	34	+3	-2

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q40a.

## U.S. Foreign Policy Distrusted

Pakistanis continue to believe the U.S. acts unilaterally in world affairs. Almost two-thirds (65%) do not think the U.S. considers the interests of countries like Pakistan when it is making foreign policy decisions.

Although this has been the prevailing view among Pakistanis for a decade, the percentage who say the U.S. does not consider their interests is up nine points since last year, and is now higher than at any point since Pew began asking this question in 2002.

### Pakistanis Continue to See U.S. Acting Unilaterally

<i>Does the U.S. take into account the interests of countries like Pakistan?</i>	2002	2003	2004	2005	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Great deal/Fair amount	23	23	18	39	21	22	19	20	13
Not too much/Not at all	36	62	48	41	54	53	56	56	65
Don't know	41	15	34	20	25	26	25	24	21

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q53.

American anti-terrorism efforts have also been consistently unpopular in Pakistan over the last decade. In the current poll, 61% say they oppose U.S.-led efforts to combat terrorism, essentially unchanged from 62% last year.

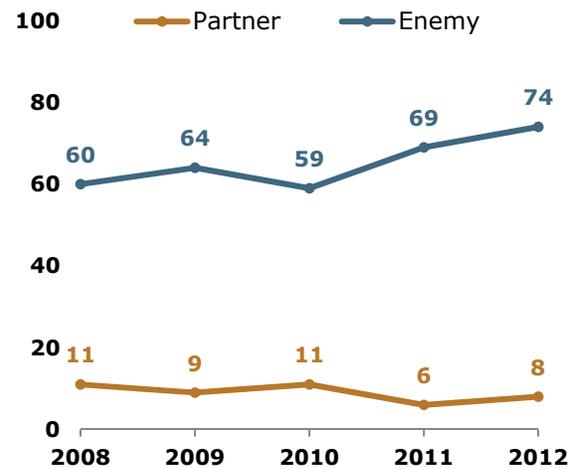
### Most Say U.S. an Enemy

Nearly three-in four Pakistanis (74%) consider the U.S. an enemy to their country, while just 8% say it is a partner. One-in-ten believe the U.S. is neither a partner nor an enemy, and 8% offer no opinion.

The percentage describing the U.S. as an enemy has grown steadily since 2010 and is currently at its highest point since 2008.

Those who live in the Punjab province are especially likely to think of the U.S. as an enemy (85%).

### U.S. Seen as Enemy



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q105b.

Pakistani views about their relationship with China are quite different. Nine-in-ten Pakistanis consider China a partner, while just 2% say it is more of an enemy.

### Relations Not Improving

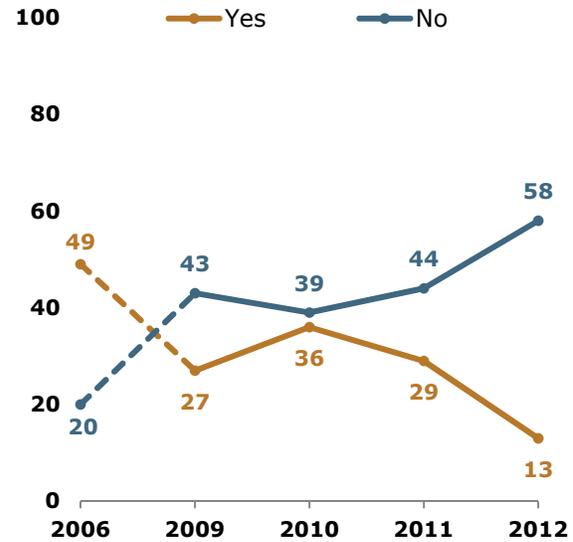
A shrinking minority of Pakistanis believe relations between their country and the U.S. are improving. Only 13% say the bilateral relationship has improved in recent years, while 58% disagree.

Assessments of U.S.-Pakistani relations have grown more negative over the last year, and have become considerably more negative since 2010, when the Pakistani public was almost evenly divided on this question. At that point, 36% said relations had improved and 39% said they had not.

Those who identify with the Tehreek-e-Insaf party – led by government critic Imran Khan – are particularly likely to say relations have not improved: 78% hold this view.

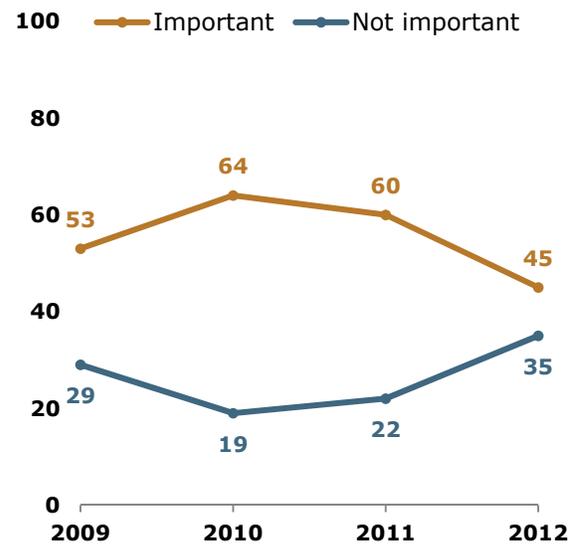
Overall, the goal of improving U.S-Pakistani relations is becoming less important to Pakistanis. Less than half (45%) say enhancing the relationship is important, down from 60% last year and 64% in 2010.

### Have U.S.-Pakistan Relations Improved in Recent Years?



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q88.

### Fewer See Importance of Improving U.S.-Pakistan Relations



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q88b.

## Limited Support for U.S. Help in Fighting Extremists

There is some support for cooperation between the U.S. and Pakistan in the fight against extremists. Half want the U.S. to provide financial and humanitarian aid to areas where extremist groups operate, while just one-in-five oppose this idea. Still, support has dropped significantly since 2009, when 72% favored these efforts.

Meanwhile, 37% support the U.S. providing intelligence and logistical assistance to

Pakistani troops fighting these groups, while 25% are opposed. Again, support has declined since 2009, when 63% were in favor.

American drone attacks have been consistently unpopular, even if the attacks are coordinated with Pakistani authorities. Only 17% favor the U.S. conducting drone strikes in conjunction with the Pakistani government against leaders of extremist organizations, little changed from 23% in 2010, the first year the question was asked.

Supporters of the Tehreek-e-Insaf party are especially likely to express opposition to American aid and U.S. intelligence and logistical support.

## Opposition to Drone Strikes

Just over half of Pakistanis (55%) say they have heard a lot or a little about drone attacks that target leaders of extremist groups. Awareness is considerably higher in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province (87%), which borders the semi-autonomous Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) in northwest Pakistan where most drone attacks have taken place.

Among those who have heard a lot or a little, nearly all (97%) consider them a bad thing. Roughly seven-in-ten (69%) believe the U.S. government is conducting these strikes, while another 18% volunteer that they believe both the U.S. and Pakistan are responsible.

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### U.S. Involvement in Combating Extremists

	Support %	Oppose %	DK %
Provide aid to areas with extremists	50	20	31
Provide intelligence and logistical support	37	25	39
Conduct drone attacks	17	44	39

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q133a-c.

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Those who are familiar with the drone campaign also overwhelmingly believe the attacks kill too many innocent people (94%). Nearly three-quarters (74%) say they are not necessary to defend Pakistan from extremist organizations.

Meanwhile, those who have heard about the strikes are somewhat divided over whether they are being done with or without approval from the Pakistani government.

### Drone Strikes...

	Agree %	Disagree %	DK %
Kill too many innocent people	94	4	2
Are being done without gov't approval	41	47	12
Are necessary	19	74	7

Asked of those who have heard a lot or a little about drone attacks (55% of the total sample).

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q131a-c.

### U.S. Assistance Having Negative Impact

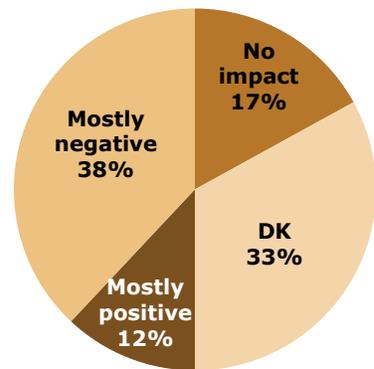
On balance, American aid efforts are seen in a negative light by Pakistanis. Around four-in-ten (38%) say U.S. economic aid is having a mostly negative impact on Pakistan, while just 12% believe it is mostly positive. Similarly, 40% think American military aid is having a mostly negative effect, while only 8% say it is largely positive.

Both forms of assistance are held in especially low regard by supporters of the Tehreek-e-Insaf party – 59% see U.S. economic aid negatively, and 61% believe American military assistance is having a detrimental impact on Pakistan.

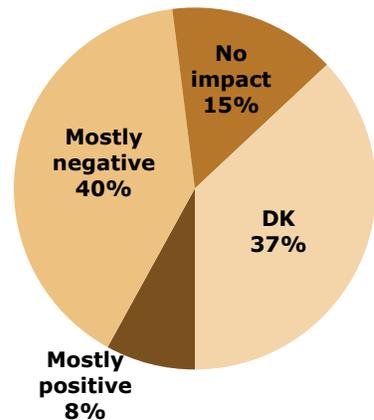
There is no consensus in Pakistan about whether American assistance is largely military or largely designed to help Pakistan develop economically: 18% say it is mostly military; 17% believe it is mostly economic; 22% think it is both equally; and 43% do not know.

### U.S. Aid Viewed Negatively

*Economic aid*



*Military aid*



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q100 & Q100b.

## **2012 Pew Global Attitudes Survey in Pakistan Survey Methods**

The survey in Pakistan is part of the larger Spring 2012 Pew Global Attitudes survey conducted in 21 countries under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International.

Results for the survey in Pakistan are based on 1,206 face-to-face interviews of adults conducted March 28 to April 13, 2012. It uses a multi-stage cluster sample of all four provinces stratified by province and the urban/rural population, representing roughly 82% of the adult population. The Federally Administered Tribal Areas, Gilgit-Baltistan, Azad Jammu and Kashmir were excluded for security reasons as were areas of instability in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (formerly the North-West Frontier Province) and Baluchistan — roughly 18% of the population. The sample is disproportionately urban, but the data are weighted to reflect the actual urban/rural distribution in Pakistan. Interviews were conducted in Urdu, Pashto, Punjabi, Sindhi, Hindko, Saraiki, Brahvi, and Balochi.

The margin of sampling error is  $\pm 4.2$  percentage points. For the results based on the full sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus the margin of error. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.