



Title of the thesis:

Changing Patterns of US Diplomacy towards South Asia in the Post 9/11 Era
with Special Reference to India, Pakistan and Bangladesh

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my beloved mother—

Shah Roushan Ara Begum

Who raised her hands (as a student of class IX, Jamalpur Girls' High School) against the Pakistani oppressors, after the brutal killing of the students during the 'Language Movement' in 1952 AD.

Declaration

Except where otherwise indicated
this thesis is my own work.

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My grateful debt of gratitude is to my mother, Shah Roushan Ara Begum, since she is the source of my inspiration; and to my eldest brother Mr. Masudur Rahman Chowdhury, for his fatherly affection and guidance.

Last but not least, I want to thank my dear wife and my son for continuously motivating me to write this thesis.

Certificate

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “Changing patterns of US diplomacy towards South Asia in the Post 9/11 era with special reference to India, Pakistan and Bangladesh” submitted by Sayed Mohammed Abdullah Al Mamun Chowdhury in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of ‘Doctor of Philosophy’ in the International Relations has been completed under my supervision.

It is further certified that Sayed Mohammed Abdullah Al Mamun Chowdhury has fulfilled all the conditions laid down in the Academic Ordinance with regard to the ‘PhD Course Work’ and that to the best of my knowledge; the thesis contains his original research.

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Abstract

This study deals with the patterns of the contemporary changes in the US diplomacy toward South Asia, especially toward India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. It deals with the nature and content of the US policy shifts toward south Asia during the period of 2001-2016.

After reviewing the remarks and the steps of the three contemporary US administrations i.e. Clinton, Bush Jr. and Obama administrations, this dissertation explores the emerging picture regarding the Indo-US, US-Pak and US-Bangladesh bilateral relations in the post 9/11 era.

It is argued that, after exploring the current tendencies of the United States during the above mentioned three administrations, the United States is gradually tilting toward India because it considers India as a counter weight against China in the Asian geo-political phenomena. However, it also wants active bilateral relations with Pakistan and Bangladesh, which are located at the either sides of India to ensure a balance of power. Hence, it prefers an anti-Indian democratic government in Bangladesh. However, Pakistan feels that India's alliance and nuclear deal with the US would adversely change the balance of power in South Asia.

It is also argued that the patterns of US diplomacy toward South Asia remain the same as it posed during the seventies, eighties and nineties, although the concerns were not the same. In those decades, the US policies were designed in the context of the Cold War world view. However, after 9/11 the concern shifts to face the challenges coming from the so-called 'rogue states' or the groups of anti-US Islamic militancy. In the earlier decades, the United States concern was to prevent India and Pakistan from becoming a communist state as well as to ensure nuclear nonproliferation in South Asia. Now, the concern is to prevent them from becoming the breeding places of anti-US Islamic militancy, which the United States has announced as the 'Global War on Terror' after 9/11. To justify the war, President Bush announced in the new US defense doctrine in a June 2002 speech at West Point:

Legal scholars...often conditioned the legitimacy of preemption on the existence of an imminent threat—most often a visible mobilization of armies. But a non-conventional war against terrorism requires taking anticipatory

action to defend ourselves, even if uncertainty remains as to the time and place of the enemy's attack.¹

Moreover, it is shown that, except in 1971, the United States always gives India a preferential treatment although Pakistan has been used as a Frontline state in curbing communist threats in Afghanistan or against Islamic militancy i.e. Taliban or Al Qaeda networks.

It is seen that the United States always takes the role of a mediator during the conflict between India and Pakistan (during in 1948, 1965 and in 1998 except in 19971). However, when the crisis is over, the United States tilts toward India. The China threat and India's lucrative market including its lasting democracy are the reasons behind the tilting. The US wants to forge 'strategic partnership' with India as the latter not only provides a huge market for the trade and investment of the US and its allies, but is also willing to be co-opted into America's larger global political and economic strategy.² India's shift from non-aligned and independent foreign policy to one of alignment with America has also been a significant importance behind the US tilting. American role in South Asia has, however, proved detrimental to the cause of Indo-Pakistan peace and harmony.³

In Bangladesh, the United States long-cherished desire is to sign such agreements so that it might have free access or a position in the Bay of Bengal. The Bay of Bengal is always geo-strategically important for the United States to hold influence in the Indian Ocean area. So does the Maldives and Sri Lanka. In this case, the United States policies after 9/11 remains the same as previous, however, the patterns of implementing those policies and the definitions given for those policies vary during the above mentioned three administrations.

Whereas, the H.W. Bush administration followed the doctrine of collective security for the New World Order, Clinton administration chose not to do everything or to intervene everywhere. Bill Clinton mostly consolidated his efforts in domestic affairs. Bill Clinton's liberal policy was strongly criticized by the conservatives and he was accused for not launching adequate interventions against the 'rogue states' and the

¹ See: <https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ei/wh/15425.htm>, retrieved in 12/04/2012

² S.R.T.P. Sugunakararaju, "The Role of the United States of America in India-Pakistan Relations: A Study of the Post- Cold War Phase", Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, p.2.

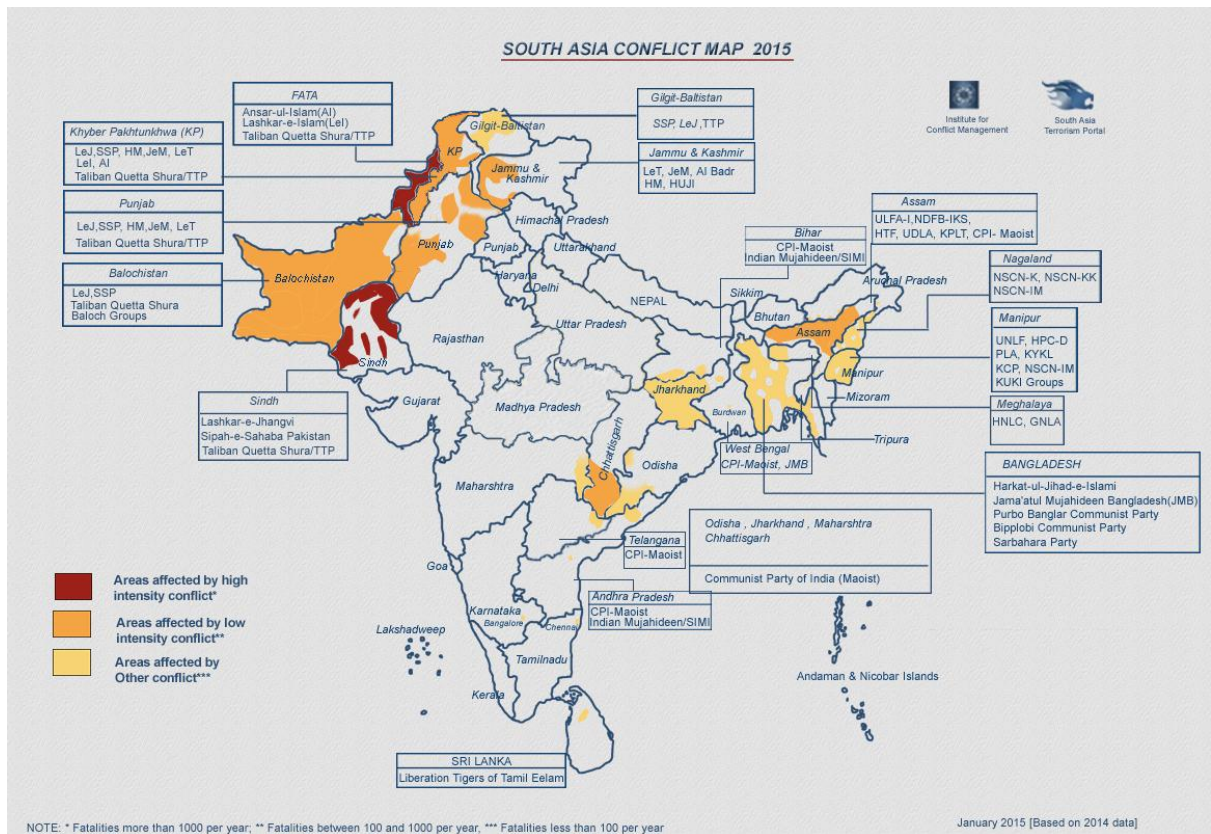
³ *ibid.*

groups of Islamic militancy. There was a strong belief among the conservatives in the United States that Clinton's loose-fisted actions gave enough time to the international terrorists to draw such an attack on Twin Towers. Therefore, George W. Bush was able to legitimate his unilateral approach against international terrorist networks.

However, President Obama's style was quite different. He emphasized on negotiations and collaborations rather than confrontation and unilateralism in the international affairs. The withdrawal of the US troops from Afghanistan and Iraq, negotiations with Taliban are such examples.

The thesis also briefly explores the causes behind the shifts in the US policy patterns toward South Asia in the post 9/11 era.

Map of South Asia



Source: <https://www.google.com.bd>, retrieved on 11/03/2016

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List of abbreviations

GWOT	: Global War on Terrors
CRS	: Congressional Research Service
FDI	: Foreign Direct Investment
NSC	: National Security Council
CIA	: Central Intelligence Agency
LDA	: Lobbying Disclosure Act
NRA	: The National Rifle Association of America
IRS	: Internal Revenue Service
NSA	: National Security Advisor
TSA	: Transportation Security Administration
CIFA	: Counter Intelligence Field Activity
NIRA	: National Industrial Recovery Act
NRI	: Non-Resident Indians
NPT	: Non-proliferation Treaty
CTBT	: Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
Comintern	: Communist International
PRC	: Peoples' Republic of China
INR	: Bureau of Intelligence and Research
TIFR	: TATA Institute of Fundamental Research
IAEA	: International Atomic Energy Agency
WSAG	: Washington Special Action Group
TIFA	: Trade and Investment Framework Agreement
LTTE	: Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam
PISCES	: Personal Identification Secure Comparison and Evaluation System
SOFA	: Status of Forces Agreement
PNAC	: Project for New American Century
WMD	: Weapon of Mass Destruction
ASPA	: American Service Members' Protection Act
PACOM	: Pacific Commander
APEC	: Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
BIT	: Bilateral Investment Treaty
NSG	: The Nuclear Suppliers Group
FMF	: Foreign Military Financing
UAVs	: Unmanned Aerial Vehicles
GSP	: Generalized System of Preferences
TICFA	: Trade and Investment Cooperation Forum Agreement
USTR	: US Trade Representative
CENTCOM	: US Central Command

Chapter-One

Introduction

The United States is the lone superpower in the present world. However, it has been shocked tremendously by the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers in the New York and other two places in the country. This overwhelming shock drastically changed the US world view and soon it launched the 'Global War on Terror' (GWOT), which let the old allies come together and also new enemies were created. Therefore, almost every country of the present world was concerned about the existent and forthcoming tendencies of the United States in the foreign relations because there were less bargaining opportunities left for any country after the collapse of the USSR. This study has analyzed the changes in the US policy toward South Asia from the Bush Jr. to Obama administrations. The main aim of the study was to examine the position of the countries of South Asia, especially India, Pakistan and Bangladesh in the US policy and the patterns of changes in the US diplomacy toward South Asia between the two administrations at both regional and bilateral levels. Besides examining the US security approach to these three countries, the study also has concentrated on the US approach to China, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Nepal and Bhutan as well as the interactions between the United States and these countries in terms of the Global War on Terror, business etc. The main argument of this study is that, since the end of the Cold War, South Asia has occupied an important position in the US security strategy, although it was far from being the highest priority in the US foreign policy. The 9/11 event has deepened the relation.

In fact, US Policy toward South Asia has been fluctuating for several issues over the time. US policies in the 50s or 60s were not the same as that of in the 70s, 80s, and 90s or during the first decade of Twenty First Century. Before 1971, the United States has changed its positions during the Sino-Indian war in 1962 and the Indo-Pak war in 1965 but continued the same policy on the question of deterrence and nuclear nonproliferation. For an example, the United States sent its aircraft carrier *The USS Enterprise*, to the Bay of Bengal in 1962 in response to an Indian appeal to eliminate the threat from China. Again, in 1971 it sent the same carrier to eliminate Indian threat against Pakistan. The US response to the incidents gives a clear indication of the unpredictability and unreliability of its policy. The US attitude radically changed its

earlier course during the Bangladesh liberation war in 1971. Again, after 1971 it went back to its previous course. In fact, it has developed a policy of continuations in parallel to fluctuations which is similar to its national 'unity within diversification'. Our aim was to examine the patterns and the causes of these fluctuations and continuations in the US approach toward South Asia, which was perceived after 9/11. However, by scrutinizing seven decades of US-South Asia relations, the following characteristics are assumed in the patterns of US diplomacy: Firstly, if the Sino-American relation becomes critical, India holds 'preferential treatment'⁴; secondly, if the Sino-American relation becomes warm, India gets 'general treatment'⁵; thirdly, the United States has always allied with Pakistan but shows special respect to India as a regional power; fourthly, in the context of an Indo-Pak conflict, the United States generally takes a role of a mediator while Pakistan expects partnership behavior; fifthly, in Bangladesh, the United States prefers an anti-Indian government. Pakistan always tries to ensure parity with India; therefore, it has signed alliance treaty with the United States in the fifties. However, in most cases, the South Asian policy of the United States frustrates its attempts.

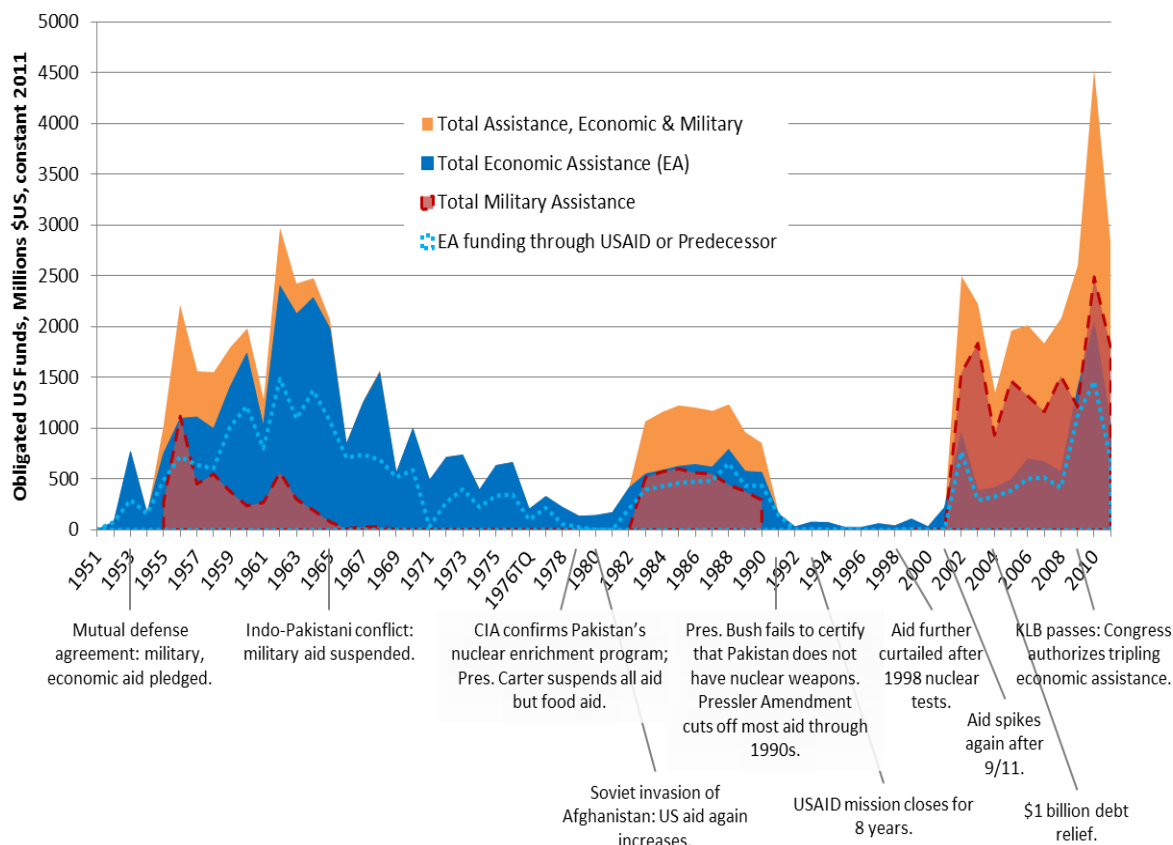
Let us take a look on the flow of the US economic assistance to Pakistan in the context of different issues:

From the 'Table' below, it is clear that the levels year to year have waxed and waned for decades as the US geopolitical interests in the region have shifted. While Pakistan was enjoying a higher US economic aid since 1955 by signing SEATO agreement, it was to face a sudden suspension of military aid in 1965 in the context of the Indo-Pak war, which continued almost up to 1980. The United States resumed the military aid to Pakistan again after the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan and this aid rose to a higher level up to 1990. Again, as soon as the Soviet army was withdrawn, the US President denied certifying Pakistan about its nuclear weapons program, therefore, the Pressler Amendment cut of most aids through 1990s. This pattern has rendered US unreliable partnership with Pakistan over the years.

⁴ It refers to a special kind of relation where the United States gives India top priority and leverage (i.e. arms and economic aid, grants etc.) so that it might not tie with the USSR or China; it might open its market of both the public and private sector for the western capital investment.

⁵ It refers to give no leverage by toppling the interests of the neighboring South Asian countries.

Table-01
(US Aid to Pakistan)



Source: US Overseas Loans and Grants: Obligations and Loan Authorizations, prepared for the Congressional Research Service by K. Alan Kronstadt.⁶

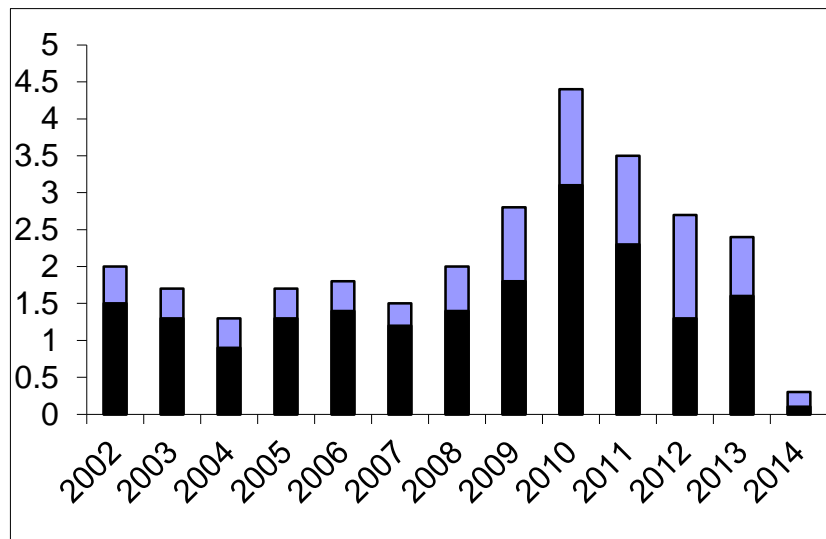
Moreover, Pakistan wanted US aid not only for the security purposes, but to meet up its development necessities. However, the chart below shows that the major portion of US aid was to spend for security purposes.

From the ‘Table’ below, K. Alan Kronstadt has concluded that, between FY2002 and FY2009, only 30% of the US foreign aid to Pakistan was appropriated for economic-related needs; the remaining 70 percent was allocated to the security-related assistance. During this period, the United States has recognized Pakistan as a Frontline state in its effort to launch the ‘Global War on Terror’.

⁶ (see: <http://www.cgdev.org/page/aid-pakistan-numbers>), retrieved in 26/02/2014

Table-02

(Total height of the bars indicate total economic aid and black color indicates the aid used for security purpose)



Annual US Assistance to Pakistan 2002-2014 (billion)

Source: Annual Congressional appropriations, as reported and categorized by Alan Kronstadt of the Congressional Research Service.⁷

However, between FY2010 and FY2014 the US Congress approved ‘Enhanced Partnership for Pakistan Act’ (known as Kerry-Lugar-Berman bill, or KLB) to signal the United States’ renewed commitment to Pakistan. But under this act, the United States has allocated only 41% of aid for economic programs; remaining 59% were used for security purposes. However, it is also difficult to identify how much money has been actually spent because it is always not easy to know how much money is actually disbursed from the approved allocation. For an example, according to the most recent CRS report, between FY2010 and FY2012, approximately \$2.2 billion of \$4 billion appropriated for the economic-related assistance was disbursed.⁸ Now, let us take a look on the US economic assistance to India.

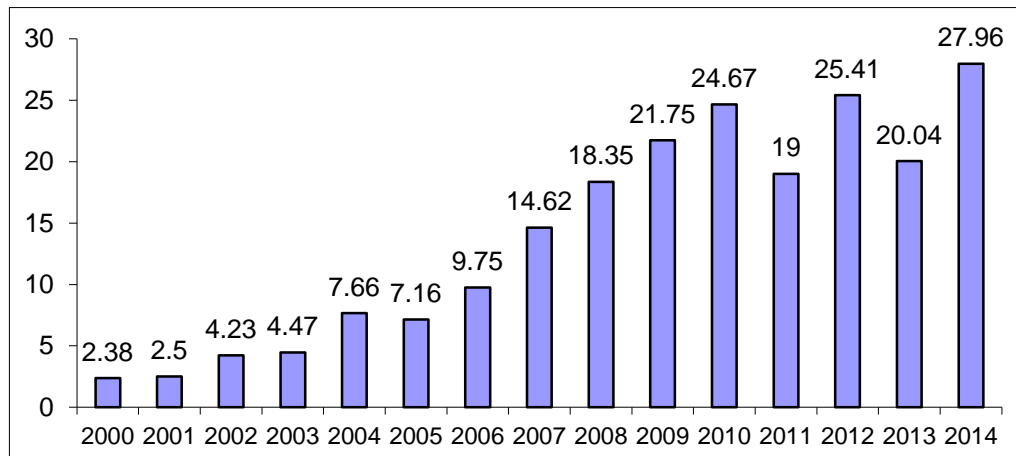
According to USAID, India received approximately \$65.1bn in economic assistance from 1946 until 2012 surpassing even Israel from the United States and became the highest receiver.⁹ Along with the economic aid, the US FDI in India is also remarkable. The following FDI chart shows that, from the beginning of the new millennium up to 2014, the US FDI in India is rising and there are less fluctuations in the flow (see: Table-03). As a point of comparison, according to the most recent data from USAID’s US Overseas Loans and Grants database (FY2011), Pakistan is the

⁷ see: <http://www.cgdev.org/page/aid-pakistan-numbers> , retrieved in 26/02/2014.

⁸ *ibid.*

⁹ *The Dawn*, July 14, 2015 (online version).

fourth largest recipient of US assistance, which is seven times more than in Bangladesh, with a comparable population size and similar development needs.

Table-03¹⁰

Direct Investment in Billion US Dollars in India from 2000-2014 (Source: Statista, 2016)

Table-03 shows, FDI in India was 2.38bn in FY2000 and it has been raised up to 27.96bn in FY2014. Only in FY2005 and FY2011 it has been reduced to some extent. Except these two years, the overall flow of investment was on the rise. This gradual development of US economic investment in India is an indicator of US-India mutual trust and understanding. This is because, the September 11, 2001 attack and subsequent US decision to initiate Global War on Terror (GWOT) led the two countries come closer; therefore, both the countries together implemented a co-operative framework of relationships based on three dimensions: democracy, economy, and security.

On November 9, 2001, President Bush told the visiting Indian Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee that his administration was committed toward developing a fundamentally different relationship with India, based upon both trust and mutual values.¹¹ Thereafter, just one year later of Bush's announcement (in May 2002), US Special Forces were flown into India and took part in a two-week military maneuver in north India, in the historical city of Agra. It was the first joint military exercise between the two countries in 39 years, which revealed that Indo-US military cooperation had reached a high level.¹²

After 9/11 attacks the United States felt that India, as a de-facto nuclear state, had co-operative potential with the US on the proliferation issue. The United States thinks

¹⁰ see: <http://www.statista.com/statistics/188633/united-states-direct-investments-in-india-since-2000/>, retrieved in 26/02/2014.

¹¹ See: www.indianembassy.org/indusrel/2001/vajpayee_bush_nov_9_01.htm, retrieved in 15/10/2014.

¹² 'Military Exercises: Waltzing with Arms', *The Week*, Kochi, November 10, 2002.

that South Asia is the ‘most dangerous region in the world’ due to territorial disputes, the ethnic and religious divergence, and the nuclear confrontation between India and Pakistan. According to the US Under Secretary of State for political affairs Michael Armacost:

...due to size and population, military and scientific establishments, and its geographic position between the oil rich Persian Gulf and dynamics of economics of East Asia give the area’s geo-political importance. Therefore, the United States has an interest in avoiding conflict among the major states of the region.¹³

Again, the United States is concerned with China’s challenge to its world leadership as it has been seemed that the latter is going to become the world’s number one economic power. On the other hand, India’s concern is about China’s future relationship with Pakistan, which might become a major security threat. The friendship of China as a regional power would be fruitful for India than the external power, the United States because as a developing country, India’s priority is economic development. If Sino-Indian hostilities are removed, US influence will be lightened here, which will further strengthen Chinese influence in the Pacific Ocean area. Only an Indo-US grouping can lead the United States securing a power advantage. Moreover, the Indian-Americans believe that China is a ‘threat’ to the interests of both India and the United States. Not only that the United States feared about the possibility of forming China-India-Russia alliance based on a common understanding and interests of a new international political and economic order unless it would make a strategic partnership with India. The new perception of India as an emerging power also led the US policy makers to reappraise their policy towards South Asia. Francine R. Frankel wrote:

The time has come for Washington to develop a policy that views New Delhi as more than a minor player in the global superpower competition or simply one of dozens of Third World or non-aligned countries. . . India is increasingly exercising its influence from the sub-continent to the Suez Canal and deserves the treatment given today in China, another emerging giant determined and able to play an independent role in Asia.¹⁴

It would also be helpful to quote Armacost’s remarks to the Philadelphia-based World Affairs Council here: “....We support India’s unity, territorial integrity and non-

¹³ Dheeraj Kumar, ‘The United States’ Changing Perceptions of India’, *Post Cold War Developments in South Asia* by Ramakanto and P.Z. Bholia (Jaipur, India: PBSA Publishers, 1995), p.16.

¹⁴ *ibid.*

alignment, and recognize its pivotal role and its special responsibilities for regional peace and stability.”¹⁵

All these reasons have led the United States and India to come closer, especially after 9/11 attacks. It is a clear shift in US policy toward India from the policy implemented during the cold war era. In those years the United States did not include India as its strategic alliance partner nor did it include India as a possible containment target. India’s policy of non-alignment, maintaining warm relations with the Soviet Union and contrasting United States’ policy of deterring the Soviet Union made it difficult for the US and India to work together.

However, on the part of the United States, winning India’s friendship was very costly. Before 9/11 attacks the United States’ demands to India were: not to carry out nuclear tests, not to produce fissile materials, not to deploy missiles with nuclear warheads, to stop a dangerous nuclear and missile arms race and to control the export of sensitive materials. All these demands went behind as soon as anti-terrorism became the number one choice of the United States. Not only that, in terms of Kashmir, which was a major element of Indo-Pak conflict, the United States changed its earlier stance of supporting Pakistan. It has now dropped the United Nations policy of giving the residents of Kashmir the right of a plebiscite for its future and supported India’s policy of negotiations. How the United States changed its earlier attitude toward India was revealed in President Bush’s statement. While visiting India President Bush signed a joint statement with Monmohon Sing on March 03, 2006 which stated:

India in the 21st century is a natural partner of the United States because we are brothers in the cause of human liberty....For many years, the United States and India were kept apart by the rivalries that divided the world. That's changed. Our two great democracies are now united by opportunities that can lift our people, and by threats that can bring down all our progress. The United States and India, separated by half the globe, are closer than ever before, and the partnership between our free nations has the power to transform the world.¹⁶

During the cold war period and its aftermath, the China factor was also a key element contributing to the change of the US relationship with the region. In the post-Cold War, the US has seen many challenges posed by China, especially from China’s military modernization program. Moreover, China’s activities in the South China Sea during the 1990s also contributed to the strengthening of bilateral relations between the US and South Asian states especially India. Through anti-terrorism initiatives, military assistance programs, intelligence sharing and joint military exercises, the US

¹⁵ *ibid*, p.17.

¹⁶ See: <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/infocus/india-pakistan/>, retrieved in 24/11/2014.

deepened and expanded its relations with India. In the long term, the USA's objective in the region was to prevent the emergence of any potential adversary that would be capable of competing with the US in the future. Importantly, the US re-engagement in South Asia under the Bush administration was not only to counter terrorism, but also to contain China. The rapid increase in China's defense spending and the expansion of its influence in South Asia concerned the United States. During the Bush era, China also played a key role in the US relationships with South Asian states. The Obama administration has continued and developed the policy of its earlier administration.

1.1 Purpose of the study

This study sought to examine the domains of the US national interests in South Asia and identify patterns in US-India, US-Pakistan and US-Bangladesh bilateral relations after 9/11 events and then compare them with the earlier patterns to show the changes and continuity in the pursuit of US diplomacy toward South Asia. For this, the study has evaluated the US economic aid and FDIs (for security, development and humanitarian purposes), trade relations, bilateral agreements, protocols or bilateral dialogues, joint statements etc. based on their intended goals.

The specific objectives were: to study how the US diplomacy has evolved up to 9/11 attacks; to evaluate the different policies of the United States toward India and Pakistan in response to selected events; to identify causes of discarding Pakistan and focusing more on India by the US.

1.2 The defining variables

The proposed study has sought to identify the pledges and the demands of the United States to India, Pakistan and Bangladesh when it was organizing attacks on Afghanistan to uproot Taliban regime. It also intended to explore the grounds of fluctuations in US diplomacy while mitigating crises derived from bi-lateral or multilateral relations with South Asia especially after 9/11. However, it was not a study of full range of relations that the United States, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh entered into this period. It was, actually, an applied research which has tried to give the answers of 'how' and 'why'. However, let us discuss on some terms related to the study.

● The decision-making process

Decision-making is central to a government. The United States' governmental decision making process relating to foreign relations is generally the outcome of an interagency process in Washington. At the top of the hierarchy is the president. By statute, it includes the president, vice president, and secretaries of state and defense.

Although the executive branch has the lead, congress plays a major role in exercising oversight and providing authorization and appropriations for US government activities. According to Alexander Evans, three discrete groups of people have influenced US South Asia policy since 1947¹⁷:

- Successive presidents and their cabinet members
- Senior advisors—whether in the NSC or individual agencies—who have influenced decisions at particular points of time
- Representatives in Congress, who control resources and have the ability to shape the public agenda

In practice, the NSC's (National Security Council) Principals Committee (PC) and Deputies Committee (DC) oversee and approve most strategies. The PC consists of officials at the level of cabinet secretary or head of the agency and the DC of their second in charge. Standing members of the PC and DC, in addition to the NSC staff, include State Department, Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD), Treasury Department, USAID, Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), US Mission to the United Nations (USUN), and the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), as well as the Office of the Chief of Staff to the President and the Office of the Vice President (OVP). Other agency representatives are invited to participate when appropriate. Meetings are chaired by the national security adviser (NSA) or deputy NSA, with meeting documents and records produced by the NSC staff, although agencies often will circulate papers on specific issues for PC or DC consideration. However, President's explicit approval is required for the escalation of US presence in a conflict zone, the deployment of troops and the expenditure of resources.

There is always a difficulty in the United States in integrating its global and regional security policies. Though the president of the United States is the chief policy maker for any diplomatic maneuver, there are a number of other influential actors in the process. The president's cabinet, the National Security Council and other private presidential advisors have direct influence on the conduct of vibrant policies.¹⁸ While formulating policies, specific roles of these actors are also varied. For example, the Secretary of the State is recognized as the president's chief advisor and implementer of the foreign policies. But he is to rely on the advices of American ambassadors abroad and on the area division staffs to supply policy recommendations to the

¹⁷ Alexander Evans, *The United States and South Asia after Afghanistan* (New York: Asia Society, 2012), p.47.

¹⁸ K. Holly Maze Carter, *The Asian Dilemma in U.S. Foreign Policy: National Interest Versus Strategic Planning* (England: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1989), p.xix.

president. Sometimes he may ignore the vibrant recommendations of the high officials. For example, Archer Blood, the US Counsel General posted in Dhaka in 1971 together with a few US consular officers sent a note of protest to Washington against the US policy favoring Pakistan as they had witnessed the barbaric action of the Pakistan army on the innocent Bengalis.¹⁹ But Henry Kissinger, the Secretary of the State of the United States, ignored his (Archer) note and reproached Archer as well as his fellow officials. Because, in response to the report of Archer Blood, Joseph S. Farland, the US ambassador to Pakistan and a Nixon-political appointee argued that the United States should do nothing to displease Yahya and thereby drive him into Peking's arms. In Washington Farland's 'pleas' for 'quiet diplomacy' won over.²⁰ However, the Department of Defense, CIA, several groups on Capitol Hill etc. also have a strong influence on policy formulations. The House and Senate standing committees of budget, commerce, armed and intelligence services also review and legislate the parameters of those conducts.²¹

The characteristic of the exercise of 'state power' in the United States has given it a unique nature. 'Power' is exercised evenly by the three bodies: Executive, Judiciary and Legislative although sometimes 'executive body' becomes dominant due to an emergency. From the very beginning, the US legislative assembly and the executive bodies confront each other in formulating integrated state policies and tried to dominate over each other. This is more obvious, for example, in two most important issues: 1812 Anglo-American Economic Warfare and during the First World War. We have seen, despite utmost effort President Woodrow Wilson did not able to ratify the bill to join the League of Nations. However, the scenario changed after the Second World War. During WW2 President F. D. Roosevelt, the executive Chief, wanted to lead the United States for challenging world affairs but the congress was reluctant for the purpose. Later, the 'Cold War' regained a centralized decision-making authority. As a result, presidential domination came into being in US diplomatic maneuver. Again, in the context of the Vietnam War, the Congress supported the war initially, but later withdrew support during President Johnson and Nixon period. When the Regan administration overcorrects the Carter administration's policy, Congress became assertive.

However, it is to be further noted that there are also some other difficulties in the decision making process. The difficulties are also arisen from the change of

¹⁹ See for details: Archer Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh: Memories of An American Diplomat* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 2002.).

²⁰ Sharma. Sarbjit, *US-Bangladesh Relations: A Critique*(Dhaka: University Press Limited, 2001), p.9.

²¹ K. Holly Maze Carter, *op.cit.*, p.xix.

governments. Bipartisan American democracy itself is also responsible for the shifting of policies in diplomatic approaches. The Heritage Foundation, other think tanks, hyphenated voter's pressure groups, different countries' lobbyist groups also always try to manipulate their interests through legislative pressure or through executive favor. In this case, it is not ignorable that there is always a chance of Jews influence over the US policy choices because in almost all American administrations, the Jews had been holding some key positions and the executive heads of the United States could not but accept their advices due to their skills and prominence.

It is worth mentioning here that Jews people in the United States are very small in number in proportion to the total population (only 5.4 million+)²² but they always hold significant positions. This is the world's second highest Jews population after Israel (in Israel 6 million+).²³ They have taken hold of the key positions in Treasury, Security Councils, Federal Reserve System, Economic Councils, and Budget Management etc. Even they represent the United States at NATO. Sonjoy Puri said, '.... What the Jewish community has achieved politically is tremendous, and members of congress definitely pay a lot of attention to the issues that are important to them.'²⁴ If we examine the contemporary three administrations of the United States (i.e. Clinton, W. Bush and Obama administration), we will see Jews' presence in all key positions. In Clinton Administration Secretary of the Treasury was Robert Rubin, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank was Alan Greenspan, Head of National Security Council was Samuel Berger, Head of National Economic Council was Gene Sperling, Special Representative to NATO was Richard Holbrook, Chief of Social Security was Kenneth Apfel and all of them were Jews.

In W. Bush's administration National Security Council Advisor was Elliot Abrams, Defense Advisor who sits on the Pentagon Defense Advisory Board was Kenneth Adelman, Attorney General was Michael Mulasey, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank was Alan Greenspan, Undersecretary of State for Arms Control and International Security was John Bolton, Foreign Policy Advisor was Richard Pearle and all of them were Jew.

Again, in the Obama administration Paul Volcker is the Chairman of Economic Recovery Advisory Board (a new position that Obama created). He was also the Chairman of the Federal Reserve under Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan and he is a Jew. Secretary of the Treasury is Timothy Geithner, Foreign Policy Advisor is Lee

²² See: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Jewry>, retrieved in 12/11/2014.

²³ *ibid.*

²⁴ Steve W. Hook and James M. Scott, *US Foreign Policy Today: American Renewal?* (Washington: CQ Press, 2012), p.82.

Feinstein and Eric Lynn is Middle East Policy Advisor, Secretary of Homeland Security is Janet Napolitano, Head of Middle East Desk at the National Security Council is Dan Shapiro, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank is Ben Bernanke and they are all Jews. So, it is clear the United States' bureaucracy is now being dominated by the Jews people. We all know that The Federal Reserve System has been working since 1913 as a central bank in the United States.²⁵The system is run by a Board of Governors. The members of the board, namely Benjamin S. Bernanke (Chairman), Donald L. Kohn (Member), Kevin M. Warsh (Member), Randall S. Kroszner (Member), Frederic S. Mishkin (Member) – all are Jews.²⁶ The only special interested group which is defined by its foreign policy is the 'Jews'.²⁷ Therefore, it has been always controversial whether the influence of Jews lobby distorts the United States' national interests. The presence of Jews people in the key positions of the United States may have an enormous influence on the policy formulations toward India and Pakistan for historical reasons.

● Public opinion

Sometimes public opinion plays the most important role in shaping US national policies. The United States is a nation of immigrants or the descendants of immigrants. When wars, revolutions and persecutions have convulsed polish-Americans, Jewish-Americans, Irish-Americans, German-Americans and others have brought pressure on the Washington government to shape foreign policy in their interests. The results have been that the United States was often not been able to speak to the outside world with the authority of one voice. For example: when King Saud of Saudi Arabia, whose role in the Suez crisis was of vital concern to Washington, was invited to the United States in 1957, New York refused to give him a royal welcome. Mayor Wagner was quoted as saying that this Moslem potentate was anti-Jewish and anti-Catholic-all of which was a crude appeal to the prejudices of the hyphenated voters.²⁸

However, public opinion has the power to mold or influence public policy through its exertion of pressure on elected or appointed officials, and those seeking to be elected to office. In extreme situations, public opinion results in people being placed or removed from positions of power and influence. For an example, through free

²⁵ <http://www.save-a-patriot.org/files/view/whofed.html>, retrieved in 12/11/2014.

²⁶ *ibid.*

²⁷ Edwin S. Gaustad (ed.), *A Documentary History of Religion in America Since 1865*, 2nd ed. (New York: William B Erdmann Publishing Co., 1993), p.447.

²⁸ Bailey, Thomas A., *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1958), p.5.

journalism, government misconduct can be brought before public scrutiny through a variety of different media, including newspapers, television and the internet. Additionally, non-governmental organizations, interest groups and even government protection agencies can inform the citizenry and provide vehicles for direct action in correcting political wrongs.

We have seen the decision of invasion in Iraq and prolonged deployment of US troops in the Middle East during Bush (senior) administration was not welcomed by the US citizenry. Therefore, President George W. Bush had to give up of his remaining political capital and some of his domestic agenda at the end of his first term. However, he became so unpopular that he could not succeed to be re-elected for the second time. The newly elected Clinton administration also abandoned Bush's policy and gave more attention to the recovery of US economy instead of world policing.

● **Lobbyists**

The Lobbyist groups have also great influence on US policy formulations. Legally speaking, lobbying is acceptable in America, unlike India, Pakistan or Bangladesh. In the 'Lobbying Disclosure Act (LDA) of 1995', US Congress defined the term 'lobbyist' as "any individual who is employed or retained by a client for financial or other compensation for services that include more than one lobbying contact...." The law was enacted requiring lobbyists to register and make specific disclosures to Congress about their activities and interactions with American legislators. The law was amended in 2007 and renamed 'Honest Leadership and Open Government Act'. Despite numerous criticisms, lobbying in the US is protected under the First Amendment of the constitution, which enshrined the right to petition the government. However, after the 2006 Jack Abramoff scandal, which linked lobbying with political corruption, it's now more common to refer to 'political advocates' rather than 'lobbyists.'

Every year lobbying groups in Washington spend billions of dollars to buy influence. Corporations, special-interest groups, unions, and single-interest groups like the NRA— all of them have poured money into efforts to shape laws and regulations to fit their interests. Among them the most prominent lobbyist groups are as follows: The Tech Lobby, The Mining Industry, The Defense Industry, The Agribusiness Industry, Big Oil, The Financial Lobby, Big Pharma, The AARP, The NRA etc. These groups spend huge money to influence on the officials of the IRS, NSA, TSA, CIFA, FBI, the US Census, and the postal service. For example, in 2010, Microsoft alone spent over \$6.9 million on federal lobbying efforts. The mining lobbyists have spent nearly \$100 million dollars in the last three years to sell politicians and taxpayers on the idea of

‘clean coal’. A financial lobby ‘Goldman Sachs’ alone donated over \$2.6 million to various politicians and governing bodies so that they would have been allowed free reign with other people’s money. A senate committee on the financial crisis of the late 2000’s found that; they were responsible for the real estate bubble and the sub-prime mortgage of 2008. NIRA (National Industrial Recovery Act) a pro-Israel lobby headed by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, is a foreign policy lobby which is continuing 50 years of hard lobbying, resulting \$3 billion in US aid to Israel every year.

South Asians are latecomers in the US compared to other immigrant groups like Jews, Italians and Irish, who have been around for more than a century. Therefore, they have not yet had the time to develop the profile and influence that other minority groups have. However, NRI (Non-Resident Indians) is now ahead among other South Asian Lobbies in buying influence over US policy makers. According to the latest US census, Indians are the best-educated immigrant group in the country, and one of the wealthiest also.

The Indian lobby in Washington gained over Pakistan for the first time on the Kargil issue in 1998. Though the Pakistani forces advanced within Indian Territory, due to Indian lobby, Pakistani force was considered as ‘rogue’ in the Clinton administration, and therefore, Nawaz Sharif compelled to retreat.

The next major gain for the Indian lobby in America was winning a nuclear deal despite Delhi being a non-signatory to the non-proliferation treaty (NPT). The framework for the US-India Civil Nuclear Agreement was signed between George W. Bush and Manmohan Singh in 2005.

The Indian lobby also wins the friendship of Jews lobby in America. Following Modi’s meetings with Jewish advocacy groups in the US, the American Jewish Committee wrote to key members of the US Congress:

The United States, India and Israel share fundamental values, including religious and ethnic pluralism, electoral democracy and market-based economies— and common strategic challenges and concerns, including the urgent effort to thwart terrorism. As such, we regard the partnership between India and Israel as a natural one.

Recently, the Indian lobby in Washington has succeeded to block US sale of F-16 jets to Pakistan. Pakistan also has a strong lobby in Washington. Stephen Payne is believed to be the preeminent paid lobbyist for the government of Pakistan in the United States. According to former Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf, Payne played a pivotal role in US-Pakistan relations, serving as Pakistan’s lobbyist through a group called Team Eagle (also known as Team Barakat). Payne worked as a lobbyist

for Pakistan to deliver a multibillion dollar US aid package and to remove US economic and military sanctions against Pakistan that had been in place for several years. He also helped Pakistan secure Major non-NATO status.

● **Think tanks**

In the United States, there are more than fifty major Think Tanks which have a strong influence over American policy making process. Among which The Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Brookings Institution, Heritage Foundation, Human Rights Watch, Kaiser Family Foundation, Council on Foreign Relations, Cato Institute, RAND Corporation, Center for American Progress, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (CBPP), The Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), ASPEN Institute, The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, The Bipartisan Policy Center (BPC), The Lexington Institute, James A. Baker III Institute are the most prominent. These think tanks are constantly researching solutions to a variety of the world's problems, and then arguing, advocating, and lobbying for policy changes at local, state, and federal levels.

● **Diplomacy**

Diplomacy is about the art of possibility and is strongly influenced by events. It means skill, tact, the art or science of conducting negotiations of government officials between or among the states or nations with peaceful means. It also refers to 'mechanism'. The term is given to the official channels of communication employed by the members of a system of states. That is, a dispensation in which the members retain sovereignty, but act with more or less enthusiasm as if they are part of one body.²⁹

According to Martin Wight, 'Diplomacy is the master-institution of International Relations.'³⁰ According to *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*³¹, diplomacy means:

- a) The conduct of the relations of one state with another by peaceful means;
- b) Skill in the management of international relations;
- c) Tact, skill, or cunning in dealing with people.

According to *Collins English Dictionary*,³² diplomacy means:

²⁹ G.R. Berridge, Maurice Keens-Soper & T.G. Otte, *Diplomatic Theory: From Machiavelli to Kissinger* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), p.1.

³⁰ Hedley Bull and Carsten Holbraad (edited), *Power Politics* (Leicester, 1978), p.113.

³¹ Fourth edition, copyright ©2000 by Houghton Mifflin Company; updated in 2009; published by Houghton Mifflin Company.

³² Complete and Unabridged © Harper Collins Publishers, 2003.

- a) The conduct by government officials of negotiations and other relations between nations;
- b) The art or science of conducting such negotiations;
- c) Skill in managing negotiations, handling people, etc.

In the existent world, this channel of communication is to be found in a network of diplomats and consuls who enjoy the protection of special legal rules and are permanently resident abroad. This network first came into being in the Italian peninsula, in the second half of the fifteen century and reached its full expression in Europe in the two and a half centuries that followed ‘The Congress of Munster and Osnabruck (1644-1648).’³³

Diplomacy turns chiefly on regular and regularized negotiations until Edmund Bark invented the term in the late eighteen century.³⁴ Previously, ‘negotiation’ was the word normally employed to describe the work of ambassadors.

In moderating the dialogue between states, diplomacy serves as a bulwark against international chaos. Negotiation remains essential to the difference between peace and war. Even, when war breaks out, worst exercises of fighting are to be limited and a mutually tolerable peace is eventually to be achieved through diplomacy. Thus diplomacy is a valuable means or instrument of foreign policy.

● Mechanism

Mechanism is an important term in the field of Diplomacy. Mechanism is a process or an apparatus by which something takes place or is brought about. It is a system alike of parts working together in a machine. In fact, it is a piece of machinery. In other words, it is an art of designing rules of a game to achieve a specific outcome. Mechanism refers to those policies by which a country fixes its course of international relations or its role within international complexities and achieves its national goals. Keith Hamilton and Richard Langhorne in their book *The Practice of Diplomacy: its evolution, theory and administration* explain thoroughly about the mechanisms in the field of diplomacy from the ancient times. In this book they recalled the remark of a renowned British diplomat, Lord Strang: ‘In a world where war is everybody’s tragedy and everybody’s nightmare, diplomacy is everybody’s business.’³⁵ They told that even in the most primitive societies required reliable means of communicating and dealing with their neighbors. As states began to evolve in Europe at the end of the

³³ G.R. Berridge & others, *op.cit*, p.1.

³⁴ *ibid*.

³⁵ Keith Hamilton and Richard Langhorne, *The Practice of Diplomacy: Its Evolution, Theory and Administration*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1995), p.1.

middle ages and mid-twentieth century became, universally structures emerged about what sources of authority might legitimately send and receive diplomatic agents.³⁶ With the emergence of continuous diplomacy in the seventeenth century, the diplomats became a recognizable international body. Within 1815 the question of the status of the diplomats was resolved. Within 1961 a general agreement among the nations about the legal basis of diplomatic relations was codified into the treaty. Afterwards the evolution of states and the emergence of ‘power’ gave different shapes and formulations of diplomacy. Now, diplomacy is not merely confined to the dialogue-based negotiations, it has become more than that. Thus diplomacy tends to adopt newer mechanisms.

Today’s global society has an unprecedented need for proper and reliable mechanisms of solving disputes. That is because the contemporary world is facing a variety of issues—terrorism, population growth, climate change, energy crises, food security, epidemics—in which peace and security, trade and commerce, science and technology, culture and creeds, ethnic majority-minority and inter-state relations are tightly intertwined. To address these issues, the United States, like other European powers, is trying to find out appropriate mechanisms aiming to bridge science and policy making. However, the globalization of the political economy in the past few decades has changed the modality of national borders in every aspect. As a result of these changes, scientific enterprise and relevant socio-economic activities as well as public policies may have consequences on all parts of the world.³⁷ Therefore, the US diplomatic mechanisms have also fluctuated along with its traditional stand.

Initially the United States had little scope of fixing mechanisms in dealing diplomatic relations with other countries as it was not interested in world affairs. In those days it tried to keep itself out from European broils. It was then busy with its own hemisphere, hence ‘Monroe Doctrine’ was sufficient to foster its national interests. But after the WW1 it became a world power, after WW2 it became one super power in the bipolar world system and after 1991 it became the sole superpower. Gradually the spheres of its diplomatic demand and roles changed. As a result, it had to develop its unique security mechanisms for the fulfillment of its national interests.

In the United States, about a thousand advisory committees exist at the federal level to assist formulating policies, the operation of which is regulated by the Federal

³⁶ *ibid.*

³⁷ *ICSU Strategic Plan II, 2012–2017* (Paris: International Council for Science, 2011): 13., <http://www.icsu.org/publications/reports-and-reviews/icsu-strategic-plan-2012-2017/icsu-strategic-plan>, retrieved in 12/11/2014.

Advisory Committee Act and associated regulations.³⁸ Today, the National Academy, through its National Research Council, annually publishes hundreds of high-quality, trusted reporting that are used by the federal government for policy making.

However, the United States always followed the following diplomatic mechanisms in the policy courses toward South Asia:

- a. Dialogue
- b. Containment through economic and military aid
- c. Economic sanctions
- d. Military actions.

Dialogue is the traditional course of US diplomacy. To make the dialogue fruitful the United States provided economic aid for democratization and Human rights protection. When dialogue fails, the United States imposes economic sanctions to force the conflicting states to roll back to earlier positions. For example, while the United States were continuing dialogue with both India and Pakistan on the issue of ‘Kashmir disputes’ the latter locked in clash in 1965. Consequently, the United States imposed an arms embargo as well as economic sanctions to both India and Pakistan so that they might come to a ceasefire. In 1971 when the Pakistani army started genocide in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) the United States cut off aids to Pakistan and imposed economic sanctions over it. But this did not able to stop Pakistan doing massacre in Bangladesh. Again, in 1990s, when the United States was continuing dialogue on ‘Nuclear non-proliferation’ with both India and Pakistan, both the countries exploded nuclear devices. But those sanctions did little to stop these countries in pursuing their national desires. After 9/11, the US military muscleman-ship attitude has become prominent behind any diplomatic maneuver. For example, while the United States desired to invade Afghanistan to uproot Talibans, it sought Pakistan’s assistance. President Pervez Musarrof of Pakistan saw a perceived threat within this demand and compelled to redesign its policy toward Afghanistan. Similarly, India did not able to take any direct military action against Pakistan when Pakistan-based terrors did bomb attack in India due to the United States’ reluctance.³⁹

● **Changing patterns**

Pattern means a series of actions or events that together show how things normally happen or are done. It also refers to a set of movements that are repeated regularly. On the other hand, ‘change’ means to go from one phase to another, to undergo

³⁸ See: <http://www.icsu.org/publications/reports-and-reviews/icsu-strategic-plan-2012-2017/icsu-strategic-plan>, retrieved in 12/11/2014.

³⁹ A terrorist attack was made on Indian parliament on December 13, 2001 for which India blamed Pakistan. Bush telephoned Vajpayee urging patience while emphasizing that “his administration had no intention of ignoring Indian concerns”.

transformation or transition. That's why, the term 'changing patterns' refers to the characteristics of something (i.e. US diplomacy) that took a variety of modifications time to time in line with the emergence of the necessity for the US interests.

The United States' diplomacy toward South Asia started after the WWII. During the war the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill pointed out: 'The British Empire and the United States will have to be somewhat mixed up together in some of their affairs for mutual and general advantage.'⁴⁰ That's why; initially the United States followed the British look. But in contrast to China and Soviet Union, the objectives and strategies of the United States toward South Asia fluctuated several times.⁴¹

Since the end of the Cold War, South Asia has been experiencing more significant reorientation in US foreign policy. This big shift was occurring mainly on the basis of two events: demise of the Soviet Union and New Delhi's turn away from Nehruvian economics to market-oriented entrepreneurship, which was done when Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and Finance Minister Manmohan Singh launched their market reforms in the early 1990s. Then 'Kick lighter Agreement' on Defense in 1991 initiated the US-India military relationship. With this opening, the rise of China and politically active Indian-American community clearly reinforced economic impulses to improve ties between Washington and New Delhi. However, India's nuclear-weapon programs were the major impediments to improve ties with Washington. New Delhi has been always in an awkward position between championing nuclear disarmament and wishing to join the nuclear club. The indefinite extension of the Nonproliferation Treaty in 1995 and the negotiation of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) a year later forced India a long-delayed choice when Vajpayee government pulled the nuclear trigger. Consequently Pakistan followed the suit in 1998. Therefore, new realities emerged in South Asia and Washington had to adapt it. Delhi-Washington relation became cold because the former repeatedly denied to sign CTBT and couldn't rewrite the Nonproliferation Treaty. However, US-India relation became warm again when Pervez Musharraf adventured in the heights above Kargil. Later US-India civil nuclear deal during the George W. Bush administration cemented India's distinct status in the eyes of Washington. Washington takes India's global status seriously and is working closely with New Delhi on a range of regional and global issues. President Obama's announcement of US support for a permanent Indian seat on the UN Security Council in November 2010 was another important signal of

⁴⁰ Peter Duignan and LoH Gann, *The United States and the New Europe 1945-1993*(Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), p.357.

⁴¹ A Jeyaratnam Wilson & Dennis Dalton (ed.), *The States of South Asia: Problems of National Integration* (London: C. Hurst & Company, 1982), p.324.

India's changed status in US eyes. A more active Indian American Diaspora has built relationships with both Democrats and Republicans, which is now enjoying significant caucus in the Congress.

Whereas US-India relation is getting warm, US-Pakistan relation is always full of fluctuations. Pakistanis felt that Americans had allied with and used their country when it suited them, but then abandoned Pakistan to handle the consequences of US policy. This is proved not only earlier decades, but still evident in the US policy priorities toward South Asia after 9/11. As former US Ambassador to Pakistan Wendy Chamberlin explains, the United States still believes "there is an Afghan policy but we don't know what to do about Pakistan."⁴² Nicholas Burns says: "...there is very little trust on both sides of the US-Pakistan relationship, and that's a dangerous thing."⁴³ A South Asia specialist Alan Kronstadt concludes, "US-Pakistan relations are fluid at present, but running a clearly negative course."⁴⁴

However, some major changes in US policy after 9/11 are assumed as follows:

- ▶ The United States has started its 'Global War on Terror' by invading Afghanistan immediately after 9/11 events. For this, it has taken Pakistan as a 'Frontline state' and in parallel continued to develop US-India relations. Due to increasing mistrust between the United States and Pakistan, the former engaged India within its Afghan policy and are dispensing Pakistan from it.
- ▶ The United States has dropped hyphenating US-South Asia policy (Pak-Afghan or Indo-Pak etc.). It has started to treat each country distinctly, and framed the bilateral relationship accordingly. Principals in the George W. Bush and first Obama administrations were also moving toward this transformational diplomacy followed by the pivot, and now rebalancing toward Asia, which tends to connect all the regions of Asia: South, Central, East, and Southeast.⁴⁵
- ▶ The Obama administration has emphasized a long-term economic agenda that could transform South Asia. The "New Silk Road," a term used by Secretary of State Hilary Clinton and others, underlines the economic opportunities of enhanced trade ties and linkages between South and Central Asia. In 2012, following political liberalization in Myanmar, this agenda reaches beyond Bangladesh and India into Southeast Asia and up into China.⁴⁶

⁴² Alexander Evans, *The United States and South Asia After Afghanistan* (New York: Asia Society, 2012), pp.24-25; see: www.asiasociety.org/policy/publications, retrieved in 12/11/2014.

⁴³ *ibid.*

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.10.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*

- ▶ According to the declassified documents, earlier relationship management of the United States was subcontracted to ambassadors alone. Volume of shuttle diplomacy was followed then. But after 1998, relationships between principals were emphasized. Former US Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott's dialogue with Indian Minister of External Affairs Jaswant Singh after 1998 is one example. US Secretary of State Hilary R. Clinton's visit to India, Pakistan and Afghanistan is another example.
- ▶ Although the Obama administration promised a transformed bilateral relationship with Pakistan by advancing \$1.5 billion/year through Kerry-Lugar-Berman package⁴⁷, the past troubles in the US-Pakistan relationship has generated a trust deficit on both sides.

1.3 Rationale of the study

By compiling the literature from the field of history and international relations, the author concludes that the most contemporary research works are done on US-South East Asia relations, not on South Asia as a whole. Most researchers focus their attention on ASEAN, security and trade potential of Asia-Pacific ocean region etc. Potential of SAARC, importance of the Bay of Bengal and geo-strategic position of Bangladesh has been overlooked in their studies to a greater extent. Moreover, among the countries of South Asia, their focus is mainly in India. Nevertheless, India has a pivotal role in this region, but its future depends on the stability of harmony among the countries of the region.

The United States is the sole superpower and also one of the biggest development partners of Bangladesh. Therefore, Bangladesh needs to know the most updated knowledge of the US postures toward South Asia, its policy patterns, changes or continuations of diplomatic activities to formulate a viable national policy. The study of 'Changing Patterns of US Diplomacy toward South Asia in the Post 9/11 Era with Special Reference to India, Pakistan & Bangladesh' offers to examine the most contemporary issues, therefore, it promises to add the most updated knowledge.

Secondly, the historic 9/11 attack on Twin Towers was so overwhelming that it has changed the world and the international order direly. Soon the United States launched 'Global War on Terror' which let the old allies come together and also new enemies were created. The US security narrative about South Asia has also been changed. However, things are moving so fast that it has become difficult to grasp new ideas and new international political behavior. This flux of changes has made it hard even for an

⁴⁷*ibid*, p. 24.

experienced diplomat to formulate rationale policies for the concerned authority. This is happening due to lack of adequate contemporary research on this field. This study will help meet up this ‘knowledge gap’ to some extent.

Thirdly, the events of September 11, 2001 pointed to the need of fundamental and comprehensive review of existing classical books on security and strategic studies. Many political scientists as well as politicians feel the need for a review of such literature. There is a need for further studies and analysis of current events and their far reaching dimensions based on new findings that carry a futuristic vision.

Fourthly, the World Bank has declared Bangladesh as a lower middle income country. This means the international NGOs that generally work for the poorer countries will pack up their aid activities in Bangladesh. This will create newer economic challenges. Hence, the role of ‘diplomacy’ will be significant in facing those challenges. This requires more research on this field.

1.4 Assumptions

The US-South Asia diplomatic relation started after the Second World War. Initially the US policy followed the British look. Gradually it developed its distinct outlook. From the beginning, the US policy choices toward South Asia have been unpredictable and marginalized. It has never been a permanent friend to any country in South Asia, especially, neither for India nor for Pakistan. Other countries of this area induced the least importance in US policy, except ‘Bangladesh’ in 1971. Again, the importance of Sri Lanka and Maldives has increased due to the US policy of rebalance and emphasis on Asia-Pacific ocean region.

In fact, emerging as a super power in the bipolar world after the World War II the United States started struggling against Communism to give way to capitalism to ensure a sustainable environment for the market economy. The end of cold war has receded its material concerns but raised newer challenges due to the emergence of China as a giant economic power. Again, the historic 9/11 attack on Twin Towers has created a new world order and the importance of South Asia is becoming prominent. In this context, assumptions of the study are as follows:

Assumption 1: As the United States perceives India as a counterweight to China, it will continue to aspire for a long term political and security partnership, expand trade and economic relations with India.

Assumption 2: The US-Pakistan relation will continue to fluctuate and the allegation of ‘sponsoring terrorists’ and ‘nuclear nonproliferation issue’ will be dominant in shaping US-Pakistan relations in the coming years.

Assumption 3: Due to the newer naval strategic policy of the US toward the Asia-Pacific region Bangladesh's geo-strategic importance is increasing significantly. A viable and consistent foreign policy will give Bangladesh a bargaining opportunity from the maritime competition among China, India and the United States.

1.5 Research questions

The research has been conducted on the basis of following 'key questions':

- i. Is there any pattern in US diplomacy during its evolution up to the 9/11 attacks? If it is, what do those indicate: continuations or fluctuations?
- ii. What are the current issues of US interests in South Asia? Did the issues change in the context of 9/11 event? If it is yes, how can we formulize the change?
- iii. What are the factors that lead the United States formulating different policies toward India, Pakistan and Bangladesh?

1.6 Methodology

Research means a systematic investigation toward development of knowledge. In all disciplines, researches are of two kinds: pure or fundamental research and applied research. In the fundamental research, the researchers are to find out the answer of 'what'. On the other hand, in an applied research, the researchers are to find out the answer of 'why' or 'how'. Since it is an applied research, we have followed mixed type of methodology. Nevertheless, now-a-days, in most cases integrated method is preferred because no single method can conclude a reliable decision in analyzing international affairs.⁴⁸

International Relations, as a discipline, are greatly dependent on History. Morton A. Kaplan said, 'History is a giant laboratory where all the international activities take place.'⁴⁹In fact, to identify 'change' we cannot but use historical data. Since the 'actions' taken by the United States and the 'events' derived from those actions are the 'fundamental data' of the present study, we have to follow 'historical methodology'. We've also followed 'Content Analysis Method' because the present study ranges from 9/11/2001 to the present. Therefore, we have to depend on the huge contemporary data of mass media (i.e. newspaper, electronic media, internet etc.). According to Walizer and Weiner (1978), 'Any systematic procedure is devised to

⁴⁸ Norman J. Padelford, George A Lincoln and Lee D. Olvey, *The Dynamics of International Politics* (New York: McMillan, 1976), pp.48-50.

⁴⁹ Morton A. Kaplan, *System and Process in International Politics* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1957), p.3

examine the content of recorded information.⁵⁰ What a newspaper publishes such as news, advertisements, picture, editorial, articles— all are the contents of that newspaper. Similarly, what a television or a radio broadcast or what the movies, u-tubes, websites or other applications publish or broadcast through internet is the content of that electronic media. In the present study, the data from those mass media have been taken through sampling to find out the answers of the ‘key questions’.

1.6.1 Sources of data

In this study, we’ve compiled huge data from different sources. Both primary and secondary sources are used in this research work. The primary sources include: US- Presidents’ State of the Union Addresses published in the US official websites, White House Papers, proceedings of the US Senate, documents of accords, treaties, speeches by US officials published in the newspapers or preserved in the internet archive, news published in the newspapers or internet, documents exactly published in the web portals, contemporary maps, US government’s declassified documents, documents of wiki leaks etc. The secondary Sources include: published books, articles in the journals etc.

1.6.3 Method of data collection

Method of Data Collection is about what techniques or tools are used for data collection. For this purpose the researcher has visited BIISS Library (Dhaka), Dhaka University Central Library, Dhaka; Rajshahi University Central Library, Rajshahi; American Center Library (Dhaka), Public Library, Shahbug, Dhaka, National Library, Kolkata, India etc. to collect data and information. Data are also collected from the Library of Congress, US official websites, web portals of different US think tanks, videos of speeches of US officials through online search tools. Books, articles from journals, newspaper reports, columns, government correspondence, and debates in US parliament, newsletters, memorandum and reports of different international institutions concerning US foreign policy are conferred with for this purpose. The author also has listened BBC, CNN, VOA, Al Zajera television, Durdorshan, Ptv. broadcasting on the commemoration day of 9/11 attacks. Moreover, the researcher has tried to contact US, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh officials, both home and abroad, and scholars of the same field, policy-planners and former dignitaries and officials who deal with the issue of US foreign policy. Internet websites, YouTube on US

⁵⁰ Roger D. Wimmer and Joseph R. Dominick, *Mass Media Research: An Introduction*, Ninth Edition (New York: Wadsworth, 2011), p. 156.

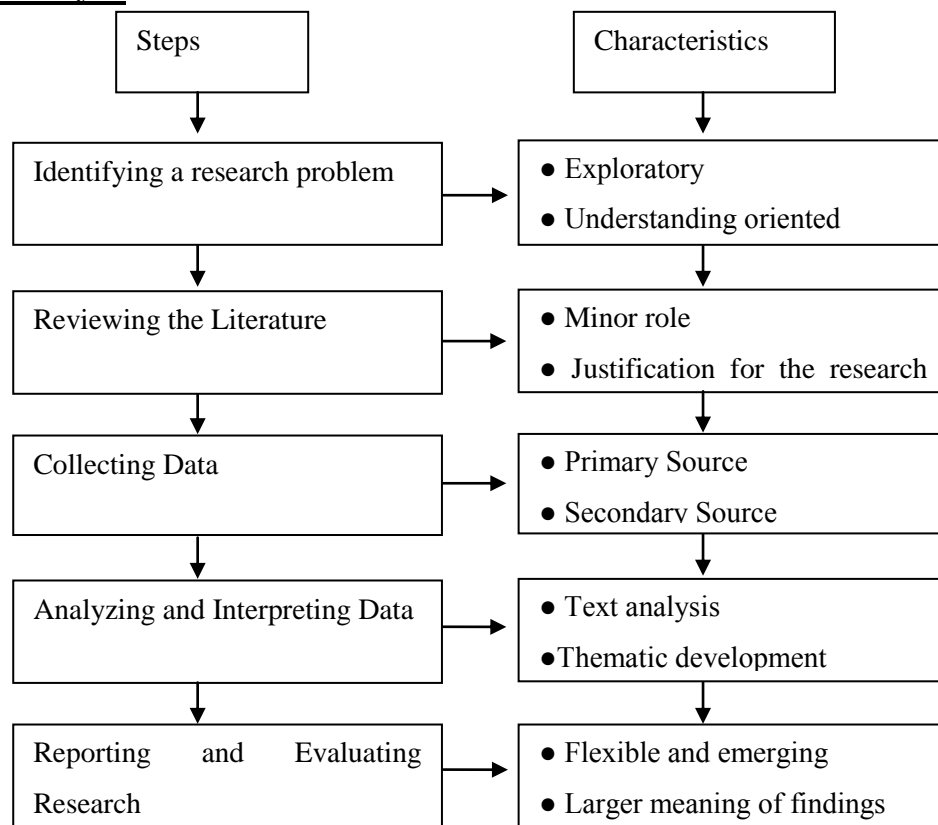
foreign policy toward South Asia are also investigated. Opinions of concerned authorities serve as important guidelines in writing this thesis.

Among the newspapers, we've selected some widely renowned ones such as *The Dawn*, *The Hindu*, *The Pravda*, *The Washington Post*, *The Financial Express*, *The Time*, *The International Herald Tribune*, *The New Yorker*, *The New York Times*, *The Times of India*, *The Guardian*, *The Morning News* etc. From the huge publication of those newspapers, we've done sampling based on the 'objectives' of the study.

1.6.4 Data analysis and interpretation

The collected data have been classified, edited, analyzed and interpreted qualitatively in almost all cases. For this purpose, in-depth and logical analysis has been adopted and suitable tools and indicators are used. A narrative reasoning process is also used when it demands. However, the proposed research work includes the following steps because investigations that are primarily seeking non-numerical forms of data are often involves this method:

Qualitative analysis



Moreover, the researcher takes precautions against any sort of prejudice and biases to come to a fair conclusion.

1.6.5 Preliminary structure of the thesis

Chapter two of this thesis gives an outline of the evolution of US diplomacy. The chapter begins with an overview of a colonial background of the United States and then analyzes different stages of its development from a historical perspective. It further discusses the reasons of the long followed policy of isolation of the United States. It also deals with the situations that led the United States came out of its cocoon and took share of leadership in dealing with international disputes. In addition, the roles the United States in the two world wars are also discussed in this chapter to show the patterns of its diplomatic changes. It also has discussed some doctrines of the Presidents of the United States, which shaped US foreign policy. Cold War diplomacy and the responses of George Bush and Clinton administration to the post-cold war world challenges are also discussed in this chapter.

The relations between the United States and South Asia are discussed in Chapter three. In this chapter US roles are analyzed in two phases— pre 9/11 and post 9/11 US diplomacy toward South Asia— from historical perspective. US responses to the South Asian countries in the context of Sino-Indian, Indo-Pak or Pakistan-Bangladesh war are analyzed in this chapter. The changing patterns of US diplomacy in the two phases are the main objective of this chapter. The Geo-strategic importance of Sri Lanka, Maldives and Bangladesh is also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter four deals with 9/11 attacks on the USA and subsequent US reactions. The death tolls and other casualties that were faced by the United States are the main focus of this chapter. Different views of the cause of the Twin Tower attack are also discussed here. It also deals with the changing world views and restructuring of the domestic and foreign policies of the United States.

Chapter five of this thesis argues the present trend and directions of US-South Asia relations. It also contains analysis of the current trend of the relations both bilateral and multi-lateral perspective. The events, which are leading the United States tilting toward India and discarding Pakistan, are also discussed here.

Chapter conclusion presents findings, verification and falsification of the assumptions.

1.7 Limitations of the study

The researcher has some limitations also. He might have to visit the United States and explore the site, which was destroyed by the 9/11 attacks; to meet the eyewitnesses of the event and also meet with the concerned US officials. Due to the lack of opportunities, instead he has to depend on the statements of those eyewitnesses published in the contemporary newspapers and television news bulletins. He also sent

a set of questionnaires to the US officials via e-mails to collect views but most of them remained unanswered. There are other limitations also. An overwhelming amount of literature is produced on 9/11 events. It is not possible to go through all the literature; therefore, the writer has to be selective. A number of selected books, workshop reports, research articles and newspaper reports are examined. As the proposed research is on a contemporary issue, declassified documents are not available except some documents published by wiki leaks. Therefore, the writer has to collect the reports of ‘public speaking’; press releases etc. of US officials and also explore US official websites. However, the primary sources of data have been procured with much pain and sustained efforts.

1.8 Literature Review

This study focuses on the contemporary issues, aiming at finding patterns of changes in the US diplomacy toward South Asia during the Clinton, Bush Jr. and the Obama administrations. Nevertheless, overwhelming number of literature have been produced during this period, which deals with 9/11 events, US policy shifts, the motives behind these shifts, consequences of those shifts etc. However, none of them draws clear and specific attention to identify patterns within these shifts. Secondly, most literature deals with US-Asia relations as a whole or focuses more on East Asia or Asia-Pacific region. Rebalancing policy of the United States, pivotal role of India in this region is the main concerning issues. South Asia ‘as a region’ has got less attention. But the most contemporary feats of the United States during the above mentioned two administrations reveal that it has a separate policy toward South Asia ‘as a whole’ and also bi-lateral policies which has distinct patterns. Therefore, we sort out some well circulated literatures of contemporary writings and compare them with the steps taken by the United States. We’ve also reviewed the statements of US officials and the analyses of US think tanks published in their web portals. We’ve also explored relevant old literatures to review earlier patterns of changes. From the comparison of those patterns, it is assumed that there are links between the patterns of the past and present, although the policy shifts after 9/11 seems drastic and unique in some issues. Let us discuss on some relevant literatures.

US-South Asia relations emerged after the Second World War, when the displaced superpower Britain left the area, creating two inborn rival states: India and Pakistan. Since then up to 9/11 South Asia, mostly holds peripheral position in US policy as Eastern Europe became one of the most focus points of international disputes. This perception is derived from Mackinder’s theory. In his book *Democratic Ideals and*

Reality: a Study in Politics of Reconstruction H.J. Mackinder remarked: ‘Who rules the East Europe commands the Heartland; who rules the Heartland commands the World Island; who rules the World Island rules the World.’⁵¹ Therefore, in the beginning, the inexperienced lone super power United States focused its attention mostly on European and Middle East affairs. In South Asia its policy rested on a British look. However, it developed its distinct outlook gradually. Mackinder’s theory was criticized by Captain Alfred T. Mohan because it rejects the potential of sea power. N. J. Spykman also disagreed with Mackinder. He argued that the real power was not in the ‘pivot’ as Mackinder had termed ‘the heartland’, it is in the ‘rim land’. However, both Mackinder and Spykman ignored the strength of airpower. But in 1950 A. P. de Seversky argued that the key to American survival and supremacy was air power. At present, the theory of Seversky is proven correct because after 9/11 the United States launched its Global War on Terror mainly through air power. Drone attack has become a new addition to the air power. However, due to Mackinder’s theory the United States focused its main attention on Europe after the WWII. Again, after the WWI, when the USSR effectively controlled ‘the heartland’, Mackinder, however, proposed the ideas of an Atlantic Community in 1924 which developed NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization). Therefore, it is obvious, the effectiveness of a theory changes due to technological development. Before mastering on air power, South Asia held peripheral position in the policy of the United States and Eastern Europe was the main focal point. Now importance of South Asia is increasing because the air power has lessened the importance of land force.

One important contemporary research on US-South Asia relations has been done by Asia Society. Asia Society Advisory Group of New York took a project on US policy toward South Asia after the withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan under Project Director Alexander Evans and published the project outcome entitled as *The United States and South Asia after Afghanistan* in 2012. It’s a comprehensive study on various significant points on the future goal of the United States and the problems of achieving those goals in South Asia. In this project report, the researchers mentioned in the chapter entitled ‘The Future U.S. Grand Strategy and South Asia’ that:

South Asia should remain an enduring U.S. foreign policy interest in the coming decades— for both positive and negative reasons. India will continue to rise as a global actor, even if the pace of its advance may be uneven. It would be difficult to imagine a positive Asian future without a democratic, friendly India. The general principle of a positive US-India relationship is

⁵¹ R. W. McColl, *Encyclopedia of World Geography*, Volume 1, p. 408, [see: Sir Helford John, Mackinder, *Democratic ideals and reality; a study in the politics of reconstruction* (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1919)].

well- established, but where the relationship goes next remains up for debate.⁵²

For Pakistan it argued:

Washington will need to determine how much it will cooperate with Pakistan on Afghanistan and counterterrorism, as against pursuing these goals unilaterally or with other partners. A robust U.S. strategy will also draw on a close understanding of what Pakistan wants from the bilateral relationship. U.S. strategy toward Pakistan needs a focus on internal developments in Pakistan: more effective governance, a stronger economy, and any reduction in extremist violence will primarily depend on Pakistan's political leadership, policy, and administrative capabilities.⁵³

About Bangladesh its argument was, 'Bangladesh deserves attention as a moderate Muslim democracy of 160 million people and the bridge for a future economic corridor between South and Southeast Asia.'

In the 'forward' of the book Suzanne DiMaggio, Vice President, Global Policy Programs, Asia Society remarked:

The advancement of economic and political development in Bangladesh, Bhutan, the Maldives, Nepal, and Sri Lanka will depend in large part on the success of efforts to foster greater interconnectivity among economies in South Asia and throughout Asia. At the same time, China's ascent as a powerful regional player with a growing range of interests in South Asia is making relations between Washington and Beijing all the more complex.

This means the United States is very much concerned with the extra regional power China, therefore, the fate of the South Asian countries depends mostly on Sino-American relations. One of the most important productions of the study which is focused on this book is that the United States has missed crucial opportunities to define and pursue its interests in South Asia. Which interests? In the 'preface' Ambassador John D. Negroponte mentioned that since 1947 the United States has been forged on effective bilateral relations with the countries of South Asia, but its policy has been regularly fluctuated by focusing on the immediate over the enduring. This book also focuses on the new 'economic diplomacy' of the US in South Asia that is 'the New Silk Road' as advanced by Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Ambassador Marc Grossman, the US special representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan. It also concludes that Principals in the George W. Bush and first Obama administrations moved to this: transformational diplomacy followed by the pivot, and now rebalancing, toward Asia. Though the report considers Bangladesh as a moderate Muslim democracy, it remarks:

⁵² Alexander Evans, *The United States and South Asia after Afghanistan* (New York: Asia Society, 2012), p.65.

⁵³ *ibid.*

Although al-Qaeda operatives and associated groups continue to have some presence in Pakistan's tribal areas, Pakistan is no longer the counterterrorism super-priority it once was. Recent plots to conduct attacks on US soil have involved Nigerians⁵⁴ and Bangladeshis.⁵⁵

So, as a Muslim majority country Bangladesh might not be excluded in Jew-Christian 'worldview'. The recent US attitudes toward Bangladesh (withdrawal of GSP facility, denying of funding on Padma Bridge by WB and opposing the trial of war criminals of Bangladesh, openly commenting on the legitimacy of the 5th January 2014 election etc.) proves unfavorable motives of the US. But the report focuses only on the consequences of US relations with China, Afghanistan, India and Pakistan on the context of mainly economic affairs. However, it has failed to estimate the prospective significant position of Bangladesh in World affairs. The rapid economic development of Bangladesh proves that it is going to become the bridge for a future economic corridor between South and Southeast Asia.

The project outcome reveals the uncertainty of the forthcoming policy planning of the US toward South Asia. However, the report projects the growing importance of South Asia in US policy by mentioning 'there are more American diplomats resident in India than Indian Foreign Service officers on home tours in the Ministry of External Affairs'.⁵⁶ Moreover, it includes the point of former US Assistant Secretary of State Robert Gallucci, '...the only country that could do more than the United States to influence South Asia is China.' The report also explains the US desire of having a stable South Asia and a cordial Sino-Indian relation although it wants India's rise as a counterweight of China. However, the report does not tend to discover the pattern of the US diplomatic change. But our observation shows that the changes in the United States' policy toward South Asia have some patterns and it always gives preferential treatment to India while discarding Pakistan. The United States does not want India fall into the grip of Russia or China because the United States always consider a number of factors of state power. According to Alfred Mohan, these factors are geographical position, extent of territory, population, national and governmental character etc.⁵⁷ If China-Russia-India triangle alliance emerges, the US supremacy

⁵⁴ Charlie Savage, "Christmas Day Bomb Plot Detailed in Court Findings," *New York Times*, February 10, 2012 (see: <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/11/us/underwear-bomb-plot-detailed-in-court-filings.html>, retrieved in 12/11/2014.).

⁵⁵ Mosi Secret and William K. Rashbaum, "Man Is Charged with Plotting to Bomb Federal Reserve Bank in Manhattan," *New York Times*, October 17, 2012. (see: <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/18/nyregion/arrest-in-plot-to-blow-up-federal-reserve-bank.html>, retrieved in 12/11/2014.).

⁵⁶ *ibid.*

⁵⁷ R. W. McColl, *op.cit.*, p. 408.

will face a great challenge due to those factors. That's why the Obama administration has taken 'policy of rebalance'.

Of the writings on 9/11 events *The 9/11 Commission Report* holds the most significant attention among the curious readers and the scholars of International Relations. The US President and the US Congress created a commission under Public Law 107-306 on November 27, 2002 to find out the answers of the questions: how did it happen and, how can the United States avoid such tragedy again? The report touches numerous relevant points on 9/11 attacks and presents the definition of 'Islam', its history and background of Islamic movements. It also gives an observation of Osama Bin Laden's world view and the political context behind the 'Twin Tower' attacks. The report unanimously condemned Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaeda networks for world terrorism. As Thomas H. Kean and Lee H. Hamilton remark in the 'Preface':

We learned about an enemy who is sophisticated, patient, disciplined, and lethal. The enemy rallies broad support in the Arab and Muslim world by demanding redress of political grievances, but its hostility toward us and our values is limitless. Its purpose is to rid the world of religious and political pluralism, the plebiscite, and equal rights for women. It makes no distinction between military and civilian targets. Collateral damage is not in its lexicon.⁵⁸

So, it is clear, this report concluded to a security narrative condemning 'Muslim world' for the US security threat. It says,

We need to design a balanced strategy for the long haul, to attack terrorists and prevent their ranks from swelling while at the same time protecting our country against future attacks.

However, the report could not satisfy the American people for some reasons. Some American scholars believe that the 9/11 Commission Report is an outcome of Jews' lobbyist groups intended to hide the actual scenario. They point out that Philip Zelkow, the Executive Director of 9/11 Commission is a Zionist Jew. Philip Shannon, in his new book, *The Commission: The Uncensored History of the 9/11 Investigation* wrote: "The appointment of Zelikow to head the inquiry into America's response to the September 11 terrorist attacks was akin to putting the fox in charge of the hen house."⁵⁹ According to many (Christopher Bollyn, Ralph Blumenthal, Patrick Briley, Robert I Friedman, Paul Harris, Daniel Hopsicker, Graham Rayman, Karen Greenberg etc. are in this group) Zelikow, with his close ties to Condoleezza Rice, Cheney, & President George Bush, could not conduct an unbiased investigation as

⁵⁸ Philip Zelicow and others, *The 9/11 Commission Report* (National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States: USA, 2004): p. xvi.

⁵⁹ See: <http://www.realjewishnews.com/?p=221>, retrieved in 12/11/2014.

Director of the Commission. Moreover, as we have mentioned earlier, before creating a commission for the investigation of 9/11 attack George Bush declared to start a crusade. So, the report might be a biased literature to establish a new security narrative.

Recently, the question of the reports' authentication has become a talk of the world again by an ex-CIA pilot's affidavit. The affidavit claims that the report does not convey any interview of pilots and, therefore, it lacks its merit. The CIA pilot claims that the twin tower might not be destroyed by the air attacks. John Lear, the son of Learjet inventor, Bill Lear claimed in the affidavit:

Such crashes did not occur because they are physically impossible as depicted, for the following reasons: in the case of UAL 175 going into the south tower, a real Boeing 767 would have begun 'telescoping' when the nose hit the 14 inch steel columns which are 39 inches on center.

The vertical and horizontal tail would have instantaneously separated from the aircraft, hit the steel box columns and fallen to the ground.

The engines when impacting the steel columns would have maintained their general shape and either fallen to the ground or being recovered from the debris from the collapsed building. 'No Boeing 767 could attain a speed of 540 mph at 1000 feet above sea level 'parasite drag doubles with velocity' and 'parasite power' cubes with velocity.'⁶⁰

He also claimed,

...the debris of the collapse should have contained massive sections of the Boeing 767, including 3 engine cores weighing approximately 9000 pounds apiece which could not have been hidden. Yet there is no evidence of any of these massive structural components from either 767 at the WTC. Such complete disappearance of 767s is impossible.⁶¹

In his affidavit he claimed that the US government, media, NIST and its contractors fraudulently alleged Boeing 767 airliners hit the Twin Towers. After this recent affidavit, the 9/11 commission has fallen in a great challenge because the affidavit will become a truth in law, if it is not rebutted.

So, there is reason to believe, the changes in the US policy approvals toward South Asia especially the tendency of tilting toward India and rejecting Pakistan has derived from Jew-Christian world view and their biased explanation of political context. Since the steps of the United States after 9/11 were largely influenced by the recommendations of the report of the 9/11 commission, we need to work on it to recommend for our own national policy.

⁶⁰ <http://www.neonnettle.com/news/211-ex-cia-pilot-gives-sworn-testimony-that-no-planes-hit-the-twin-towers>, retrieved in 12/11/2014).

⁶¹ *ibid.*

Perhaps there is a religious motive behind the newer security narratives⁶² of the United States, which might be influenced by the Huntington's thought, described in his book *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order*, which is said to be borrowed from Jewish writer Barnard Lewis. In his book Huntington remarked that the fundamental source of conflict in the new world order will not be economic or ideology, it will be 'culture'. According to him, the future will be shaped by the interactions of seven or eight civilizations, namely, Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-orthodox, Latin American and African civilizations. The most magnitude of his analysis is:

But even if that definitional distinction were relaxed to allow for the possibility of people identifying with a common global culture, Huntington maintains that none exists objectively, since there is no actual or emergent universal language or religion.⁶³

Huntington saw the century long interaction between the West and Islam as a clash of civilization and his prophecy is: '...this trend is unlikely to decline.' If it is the case, the study needs to evaluate the US policy toward South Asia in that context because South Asia is a residing place of the overwhelming Muslim population. To justify his foretelling Huntington quoted an Indian Muslim writer, M. J. Akbar's comment:

Next confrontation is definitely going to come from the Muslim World. It is in the sweep of the Islamic nations from the Maghreb to Pakistan that the struggle for a new world order will begin.⁶⁴

He also quoted Bernard Lewis, a diehard Jew:

We are facing a mood and a movement far transcending the level of issues and policies and the governments that pursue them. This is no less than a clash of civilization- the perhaps irrational, but surely historic reaction of an ancient rival against our Judeo-Christian heritage, our secular present, and rich worldwide expansion of both.⁶⁵

Moreover, in his earlier book he already noted, "While Muslims pose the immediate problem in Europe; Mexicans pose the problem for the United States."⁶⁶ However, it is a long standing hypothesis among some scholars that there are two 'conspiracies'

⁶² Huntington describes the variable (religion) in a broader sense by mentioning it within 'culture.' It is, in fact, not a new narrative; it is old, eternal and always prevails as back burner- Author.

⁶³ Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order* (New York : Simon and Schuster , 1996), pp. 56-66.

⁶⁴ David Montejeno, "Who is Samuel P. Huntington? The intelligence failure of a Harvard professor", *The Observer*, August 13, 2004.

⁶⁵ Lewis, Barnard, "The Roots of Muslim Rage", *Time*, June 15, 1992, pp. 24-28; [see: *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (USA: Simon & Schuster), 1996].

⁶⁶ David Montejeno, *ibid*.

against the Islamic civilization: one is Anglo-American conspiracy (Christianity) and the other is a Zionist conspiracy. These two conspiracies were conflicting against one another during WWII before the Belfour Declaration. The Zionists wanted to keep the US out of the war until the fall of the Tsar. If the United States entered the WWII earlier and mobilized its troops, Britain might not have made the Belfour Declaration as a contract with ‘World Jewry’. However, through the declaration, the two conspiracies came together and the Zionists succeeded to occupy Palestine. Till then Anglo-American and Zionist civilization have been jointly confronting Muslim civilization. Samuel P. Huntington was a leader of Anglo-American school of thought, therefore, used to supply thoughts against Muslim Civilization to ensure Anglo-American supremacy. His book *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order* justified George W. Bush’s ruthless attack in Iraq and also advocated the latter’s ‘intelligence failure.’ All the Zionist authors including Henry Kissinger highly praised Huntington’s thought. So, it is clear the present conflict between the West and Islam has been derived from Anglo-American-Zionist ideological propaganda. US policy toward South Asia is not excluded to this worldview. The United States’ policy toward Pakistan and Bangladesh might be influenced by this worldview. However, none of the contemporary researches on US-South Asia relations give an importance on this point. In the context of US-South Asia relations, it is assumed, not culture as a whole, but ‘religion’ as a variable within the culture particularly is dominant in deciding the US policies.

The theory of ‘rogue states’ has taken a special room in US foreign policy from the tenure of president Regan. This concept has a specific link to America’s own self-image and its relationship with the world. In 1994 US National Security Advisor Anthony Lake explained in *Foreign Affairs* that the states which pose four transgressions—pursue weapons of mass destruction, support terrorism, severely abuse its own citizens, and stridently criticize the United States are to be considered as rogue states. He labeled five countries as rogue states—North Korea, Cuba, Iraq, Iran and Libya. Earlier Afghanistan, Sudan, Syria and Yugoslavia were also included in the list. It’s important to note, the countries labeled as rogue states are either Muslim country or communist or Russo-China backed countries. Three of them⁶⁷ have already been subdued by the United States through unilateral approach and Syria is in the process. Although Pakistan is not labeled as ‘rogue state’, it is facing drone attacks. Noam Chomsky finely defined the reasons of US approach. He argued,

⁶⁷ Afghanistan, Iran and Libya.

The basic conception is that although the Cold War is over, the US still has the responsibility to protect the world – but from what? Plainly it cannot be from the threat of ‘radical nationalism’ – that is, unwillingness to submit to the will of the powerful.⁶⁸

It has been proved in the case of Afghanistan and Pakistan also. Afghanistan was attacked not only for harboring terrorists, but mainly for not agreeing US condition for establishing a secure oil pipelines through it by the American company. After 9/11 Pakistan’s president Parvez Musharraf was also threatened unless it cooperated with the USA. The United States threatened Pakistan to the ‘bombing it into stone age’.⁶⁹ Musharraf’s policy shift toward the Taliban regime became obvious in his nationwide television address on September 19, 2001 address. In his speech, Musharraf said, “...at this juncture, I’m worried about Pakistan only....I give top priority to the defense of Pakistan. Defense of any other country comes later.” If Pakistan did not agree to become a Frontline state of the Global War on Terrors of the United States, what would happen? Was it labeled as ‘rogue states’? Noam Chomsky gave the answer. He argued that ‘a ‘rogue state’ is not simply a criminal state, but one that defies the orders of the powerful – who are, of course, exempt.’⁷⁰ He explains:

Thus Cuba qualifies as a leading ‘rogue state’ because of its alleged involvement in international terrorism, but the US does not fall into the category despite its terrorist attacks against Cuba for close to 40 years, apparently continuing through summer 1997 according to the important investigative reporting of the Miami Herald, which failed to reach the national press in the US. Cuba was a ‘rogue state’, when its military forces were in Angola, backing the government against South African attacks supported by the US. South Africa, in contrast, was not a rogue state then, or during the Reagan years, when it caused over \$60 billion in damage and 1.5 million deaths in neighboring states, according to a UN Commission, not to speak of any event at home – and with ample US/UK support. The same exemption applies to Indonesia and many others.

So, the recent discarding tendency of the United States toward Pakistan is also the outcome of the same nature of US diplomacy. However, the United States may not be desired to protect the world from ‘radical nationalism’, it obviously wants to uproot ‘radical Islamism.’ Because the radical Muslim activists are dissatisfied with the US prescribed globalization process and western way of life.

Again, during the political unrest in Bangladesh in January 2014, the oppositions took violent actions against the ruling government and was using local made ‘petrol bombs’ over civilians to collapse the rule of law. The United States’ speech against

⁶⁸Noam Chomsky, *Rogue States: The Rule of Force in World Affairs* (Cambridge MA: South End Press, 2000), p.29.

⁶⁹ See: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tVo9JorURws&feature=fvwrel>, retrieved in 12/11/2014.

⁷⁰*ibid.*

the violence was feeble. Conventional wisdom says that there is a widespread fear among the people of Bangladesh that the United States wanted to see Bangladesh a terrorist-prone state so that it might have a chance to expand its 'Global War on Terror' doctrine here and able to intervene Bangladesh affairs in the name of restoring democracy. However, most research on US-South Asia relations overlooked the concern.

From the departure of British power, South Asia remains a hotbed of deep-rooted mistrust and hostility, mainly due to the unresolved issue of Kashmir. Bangladeshi high commissioner to India Ahmed Tariq Karim (2012), Pervez Hoodbhoy, Zia Mian, A H Nayyar, M V Ramana, Vishal Thapar, Jyotsna Singh, Smitu Kothari, Ayanjit Sen, Michael Richardson, Yogendra Narain, Leonard Specter, Kevin N. Lewis, Carl Sagan, Matthew McKinzie etc. are of the view that since the two nuclear states: India and Pakistan have fought three wars besides the recent one at Kargil (Kashmir) and are in the middle of a long drawn out low intensity conflict, it could spin out of control and lead to a nuclear catastrophe in South Asia. The United States had the same concerns; therefore, it started to give the two countries important position in its policy from peripheral position. Their argument is that the importance derives from the US concern of deterrence. However, it is, in fact, a speculation. It is assumed that India and Pakistan became two major focal points in the US diplomacy after 1991 due to the recession of cold war concerns. Although the United States wanted to deter the nuclear threat in this region, for two unavoidable circumstances, it failed to prevent these countries becoming a nuclear weapon country: Pakistan got leverage due to becoming the Frontline state of the US effort during the Afghan war in the eighties. Concurrently India was able to keep herself safe by maintaining warm relations with the Soviet Union. China is always accused of helping out Pakistan in the enrichment of uranium and the transfer of nuclear technology. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Andrew Small, (columnist of *The Daily Telegraph*), Peter Pringle & James Spigelman, David Albright (a nuclear physicist and former U.N. weapons inspector in Iraq), Thomas Reed, Danny Stillman have the same view. On the other hand, it is well known that the USSR provided nuclear technology to India. According to US Under Secretary of State Strobe Talbott: "...the US cannot concede, even by implication, that India and Pakistan have, by their tests, established themselves as nuclear weapon states."⁷¹ However, the sanctions that have been imposed upon the countries were short lived for the emergence of the new US theory of launching

⁷¹ Rajesh Kumar, 'US and South Asia in the New Millennium', *The Pakistan Horizon*, Vol.53, No. 1, January 2000, p.41.

‘Global War on Terror’ after 9/11. As an extension of this new insight, United States and India have moved from being ‘estranged democracies’ to ‘engaged democracies’. Pakistan again became a ‘Frontline’ state. Consequently, the United States has to plunge its cold war policy of ‘focusing on India and reducing Pakistan’ and espouse a new policy of ‘regarding Pakistan while respecting India’. However, as soon as the Taliban regime in Afghanistan was wiped out, the United States went back to its earlier course and US-Pak relations followed a negative course again. Most IR scholars demonstrate this policy shift from the viewpoint of material concerns. That ‘religion’ is an important variable within the US policy framework in defining US-Pak and Indo-US bi-lateral relations, is generally ignored in most analyses. Till date, most of the published books and articles have frequently demonstrated the US interest in South Asia as deterrence, non-proliferation etc. The analyses of Julia Thompson, Joshua T. White, Michael Krepon, Shane Mason, Shrikant Paranjpe, Arpait Rajain are some of them. But the fluctuations and continuations in US diplomacy toward South Asia in the last six decades reveal that the United States has always had different attitudes toward India and Pakistan. It has always been allied with Pakistan, but never gave the latter any outstanding facility than India.

Lieutenant General (retd.) Nasir Khan Janjua, National Security Adviser of Pakistan told that Pakistan always sought US assistance to sustain parity with India in the context of Indo-Pak conflict.⁷² But the United States always emphasized on the policy of deterrence. In fact, the evolution of deterrence strategies indicates a process of refinement of various concepts in accordance with particular geostrategic and geopolitical environments and the technological environment developments of the time. According to Brigadier Muhammad Siddique, as he mentioned in his study paper, the acquisition of overt nuclear capabilities by Pakistan and India in 1998 has altered the paradigms of deterrence and peace in the subcontinent.⁷³ He also drew conclusions as: ‘The stage is now set for a nuclear security environment, which both India and Pakistan have to live with.’⁷⁴

The newly approved ‘Policy of Rebalance’ of the US in the Asia-Pacific region is finely demonstrated in *Balancing Acts: The US Rebalance and Asia-Pacific Stability* written by Robert G. Sutter and Others. The book conveys and explains the remarks of the critiques of an Obama Administration on the policy toward Asia-Pacific region and its impact on Asian countries. For example, the study mentions:

⁷² *The Dawn*, April 05, 2016.

⁷³ Muhammad Siddique, ‘Nuclear Strategy of Pakistan’(Study Paper, Pakistan Army, Rawalpindi, 2001), pp.17-18.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*

...the rebalance is said to have been a tactic, not a strategic change; it has been a useful political tool to show the American people and international audiences strong evidence of American international resolve at a time of retreat from Iraq and Afghanistan.⁷⁵

According to the author:

....This paper analyzes the Obama administration's 'pivot' or 'rebalance' in U.S. relations with the Asia-Pacific region. The paper analyzes the strategic rationale for this policy shift, the main elements of the new U.S. policy, regional responses to the new initiatives, and the prospects for U.S. policy toward the Asia-Pacific region.⁷⁶

It also recalls the history of more than 200 years of American interaction with the region, US non-governmental actors including business, religious groups, educational organizations, foundations, and the media. The scholars of the paper concluded that Asia's recent economic growth has enhanced the interest of US businesses, academics, journalists, and others. These non-governmental connections have created elaborate webs of strong, positive US-Asian relations. However, the study is concerned mostly on US policy toward Asia-pacific region; South Asia gets peripheral in importance.

Ejaz Ghani and others demonstrate the causes of economic development problems in South Asia. *The Poor half billion in South Asia what is holding back lagging Region*. The author pointed out that the poverty of a large scale mass people is forcing the South Asian countries lagged behind. But who are responsible for the poverty? The author observes that the remarkable growth of India since the reformations of the early 1990s and the acceleration of growth in other nations of Southeast Asian countries has generated widespread attention. Thus the author indicates that economic factors are very much important in fixing International Relations. Indeed, the conventional way of analysis of the author is impressive and important, but he overlooked the importance of international domination on political stability. The author was a World Bank economist. Thus his remarks went on the light of US thoughts. But in South Asia, a sound economic development can be possible only by the comprehension of regional reality and culture. Therefore, we need to find out the real need of the people of South Asia and we should adjust our thinking to the thought the people of this region like to think.

⁷⁵ Sutter, Robert G. and Others, *Balancing Acts: The US Rebalance and Asia-Pacific Stability* (Elliot School of International Affairs, Sigur Center for Asian Studies, George Washington University, August 2013), p. 27.

⁷⁶ *ibid*, p. 2.

1.9 Conclusions

The United States' world view has taken a new look after 9/11 attacks. It has invested all its attention to 'Global War on Terror.' Its primary target is to subdue the 'rogue states'. The bargaining opportunity that the South Asian countries enjoyed in the past has been lost due to the recession of cold war world system. Therefore, US diplomacy toward South Asia entered into a new pattern. The rise of China and its naval surveillance in South China Sea as well as movements in the Indian Ocean have increased the importance of Asia-Pacific region. In this context, the United States has changed its South Asian policy. It seems 'rebalance' is the 'pivot' of US diplomacy toward South Asia. The different outlook in formulating bilateral policies toward India, Pakistan and Bangladesh also show its new world view. A qualitative analysis of the different types of responses of the United States to different events related to South Asian affairs will reveal these policy changes and that is the purpose of the study.

Chapter Two

Evolution of US Diplomacy

US diplomacy has now become the most significant item of analysis among the ‘world policy planners’ since it has become the sole superpower of the unipolar world. Though a detailed scrutiny of US diplomacy from her emergence in the last of the twentieth century is not within the scope of this research work, a brief examination of the major turning points of its course will contribute to a richer understanding of American diplomacy during the first decade of twenty first century. However, from a close observation in the light of historical standpoint, we see the evolution of US diplomacy travels different stages due to the causes of events home and abroad and their effects aftermath. Initially, the leaders of the United States were prone to mind their own business; therefore, diplomacy got less importance within the state policy. However, during the First World War, it came out of its cocoon to defeat the ‘common enemy’⁷⁷ and gradually diplomacy achieved a significant position in its foreign policy. After the Second World War the United States became a super power in the bi-polar world order. At the end of the twentieth century, with the collapse of approximately fifty years of its rival, it became the sole super power due to its sound economy as well as a sophisticated army with latest technological know-how. Therefore, we see the following major turning points in US diplomacy:

First Phase : 1776-1913, Diplomacy of Neutrality and Isolation Policy; Monroe Doctrine
Second Phase : 1914-1938, Involvement in WW1 and retreat from European Politics
Third Phase : 1939-1948, Roosevelt Doctrine: Alliance Diplomacy
Fourth Phase : 1949-1989, Truman Doctrine: Cold War Diplomacy
Fifth Phase : 1990-2000, Bush Doctrine-Post Cold War Diplomacy
Sixth Phase : 2001-present, New Millennium Diplomacy

However, at the beginning, the United States’ diplomatic relations were confined with the European countries. After Monroe Doctrine, this policy expanded to the Latin American countries with a new look; then to the African nations. Asia came to the last especially before the First World War.⁷⁸ Now let us take a look at the phases of the US diplomatic evolution from the historical standpoint.

⁷⁷ Germany

⁷⁸ The United States had trade relations with India and China from late 1700 AD. The relation turned to a new shape after forced annexation of the Philippines in 1898. In 1946 the United States had made diplomatic relation with India (one year before India’s independence) and then with Pakistan in 1947. Bangladesh-US diplomatic relation started on April 4, 1972 when the United States recognized the independence of Bangladesh.

Colonial Background

The Diplomatic History of the United States officially began with the declaration of the Continental Congress of the thirteen rebellious colonies as an independent nation on July 4, 1776. Prior to that, it has 169⁷⁹ years of experience-from the planting of Jamestown, Virginia to the declaring of independence- when English colonists faced numerous troubles⁸⁰ which not only determined the nature of the new republic but left an impression upon its basic foreign policies.⁸¹ It will be reasonable to mention here what John Adams, the second US President, remarked in 1782 while he was a peace commissioner appointed by the Continental Congress: ‘Americans has been long enough involved in the wars of Europe. She has been a football between contending nations from the beginning....’⁸² Like most other revolutionary leaders of America, John Adam’s realization lay on the US colonial backdrop and thus was followed and focused on the future diplomatic procedures.

However, from an international point of view, it is worth mentioning here that American civilization is not actually a natural evolution, but a plantation of the impetuous people of Europe who were fed up of the policies of their mother country in Europe! In fact, the early English settlers in the new world were not American at all- even there were no white men in North America at all on the eve of the sixteenth century.⁸³ During the hundred years after the voyage of Columbus, French and English seamen explored both the seacoasts of North America but did not settle any place in the new world. Meanwhile, England was growing stronger. English navy became so strong that they defeated the great Spanish navy. English businessmen formed large companies to trade with Russia and India. Some other businessmen organized Virginia Company in 1607 to set up colony in America. This company took a charter from the English king, which gave them right to rule in the name of English king from Virginia to Maine. English businessmen put up money for the purpose. Other men, called settlers, agreed to live and work in the colony. They all hoped to

⁷⁹ Captain John Smith, in 1607, with 100 people voyaged towards Chesapeake Bay of America from England in search of gold and established a small town ‘Jamestown’ on the shore of river James some 60 kilometers away from the bay. It was the first English colony in America.

⁸⁰ From the very beginning, the colonists differed from the policies of their mother country, Britain and opted to go on their own way to establish their free world which often made confusions between the colonists and the royal representatives of England (i.e. governors and their administrations).

⁸¹ Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1958), p.19.

⁸² *ibid.*

⁸³ D. George Crothers, *American History* (New York :Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc, 1964), p.1.

find gold and silver as the Spaniards had⁸⁴. The first ship landed at Jamestown in Virginia and the settlers built a fort. But they got no gold or silver. Many got sick and died. Others starved. Some Indians helped the settlers, but other Indians fought them. Each year, more and more men were sent to Virginia. The settlers stopped looking for gold and began to grow their own crops as well as tobacco, which they could sell for profit in England. In this way the settlers were able to make some money of their own and the company gave them to buy their own land. Thus the settlers became independent businessmen. Women started to arrive in Virginia and family life began. The company sets up a local law making body in Virginia called the House of Burgesses. According to the right given by the British King, the settlers elected representatives in this law making body, which made the colony partly self-governing. However, the settlers did not elect their governor; the latter was appointed by the company. As the company failed to make profit from the colony, English king took over the colony in 1624 and started to appoint the royal governor. But the House of Burgesses continued to make local laws.

In this way, other twelve English colonies in America were established within 1732. They all had governments very much alike except two colonies: Connecticut and Rhode Islands.

The English settlers in America were British subjects. Though they were loyal to the British king, their personal fortunes came second; those of England's empire first.⁸⁵ Several of the colonies were actually founded partially or primarily for the purpose of imperial defense. The best example is Georgia, which was planted as a buffer to protect the Carolinas from the Spaniards and the Indians. Thus the English colonies in America became the 'pawn' of European chessboard. The settlers were troubled by both the Spaniards and French-led Indians along the Southern and Northern frontiers whenever trade rivalries, dynastic ambitions, or other scheming plunged England and Spain into war, or tangled France and England. The colonists were not supposed to reason why; but they were to do and die as the advance agents of the British Empire. Years after year America were but a side show of European theatre. What happened in Europe was decisive for the final outcome.

It is noted that between 1688 and 1763 there were four general European wars which involved a struggle for dominant sea power. The American people were involved in every one of them, whether they wanted to be or not.

⁸⁴ The Spaniard first set up colony in Mexico, Peru; crossed the Andes Mountains and took over the wealth of Inca Indians. Silver taken from the mines of Mexico and Peru made the country rich. As a result other European nations rushed to America to become rich like Spain.

⁸⁵ George D Crothers, *American History* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.), 1964, p.15.

Four World Wars

In Europe		In America	
1688-1697	War of League of Augsburg	1689-1697	King William's War
1701-1713	War of Spanish Succession	1702-1713	Queen Anne's War
1740-1748	War of Austrian Succession	1744-1748	King George's War
1756-1763	Seven Years' War	1754-1763	French and Indian War

In the above table, we see, each one of the wars firstly began in Europe between the rival countries, and then it spread to America between the subjects of the same. When the wars broke out in Europe, Americans were forced to raise money and armies and shoulder a share of a burden. But their achievements were hardly recognized in the terms of peace. When the first of these struggles broke out in 1689 as King William's war, a majority of American colonists had probably no real desire to fight the French because there were no acute centers of friction affecting the welfare of large numbers of English settlers. The same is true of Queen Anne's war (1702-1713). But as an advanced guard of the British Empire in North America, they were to begin to drip over the Appalachian Mountain barrier into territory claimed by France. Hence, by 1713, armed conflict had broken out in eight different places in the Western Hemisphere. When the 'Seven Years' War (1756-1763) broke out in America, the English settlers already attained their majority and they were on the eve of becoming independent Americans.⁸⁶

At last the English colonists decided to make their own destiny because they were fed up with being used as cats'-paws for European purposes. This is evident in Thomas Paine's pamphlet *Common Sense* (1776) where he appealed:

Any submission to, or dependence on, Great Britain, tends directly to involve this Continent in European wars and quarrels, and set us at variance with nations who would otherwise seek our friendship, and against whom we have neither anger nor complaint. As Europe is our market for trade, we ought to form no partial connection with any part of it.⁸⁷

There were other reasons why the American colonists fed up with their mother country. They had come to America crossing the Atlantic Ocean with incredible nightmares. It took one to three months to cross the ocean and often involved a heavy toll of lives. Thus the colonists realized that they were separated from Europe in space and time. As a result, those who staggered ashore alive did not return except for compelling reasons. They began to develop a typically American way of living and

⁸⁶ D.P. Heatley.*op.cit.*p.21.

⁸⁷ M.D. Conway, ed., *The Writing of Thomas Paine* (New York, 1906), I, p.88-89; see also : <http://www.indiana.edu/~liblilly/history/common-sense-larger.html>, retrieved 17.04.2013.

thinking. Gradually they came to realize that the New World had a set of interests peculiarly apart from that of the Old World. Hence, they were no longer eager to disrupt profitable trade, butcher their neighbors and be butchered by them simply because of a European clash in which they had no direct stake. This sentiment began to more obvious after the Seven Years' War (1756-1763).

The victory in the Seven Years' War made the British Empire bigger and it seemed that the British Empire both in America and India became safe and secured as her rival French men were wiped out from those territories. But, in reality, it was the beginning of the end. Firstly, the war against France was costly and the new territories would be expensive to govern. Many British soldiers would be needed in America to keep peace with the Indians. To manage this situation, the British government took two major decisions: a) to impose more tax on the colonies to help pay these added expenses; b) to forbid the colonists to move beyond the mountains in the western part of the colonies to stay out of trouble with the Indians so that the British might need fewer troops. Both the decisions angered the colonists. The fur traders and small farmers who wanted to move west and the businessmen who expected to get rich quick by buying up the western lands at a low price became upset. Secondly, After the Seven Years' War, as the French hawk was removed, the colonists might wander afield- perhaps even shake off imperial control. Thus the Paris government sent secret observers to America to report on developments and, if possible, to stir up trouble. The humiliated France hoped to see the breakup of the British Empire in America when the colonists cried out in protest against British taxation.

The confrontation between the British and the colonists began with the imposition of taxes. It became clear to them that regulating trade for the good of the British Empire is one thing and putting taxes on trade in order to raise money for the king's officials in America was another thing. The colonists wanted the right to say how the money would be raised and how it should be spent. But the Stamp Act (1765) would give them no voice in such matters. So the colonists sent representatives to a Stamp Act Congress in New York.⁸⁸ This congress agreed that the colonists should pay only those taxes that they voted for themselves. The idea became the well-known slogan, "no taxation without representation." Finally, the British Parliament was forced to repeal the Stamp Act. But the colonists continued to disobey British Regulations on trade. This made the British government in America quite weak. In 1767 England's

⁸⁸ Many colonists came to America in order to escape from laws that they disliked. Hence, in the new land they made their own local laws and in almost all colonies had local governments very much alike except Connecticut and Rhode Islands. Gradually men in America grew used to self government and freedom. They came to believe that laws they did not suit them were bad, and they thought they had a right to change them.

new minister Charles Townshend passed new laws to tighten British government in the colonies. Special English courts were set up in America to try smugglers. The colonial assembly in New York was abolished and trade regulations were enforced strictly. More British troops arrived in America. People thought that Townshend Acts were worse than the Stamp Act. The Massachusetts Assembly spoke out strongly against these acts and called on the other colonies to do the same. They argued that if the British Parliament could abolish the New York Assembly, it could abolish other colonial assemblies, too. Then there would be no colonial freedom. Thus the British troops were very unpopular in America. Once in March 1770, the British soldiers killed five colonists while in Boston the colonists and the soldiers got into violence. The American colonists took it as a 'massacre' though the American jury freed the British soldiers.

The wound torn opened again in 1773 when the British parliament enacted the 'Tea Act.' American businessmen thought that the Tea Act was issued to take the tea business away from American merchants. So the American merchants refused to let the tea ships unload. In Boston, some anti-British 'patriots' went on board the tea companies' ships and dumped the tea into the water. As a result, the water of the adjacent Boston sea-port area became tea-colored. This event was called as 'Boston Tea Party' and the English Parliament decided to punish Boston. The Boston port was closed. The Massachusetts assembly was expelled, a British General was appointed as Governor in Boston. Americans called these Acts intolerable. They thought they must do something. In 1774 the colonists sent representatives to a meeting in Philadelphia. This meeting was known as 'the First Continental Congress'. The congress urged the colonists to organize the local militia and start military training.

By the spring of 1775, colonists in Boston area were gathering arms and training soldiers. On April 19 the British soldiers met few colonial soldiers on the village green in Lexington. The British soldiers fired at them and went on Concord. But the Americans fought them behind the trees and stone walls. When the British soldiers reached Boston, they had lost 250 men. On the other hand, 100 Americans had been killed. Thus the war against the British began.

Three weeks later the Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia and took the charge of the war. George Washington was given the position of Commander-in-Chief of the new colonial army. Meanwhile, the Second Continental Congress sent a petition to the King of England asking to stop using armies against the colonies, but the king refused the petition, rather he declared that the colonies were rebels. The British king hired Hessian soldiers from Germany to fight in America. The congressional delegates

in Continental Congress agreed that they would have to make a clean break with England. In July 4, 1776 America published 'The Declaration of Independence.' Thus the Diplomatic activities of the United States officially started.

First Phase: 1776-1913

1. Diplomacy under the Article of Confederation

1.1 Diplomacy Before Independence: Militia Diplomacy

US diplomacy initially started with militia diplomacy. As early as November, 1775 a secret committee of correspondence was appointed by the Continental Congress to maintain foreign contacts. As many as twelve paid agents were sent to the European capitals to secure assistance for the rebel American colonies.⁸⁹ Arthur Lee was sent as a commercial agent for Massachusetts to London to maintain confidential correspondence. Silas Dean was sent to France as a commercial agent for the same purpose. Dean was sent to secure financial and military assistance as well as to figure out the possibility of making an alliance with Paris. This time every nation in Europe was feared Britain's might and none of them wanted to incur her wrath welcoming American agents because official welcoming of a diplomatic agent means the recognition of the country from the agent comes and premature recognition of America would be considered the grounds of declaring war. The situation is better realized by the remarks of Fredrick the Great of Prussia. He instructed to his ministers, 'mit complimenten abweisen'⁹⁰ (put him off with compliments). Thus American militia diplomats faced lots of difficulties. Sometimes they were rebuffed also. Only Paris, the most humiliated capital by the British, welcomed them informally and secretly. But France could offer no open aid until the colonials were prepared to make the final break. As soon as the continental congress declared the colonies independent on July 2, 1776 and adopted Jefferson's draft of the Declaration of Independence two days later, making foreign alliance became possible. The declaration also served as a notice to all European powers that the cheapest and the most effective way to break the British Empire was to aid the struggling Americans in their attempt. This was echoed in the comments of Catherine II of Russia, "The colonies have told England good-bye forever."⁹¹ On September 26, 1776 the continental congress appointed an official commission to France which included Arthur Lee, Silas Dean and Benjamin

⁸⁹ Thomas A. Bailey, *op.cit.*, p.28.

⁹⁰ *ibid*, p. 28.

⁹¹ *ibid*, p. 27.

Franklin. In France, Franklin became the most popular due to his personality. He published a number of newspaper articles and pamphlets to discredit the British. He was able to stir up the interests of French Foreign Minister Vergennes to persuade the French King, Louis XVI for assisting the rebellious Americans against Britain. But King Louis XVI was hesitating because he was fully aware of that Britain might declare war if he provided open aid to the rebellious colonies. But the Paris authorities secretly permitted American privateer's to fit out their ports and prey upon England's commerce. Thus, the Agricultural America got military supplies, financial aids and immense quantities of all kinds of stores from France especially from the French king's own arsenal.⁹² However, the British's costly defeat at Saratoga, New York in 1777 turned the diplomatic wheel run faster. It compelled the British to make peace with the colonials rather than continuing the war. The British defeat was so joyous at Paris that the French playwright-poet-politician Beaumarchais was injured in a carriage wreck as he was haste to get the king with the glad news.

After the Battle of Saratoga, the militia diplomat Franklin played his cards with consummate skill. On one hand, he entered into negotiations with the principal British agent; on the other hand, he hinted to the French that unless they could offer something better, the Americans might have to accept Britain's terms. The French authority was fully aware of the fact that a great majority of Americans were still hoping for reconciliation and for a reform of abuses. French Minister, Vergennes, realized that reconciliation would be a catastrophe. It would end the heaven-sent opportunity to ruin Britain and restore French prestige on the continent. Secondly, if Britain could reconcile the relation with the American colonies, she would then turn against the sugar-rich French West Indies which was France's most profitable colonial possessions. Thirdly, Vergennes noted that the trend of events was an indication of a nearer Anglo-Frank war. So, it would be wiser to fight England when she had her hands full with the rebellious Americans. But due to the family compact in 1761, France was to convince Spain before declaring war against Britain.

Spain hated Britain with burning bitterness because the latter had reduced her proud position to a secondary role in the family of nations. But she had to calculate one thing and that was the future safety of her colonies in the new world. Though, according to Vergennes's plan, she was attracted by the prospect of restitution of Gibraltar which she had lost in 1704 to the British and revenge, her deterrence was due to the possible danger of an independent and powerful American republic. She thought, if the

⁹² *ibid*, p. 30.

American colonies would become a powerful republic, she might reach over the Alleghenies into the Mississippi Valley and grasp territory that Spain wanted for herself. Charles III of Spain also thought if he openly assisted the American rebels, the British might turn encourage his own subjects in the vulnerable colonies in the new world to revolt against the Spanish crown. But Vergennes had to hastily because any longer delay would let Britain conciliate her colonies. This was evident in the declaration of Lord North, the British Prime Minister. On December 10, 1777, he announced to the Parliament that after the Christmas holidays, he would move to consider concessions to the rebellious colonies. He then introduced his conciliation bills, which offered virtual home rule to the Americans. On March 9, 1778, parliament approved these measures.

Meanwhile, faced with the necessity of obtaining help, the continental congress permitted its agents in Paris to make binding-treaties. Thus, two Franco-American Treaties: Treaty of Alliance and Treaty of Commerce was signed on February 6, 1778 without prior consent of Spain thinking that the latter might be persuaded to join France later.⁹³ Edward Gibbon finely remarked on this Anglo-Franc competition to get American favor. He said, 'The two greatest countries in Europe were fairly running a race for the favor of America.'⁹⁴ With the treaties, France offered everything that Lord North approved in the conciliation bills including freedom. In fact, Frances distresses made America's diplomatic success possible and in June 1778, France joined Anglo-American war for American part.

The Franco-American treaty was a violation of Franco-Spanish Compact of 1761. Yet, Vergennes had been able to convince Spain with a separate Franco-Spanish agreement at Aranjuez on April 12, 1779 which included a separate provision that France would fight England until she (Britain) yielded the defiant fortress at Gibraltar. This was also a violation of The Franco-American treaty as it expressed not to make a separate peace. However, Vergennes made it secretly leaving the Americans in the dark.

Spain entered into the war but refused to recognize American Independence. Yet the Continental Congress sent a diplomatic convoy headed by John Jay to the Spanish Court in the hope of persuading Spain to lend money. Spanish assistance was so needed that at one time, the Continental Congress instructed John Jay to offer an abandonment of American claims to navigate the Mississippi River in exchange for recognition and an alliance. But Spain did not show much eager rather she gave a small amount of money to the colonials.

⁹³ F.S. Bemis, *The Diplomacy of the American Revolution* (New York, 1935), p.60.

⁹⁴ Thomas A. Bailey, *op.cit.*, p. 35.

However, the British disaster at Yorktown pushed up the colonials at a bargaining position. In England, North- ministry resigned and a Scottish trader, Richard Oswald was sent to start a peace-conversation with Franklin. In a conversation with Oswald, Franklin realized that peace is essential for Britain as her financial condition was also not good due to her 'foolishly involved in four wars'. He intelligently took the opportunity and offered Oswald to cede Canada to the United States in order to heal the bitterness of war and to prevent future friction. Oswald returned England and reported Franklin's proposal. But the British cabinet sent an additional negotiator to Paris. Franklin now became a good hand negotiator for American's part but he was suffering from various diseases and need helping hand. John Adams could be the best, but he was then busy in the Netherlands. So, Franklin called in John Jay from Paris who became suspicious about the Spanish as well as French interests in Anglo-American war.

American militia diplomats were fully aware that the French were more antagonists of the English than their (US) friend. Moreover, doughty Jay became alarmed by the proposal of Joseph Rayneval, Vergennes' secretary, that US should be cooped itself up to the east of the Appalachians for Spain's interest. His suspicion arose when he came to know that Joseph Rayneval secretly left Paris for London. He became clear that France was about to sacrifice American interests in Britain so that a weak French-dependent US republic might be born. Then he communicated with Franklin and promptly sent a special emissary to London to open a separate negotiation with the British ignoring the instructions of the Continental Congress. Though Jay's attempt was non-ethical and a clear violation of Franco-American treaty of 1778 which included 'Neither of the two Parties shall conclude either Truce or Peace with Great Britain, without the formal consent of the other first obtained', he did it for the sake of US-interests. Franklin initially protested mildly against a separate peace, but John Adams heartily approved Jay's secret maneuvering. At last, three American commissioners namely: John Jay, Benjamin Franklin and John Adams signed the preliminary treaty of peace with Great Britain on November 30, 1782. Thus the US militia diplomats posed masterfully treachery over treason.⁹⁵ This treachery of American diplomats left a great black spot on the first chapter of American diplomacy. Being disappointed, the French minister wrote to Franklin, 'You are wise and discreet, sir; you perfectly understand what is due to propriety; you have all your

⁹⁵ The French foreign minister Vergennes opened secret negotiation with Britain leaving the American diplomats in dark. As soon as the US militia diplomats came to know this, they made a separate negotiation with Britain without prior consent of France. It was treason as France was their savior against the British.

life performed your duties. I pray you to consider how you propose to fulfill those which are due to the King?’⁹⁶ Franklin, however, became ashamed of their conduct and confessed that it was really a guilty. He wrote to Vergennes, ‘...We were guilty of neglecting a point of propriety, but not from want of respect to the king, whom we all love and honor... the English I just now learn, flatter themselves they have already divided us. I hope this little misunderstanding will, therefore, be kept a secret, and that they will find themselves totally mistaken.’⁹⁷ In the same letter to Vergennes, Franklin urged to a further loan. The French Government, in spite of bankruptcy, advanced another 6 million Livres.

One year later, on September 3, 1783 the final Anglo-American treaty was signed with full permission of France and Britain recognized the independence of the United States.

1.2 Diplomacy after independence

American birth certificate was achieved through successful diplomatic maneuver of militia diplomats, but well equipped British army still held strategic points in America. Britain had to do this to help loyal Canada on the northern frontiers and unite the Indians against the Americans. The American authority also did not take any drastic action against British presence at the beginning because they better realized that if England had not been war-weary, she might have crushed the colonial armies. According to Vergennes, the French minister, ‘You will notice that the English buys the peace more than they make it. Their concessions, in fact, as much as to the boundaries as to the fisheries and loyalists, exceed all that I should have thought possible.’⁹⁸ However, it was neither England’s unexpected generosity or Shelburne’s⁹⁹ foolishly ‘the dishonorable surrender’ as his critics claimed. In fact, Shelburne wanted to shake off ‘the white men’s burden’ and desired to establish profitable commercial relationship and keep the United States away from French post-war influence as well as to avert future friction with the United States. What Shelburne aimed was to win over his three European foes i.e. France, Spain and Netherlands by reducing America from the ranks of the enemy. Thus, he tried to lure Americans into a loose tie with the British Empire. This trend of the Anglo-American relationship developed afterwards and stretched to the present, though some bitter incidents occurred between the two countries which led them fought in the war also.

⁹⁶ Wharton, *Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence*, Vol. VI, p.140.

⁹⁷ *ibid*, p.144 (Franklin to Vergennes, Dec. 17, 1782).

⁹⁸ Thomas A. Bailey, *op.cit.*, p. 38.

⁹⁹ Britain’s minister of foreign affairs.

From the American's point of view, the continental congress realized that France and Spain were more enemies to Britain than America's friend. From the suspicious attitudes of the both countries, the militia diplomats of America realized that neither of the two countries wanted a strong republic in America. It was obvious that the ruling classes of Europe were anxious about the success of the American experiment of Democracy. If democracy sustained there, the oppressed subjects of the European countries might demand the same in their country. So, the crowned heads of Europe were waiting like vultures for the break-up of American states as the continental congress was not strong enough to accumulate the strength of the states under the weak constitution of 'Article of confederation.' Moreover, the congress was fully aware that a large number of Americans were expecting reconciliation with the motherland. More specifically to say, the American business community was counting on a restoration of commercial privileges and other imperial advantages. Thus, John Adams¹⁰⁰ was sent to England as the first minister of the United States in 1785.

For a new-born state, American diplomats had to face lots of challenges. First of all, they were inexperienced in diplomacy. Secondly, due to the absence of a strong confederation at the beginning and bankruptcy, they could not command the respect of other nations. Moreover, other European people had thought that the Americans were mostly black people. As a result, convoys from America had to explain painfully that Americans were white and not like the savages. The following extract published in *the Public Advertiser* revealed how the American diplomats were treated in England. John Adams's appointment as an ambassador in England was scandalized such a way:

An Ambassador from America! Good Heavens, what a sound!— The Gazette surely never announced anything so extraordinary before.... This will be such a phenomenon in the Corps Diplomatiqua that 'tis hard to say which can excite indignation most, the insolence of those who appoint the Character, or the meanness of those who receive it.¹⁰¹

However, the American diplomats had to resolve the following major issues before the new constitution enacted: restarting commercial liaison with Britain and ensure reciprocal privileges from the mother country, violation and counter violation of the Peace Treaty (1783), Anglo-American border disputes, misunderstanding with Spain and antagonism with France.

Let us discuss first, the status of the United States' relationship with major European powers immediately after her independence to perceive her diplomatic evolution at this stage.

¹⁰⁰ He was initially a militia diplomat, later the Second President of The United States from 1797 to 1801.

¹⁰¹ Thomas A. Bailey, *op.cit.*, p. 53.

1.2.1 The US-Britain relation

Before the revolution most of American trade had been with Britain. So, after ending the hostilities with Britain, it was the first and foremost objective of the American diplomats to make a formal commercial treaty with Britain so that they might do business through old familiar channel which would grant them reciprocal privileges. But England had no desire to negotiate a commercial treaty rather the London government was in a position to ruin American shippers by imposing arbitrary restrictions overnight. The English knew that under the weak confederation, the Americans would not be able to act as a nation to extort a satisfactory pact from England. Lord Sheffield, author of one of the best-selling pamphlet, remarked, "It will not be an easy matter to bring the American states to act as a nation."¹⁰² Secondly, as the Americans started to buy the British goods due to their life-long association and habits and due to the offer of long-term credit by the British merchants which made England's trade greater than before the war, British government did not want to tie their hands with pact. Moreover, the British government desired to reserve its benefits for Canada to strengthen the empire because Canada was loyal to the British. Thus, Americans traders turned their eyes to the British West Indies and successful to develop a considerable volume of trade through smuggling. Moreover, US replied Britain's repeated non-cooperation of signing a commercial treaty by dishonoring the peace treaty of 1783. The state legislatures prevented the debt collection of British merchants which was a clear violation of the treaty. Here, the state legislature followed the public opinion rather than the accords of the treaty or the ruling of Continental Congress. The people everywhere in Virginia said, 'If we are now to pay the debts due to British merchants, what have we been fighting for all this while?'¹⁰³ The continental Congress also did not give adequate pressure on the state legislatures to restore the confiscated Loyalist properties. In fact, the Americans had good reasons to answer Britain's allegation of the violation of the treaty. They did this in reply to Britain's prior violation. Suppose, in the peace treaty there were clear stipulations that Britain would withdraw her military and trade posts from Lake Champlain to Lake Superior within the river-and-lake boundary. But on April 8, 1784 the Secretary of State for Home Affairs in London ordered the posts to be retained since Canada insisted Britain that the relinquishment of the posts would dislocate their fur trade and also annoy the Indians.¹⁰⁴ The American Secretary of Foreign affairs John Jay frankly

¹⁰² S. F. Bemis, ed., *The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy* (New York, 1927), Vol. I, p.223.

¹⁰³ Thomas A. Bailey, *op.cit.*, p. 56.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid*, p. 57-58.

confessed that there had not been a single day since the ratification of the treaty when it ‘had not been violated...by one or other of the states.’¹⁰⁵

Another disputing issue was about the destiny of ‘Vermont’, the semi-independent entity. Vermont had not yet admitted to join the United States as it had boundary disputes with the neighboring states. A considerable number of the people of Vermont, led by British flirtation, were interested to make remote re-union with the mother country as it had in need of St. Lawrence River outlet to the sea. Thus the peace treaty could not be able to end the bitter relation with Britain rather violation and counter violation of the treaty made the relation complex.

1.2.2 The US-Spain relations

As mentioned earlier, Spain was never sympathetic toward the rebel English colonies as it thought that a strong independent democratic republic would be harmful for her empire in the New World. Initially it was a great surprise why Britain granted astonishingly liberal boundaries to the United States. The boundary was westward to Mississippi river and the Northward was what they are now. In the south it was up to the frontier of Spanish East and West Florida along the 31⁰ parallel and in the east up to the Atlantic Ocean.¹⁰⁶ Everybody of England then regard this granting of huge territory especially to the boundary of disputed Spanish line as dishonorable as the end of Britain’s greatness. One English citizen appealed with an open letter to Lord Shelburne not to ‘submit to such disgraceful ruin as American independence’ until the ‘Tower of London be taken sword in hand.’¹⁰⁷ But Shelburne was true to his real diplomacy. He successfully did two jobs: reduced the rebel Americans from the rank of enemy to the British and shrewdly paved the spiked way for the Americans with far-reaching evil-desired Spanish-American border disputes. Thus we see, Spain became hostile to the United States as it snatches the vast trans-Appalachian region from Spain’s grasping hand in 1783. The hostility became bitter by the friction over the navigation of the Mississippi River. In the Treaty of 1783, Britain clearly stipulated the southwestern boundary of the US would begin where 31⁰ parallel intersects the Mississippi river. But the recent military success in the area up to the Tennessee River in the North over the British, Spain did not want to satisfy with the boundary up to 31⁰ parallel. Moreover, John Jay, directed by the Continental Congress, also offered an abandonment of American claims to navigate the Mississippi River in exchange for recognition and an alliance with Spain when the

¹⁰⁵ *ibid*, p.58.

¹⁰⁶ Bemis, S.F., *op.cit*, p.219.

¹⁰⁷ Thomas A. Bailey, *op.cit.*, p. 50.

United States was at war with Britain. But Spain rejected this offer indifferently. However, both Spain and American shippers enjoyed trade through Mississippi at wartime. Now, as the war ended, the Spaniards sealed Mississippi for the American shippers by virtue of military and economic supremacy. As a result, the transporting cost of the bulky agricultural products over the Alleghenies Mountains became very high for the west American traders. The US-frontiersmen wanted to free the Mississippi waterway through gun-fight. Britain took this opportunity and circulated propagandas about the need for British protectorate which attracted most of western settlers. George Washington immediately travelled the west and after a journey of 680 miles, he reported in 1784: ‘The western settlers stand as it were upon a pivot. The touch of a feather would turn them away.’¹⁰⁸ American shippers and United States government were facing serious bankruptcy at that time, thus needed a commercial treaty with Spain. John Jay, the practical American diplomat, calculated that a commercial treaty with Spain was more necessary for the American economy than the right to navigate in the Mississippi river to balance the British threat. So he changed his course of diplomatic approach and negotiated a deal with Gardoqui, the Spanish diplomat on August 3, 1786. He also proposed the Continental Congress to refrain from the right to navigate in the river for 25 to 30 years for the sake of American trade. Jay’s proposal was granted by majority vote in the US-congress but Jay-Gardoqui deal eventually collapsed by the rebellion of the west.

Jay-Gardoqui deal was actually hasty because ‘the west was scantily populated and Spain had already fallen upon evil days’. According to Jefferson, who was then a US-diplomat in Paris, ‘any diplomatic crisis or a general war in Europe could enable US to win over Madrid and United States could easily restore her claim of the right of navigation on the Mississippi.’ In fact, Jay-Gardoqui deal created long term distrust between the western settlers and the East. It was evident few months later when the question of the ratification of the Federal Constitution came. However, Spaniards delayed for a Commercial Treaty for the next ten years but purchased their security to some extent by granting western settlers the right to navigate on the Mississippi river for stipulated duties in 1788. The Spaniards also used gold among the western leaders to tame them and employed Indian allies for their empire’s security.

1.2.3 The US-France relations

France helped the United States to win over Britain but at the same time her underhand policy was to keep the United States feeble subservient satellite country.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid*, p.60.

That's why she did not satisfy with the US initiative of making a strong central government under a new federal constitution. At that time America had 35 million Livres debt to the France and hence American diplomats in Paris were in an awkward position. Jefferson who was always a patron of French wrote, ' we are the lowest and most obscure of the whole diplomatic tribe.' The French government also wanted a United States too weak to pay the debts so that she might use the United States to serve her purpose in the New World. Moreover, the French did not have much confidence over American court; hence in 1788 she negotiated a consular convention through which the French consuls in America could try their own citizens in certain cases. Similar rights also were reserved in the terms for the US consuls, but practically that did not work well. The United States had to show tolerance with diplomatic awkwardness due to her debt, bankruptcy and weak confederation. However, France had made some concessions to the United States. She granted American shippers to trade with a few ports of West Indies for a limited number of commodities. Though it was not sufficient, it was more liberal than the British or Spanish attitudes.

1.2.4 Challenges in Mediterranean trade

After American independence, the British shippers lost Britain's shelter in the seas. As a result, like Atlantic Ocean Trade, the United States' Shippers faced serious discomforts in the Mediterranean Sea. Due to the weak Federal government under article of confederation, she failed to command the respect of North African nations who then controlled the Mediterranean Sea trades. The North African bandits frequently fell upon unprotected American ships and looted the commodities, enslaved the crews and sometimes forced up insurance rates. The United States had then been too poor to pay back an effective resistance. Britain could use her great navy to crush these pirates, but she did not do this because she wanted the Mediterranean Sea business be reserved for those nations who were wealthy enough to pay protection money. However, with a great effort, United States' diplomats succeeded to make a Commercial Treaty with Morocco in 1887 at the bargain price less than \$ 10,000.¹⁰⁹ But Algiers, Tripoli and Tunis remained hostile toward American trade convoys. At one point, Algiers declared war on the United States. But John Jay, foreign Secretary of the United States wrote, "This war does not strike me as a great evil. The more we are ill-treated abroad, the more we shall unite and consolidate at home." In fact, the independence of the United States drove the American traders isolated in the hostile world and the weak central federal

¹⁰⁹ *ibid*, p.65.

government under the article of confederation made them vulnerable. The diplomatic failure made the American people better realized that they need a powerful central government under a sophisticated constitution. After long discussions, procedures, debates the United States constitution was enacted on March 4, 1789 and an actual course of diplomacy in American foreign affairs began.

2. The US Diplomacy under new constitution

2.1 The policy of isolation

The United States' initial official diplomatic policy after enacting the new constitution was the Policy of Isolation. 'Isolation' actually broke down into nonintervention, noninvolvement, and no-entangling alliances. Its meaning, originally, 'We'll keep out of Europe's broils.' The objectives of the 'Isolation' are peace, neutrality, prosperity, security etc. These objectives evolved from the experience of century-and-a-half colonial backdrop. From the historical standpoint, we have already discussed that isolationism was enrolled in the spirit of the English settlers long before they had sailed from Europe. They left their homeland because they had not been able to get along there- whether spiritually, socially, politically, or economically. Being weary of the periodic upheavals in Europe, many of them were emigrating. Thus a policy of 'isolation' was taken as a tool of keeping out the Americans of European broils by George Washington, the first President of the United States.

Let us discuss in brief, the political environment of Europe in the context of the French Revolution, which will help us justifying Washington's 'isolation policy.'

The French Revolution (1789) was one of the most significant incidents in world history. Just the same year when the French Revolution occurred and the whole Europe was swelled by the ideologies of the revolution: Equality, Fraternity and Freedom; the United States was busy with coming out of her weak "Article of Confederation." Even in England, people greeted the revolution unanimously. William Wordsworth and Coleridge took this incident as a new start of freedom and peace. The Whigs of England, especially Fox, at first compared this incident with 'the Glorious Revolution of 1688.' But soon the violent activities of the revolutionists blurred the greatness of the revolution; frustration and panic took the place of hope. When the Jacobins declared (1792) that France would extend helping hands to those nations who would have revolted against tyranny. By this declaration, the revolutionary France turned herself from democratic countries into an imperial power which created panic

among the monarchs of Europe. Even, Edmund Bark marked France as the enemy of God and humanity, and demanded a declaration of war against her. Gironde's and Jacobins believed, France had to annex Belgium and extend her area up to the Rhine, otherwise her natural boundary would not be secured and hence, the revolution would not be successful. At that time, powerful states in Europe were Austria, Prussia, France, Britain, Spain and Russia. The French Revolutionists, under 'National Convention', created 'Citizen Army' and declared war against Austria and Prussia to extend her area up to the so-called natural boundary. Since Austria and Prussia were worried about the 'second set off of Poland', they were indifferent about the French 'Citizen Army.' France took this opportunity and built up a powerful army by which she easily defeated Austria and Prussia and occupied Belgium. The British government was alarmed by the advancement of the French army in Belgium since she had been considered Belgium's border as her security line. The river 'Scheldt' between Belgium and Holland was the way from England to communicate Belgium through the seaway. Holland used to close the mouth of Scheldt' to control Belgium's ocean-trade. But France opened the outlet for all which hampered British sea-trade. Holland also became furious. When France guillotined King Louis XVI, all the European monarchy burst into fury and united to punish France. 'First Coalition' (1793) was formed with Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, England, Holland, Spain and Portugal. Thus 'the French war' had turned into European War and 'the French Revolution' into 'European Revolution.' This European conflict continued until 1815 when Napoleon was defeated in a fateful war at Waterloo.

Within twenty two years of conflict, both social and political systems of Europe had been changed drastically. Famous historian Reddaway, in his book, *A History of Europe* remarked: 'wherever the Napoleonic army went things were not the same again.'

No doubt, the European broil had shaken the American people and they also desperately divided in their opinions. Even, the diplomats of America had different favors. The Jeffersonian always advocated for the French side and the Hamiltonians for the British. But George Washington was anxious about the growing partisan sentiments of the people. He skillfully convinced his fellow companions and tactfully secured the destiny of her newborn baby state from the harsh claws of contending European powers by ratifying 'Jay Treaty' and 'Pinckney Treaty.'

Let us now discuss some incidents that will reveal Washington's diplomacy.

2.2 Nootka incident, the first official test-case of ‘Isolation Policy’

After enacting the new constitution, new government was formed under George Washington on April 30, 1789. Till then, Britain neither agreed to send any diplomatic agent in the United States nor withdrawn the military and trading outposts from there especially from the northern frontiers. All on a sudden, a diplomatic crisis led the United States in an awkward position. The Spanish authorities seized several British trading ships from Nootka Sound, a small inlet on the western coast of Vancouver and ejected some English settlers in the summer of 1789. When the news reached England, the whole nation took the incident as a Spanish aggression over English outposts in the Pacific Northwest and became furious. Reasonably the British government, under Pitt, prepared for a war. Pitt insisted that the English were the first comers, and that the island was an English possession.¹¹⁰ It assumed that the British in Canada would beat at Spanish New Orleans, Florida and Louisiana which would need the permission of the United States to send troops across American soil. Giving permission to England would mean declaring war against Spain. On the other hand, refusal might mean war with Britain. In this dilemma, George Washington called on his officials and sought advice. Finding varied opinions, Washington took time and decided to show neutrality. Fortunately, Spain sought help from France instead of the United States. France was then revolution-weary and was unable to extend helping hands. Spain, therefore, was compelled to accept British demands and recede from her former position and left Nootka area. On the other hand, Britain realized the strength of American neutrality. Britain did realize that under the new constitution, US Congress could enact retaliatory commercial legislation and if the congress would have imposed such discriminatory tariff over British goods, the British commerce would have been to face a staggering blow since the United States was Britain’s best overseas customer. Moreover, London government perceived that in the event of an Anglo-Spanish conflict, the United States might have the opportunity to seize their own northern trading posts which the British still occupied. But the United States did neither of the two; therefore, Spain could not but recede from her earlier position. Thus in 1791, Britain started formal diplomatic relation with the United States and sent a minister to Philadelphia.

2.3 The French Revolution (1789) and US diplomacy

In the context of the French Revolution, George Washington declared his memorable proclamation of ‘Neutrality’ on April 22, 1793. Washington declared ‘neutrality’ as a

¹¹⁰ Carter & Mears, *A History of Britain*, 3rd edition (New Delhi: Surjeet Publication), 1995, p.683.

tool of diplomacy when France declared war on Britain. According to the treaty of 1788, the United States was bound to take French side. Thousands of Jeffersonian Republicans¹¹¹ raised their voice that America should rush to the assistance of the nation that helped the United States overthrowing British tyranny and achieving independence. On the other hand, Alexander Hamilton and his followers thought that Britain was the world's last hope. Hence, the Federalists wanted to take Britain's side. When Washington sought advice from his cabinet whether the pact with France should now be considered binding, Alexander Hamilton argued that the treaties were not in full force because they had been negotiated with the French monarchy under Louis XVI- and both monarchy and Louis XVI were dead. On the other hand, Jefferson argued:

....The treaties between the United States and France were not treaties between the United States and Louis Capet (Louis XVI), but between the two nations of America and France; and the nations remaining in existence, though both of them have since changed their forms of government, the treaties are not annulled by these changes.¹¹²

Jefferson's diplomatic ideology could be better realized when we consider his letter to Pinckney, the American envoy in Madrid. In the letter Jefferson reminded him of the corollary of the declaration of American independence as follows:

We certainly cannot deny to other nations that principle wherein our government is founded, that every nation has a right to govern itself internally under what forms it pleases, and to change these forms at its own will; and externally to transact business with other nations through whatever organ it choose, whether that be a King, Convention, Assembly, Committee, President, or whatever it be. The only thing essential is the will of the nation.¹¹³

Thus we see, Jefferson and his followers were extremely liberal and aware of the ethical points of the diplomacy. But Hamilton and his followers chose the policy of 'the doctrine of necessity.' Though Washington was also unanimous with Jefferson, he gave priority to national interest rather considering 'ethics' or 'gratitude'. Hence, when the question came whether the United States should accept any diplomatic convoy of the French Republic, Washington made delay-dealing. It seems George Washington clearly realized the European distress and wanted to uphold the United States prestige through embroilments with Britain. Moreover, he sent John Jay, the

¹¹¹ Under Washington government, the American nation was divided into two schools of thought. One was pro-French led by Thomas Jefferson known as 'Republicans' and the other was pro-England led by Alexander Hamilton known as 'Federalist.' Both the two genius became ideologically rival to each-other and under their direct influence party system developed in the United States under the two schools of thought until 1854.

¹¹² *ibid*, p.84.

¹¹³ *ibid*, p.85.

Chief Justice of the United States, with all the criticisms of the Jeffersonian, to Britain to:

- i. a commercial treaty;
- ii. adjustment of differences over northern posts;
- iii. securing compensation for British seizure that occurred under 'Order of Council';
- iv. Arrangement of opening West Indian trade.

After a hard bargain, John Jay succeeded to make a treaty with Britain on November 19, 1794. Through the treaty, Britain promises to surrender the northern posts once again. The settlement of debt question and compensation for British seizure of American ships left for an international arbitration. Britain made commercial liaison with the United States through this treaty. Seemingly the treaty had nothing for what Jay could claim thanks. But in reality, this treaty raised the United States' prestige. The most significant point of the treaty was that after eleven years of the independence, Britain agreed to consider the United States in terms of equality. Secondly, Jay Treaty was considered as United States-Britain alliance for which both France and Spain were afraid of. When the Spanish ministers heard of the Jay Treaty¹¹⁴, they haste for a treaty with Thomas Pinckney, the American envoy in Madrid. Through Pinckney negotiation (October 27, 1795), the Spanish government gave the United States the free right of navigation on the Mississippi river, restrained the Indians on America's southern frontier and pushed down the boundary of West Florida down to the 31st parallel.

Napoleonic France had been involved in a death struggle with England, the world's greatest naval power and Spain was weary of a threat of war against Britain. Hence, European struggle for supremacy led Britain, making concessions to the United States. Consequently, Spain had to give up her policy of maintaining a buffer against Southwest frontiersmen of the United States to save her colony from the hostility of an emerging America.

Though France was not happy with the negotiation of Jay's mission and wanted its failure since she wanted Britain to involve in a war with the United States; the people of the United States also showed their rage for Jay's negotiation with Britain since they considered any negotiation with Britain against France would be a betrayal. As a result, numerous public meetings passed condemnatory resolutions against Jay's Treaty, flags were lowered to half-mast and Jay was guillotined in effigy. When Alexander Hamilton, one of the greatest heroes of American Independence War, tried

¹¹⁴ Under new constitution, U.S-Britain treaty became popularly known as 'Jay Treaty' and U.S-Spanish Treaty as 'Pinckney Treaty'.

to speak in New York before an audience, he was stoned from the platform, bleeding at the mouth. But Washington, with his patient and persuasive diplomacy, had followed neutrality and freed his own soil from foreign domination. Jay and Pinckney's negotiation had made an end of both Spain and France's control over trans-Appalachian territory of America. Jay's treaty kept the United States away from being a football of contending European nations. It also helped bending Spain and paved the way of the new-born United States' independent foreign policy. George Washington, in his farewell address, justified this policy as follows: 'the nation which indulges toward another an (sic) habitual hatred or an (sic) habitual fondness is in some degree a slave.'¹¹⁵ We have seen, when France declared war on Britain, American policy-makers had been divided into two. Most of the people, known as Jeffersonian, cried for favor to assist France. On the other hand, the Hamiltonians were seeking to war with Britain. Washington tried to tame both the sides declaring 'neutrality'. Even the 'neutrality' in the context of a war between Britain and France was also extremely unbearable for the most Americans, let alone Jefferson, who was personally sympathetic for France. But after the ratification of Jay's Treaty in the congress, Jefferson never betrayed the interests of the United States. This is evident in a report of the then French representative in America, published in *the Annual Report of 'The Journal of American History Association,'* 1903 as follows:

Mr. Jefferson likes us because he detests England; he seeks to draw near to us because he fears us less than Great Britain; but tomorrow he might change his opinion about us if Great Britain should cease to inspire his fear. Although Jefferson is the friend of liberty and science, although he is an admirer of the efforts we have made to cast off our shackles... Jefferson, I say, is an American, and as such, he cannot sincerely be our friend. An American is the born enemy of all the peoples of Europe.

This inherited hatred of the American peoples toward the European nations finally helped Washington formulate 'neutrality' as a tool of American diplomatic maneuver. It was the foundation-stone of American foreign policy.

2.4 Bitter Relation with France

After Jay's Treaty, France became fury against the United States. According to the report of the Secretary of the State Pickering, from July, 1796 to June 1797, 316 vessels flying the United States flag had fallen prey to French cruisers. The French humiliation with Monroe, the insults to the American trio-diplomatic convoy made the American people fury of indignation. When the American convoy reached France, the

¹¹⁵ see: Washington's Farewell Address, 1796.

French agent informed them that no negotiation would be possible unless the French Directory would have received an apology to France for the recent allusion in the speech of the President of the United States to the Congress. Not only that, the French agent demanded 1.2 million Livres as a bribe and a loan of 32 million florins as a gift. The American diplomats rejected the French proposal because under ‘the policy of isolation’ loans could not be sanctioned to any contending nations at war. Everywhere slogans raised, ‘Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute.’ Responding to the popular demand, John Adams took the risk of war with France rather breaking the policy of ‘neutrality.’ The United States Congress suspended commercial intercourse with France in June 13, 1798. On July 7, 1798 the congress declared the two treaties of 1778 invalid on the grounds that France had already violated the treaty. Thus an undeclared war started with France, which lasted for two and a half years.

The war was confined to the sea only. England became glad at the Franco-American friction and proposed for an alliance. But Adams tactfully avoided any alliance with Britain. However, with the help of British arms, naval signals and warships, the United States small navy captured more than eighty armed French ships. Yet France did not respond bitterly. Perhaps, France wanted to restore her position in Louisiana and hence wanted to avert a full-scale war with the United States. Similarly, President Adams realized that though the Federalists earnestly wanted a full-scale war with France an aversion of war might postpone his second term presidential, he realized a major war should be avoided lest it should disrupt the American course of development. Therefore, in spite of the strong opposition from the Federalists, he sent William Vans Murray to France for a negotiation. Adam’s demands were two: a) \$20 million compensation for the recent seizure of American ships; b) mutual abrogation of the two treaties of 1778. After a long discussion, France agreed to cancel the two treaties of 1778 if the United States would withdraw any financial claim. A convention was signed between the two countries on September 30, 1800. After signing this convention, the United States became free from any alliances with the European nations and there was no obstacle before the United States to follow the policies of peace, neutrality, non-interference, and non-intervention.

The abrogation of the two treaties of 1778 by \$20 million price¹¹⁶ gave the United States two benefits. It cooled down French hostilities and removed tension of war when peace with the French was needed for the development of the United States; consequently helped her to come close to England. The convention itself was a

¹¹⁶ After a horse-trading bargaining with France, the United States had to withdraw her financial claim; instead she had to agree to give France \$ 20 million as a compensation of the abrogation of the two treaties of 1778.

substitute of a commercial treaty with France which was proved later much beneficial to the economy of the United States. It paved the way of purchasing Louisiana which led the United States a vigorous country. Though Britain became disappointed by this, British attention did not come to an end rather the United States gained a bargaining power among the three European foes. Adams bought America's destiny at the cost of his defeat in the election of 1800.

2.5 Louisiana Purchase, 1801-1803

Louisiana was a French colony. France ceded this to Spain in 1762 as a compensation for her losses to Britain in the Seven Years' War. But the French officials had always a vision to regain it. When Napoleon mounted in power, he was enchanted by the vision and forced the Spanish king to spew it to him. To the Spanish point of view, it was becoming a liability to them because the expenditure of administration and defense was continually causing an annual deficit of the treasury. Secondly, the sprawling territory was a reason of permanent dispute between the United States, Britain, France and also Spain. Spain used to use this vast territory as a buffer to protect her more valuable lands in the south against American frontiersmen. Spain thought, if France took over the territory, it would remain a buffer and the French would become a foe of American frontiersmen. Therefore, when Napoleon offered Tuscany or an equivalent in exchange for all Louisiana, Spanish king happily accepted the offer and a preliminary arrangement was concluded on October 1, 1800. But Napoleon was very intelligent. He wanted to check any interference of Britain or the United States on the way of his ambition of empire-building. One year after the conclusion with Spain, he made a preliminary peace of Amiens (1801) with Britain, which raised suspicion whether France would transfer the sprawling land to third parties. Napoleon reassured the Spanish king and the later issued transfer order on October 15, 1802.

The rumor of Louisiana Transfer tensed American President Jefferson. The westerners, mainly the supporter of Jeffersonian-republican, were angry with the Spanish as Spain suspended the right to deposit in New Orleans despite the freedom of navigation in the Mississippi river was still in force. The Westerners assumed that the order had been dictated by Napoleon. They also thought that the river would be completely closed if Napoleon took over Louisiana. They had a long cherished desire that one day they might sack New Orleans. But if Louisiana fell on France's hand, the future would be dark since France was then a great military power. The popular sentiment would be better realized from a comment of a Kentuckian:

...I am afraid the United States are too weak to attempt anything by force, therefore I suppose some other means must be used. I fear we shall be insulted by other nations and not have it in our power even to make an attempt to repel the insult. No Army, No Navy and worst of all an empty Treasury.¹¹⁷

The Federalists also raised their voice against France and got opportunity to cut off agrarian votes for Jefferson. It seemed that 'Louisiana issue' was going to be a burning question in the coming election. To quiet the domestic voters, Jefferson took two steps. He unofficially engaged his French friend Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, renowned Physiocrat, to negotiate the French Authorities so that France might not acquire 'Louisiana.' On the other hand, he openly accompanied by the British diplomat so that it might announce that 'French policy was throwing America into the arms of France's enemy.' Thus, pro-French Jefferson became pro-British! He also cleverly used the western people's outburst to play over both the French and Spanish diplomats. The result was fruitful; Spain hastily restored the right of deposit in Orleans. He then sent James Monroe as a special envoy to France to assist Robert Livingston, the regular minister. He instructed to offer 50 million Livres (approximately \$10 million) for New Orleans and West Florida included in Louisiana. They were also instructed that if France denied the offer and proposed to close the Mississippi to American commerce, they would then negotiate with England for an alliance.

Napoleon was a warrior, not the shopkeeper like the British or the Americans. He thought if the Americans tied with the British, he could not hold Louisiana against the great English navy. So it would be better to sell the sprawling land to the United States for a substantial sum than let it fall in her eternal foe, England. On April, 11, 1803 Napoleon ordered his finance minister Talleyrand to negotiate for selling Louisiana for \$15 million in cash.¹¹⁸

The purchase of Louisiana was a clear violation of the United States constitution. By purchasing this vast desert it seemed Jefferson stepped on Napoleon's trap because Napoleon betrayed with Spain so that a Spanish-American conflict could help him in European politics. In fact, the United States enjoyed the stolen fruits of Napoleon!¹¹⁹ However, the Americans were lucky that the distress of European politics helped them achieve diplomatic success again. Nobody questioned bitterly about the morality of

¹¹⁷ Whitaker, A.P., *The Mississippi Question 1795-1803*(New York, 1934), p.228.

¹¹⁸ By the Louisiana Purchase, the United States owned 828,000 sq. miles of area at approximately 3 cents per acres.

¹¹⁹ When Napoleon sold Louisiana to the United States, it was still occupied by the Spanish troops. Secondly, Napoleon promised not to transfer the land to any third party. He also had not yet transferred Tuscany or any other European land to Spain in return of Louisiana.

this purchase; nor even Hamilton! The news about purchase caused unrestrained joy in the west. Jefferson's map-changing achievement gave the westerners new confidence over the central government and national unity became strong. The United States had thus become an empire. According to Napoleon, 'We have helped them to be free, now let us help them to be great.' Napoleon did exactly what the British did in 1783.¹²⁰

2.6 The United States' economic warfare 1807-1812

From the declaration of 'The Order in Council' to 1812 the United States became the most neutral carrier of foodstuffs. However, the 'Chesapeake Humiliation' compelled the United States to do something which could uphold the nation's dignity. The American people became so furious for the 'Chesapeake Humiliation' that "... The West, with its fighting breed of men and its high ideals of National Honor, vibrated with anger." But, Jefferson wanted to avert a full-scale war with Britain rather he started an economic warfare which includes:

- i. Embargo against all nations (Dec. 1807-March 1809)
- ii. Non-intercourse to beat England & France (March 1809 –May 1810)
- iii. Macon's Bill (May 1810-March 1811)
- iv. Non-importation (March 1811-June 1812)

During this period, England and France were engaged themselves in a death struggle and became heavily dependent on American foodstuffs. The declaration of 'the Continental Congress (1806)' and the 'Orders in Council (1807)' hampered American sea-trade. Molested by the both sides, Jefferson then passed an Embargo Act (December, 1807)¹²¹ which prohibited the export of any goods from the United States, by sea or by land. Jefferson thought, if the United States refused to ship anything to Europe, both Britain and France would come around and agree to end their high-handed practices. It was, in fact, an extreme experiment of Jeffersonian 'isolation policy'. Jefferson's embargo was a clear warning to the warring European nations from a nation whose population was doubling and energy was quadrupled in every twenty years. He chose economic coercion as a substitute of war. However, after two years of nightmare, he concluded that the embargo experiment not only caused harm

¹²⁰ In 1783 England granted an astonishing liberal boundary to the United States to entrap Franco-Spanish ally, now Napoleon transferred vast Louisiana to entrap England and Spain. In both cases, America became benefited from the European broil.

¹²¹ Jefferson was compelled to issue the Embargo Act to cool the outraged Americans as well as heal the indignation of 'the Chesapeake Humiliation' (June, 1807) by the British naval frigate, the *Leopard*. It was his experiment of economic warfare instead of arms battle against Britain.

to France and England, but also was three times more costly than regular wars for the United States. Jefferson later confessed, “I felt the foundation of the government shaken under my feet by the New England townships.”¹²²

From the Napoleon’s point of view, by issuing embargo, the United States was playing his game. France was unable to blockade Britain due to latter’s great navy. However, he was delighted to see the distress of England caused by the United States’ embargo. The French minister in Washington rejoiced, “... the emperor applauds the embargo!” Moreover, Napoleon seized all American ships in French harbors on the pretext that, with the embargo still in force, they must be disguised British craft. Within one year Napoleon confiscated American vessels and cargoes worth \$10 million.

England successfully managed to overcome the embargo by the grace of nature (i.e. unexpected bumper production of crops). But the stoppage of American supply of foodstuffs caused severe distress in the West Indies, Newfoundland and Canada. The traders of the West Indies and Newfoundland petitioned the British government to repeal of the Orders in Council that had driven the Americans to the embargo. Therefore, the confrontation of the ‘American Embargo’ and the ‘British Orders in Council’ had made the Anglo-American relation bitter. It bred the ground of Anglo-American war in 1812 which peace-passionate Jefferson wanted to avert.

The American traders also became impatient. However, pressurized by the impatient New Englanders and due to the law & order situation in Canadian borders especially on Lake Champlain; and also for the people’s demonstration time and again against embargo act, Jefferson repealed the act on March 1, 1809; three days before starting President Madison’s presidency.

The embargo act was repealed but ‘the non-intercourse act’ was passed which forbade any commerce with Britain and France until American rights were respected.

James Madison, the fourth U.S. president, bore the burden of Jefferson’s economic coercion which led him a war with Britain for a simple blunder. The fact was: British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Canning instructed the British minister in Washington, Erskine¹²³ to find out any scope of repealing commercial disputes with the United States. Mr. Erskine, with his own accord, negotiate with the United States, which concluded with an agreement of the withdrawn of the ‘Orders in Council’ in the return of the revoking of the ‘non-intercourse’ against England but enforcement against

¹²² Thomas A. Bailey, *op.cit.*, p. 129.

¹²³ Erskine had married an American lady that’s why unlike most of his predecessors; he had a sympathy for the United States. That’s why he was desperately eager to secure an agreement between the United States and Britain.

France. Madison foolishly assured by the Erskine negotiation, proclaimed the withdrawal of 'non-intercourse' against Britain on June 10, 1809. As a result, hundreds of American ships full of foodstuffs set out for the English Channel. When the news had come before Canning, he had renounced the agreement on the grounds that Erskine had violated his instructions. The American shippers fall in a severe distress and the people of the United States became furious. Even the pro-British federalists were aroused. The disapproval of Erskine's agreement pushed Madison to an awkward position and Madison further restored the 'non-intercourse' against Britain. Canning's repudiation pushed the United States to embrace with Bonaparte. Erskine was recalled to London and another minister, Jackson was sent to Washington instead. Jackson insisted that the British State Department had known that Erskine was violating the instructions when the agreement was already concluded. But the United States' Secretary of Foreign Affairs refused to take any further communications from Britain for the charge of bad faith. Thus the Diplomatic relation with Britain had come to a close.

On May 1, 1810 the United States' Congress passed a bill called Macon's Bill¹²⁴ in substitution of 'Non-intercourse Act' which officially permitted commerce with both England and France. However, this bill provided that if France repealed her offensive decrees, the United States would renew non-importation against England. Similarly, if England repealed her Orders in Council, the United States would then renew non-importation against France.

After Napoleon hinted he would stop restrictions, President James Madison blocked all trade with Britain that November. Meanwhile, new members of Congress elected that year—led by Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun—had begun to agitate for war, based on their indignation over British violations of maritime rights as well as Britain's encouragement of Native American hostility against American expansion in the West. On March 2, 1811 the United States officially renewed non-importation against Britain as the Chesapeake humiliation was not healed and Britain still refused to repeal her Orders in Council. The Westerners were getting ready to invade Canada because Britain was continuously trying to use the Indians against westward Americans.

On May 16, 1811 a forty-four-gun American frigate, the *President* had attacked twenty-gun British corvette, *Little Belt* and killed thirty two. The British took it as

¹²⁴ At war with each other since 1793, France and Britain had for the past five years rejected American claims that, as a neutral nation, the United States should be able to trade with both sides. Instead, British and French naval ships intercepted American commercial vessels and auctioned off their cargoes. Macon's Bill sought to encourage Britain and France to revise their policies.

three times more revenge of the ‘Chesapeake humiliation’. Thus a war-like situation broke out at Northwest frontier. About a thousand American troops, led by General William Henry Harrison locked in clash with the Indians at Tippecanoe on November 7, 1811. As time passed by, American people were becoming vulnerable for the British blockade and at the last American senate passed a war resolution against Britain on June 4, 1812.

The United States declared war on England when Napoleon was in winning position. The westerners thought, they could occupy Canada with a mere marching. But many Canadians were the descendents of the Loyalists who were expelled from the United States after America’s Independence. These people rose to defend their country from the American ‘mere marchers.’ Hence, in 1812 and again 1813 the troops of the United States were forced to back from Canadian territory.

With the defeat of Napoleon’s armies in April 1814, however, Britain was able to turn its full attention to the United States. As large numbers of troops arrived, British forces raided the Chesapeake Bay and moved in on the United States’ capital, capturing Washington, D.C., on August 24, 1814, and burning government buildings including the Capitol Hill and the White House.

In the seas, the Americans won a dozen single-ship naval duels and lost only two duels. But in reality, when the hostilities ended, Britain remained over 800 ships in her Royal Navy. On the other hand, the United States had only about three from sixteen.

During the war, the United States continued her diplomatic maneuver. A week after the declaration of war (June 26, 1812), the United States made a fresh start of negotiations. Secretary of the state Monroe instructed the American *Charge’* at London to negotiate for a cessation of hostilities. Later, Alexander I of Russia proposed to mediate between Britain and the United States. Russia’s intention behind the mediation was to see the American war ended so that she could start her desired trade with the United States. Moreover, Moscow was then occupied by the Napoleon’s army. Madison promptly accepted a Russian proposal as he was trying to step back from her distressed position. He understood the fate of European war and sent two special envoys, Albert Gallatin and James Bayard to Russian capital.¹²⁵

Initially, British Foreign Secretary Lord Castlereagh did not willing to let Tsar Alexander I to have any voice in the peace settlement. However, British foreign office proposed the United States for a direct negotiation of November, 1813. Madison accepted this proposal without any delay.

¹²⁵ Thomas A. Bailey, *op.cit.*, p. 148

....When Napoleon was forced to abdicate and France accepted a peace treaty on British terms in 1814, the end of the European conflict strengthened the desire within Britain for a more complete end to more than two decades of war. So, British diplomats, for the first time, softened their demands, allowing for the negotiation of a cease-fire late in 1814.¹²⁶

2.7 Treaty of Ghent, 1814

The United States sent a peace commission of five members to Ghent, Belgium. The members were John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, Albert Gallatin, James A. Bayard and Jonathon Russell. All of them were very much experienced in the field of diplomacy. But the British convoy was astonishingly inexperienced. None of them had even a slightest experience in diplomacy.¹²⁷ The American diplomats were instructed to insist on abandonment of impressments, the cessation of all illegal blockades and satisfactory negotiation on other neutral rights in dispute. On the other hand, the British convoy demanded the creation of an Indian buffer state south of the Great Lakes, including total or large parts of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin which would be a safeguard for Canada. This was a *sine qua non* (indispensable condition) for the British Part. On the other hand, the American demand was *status quo ante bellum* (territorial status as it existed before the war.) The negotiations became dead-locked. Suddenly, the news of British Army's failure at Lake Champlain came to Ghent and the whole situation was changed electronically. In fact, when the negotiations were ongoing, the British had three invasions underway. One force carried out a burning of Washington, D.C., but the troops and fleet failed to capture Baltimore. In northern New York State, 10,000 British troops marched south, but they were forced back to Canada by the defeat at the Battle of Plattsburgh. Nothing was known about the third largest invasion force that intended to capture New Orleans and the southwestern territory. As a result, the British Prime Minister Arthur Wellesley wanted to give the Duke of Wellington, the hero of the war with France, the command in Canada. But Wellington stated:

...that I think you have no right, from the state of war, to demand any concession of territory from America... You have not been able to carry it into the enemy's territory, notwithstanding your military success, and now undoubted military superiority, and have not even cleared your own territory on the point of attack. You cannot on any principle of equality in negotiation claim a cession of territory except in exchange for other advantages which you have in your power... Then if this reasoning be true, why stipulate for

¹²⁶ Many Americans regard the war in 1812 as the 'Second War of Independence' because it wiped out all national divisions, raised strong patriotism and national pride.

¹²⁷ Britain was then busy with forthcoming 'Congress of Vienna (1815).' The fate of Europe would be designed there. Britain's most talented diplomats were getting prepared for Vienna. That's why 'Ghent' got less importance to the British.

the 'uti possidetis' ? You can get no territory: indeed, the state of your military operations, however creditable, does not entitle you to demand any.

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Consequently, the British Government dropped all of its demands, and then the negotiators agreed to a treaty that called for no change in territory. Prisoners would be exchanged, and captured slaves returned to the United States or are paid for by Britain (who paid for them).

For the United States, the Treaty of Ghent was 'not one inch of territory ceded or lost.' It was actually not fruitful for her because her claim of the withdrawal of British 'impressments' ignored. The treaty also did not change British Commercial policy or the rights of the neutral nations.

The War of 1812 was an eruption of departure from the cautious policy of Washington, Adams and Jefferson. Those three American Presidents played for time. They let the American booming birthrate¹²⁹ and Europe's recurrent distress fight the nation's battles. Hence, they averted war. The decision of President Madison to go on a war was a shifting of his predecessors' policy. Madison thought that war could compel England withdrawing 'impressments' and agree the neutral countries' right. He gambled for Napoleon and hoped to gain. But Napoleon's misfortune had also dispelled his stake. Hence, the United States gained nothing but severe commercial injuries. Washington's 'Policy of Neutrality' had been falling into challenge. After the Treaty of Ghent, the United States became a tail of European kite.

2.8 Monroe doctrine

The Monroe Doctrine was a policy of the United States introduced on December 2, 1823 during President Monroe's seventh annual State of the Union Address to Congress. The term, Monroe Doctrine, was coined in 1850.¹³⁰ It initially called for an end to European intervention in the Americas, but it was later extended to justify U.S. imperialism in the Western Hemisphere. The doctrine emphasized that the New World and the Old World¹³¹ were to remain distinctly separate spheres of influence, for they were composed of entirely separate and independent nations. However, the declaration was one of the United States' longest-standing tenets. The intent and impact of the Monroe Doctrine persisted with only minor variations for more than a century and this

¹²⁸ Dudley Mills, "The Duke of Wellington and the Peace Negotiations at Ghent in 1814," *Canadian Historical Review* (1921) 2#1, p. 22; retrieved: 17,04,2013.

¹²⁹ The United States' population was only 4 million in 1790. It became about to double (7.2 million) in 1810, 32 million in 1860, 76 million in 1900, 132 million in 1940, and 316 million in 2013.

¹³⁰ 'Monroe Doctrine', *Oxford English Dictionary* (3rd ed.), 2002.

¹³¹ New world indicates 'the American Hemisphere' and the old world means Europe.

declaration was seen as a defining moment in the foreign policy of the United States and it would be invoked by many US statesmen and several US presidents, including Theodore Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, Ronald Reagan and many others. However, the policy became deeply resented by Latin American nations for its obvious interventionism and perceived imperialism. It is interesting to note that after 1823, the European land-occupation in America became less and the European land-grabbers turned their eyes on to Africa and Asia and they absorbed nearly all of Africa and much of Asia.

2.8.1 Background of the doctrine

Monroe Doctrine was the upshot of American fear with the restoration of European monarchical powers after the Napoleonic wars (1803-1815). In 1815 the Tsar of Russia, Alexander I, proposed for a Holy Alliance, which he persuaded most of the sovereigns of Continental Europe to accept. The primary objective of the alliance was to defend monarchism in Europe. But the Holy Alliance, the combination of the Quadruple Alliance of Russia, Austria, Prussia and England authorized military incursions to re-establish Bourbon rule over Spain and its colonies, which were establishing their independence.¹³² France also had already agreed to restore the Spanish Monarchy in exchange for Cuba.¹³³ It would be worth mentioning that in 1820-21, a sudden increase of revolutions broke out in Spain, Portugal, Naples and Greece and those were suppressed with ferocity and dispatch by the alarmed monarchs. Following this, the French army invaded Spain and by October 1823, succeeded to re-throne Ferdinand VII. Then the Concert of Europe discussed summoning a Paris congress and a rumor spread that a powerful Franco-Spanish force would send to America to crush the republic of the 'New World.'¹³⁴ Therefore, the suspicion of many anxious Americans that the forces of reaction that emerged from the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) would next turn to the Spanish-American republics came true. Soon the panic spread over Washington as the Americans saw the successful French invasion in Spain. On November 13, 1823 Secretary of the State John Quincy Adams wrote that Secretary of War John C. Calhoun was 'moonstruck' by this French success. According to Quincy Adams,

¹³² Herring, George C. *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations Since 1776* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008) p. 153–155.

¹³³ Boyer, Paul S., ed., *The Oxford Companion to United States History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,2006), p. 514.

¹³⁴ Thomas A. Bailey, *op.cit.*, p. 177.

I [Adams] find him... alarmed, far beyond anything that I could have conceived possible, with the fear that the Holy Alliance [European powers] are about to restore immediately all South America to Spain. Calhoun stimulates the panic, and the news that Cadiz [Spain] has surrendered to the French has so affected the President that he appeared entirely to despair of the cause of South America.¹³⁵

However, the immediate provocation was the Russian ‘Ukase’ of September, 1821¹³⁶. By the Ukase, the Russian Czar warned the foreign vessels not to come within one hundred Italian mile off the coast of Russian America (Alaska) north of 51st parallel. To the American republic, this assertion was the indication of the Russian approach toward the southern boundary of what is now Alaska, which both Great Britain and United States then claimed jointly.

Now, let us review the objectives of the American Republic and other European powers before the declaration of Monroe Doctrine.

The United States was established on the basis of democratic ideology. It wanted to ensure freedom and democracy in the neighboring Latin American states. However, after the Napoleonic wars, the European powers tended to re-capture the Spanish-American states for the lucrative market of South America as well as to weaken the American republic. The restoration of Spanish despotism would mean an abrupt cessation of this trade. So the United States’ primary objective was to free the newly independent colonies of Latin America from European intervention and avoid situations which could make the New World a battleground for the Old World powers so that the United States could exert its own influence undisturbed on her own hemisphere.

This time America was not strong enough to fight against the European powers, but had a faith on the British stake. Adams himself also believed that the allied powers did not have enough stakes to intervene. Therefore, US policy makers thought, if they could remain open the South American trade for all European nations rather intervention, the British navy would be enough to prevent the rest of European powers for their own sake. Hence, in spite of Calhoun’s, Secretary of war, fear of intervention, Adams gave his views as follows: “... I no more believe that the Holy Allies will restore the Spanish dominion upon the American continent than that the Chimborazo [Ecuadorian peak 20,702 feet high] will sink beneath the ocean.”¹³⁷

¹³⁵ C.F. Adams, ed., *Memories of John Quincy Adams*(Philadelphia, 1875), Vol. VI, p.185.

¹³⁶ For the text of the Ukase of 1821, see: *Imperial Russian Edicts Relating to the Russian–American Company*(Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1892) p. 16; retrieved 16.02.201.3

¹³⁷ C.F. Adams, *Memories, Vol.VI* (Nov. 7, 1823), p.179.

However, after the Napoleonic wars, England was increasingly dissatisfied with the brutal crushing of the rebellions in Italy and Spain and steadily parted with her European allies. She was alarmed by the shifting of the balance of power as well as the possibility of cutting off lucrative market of Latin America. So, she wanted to keep the other European powers out of the New World. Hence, the British foreign Secretary George Canning proposed Richard Rush, the United States' minister in London that America join with Britain in a manifesto designed to eliminate the possibility of intervention in the New World.¹³⁸ In fact, the United Kingdom was the sole nation enforcing it through the use of its navy as the United States still lacked sufficient naval capabilities to contribute to the effective enforcement of the doctrine as declared. However, the United States did not show much interest of joint statement keeping in mind the recent memory of the War of 1812. President Monroe went forward to unilateral statement.

The full document of the Monroe Doctrine is long and embedded in diplomatic language, but its essence is expressed in two key passages; the first is the introductory statement:¹³⁹

...The occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition, which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers...¹⁴⁰

The second key passage, a fuller statement of the Doctrine, is addressed to the 'allied powers' of Europe (i.e. the Holy Alliance); it clarifies that the United States remains neutral on existing European colonies in the Americas but is opposed to 'interpositions' that would create new colonies among the newly independent Spanish American republics:

...We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence, we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other

¹³⁸ Thomas A. Bailey, *op.cit.*, p. 181

¹³⁹ Monroe, James, *The Monroe Doctrine* (U.S. Department of State), Retrieved November 2, 2013

¹⁴⁰ Thomas A. Bailey, *op.cit.*, p. 184

manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.¹⁴¹

Monroe Doctrine prohibits all kinds of further European colonial initiatives in North or South America. It clarified the fact that any further attempt of colonization in America would be considered as an aggression as well as legalizes the U.S. intervention. At the same time the doctrine assured that the United States would neither interfere with existing European colonies nor intrude in the internal concerns of European countries. Moreover, the Doctrine was issued at a time when nearly all Latin American colonies of Spain and Portugal had achieved or were at the point of gaining independence from the Portuguese and Spanish Empire; Peru consolidated her independence in 1824, and Bolivia would become independent in 1825, leaving only Cuba and Puerto Rico under Spanish rule. The United States, working in agreement with Britain, wanted to guarantee that no European power would move in.¹⁴²

2.8.2 International response to Monroe doctrine

Since the United States had no credible Navy and army at that time, most European countries ignored the declaration.¹⁴³ However, the spirit in the doctrine: ‘America for the Americans’ gave a shock to some European countries. The Austrian Chancellor Prince Metternich, the most influential diplomat in Europe, denounced the indecent declaration of Monroe.¹⁴⁴ The French minister of foreign affair laughed at the declaration and remarked:

...Mr. Monroe, who is not a sovereign has assumed in his message the tone of a powerful monarch, whose armies and fleet are ready to march at the first signal. . . Mr. Monroe is the temporary President of a Republic situated on the east coast of North America. This republic is bounded on the south by the possessions of the King of Spain, and on the north by those of the King of England. Its independence was only recognized forty years ago; by what right then would the two Americans today be under its immediate sway from Hudson’s Bay to Cape Horn?¹⁴⁵

But the Doctrine was approved by the British authority and the Royal Navy of England enforced it tacitly. They did it as part of their wider Pax-Britannica policy, which enforced the neutrality of the seas. Britain was then following the commercial policy of *laissez-faire* to ensure new outlets for the manufactured goods of her fast

¹⁴¹ “The Monroe Doctrine (1823)”, *Basic Readings in U.S. Democracy*, United States Department of State Archive; retrieved on January 8, 2012.

¹⁴² Herring, George C. *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations Since 1776* (New York: Oxford University Press), 2008, p. 153–155.

¹⁴³ See: *Encyclopedia Britannica*, p. 269.

¹⁴⁴ Thomas A. Bailey, *op.cit.*, p. 187.

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*

growing industries. He thought, further colonization of the newly independent Latin American states by the Spain would cut off her access there because Spain used to follow 'Mercantile Policy.' The scholars of the twentieth century considered 'Monroe Doctrine' as the precursor of Anglo-American special relationship that stretched toward 100 years' later Woodrow Wilson's 14-points proposal.

The Latin American countries received this doctrine with sincere gratitude. The leaders of Latin America figured that the doctrine itself had no power against the Holy Alliance unless the British gave it support. They also knew it very well that their future of independence was in the hands of England and her supreme naval power. Even Simon Bolivar and his men considered the doctrine harmless tool of the US national policy. According to Crow, author of *The Epic of Latin America*, "It was not meant to be, and was never intended to be a charter for concerted hemispheric action."¹⁴⁶

2.8.3 Implementation of Monroe doctrine

Let us now view some important world affairs chronologically where the United States tried to implement her long tenet Monroe Doctrine.

In 1824, four and a half months after the declaration of Monroe Doctrine, Secretary of Foreign Affairs Adams negotiated a treaty with Russia by which the latter agreed to retreat up to the Northwest coast from 51° to 54° 40' which is now the southernmost tip of Alaska. Following this treatment, next year an Anglo-Russian treaty was signed which solved the problem raised by the ukase of 1821.

In 1836, the United States government objected to Britain's alliance with the newly created Republic of Texas on the principle of the Monroe Doctrine.

In 1842, US President John Tyler applied the Monroe Doctrine to Hawaii, told Britain not to interfere there, and began the process of annexing Hawaii to the United States.

In 1852, some politicians of the United States used the principle of the Monroe Doctrine to argue for forcefully removing the Spanish from Cuba.

In 1862, French forces under Napoleon III invaded and conquered Mexico, giving the country to Austrian-born Emperor Maximilian. Americans proclaimed this as a violation of 'The Doctrine', but were unable to intervene because of the American Civil War. After the civil war came to an end, the US brought troops down to the Rio Grande in hopes of pressuring the French government to end its occupation. Mexican nationalists eventually captured the Emperor and executed him, reasserting Mexico's independence.

¹⁴⁶ Crow, John A. 'Areil and Caliban', *The Epic of Latin America* (4th ed.) (Berkeley: University of California Press), 1992, p. 676.

In the 1870s, President Ulysses S. Grant and his Secretary of State Hamilton Fish endeavored to replace European influence in Latin America with that of the United States. Part of their efforts involved expanding the Monroe Doctrine by stating ‘hereafter no territory on this continent shall be regarded as subject to transfer to a European power.’

In 1880 James G. Blaine formulated ‘Big Brother’ policy as an extension of Monroe Doctrine. As a part of the policy, Blaine arranged and led the First International Conference of American States in 1889 to rally Latin American nations behind US leadership and to open their markets to US traders.

1895 saw the rash of the Venezuela Crisis of 1895, “one of the most momentous episodes in the history of Anglo-American relations in general and of Anglo-American rivalries in Latin America in particular.”

In 1898, following the Spanish-American War, Spain ceded to the United States for the sum of \$20 million, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, Guam, and Cuba (until granted formal independence from the US in 1902).

Roosevelt added the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine in 1904. This corollary asserted the right of the United States to intervene in Latin America in cases of “flagrant and chronic wrongdoing by a Latin American Nation” In fact it was the most significant amendment to the original doctrine and gave the United States’ definition as a ‘hemispheric policeman.’

In 1930, the United States announced her ‘Clark Memorandum’ which concluded that the United States need not invoke the Monroe Doctrine as a defense of its interventions in Latin America. The Memorandum argued that the United States had a ‘self-evident right of self-defense’, and that this was all that was needed to justify certain actions.

In 1954, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles invoked the Monroe Doctrine at the ‘Tenth Pan-American Conference’ denouncing the intervention of Soviet Communism in Guatemala.

In the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, President John F. Kennedy cited the Monroe Doctrine as a basis for America's ‘eyeball-to-eyeball’ confrontation with the Soviet Union that had embarked on a campaign to install ballistic missiles on Cuban soil.

In the 1980s, Iran-Contra scandal was associated with Monroe Doctrine. CIA director Robert Gates vigorously defended the Contra operation, arguing that avoiding US intervention in Nicaragua would be ‘totally to abandon the Monroe doctrine.’

President Barack Obama's Secretary of State John Kerry told the Organization of American States in November 2013 that the Monroe Doctrine was dead.¹⁴⁷

Monroe Doctrine was, therefore, a policy of the United States that aimed at establishing the slogan: America for the Americans. This policy was also coming out with success as a by-product of European politics. When the Spanish colonies revolted and became independent, it was generally thought that the other European powers would help Spain regain her colonies. But the United States' secretary of the state John Quincy Adams was quite sure that that would not happen because the mighty power of the 'Concert of Europe', England was gradually becoming part from the alliance.¹⁴⁸ England was then turning her eyes from America to Africa and Asia; hence she thought the objectives stated in Monroe declaration '...American continents henceforth not to be considered as subjects for further colonization by any European powers' would be a fruitful tool to weaken her other European competitors since she had already settled down her disputes with the United States through the Treaty of Ghent. England always wanted the United States on her side in the context of a struggle for European supremacy. Moreover, the costly war of 1812 led the United States becoming industrialized. Series of inventions and the expanse of technological know-how geared up American production. Communication system within the country developed tremendously. Forty years of European peace helped American commerce booming up. Britain's *laissez-faire* policy against Spanish mercantile policy also helped the United States implement her Monroe Doctrine. However, we see some shifting in this doctrine. Until the American civil war (1861-65), the United States implemented this policy peacefully with the help of England. Within this period, Americans were too busy at home pushing their boundaries across the continent toward the pacific. Once the nation expanded from coast to coast, as well as with the industrial booming, the outlook of American many people changed. America started to follow imperialism for the sake of her commerce. Within 1880, she adopted a big brother policy to control Latin American commerce. With the Roosevelt Corollary in 1904, America became 'policeman' of Latin America. On the context of World War I, the United States became a global power.

2.9 Spanish-American wars 1895-1898

The American Republic had faced no real war since the end of civil war in 1865 and there were also no European wars since 1848. By this time America reached her

¹⁴⁷ Johnson, Keith, 'Kerry Makes It Official: 'Era of Monroe Doctrine Is Over'', *Wall Street Journal*, November 18, 2013.

¹⁴⁸ Crothers, George D., *op.cit.*, p.71.

‘Manifest Destiny’¹⁴⁹ and became an imperial power. In 1890 she began to build her naval strength to protect her maritime trade. Technological advancement and the huge commerce within this peace-time persuaded the American policy makers to apply ‘Monroe Doctrine’ on the purpose of imperialism. She had already acquired the Philippines, Hawaii, Guam and Puerto Rico and sliced Samoa with contending imperial nations, Germany and Britain. Through this war, the United States became the rulers of the Western Hemisphere and it revealed clearly the shifting of the United States’ diplomatic policy from a ‘domestic housewife’ to a ‘dominating husband.’ From a close observation, we have seen that the United States had been moving ever outward in the last half of the nineteenth century. The intention behind looking outward was to search for new outlets for the export-trade. The American business people and farmers believed that removal of Spanish from Cuba would open new markets for surplus production. Such sentiment was evident in the remarks of American political leaders. Senator Lodge justified war against Spain saying that it was a ‘large policy’.¹⁵⁰ Though President McKinley was expansionist in nature, he kept his plan about Cuba in secret. He tried hard to avoid war against Spain on the Cuba issue. However, when the ‘Maine’ incident had disclosed Spanish guilt, the Yellow press published exaggerated features on the issue which raised public pressure on President. Therefore, diplomatic solution became failed to avert war against Spain. Britain took America’s side and France negotiated in Spain. England was then trying to embrace the United States, the emerging global power, as her long-tenet ally because she was anxious of the ‘late-comer but quick-marching’ imperialist Germany. However, only four months of the war (April 19, 1898-August 12, 1898) with America grounded the prestige of the Spanish navy. At length, with French negotiation, Spanish-American armistice was signed. In December of the same year, American and Spanish negotiators signed the ‘Treaty of Paris’ on the following terms: a) Independence of Cuba; b) cession of the Philippines, Puerto Rico and Guam to the United States; c) American payment of \$20 million to Spain for the new territories. Henceforth, America became a great power as she reached the open door of the rich Asian market especially, in China that they got nowhere before.

Meanwhile, in America, there was a debate whether Washington would accept colonialism. In the 1970s, most Americans rejected colonialism. But now, the people having non-colonial ideology had become aged and the new generation, like

¹⁴⁹ Manifest Destiny is the boundary from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

¹⁵⁰ Norton, Mary Beth and others, *A People And A Nation: A History of the United States*, 2nd Edition, Vol. II (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company), 1986, p.629

Roosevelt, were keen to be imperialist. The economic condition in America made this change. Lower sales of products had created economic depression, which led lower salaries and endangered the life of middle class families.¹⁵¹ They greeted the war initiatives in the hope that it would open more opportunities and help recover the economic condition. President McKinley's objectives, on the other hand, were not for a colony, just an expansion of the spheres of influence for the sake of trade and commerce. He wanted at least a foothold in the Philippines so that he could make Manila Bay part of a chain of bases-Hawaii, Guam, Wake- across the Pacific Ocean that could serve as a stepping stone to China and a center of U.S. power in the Western Pacific.¹⁵² After accomplishing this objective, the United States adopted 'Open Door Policy' to China along with imperial power England and Russia. Meanwhile, he adopted big-stick diplomacy in the Caribbean.

2.10 Roosevelt's Corollary & Big Stick diplomacy 1901-1909

Theodore Roosevelt was 'a garrulous Rough Raider' in Cuba during the 1898 war. He was one of the great persuaders of Spanish-American 'Splendid Little War.' To justify the Cuban war, once he said, 'they (Rough Raiders-author) were 'children of dragon's blood, and if they had no outland foe to fight and no outlet for their vigorous daring energy, there was always the chance of their fighting one another.'¹⁵³ His daring role in the battle of San Juan Hill at Santiago made him a war hero that led him to become 'President' of the United States. The diplomatic approach during Roosevelt tenure was clearly revealed by his remark, 'I have always fond of the West African proverb: speak softly and carry a big stick, you will go far.'¹⁵⁴ That's why Roosevelt did not accept the annexation of Cuba and the Philippines but a kind of protectorate bond with them so that other imperial nations might not peril his objectives. But when the Cuban became impatient Roosevelt said:

... Just at the moment I am so angry with that infernal little Cuban republic that I would like to wipe its people off the face of the earth. All that we wanted from them was that they would behave themselves and be prosperous and happy so that we would have to interfere. And now, lo and behold, they have started an utterly unjustifiable and pointless revolution and may get things into such a snarl that we have no alternatives save to intervene-which will at once convince the suspicious idiots in South America that we do wish to interfere after all, and perhaps have some land-hunger.'¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ Moore, John Hammond, , *America: Changing Times* (New York: John Wiley & Sons), 1982, p.629

¹⁵² *ibid*

¹⁵³ Norton, Mary Beth and others, *op.cit.*, p.630

¹⁵⁴ Thomas A. Bailey, *op.cit.*, p. 499

¹⁵⁵ 'Roosevelt to Henry White', September 13, 1906, Roosevelt *Papers*, Library of Congress.

Therefore, Roosevelt redefined 'Monroe Doctrine.' He argued that Monroe doctrine would be used to justify intervention by the United States. This is known as 'Roosevelt Corollary.' It was, in fact, a substantial alteration (called an 'amendment') of the Monroe Doctrine by U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt in 1904. In its altered state, the Monroe Doctrine would now consider Latin America as an agency for expanding U.S. commercial interests in the region, along with its original stated purpose of keeping European hegemony from the hemisphere. Roosevelt realized, if the four principle European nations (i.e. France, Spain, Germany and Britain) could enter into the Caribbean area with investments, they might attempt forcible collection of debts as was seen in Venezuela. They would then stay in their debt-collection which would jeopardize America's isthmian life-line. Then the United States might have to face war with them. So, he decided to prevent the other European powers to proceed within the Western Hemisphere and to take a direct hand in the affairs of the republics of the Caribbean area. In essence, Roosevelt's redefined Monroe Doctrine would be the basis for a use of economic and military hegemony to make the United States the dominant power in the Western Hemisphere. The new doctrine was a frank statement that the United States was willing to seek leverage over Latin American governments by acting as an international police power in the region. By announcing the amendment of Monroe Doctrine, Roosevelt launched a period of 'big stick' diplomacy, in contrast with later Dollar Diplomacy. Roosevelt's approach was more controversial among isolationist-pacifists in the United States.

2.11 Dollar diplomacy

American foreign policy once again was shifted during the tenure of Roosevelt's successor, President Taft. Roosevelt's 'Big-Stick' policy gave the United States a rightful place in the political and military world. However, Taft wanted to give the United States a rightful place in the commercial and financial world. That's why he appointed Philander C. Knox, a corporate lawyer and sympathetic for big business, as the Secretary of State. Knox's slogan was 'Every diplomat a salesman.' Taft and his Secretary of State knew that Economic penetration of foreign lands is often the foot in the door for political domination. European imperialists had learned the lesson long before and implemented the policy of 'pound-sterling diplomacy', 'franc diplomacy', 'mark diplomacy', 'ruble diplomacy'. Taft and Knox decided to apply 'dollar diplomacy' like the Europeans instead of using 'bullets' and encouraged the American bankers to pump their money into sensitive areas; notably in the Caribbean and China. Through this policy, they wanted to show that American policy was humanitarian in

nature, but in fact, they wanted to ensure high returns of their capital and also impose political domination. Knox, in 1911, declared:

....If the American dollar can aid suffering humanity and lift the burden of financial difficulty from States with which we live on terms of intimate intercourse and earnest friendship, and replace insecurity and devastation by stability and peaceful self-development, all I can say is that it would be hard to find better employment.¹⁵⁶

The Taft-Knox's dollar diplomacy proved most successful, especially in Latin American countries and also in China, although initially the US bankers were reluctant to risk their capital. However, after completion of the Panama Canal, it increased U.S's battleship production and export as well as increased her sensitivity in this area. Soon dollar diplomacy became the life-line diplomacy of the United States. However, dollar diplomacy did not earn fruitful result from the far-east regions. Imperialist Russia and Japan divided China's Manchuria into Southern and Northern economic spheres of influence. Russians enjoyed domination on Northern Manchuria with Chinese eastern railway whereas the Japanese were enjoying Southern Manchuria with the southern Manchurian railway. Knox thought that the increasing influence of Russo-Japanese policy might spoil her open door policy in China. Therefore, he gave the Chinese government 'Manchurian Rail Road Proposal.' The essence of the proposal was that the United States' and European banking groups would lend huge sums of money to the Chinese government so that they could buy Manchurian railroads and take full control of Manchuria. Knox's plan was to stop the Russo-Japanese penetration in Manchuria by investing huge dollar. But both the countries refused to accept the proposal since they had established their spheres of influence through a bloody sacrifice. Same thing occurred in Nicaragua. The United States had to use military power in Nicaragua to save her men and property there which made 'the dollar diplomacy' unpopular there.

Second Phase: 1914-1939

Involvement in WW1¹⁵⁷

Woodrow Wilson, the ex-Governor of New Jersey, entered the White House on the eve of the First World War. From 1897 the republican's were in power. But the Roosevelt-Taft ideological conflict split the republican opinion in the election of 1912 and paved the way of Democratic entrance in the White House. Wilson was a

¹⁵⁶ S. F. Bemis, *op.cit*, 1929 , Vol. IX, p.327-328

¹⁵⁷ The First World War continued from July 28, 1914 to November 11, 1918 (Four years, three months and thirteen days). Thirty four countries of three continents were involved this war.

professor of Princeton University and eventually came in the politics. He stepped back from Roosevelt's 'Dollar Diplomacy' and only a week after taking his office, he declared that he was not interested in supporting any special group of interests.¹⁵⁸

1. European Alliance Politics

At that time, Europe was becoming divided into two entangling groups: England, France and Russia made 'Triple Alliance'¹⁵⁹ while Germany, Austro-Hungary, and Italy formed 'Triple Entente'. To demonstrate the European situation during 1912-14, historian Langsum remarked, '... the peace of Europe rested on accident.'¹⁶⁰

All this happened due to the ambition for new markets and new raw materials which was derived from the Industrial Revolution. Industrially developed each country of Europe longed for colonies in order to improve their trade and put up tariff against one another to protect their home markets. In this imperial competition Germany came later than France and England. Consequently, England and France had the best colonies. So, Germany had to grab what was left. However, whenever Germany tried to get any special trade advantage, England objected. On the other hand, France was Germany's inborn enemy. So, Germany thought that England and France were holding them back. As a result, Germany started to build a strong army. After building Europe's best infantry, Germany turned her eyes on naval power. Germany started to build new battleships and sub-marine. Consequently, England also enhanced her naval power. Along with developing military power, the big powers of Europe were trying to make strong alliances against each other.

2. Initial incident of the war

In summer 1914, a Serbian patriot murdered the Austrian Archduke, Francis Ferdinand while he was visiting Sarajevo in Bosnia with his family.¹⁶¹ Austria convicted Serbia for this incident and gave her an ultimatum on July 23 in the same year and demanded to meet it up within 48 hours. Serbia agreed to some demands and urged time for an international conference to resolve the rest. But Austria impatiently declared war on Serbia on July 28. Russia wanted to help Serbia and got her army ready. Germany tried to dissuade Russia from helping Serbia but the latter refused. Germany seemed to think that Russia was going to attack Serbia. So she declared war against Russia on August 1 and against France two days later. Germany attacked first,

¹⁵⁸ Thomas A. Bailey, *op.cit.*, p. 546

¹⁵⁹ When German Kaiser William gave up Bismarck's 'careful policy' and took 'Welt Politik' policy Anglo-Frank alliance became possible.

¹⁶⁰ Chowdhury, S.M. A. Mamun, *History* (Dhaka: Akkhar Patra Prokasoni, April 2014), p.65

¹⁶¹ While Austrian Prince Ferdinand and his wife Sofia were visiting Sarajevo on June 28, an assassin named Gabriel Principe shot Ferdinand dead at daylight. (See also: Carter & Mears, *op.cit.*, p.950)

but she moved toward Russia's ally, France through Belgium according to 'Schlieffens Plan'. Austria went to war on German's side; consequently England took Russo-Franc side and declared war against Germany on August 4, 1914. Thus the First World War began in Europe.

3. Role of different nations

No one was quite sure what course the United States would choose in this context. On August 4, Woodrow Wilson sent a message offering American mediation to end the European war. Though relations with Britain had improved in recent years, the ethnic groups in America were becoming divided on the issue of war in Europe. Americans were a multi-racial population. One British ambassador said, "American is no nation, just a collection of people, who neutralize each other." In fact, America was a hyphenated nation: German-American, Irish-American, Polish-American, Jews-American and other 'hyphenates'. So, they could not completely forget the heritage of their mother country. As a result, bitterness developed between pro-Ally and pro-German sympathizers. Nevertheless, the progressives feared that a war would break up the reform movement. The business community also feared that America's involvement in European war would disrupt their profitable business with belligerents. So, President Wilson insisted on America's right, as a neutral, to trade with all parties. He also sought protection against arbitrary interpretations of international law. For this purpose, he invited the European powers to accept 'the Declaration of London.' Austro-Hungary and Germany showed interest in this proposal. But Britain was reluctant as she has the world's strongest navy. As a result, the United States withdrew her proposal.

From the inception in 1776, the United States had been following a neutral policy, except in 1812, a war against England. Then James Madison Government was compelled to join the war in order to protect American ships and to make the western border secured. Hundred years later, almost the same situation returned. Apart from this incident, the United States' policy was always to keep them out of 'European Entangling'.

However, when the war started, Britain declared blockade in ocean trade due to its strong navy so that no neutral ship could go to German ports. Even the British navy went so far as to stop American merchantmen sailing to neutral countries adjacent to Germany like Holland, Sweden etc. Not only that, Britain declared North Sea as a military area on November 3, 1914 alleging that Germany sowed mines in open areas. Then it sowed mines in this area so thoroughly that no neutral ship could dare to

wander North Sea without first stopping at a British port for sailing directions. It was really a departure from international law. However, the United States remain neutral and continued to ship non-contraband¹⁶² goods to German ports.

But the situation entered into a new phase when on February 4, 1915 German government announced that it would establish a war area around the British Isles and attempt to destroy all enemy merchant ships found within that zone. The German army used sub-marine to destroy commercial ships toward Britain without any prior warning. Hence, the U.S. State department, on February 10, 1915, declared that if American lives or vessels were lost, the Berlin government would be held to 'strict accountability.'

Though the Wilson government declared its neutrality, it was unable to keep its neutral stand. As we see, one year before when Britain declared North Sea as a military zone, not a word of official protest came from the United States. The US Secretary of State Bryan later said, ". . . I submit the thought that the administration was lacking in neutrality- not in commission, but in omission; not the notes which were written, but the notes which were not written, threw the delicate machinery out of balance. . ." ¹⁶³ As time passed by, most Americans began to feel that England and France stood for what was right and they should win. One after one British passenger ocean liners and American tankers were sunk by the German torpedoes, the American people's voice against Germany became stronger. Finally, the American people burst with anger when they heard the fate of *the Lusitania*. When passenger liner *the Lusitania* were off to the Irish coast, it met with a German sub-marine and was hit by a German torpedo, sank within 28 minutes with a loss of 1198 persons, 128 of them were American citizens. Though the German claimed that the *Lusitania* was carrying 4200 small-arms carriage and other contraband of war to justify their attack and they were correct, the indiscriminate killing of men, women and children turned world opinion against Germany. American yellow pages burst into propagandas. But Wilson still tried to recall Madison's blunder in going to war in 1812. But his political foes- the republicans criticized him bitterly. But Wilson was still continuing negotiations with both Britain and Germany insisting them for her neutral rights. In the election of 1916, the American people gave a mandate to Wilson and his peaceful maneuver. After the election, President Wilson launched his last desperate effort for a 'negotiated peace.' On January 22, 1917 President Wilson gave a historic speech in the American

¹⁶² Non-contraband means the materials that are not used in warfare.

¹⁶³ Thomas A. Bailey, *op.cit.*, p. 577

senate where he proposed for a 'League of Nations' for permanent peace. He argued that only a 'peace without victory' could bring permanent settlement.

England rejected the proposal with hatred, but Germany replied to 'peace without victory' by a proclamation of unrestricted submarine campaign. To cut off the American supply to England, Germany proclaimed on January 31, 1917 that she would sink any ship in the 'war zone' by submarine campaign both contending and neutral. This time America was the third largest naval strength, but a very tiny army. Germany thought the submarine attack would starve Britain before America could train a large army. But the Zimmermann note made an inevitable situation for the United States to go to war on Britain's side immediately.

On January 16, 1917 German foreign secretary Zimmermann cabled German minister in Mexico to arrange German-Mexican alliance by luring Mexico to re-conquer Texas in the case of a German-American war. Mr. Zimmermann was also instructed to arrange for Japan to join the scheme. But unfortunately, the note was intercepted and deciphered by the British authority and sent to Washington. It was published in the American Newspapers with 'Headlines.' As a result, 'a tremendous anti-German sentiment swept over the country.' Therefore, President Wilson suspended diplomatic intercourse with Berlin on February 3, 1917. But he patiently tried to avoid war. President Wilson remarked to his secretary, "I could not move faster than the mass of our people would permit." President sent armed-merchantmen to sea with orders to fire on hostile submarines. But the all out German submarine attack compelled Wilson to declare war on Germany.¹⁶⁴ President Wilson and his fellows reasoned 'German submarine attack' for going to war. But he could have avoided the war by keeping his shippers out of 'war zone'. Norway, Denmark, Sweden also kept their citizens out of combated areas, despite loses of their nationals by submarine campaign. But Wilson argued that that would be dishonorable. In fact, Americans were a proud nation. They always took the opportunity of European broils. In March 17, 1917 Russian communists overthrown the czarist regime and Russia stepped back from the war. As a result, England was about to collapse. If England was defeated, American sea-business toward Europe would come to an end for German capitalism. To Wilson, England was preferable to Germany for other reasons too. England was a democratic country and also her mother country. How could millions of Americans see the mother country's flag lying on the ground? Thus, American supplies rushed to the English Channels which turned the course of war dramatically. Along with war activities, the

¹⁶⁴ President Wilson gave war message to the joint house of Congress on April 2, 1917. Senate passed the resolution on April 4 and the House approved it with 373-50 vote.

Wilson government launched a program to create world support for Wilson's peace proposal known as "Wilson's Fourteen Points".

President Wilson's 14 points were as follows:

1. Abolition of secret diplomacy.
2. Freedom to navigate the high seas in peace and war.
3. Removal of economic barriers among the nations.
4. Reduction of armaments.
5. Adjustments of colonial claims in the interest of both the inhabitants and the powers concerned.
6. Restoration of Russia and a welcome for her in the society of nations.
7. The return of Belgium to her people.
8. Evacuation and restoration of French territory, including Alsace- Lorraine, taken by Germans in 1871.
9. Readjustment of Italian frontiers "along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.
10. Free opportunity for "autonomous development" for people of Austria-Hungary".
11. Restoration of Balkan nations and free access to the sea for Siberia.
12. Protection for minorities of Turkey.
13. An independent Poland.
14. "A general association (league) of nations" to secure 'mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

Though President Wilson's 14th point of 'Fourteen Point Proposals' was not a new invention, the American Committee of Public Information took it as a mighty instrument of propaganda as 'Wilsonism'. Some sixty millions of the proposal all over the world as pamphlets, booklets and leaflets were scattered. Hence, this propaganda was greeted all over the world and also weakened the moral strength of the German military.

Eventually, a section of German soldiers revolted against Kaiser Williams and the latter fled to the Netherlands which weakened German force. The new authority of Germany agreed to ceasefire on the basis of 'Fourteen Point Proposals'. Thus, sacrificing six million American lives, the allied force bought victory over Germany and her allies. On November 11, 1918 an armistice was signed and the war was over.

4. The Treaty of Versailles

President Wilson declared that Americans had fought ‘to make the world safe for democracy.’ In an address to Congress in January 8, 1918, President Wilson had placed his 14-points peace proposals.¹⁶⁵ The German army also signed the armistice because of Wilson’s 14-points peace proposals. But to the members of the allied forces, the 14-points proposal was too dreamy to accept. Their main aim was to ensure Germany could do no more fighting.

The formal peace-conference began early in 1919 in Versailles, France. Thirty two governments sent delegates, but a council of ten, containing two representatives of each of the five principal powers- Britain, France, America, Italy and Japan- did most of the work. Since Japan was not then concerned with Europe and the United States’ President Wilson refused to recognize the Treaty of London(1915) by which Britain and France promised Italy the Dalmatian coast-line, both Japan and Italy had shown their hands. Therefore, only three persons of ‘Big Three’ (i.e. Wilson of the United States, David Lloyd of England, Clemenceau of France) took all the decisions.

Clemenceau wanted to take revenge of fifty years’ earlier defeat¹⁶⁶ to Germany. He wanted to adjust boundary between Germany and France in such a way so that Germany could never break French defense. But first he demanded the reparations for damages caused by Germanic invasions. But President Wilson, a Professor is having little conception of European problems, with an idealistic and visionary perception was bent on founding a new world order. On the other hand, David Lloyd tried to hold the balance of the two. The result was an unsatisfactory compromise. The Fourteen Points were abandoned, but Wilson got his League of Nations. Finally, the terms of a peace treaty with Germany called ‘Treaty of Versailles’ were ready in June, 1919. The German delegates had no say in making the terms of peace, but they were let study the two hundred-page treaty. In the Hall of Mirror in the Palace Versailles, where Bismarck had triumphed over France in 1871, the Germans were forced to sign the unbearable peace terms in June 28, 1919. The Treaty declared that the rulers of Germany and Austria were responsible for the outbreak of the war.

The important provisions of the Treaty of Versailles were as follows:

¹⁶⁵ Crothers, D. George, *Ibid*, p.185

¹⁶⁶ France was defeated by Germany under Bismarck and was forced to accept the international settlement in 1871.

- i. It imposed reparations of an undefined amount of money upon Germany.¹⁶⁷ It was agreed that 52% money would be in England, 22% to France, 10% to Italy and the rest to other allied countries.
- ii. A large area of the Rhineland was to be occupied by the allied countries for a period of 15 years; and for the same period, the coal fields of the Saar valley were to be exploited by France and the territory where they stood was to be alienated from Germany. Alsace and Lorraine were to return to France.
- iii. Germany had to surrender territory in the East, including part of the rich coal-field of Silesia to the new republic, Poland.
- iv. Germany had to give up all of her colonies.
- v. German armies were limited to 100,000 men and her Navy was reduced to six battleships, 3 cruisers, 4 destroyers and only 12 submarines.
- vi. The Austrian Empires were broken up and a new nation called Czechoslovakia was created.
- vii. Serbia was enlarged and named Yugoslavia.

The Treaty of Versailles was, in most cases, a clear abdication of 14-points, upon which the Germans surrendered, except the proposal of a League of Nations. The allied policy planners focused on 'one nation, one state' theory which created minority problems in Europe. David Thomson criticized the treaty as it was 'harsh in wrong places, lenient in wrong ways.' The burden of the war became a great 'question mark' before the American people. Wilson's oppositions chorused for the retreat of US involvement from the European broils. President Wilson, the author of international peace, failed to win the heart of his native voters. Thus the US Senate refused to join the League of Nations.

5. Retreats from European politics

After WW1 the United States went back to her traditional role, isolationist policy, despite Wilson's utmost effort. Wilson's urge for self-sacrifice for a noble cause once united the American nation against their 'common enemy.' But, as soon as the war ended, the scenario tended to change. The attempt of forming and joining the League of Nations was in fact against the spirit of former US Presidents: Washington, Jefferson, and Monroe. However, Wilson was a democrat and urged the Americans to sacrifice their souls for a safe and democratic world. But the Americans saw the

¹⁶⁷ At first the demanded amount was 32 billion pounds. Later the figure was altered several times by experts' advice. The reparations were never paid full and were repudiated altogether by Germany in 1931.

World War I had not made the world safe for democracy nor had it ended wars¹⁶⁸ due to the imperialistic and bickering Allies. Gradually, an anti-League sentiment aroused and a demand for the isolationism became prominent. The advertisement of an anti-League meeting in Boston read:

AMERICANS, AWAKE!

“Shall We Bind Ourselves to the War Breeding Covenant?
It Impairs American Sovereignty!
Surrenders the Monroe Doctrine!
Flouts Washington’s warning!
Entangles us in European and Asiatic Intrigues!
Sends Our Boys to Fight Throughout the World by Order of a League!
The Evil Thing with a Holy Name!”¹⁶⁹

Despite the victory of the Allied Forces, the anti-League sentiment spread in America for some reasonable causes. Firstly, hyphenate Americans, especially; German-Americans condemned the Treaty of Versailles as a base betrayal of their Fatherland. Numerous Italian-Americans also were embittered by Wilson’s stand on Fiume. The Irish-Americans were dissatisfied because Wilson did not impose much pressure on Britain at Paris Peace Conference for the Irish Independence. They were alarmed by the article ‘X’ of the League Covenant, which seemingly indicated the guarantee of the use of force to maintain *the status quo*. Irish-Americans felt that the article ‘X’ would hinder attaining Irish independence. Senator Hiram Johnson of California insisted that under this article, ‘the British Empire can demand American blood to subdue Ireland.’¹⁷⁰

Secondly, hundreds of thousands of American soldiers who were returning from Europe were irritated by the gouging French shopkeepers. At the same time, they were mostly impressed by the blonde German girls. These American war-boys added voice against anti-German treaty and the ratification of the League of Nations bill.

Thirdly, America was strong and self-sufficient. Her policy of non-entanglement had served her well. The proud Americans saw that if they joined the League of Nations, their soldiers might serve under the leadership of the then super-powers and their star and stripes flag should fly under the flag of some super-states. This was unmatched with ‘one hundred percent Americanism’.

Fourthly, in the name of defeating common enemy America joined the WW1 and she became burdened with debt, inflation, prohibition, influenza as well as ingratitude of the Allies.

¹⁶⁸ After the armistice of WW1, still there were some twenty conflicts of varying degrees around the world.

¹⁶⁹ *Boston Herald*, July 8, 1919, p.1, Col.1-2

¹⁷⁰ Thomas A. Bailey, *op.cit.*, p. 615

Fifthly, President Wilson was strongly opposed by the Republican senators whom he treated as ‘pigmy-minded gentlemen’. At that time, the Republicans had majority in the Senate (49 senators were Republicans and 47 were democrats). The leader of the opposition was Henry Cabot Lodge who was eventually the Chairman of Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. He packed the committee with members unfriendly to the League. Cabot used two weapons to stop Wilson’s ratification: time and money. At that time, popular voice of America was still in favor of the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles. Therefore, Cabot wanted to take time, so that the Republicans might win the peoples’ support in favor of some reservations. He also spent huge amounts of money for propaganda against the Treaty of Versailles.

On the other hand, Wilson feared that if he should consent to the Senate reservations, the Republicans would tack on others that he could not possibly accept. President Wilson also believed, ‘...the alternative of going back to Germany to negotiate a new treaty is too absurd.’ In a letter written to his Democratic followers in the Senate he mentioned:

....In my opinion...[the Lodge resolution¹⁷¹] does not provide for ratification, but rather, for the nullification of the treaty. I sincerely hope that the friends and the supporters of the treaty will vote against the Lodge resolution of ratification.
I understand that the door will probably then be open for genuine resolution of ratification.
I trust that all true friends of the treaty will refuse to support the Lodge resolution.”¹⁷²

With the opposition of the Republican Party, which had a clear majority in the Senate, Wilson felt it would not be easy to win two-thirds majority. Then he decided to take this case to the masses so that he could arouse public opinion which would force the Senate to act in favor of the ratification. He undertook a strenuous tour in the country like a whirlwind campaign. The Republicans also chased him in some of the same cities. Mr. Wilson was then a man of sixty three, physically feeble and had insufficient time to prepare for speeches with customary care. On the other hand, the Republican orators were noteworthy, therefore, able to attract hat-throwing crowds. On September 25, 1919 when Wilson was giving his speech in New England, his body collapsed and the remaining speeches were cancelled and he was back to Washington. Several days later a stroke paralyzed one side of his body. Wilson’s sickness gave the Republicans an opportunity to consolidate public opinions against the treaty. The treaty lost its

¹⁷¹ The Republicans were unwilling to ratify the ‘Treaty of Versailles’ because they wanted to go back to US isolation policy. Therefore, the opposition leader Henry Cabot Lodge (Republican) placed 14 reservations with the treaty. But Wilson did not accept the reservations, rather he asked for his way or nothing.

¹⁷² US Congress Record, 66 Congress, Session 2, p.4052 (March 8, 1920, Wilson’s letter)

ground during Wilson's Seven and a half month's absence before public due to sickness.

Finally, the treaty failed to receive two thirds of the majority by a vote of 49 yeas and 35 nays. After the second rejection of the Treaty of Versailles in the US Senate in March 1920, both the Republicans and Democrats blamed each other for this issue. The Republicans blamed Wilson for not accepting Lodge reservations and rewrote the slogan of 1916 to read, 'He Kept Us Out Of Peace.' On the other hand, the Democrats blamed that the Lodge Reservations had broken the back of the treaty. It became the main issue in the forthcoming presidential election.

America was technically at war with Germany and Austro-Hungary since she had not ratified the Treaty of Versailles yet. This was seriously disturbing to her international trade and commerce and also other relations. American Congress then passed a joint resolution in May, 1920 and formally declared the end of hostilities that derived from WW1.¹⁷³

In the Presidential election of 1920, Wilson got a third term nomination from the Democratic Party and declared the election as a referendum for the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles. But he was unluckily defeated by Senator Harding with a difference of more than 7,000,000 votes. Wilson's private secretary was so astonished by the result of the election that he addressed Harding's victory as: 'It was not a landslide, it was an earthquake!'¹⁷⁴

In August 1921, Harding administration signed separate treaties with Germany, Austria and Hungary and technically avoided the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles. Thus the United States had made one sided peace with Europe with full advantage of victory without any obligations. In his first message to Congress, President Harding proclaimed, '...America would have nothing to do with it.' He also described the issue in his speeches 'as dead as slavery.'

In fact, among many other causes, the ideological conflict between the Republican and the Democratic Party divided the American people. Democrat Wilson wanted to place America on the leading post within the new world order. On the other hand, Republicans wanted to retreat to their traditional role and enjoy as a relaxed beneficiary of WW1 without any obligation. The 'earthquake victory' against Wilson's referendum on the 'ratification of the Treaty of Versailles' in the election of 1920 gave the Republicans opportunity to retreat from the European broil. The United

¹⁷³ The congress went to war in 1917 by passing joint resolution. In July 2, 1921 it formally declared that hostilities had ceased, and reserved to the United States all the rights and privileges accruing to the victorious power.

¹⁷⁴ Thomas A. Bailey, *op.cit.*, p. 625

States wanted 'World Peace' but did not want to pay for it. During the reign of isolationist Republican Party (period of Harding-Coolidge-Hoover Presidency) the United States did not join the League of Nations but unofficially participated many of its non-political activities. Unofficial American 'observers' sat with the League committee in a 'consultative' or 'advisory' capacity to discuss non-political problems such as health regulations, white slavery control, opium conference, disarmaments etc. Within 1931, the United States stationed five permanent officials in Geneva to represent US interests before the League. In 1935 the United States joined the International Labor Organization. However, in 1935 an attempt to join the World Court was rejected by the Senate with 52 yeas and 36 nay votes. This dual-role diplomatic tendency of the United States, which was criticized as 'backdoor cooperation' policy, weakened the strong bond of 'Big Three'¹⁷⁵ which helped provoke Germany into rearmament and war. This trend was followed up to the eve of the Second World War. Therefore, the newborn 'League of Nations' became orphan and failed to stop the rise of 'Fascism' in Italy and 'Nazism' in Germany.

Third Phase: 1939-1948

Roosevelt doctrine: alliance diplomacy

Another shift in US diplomacy was seen when President Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected for the third term. The process started with the Lend-Lease shipment to England in 1941. When the bill was introduced to the Congress the isolationists professed... 'Lend-Lease would lead to convoying, convoying would lead to shooting, and shooting would lead to war.' Prophecy became true when President Roosevelt, in a Navy Day speech declared, "America has been attacked by the German 'rattlesnakes' of the sea and notwithstanding a desire to avoid war, the shooting has started."¹⁷⁶ However, in 1933 in the second year of his ascending power Roosevelt declared to nourish Hoover's 'Good neighborhood policy' as well as non-intervention in both the hemisphere. This was due to the aim of healing immediate economic crises.

1. New Deal

The 'Great Depression' started by the collapsed of the US Stock market in October 1929 which ended the Republican regime. Franklin Delano Roosevelt of Democratic party came into power in the election of 1932. He took his office at the onset of the

¹⁷⁵ America, Britain and France

¹⁷⁶ Thomas A. Bailey, *op.cit.*, p. 731

worst situation of economic depression when nearly 15 million people were unemployed. Roosevelt started to materialize his 'New Deal' policy which enlarged the Federal Government's role. According to the 'New Deal' project Roosevelt passed some laws that put the government itself into a business. The government provided direct help to individuals, farmers, unemployed persons as well as workers under 'General Welfare Fund' that had never done before. The American people were so busy with their 'economic depression' that there was strong opposition to join any international disputes. Even, the American Senate passed Neutrality Acts between 1935 and 1937 to keep America out of war. These laws said that Americans could not lend money or sell war materials or travel on ships of any country at war. Even these laws abdicated selling foods or clothing or supplies to any country at war unless the deal was in cash. In fact, Americans gave up 'Neutral Rights' for which they had always stood for. Meanwhile, the situation in Europe was becoming more and more dangerous.

2. Situation in Europe and Asia

Europe became divided into two alliances: Central Power and Allied Force. After losing of the First World War, the Germans had set a democratic government. But the government did not work well and could not win the peoples' support during the 1930's Great Depression. Hence, people sought for stronger leadership. Adolf Hitler took the opportunity and following the Mussolini in Italy, he set up a dictatorship in Germany. In 1936 he sent troops into Rhineland; Britain and France objected, but did not stop Hitler because they also did not want war. In the same year Spanish civil war broke out. Both Mussolini and Hitler helped the Spanish rebel leader, General Franco and Franco became a dictator. Mussolini already established himself as a dictator in Italy. In Japan, another type of military dictatorship was established by 1931. This year Japan seized control of Manchuria, a province of China. In 1937, she launched an attack against the rest of China and occupied huge sections of Chinese territory.

Hitler supported the Italian invasion in Avicenna in 1936 and made an anti-communist pact with Italy, which encountered France from the both sides of her boundary. Later, in November of the same year, Hitler made an Anti- Comintern Treaty with Japan that established Rome-Berlin-Tokyo alliance or 'Central Power'. Therefore, these three central powers started to help each-other in their aggressions.

Rome-Berlin-Tokyo alliance panicked France and Britain. But England took appeasement policy toward Germany instead of defending. They awoke when it was too late. German army became large and well prepared and Hitler attacked Austria in

September 1, 1939. Two days later, both France and Britain declared war on Germany. Thus the Second World War was started. Within June 1940, Germany occupied Poland, Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium and France.

3. Policy formation of the United States

Washington realized that if Germany could conquer England, the democracy in America might fall into danger. Yet she tried to stay out of the war. But the general people were gradually becoming sympathetic to the allied force. A Gallup Poll survey in December 31, 1939 showed that 84% were pro-ally, 2% pro-German and 14% were no opinions.¹⁷⁷ Hence, President Roosevelt turned his eyes on international disputes and decided to fulfill apparently two conflicting desires: to stay out of the war and to help the democracies win it. Two weeks after Hitler's attack on Poland, Roosevelt called the Congress to a special session where he recommended a repeal of the arms embargo. Hitler knew that only US supply could help England survive. Therefore, he declared a danger zone around the North Sea and threatened America that German submarine would no doubt attack any ship toward England. On the other hand, the United States lifted the arms embargo and let the American ships sell war materials to the allied purchasers. But she forbade American ships to enter the danger zones. The allied purchasers, therefore, would have to operate the business on the basis of 'come-and-get-it' and 'cash-on-the-barrelhead' process. In this way, Roosevelt tried to keep neutrality technically. However, the fall of France forced him to abandon neutrality toward England. The State Department consistently refused to recognize Hitler's aggressive moves and was maintaining formal diplomatic relations with the exile governments. In some cases, Washington was giving promises to help the victims. In June 1940, Washington worked out a clever 'trade-in-scheme' under a law of 1917. Under this scheme, Washington officially kept her neutral stand, but secretly turned over American aircraft manufacturers a number of planes already constructed to be replaced by more recent models being built in a condition to sell them to the British purchasers. Washington also sold huge amounts of military equipments to private concerns for the same purpose. Afterwards, Washington allowed thousands of British pilots to train in Florida, permitted damaged British warships to undergo extensive repairs in American shipyards. He also agreed to exchange fifty American destroyers for a lease on eight naval and air bases in the Atlantic Ocean. All these transactions were made on credit. President Roosevelt had to follow this policy because both the interventionist and non-interventionist poles were determined to stay out of the war, at

¹⁷⁷ Thomas A. Bailey, *op.cit.*, p. 711

the same time, wanted to see England's win. In this situation, Roosevelt was elected for the third term and decided to extend greater assistance to England, the only defender of Germany in Europe.

Washington's policy was actually double standard diplomacy. Ironically, selling contraband materials to England under lend-lease policy was similar to declaring war against Germany. When German leaders saw Washington ignoring their outcries, they declared that they would attack American vessels. In May 1941 German submarines began to sink American merchant vessels. From October of the same year they attacked American warships. Still overwhelming majority of isolationist Americans believed that the United States could go alone without the rest of the world. But the scenario changed when Hitler suddenly attacked Russia in June, 1941 and soon occupied large portion of Russian territory. The United States then realized that the first thing to do was to defeat Germany and sent aid to Russia. Therefore, in August 1941 President Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Churchill met on a naval ship in the North Atlantic. They drew up an agreement known as the Atlantic Charter in which they agreed: i) no country should gain any territory from the war; ii) The Nazis must be destroyed; iii) People everywhere should have the right to choose their own government.

4. Scenario in the Far East and Asia

When Japan had invaded China in 1937, President Roosevelt tried economic pressure to stop Japanese advances and insisted Japan to come out of China. But Japan refused to do so. Then a series of negotiations between the United States and Japan was held, but the relation between them became strained. To force Japan to come out of China, Roosevelt declared an economic blockade in July 25, 1941 and freeze all Japanese assets in the United States. Britain and the Netherlands followed this. As a result Japan was cut off from outside oil supplies. They had on hand, petroleum stocks only 12 to 18 months of wartime consumption. The Japanese warlords then realized that either they must seize oil reserves or abandon their new scheme for a 'New Order'. To come out of the distressed position, Japan presented her final proposal on November 20, 1941 to Washington which included withdrawal of their troops from Southern Indo-China to Northern Indo-China. In return to this the United States would have to i) restore commercial relations to the pre-freezing basis; ii) supply Japan with required quantity of oil; iii) refrain from any steps that would prevent Japanese victory over China in their undeclared war. But the Roosevelt administration gave an uncompromising note to Japan on November 26, 1941 in the reply which included the

full withdrawal of Japanese army from both China and Indo-China and lend her support to the Chinese Nationalist government of Chiang-Kai-shek. Roosevelt took the decision because he thought if a war between Japan and the United States broke out, China would be a potential springboard for the invasion of Japan. In fact, in Asia, President Roosevelt's fixed policy during the war was to groom China as one of the Big Five Powers and an Asiatic ally against resurgent Japan. He thought China was to be mistress of her own house, and therefore, would compel to grant privileges to the allied force.

But the Japanese had no way of return as she had been fighting for four and a half years of battle in China and Indo-China. Thus she rejected the US-note on December 2, 1941 but asked for continuing negotiations. Japanese realized that they had only two options: knuckle under or to burst out. They chose the second one. All of a sudden, in December 7, 1941 Japanese aircraft struck the American naval base at Pearl Harbor without any warning. It destroyed the air force there, made 3000 casualties; destroyed a number of war crafts including seven battleships. Therefore, the American Navy had been too weakened at Pearl Harbor to stop Japanese advances. It succeeded to prevent Americans simultaneously to defend Japanese attacks on British, Dutch and American possessions in the Far East.

5. The US challenges

The Second World War had thrown two challenging threats to the United States. Firstly she had to assist democracies against the dictatorship and secondly to combat with communism. In fact, she had to choose one enemy from the two: Hitler and Communist Russia. If it assists Russia against Hitler, and if Russia wins over Hitler, there will be a strong possibility of expanding communism in Europe. On the other hand, if Hitler succeeds to defeat Russia, Europe must be engulfed by Hitlerian dictatorship which will be a great danger to the democracy. Therefore, President Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Churchill gave top priority to stop Hitler first. But they made delay-dealing to open a second front despite Russia's repeated outcries. Both the United States and Britain wanted to see Russia's highest vulnerability before winning against Hitler so that they can defeat communism after the war. Hence, Roosevelt sent a huge aid to Russia so that the latter might survive against Hitler. When Anglo-American ally saw the Russians possibility of success against Hitler, they hurried to open a second front to reach Berlin before Stalin reached there.

6. Diplomacy for the victory

After the attack at Pearl Harbor, American Congress immediately declared war on Japan. A few days later, Germany and Italy declared war on the United States also. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor ended isolationist feelings in America and Roosevelt entered into alliance diplomacy. Two weeks later, British Prime Minister Churchill with his advisors as well as other co-belligerents reached Washington for an extended discussion. The result was the declaration of the United Nations dated January 1, 1942 in which representatives of 26 countries at war with the Axis signed.

It was said earlier that both Roosevelt and Churchill decided to defeat Germany first. For this purpose they agreed to set up a military staff to plan for the armies of both nations so that they might overthrow Germany from North Africa. The Anglo-American allies better realized that should the Axis Force conquered Egypt, they would control Suez Canal, which would cut off the vital link in the transportation route between Britain and the rich oil fields in Persian Gulf. Its loss would have cut off a large part of Britain's oil supply. So the allied force decided to defeat Germany in Africa first. In July 1942, under the command of General George Montgomery, the British troops attacked the German army in Africa. Then in November, the allied forces under the command of General Dwight D. Eisenhower landed in Morocco at the opposite site of North Africa. In January 1943, Roosevelt and Churchill met at Casablanca and agreed on terms for Germany and that was 'unconditional surrender'. Within May 1943 the allied forces were able to force the Germans to surrender in North Africa.

In September 1943 American soldiers landed Salerno and Anzio near Naples and made the Germans busy resisting them.

In the fall of 1943, Roosevelt and Churchill met with Chiang-Kai-shek and promised China to return all the territories that were grabbed by Japan if the allied force could win. Then Roosevelt and Churchill went to Teheran to meet with Joseph Stalin of Russia.

7. Yalta Conference

In February 1945 leaders of big three Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin met at Yalta in Southern Russia. By this time, the Russian army already had driven back the Germans and occupied Poland, Hungary and Romania. Stalin established communist government there. In the Yalta conference, Roosevelt offered Stalin a part of Poland in return for joining the war against Japan and a promise to establish democratic elections in Poland, Hungary and Romania. Stalin promised. Soon after Roosevelt

returned from Yalta, he died and the Vice-President Harry S. Truman Became President.

8. End of Second World War

In the spring of 1945, the Anglo-American armies crossed Rhine and Russian armies entered into eastern Germany. On May 7, 1945 German Army under Admiral Karl Doenitz surrendered. In August 6 and 9, 1945 American airplane dropped two atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki which caused huge human of casualties. Thus the Japanese force asked for peace and September 2, 1945 Japan surrendered. The Second World War was ended.

Fourth Phase: 1948-1991

1. The Cold War

Cold War indicates such a state of psychological warfare where neither peace nor warlike situation retains its dominance. In this state, neither side takes the risk of war, but continues preparations against each other and always a tension of war grapes the both parties. Some define this situation as ‘uneasy peace.’ Others define it as the age of ‘armed peace.’ The term is used to define the period between the end of World War II in 1945 and the ultimate collapse of the Soviet Union and its satellite states in 1991. According to Bhabani Sen Gupta & Amit Sen Gupta, ‘The emergence of U.S. and the Soviet Union as super powers, after the second world war, and their quest to check each other’s expansion of power and influence led to the birth of cold war.’¹⁷⁸

The term ‘Cold War’ was begun to use on the eve of 1946.¹⁷⁹ A few weeks after the release of ‘Long Telegram’ of George F. Kennan, former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill delivered his famous ‘Iron Curtain’ speech in Fulton, Missouri at the presence of US president Truman where he called for an Anglo-American alliance against the Soviets because, according to him, an ‘iron curtain’ from ‘Settin’ in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic’ has been established by the Soviets.¹⁸⁰ Then a famous American businessman while demonstrating the US-Soviet relations remarked, ‘....Let us not be deceived— we are today in the midst of a cold war.’¹⁸¹ What Churchill indicated in Fulton, Baruch pointed out directly. Then Walter

¹⁷⁸ Bhabani Sen Gupta & Amit Sen Gupta, ‘Changing Patterns of Regional Conflicts in South Asia’, *Regional Cooperation and Development in South Asia*, Vol. 1, (ed) (New Delhi : South Asian Publishers, 1986), p.253

¹⁷⁹ মার্কিন ইতিহাসের রূপরেখা (আন্তর্জাতিক তথ্য কর্মসূচি ব্যুরো, মার্কিন বিদেশ দপ্তর: ২০০৫), পৃ. ২৬০ [Markin Etihaser Ruprekha (Antorjatik Tathyo Karmasuchi Bureau, Markin Bides Doptor, 2005), p.260]

¹⁸⁰ *ibid*

¹⁸¹ Thomas A. Bailey, *op.cit.*, p. 796

Lipmann took massive initiatives for the publicity of the term. Many journalists, political persons started to use the term in their writings. In fact, within two weeks after Truman's ascending presidency Soviet foreign minister V. Molotov met him. But Truman was not hospitable and showed non-diplomatic behavior which created confusion in US-Soviet relations. This rough behavior gave the USSR a feeling of insulting. Afterwards, when the USSR succeeded to detonate a nuclear device in 1949, the two powers came to a balance. Consequently, the world became ideologically divided into two blocks and a 'cold war' started between the two.

1.1 The Cold War diplomacy

Cold war diplomacy was started with the Truman Doctrine. It was the initial diplomatic approach of the United States at the beginning of the cold war, which was derived from the unsettled international environment created by the Second World War. At the end of the WW2, the world was in serious economic troubles. Across the Europe and Asia, all the infrastructures including houses, factories, bridges, transportation and communication system had been destroyed. Agricultural production became low and the millions of displaced persons were wandering in search of their family members, food and shelter. The Euro-Asian imperialist powers such as Britain, France, Germany, and Japan were forced to withdraw by nationalist rebels or by their financial constraints which created a vacuum in the international balance of power. Empires were broken down and new nations were born in the Middle East and Asia. In Greece and China, there began civil wars. Turkey was also in troubles. Therefore, a question arose: how would the problems is solved? The two giant's allied powers: the United States and the Soviet Socialist Republic of Russia (USSR) placed different models of solution as an answer to the question. The United States suggested for the 'Democracy' and 'Open Door Doctrine'; on the other hand, Soviet Union wanted to extend her spheres of influence under socialist umbrella. Both of them paid their attention to stabilize each-other.

During the WW2, the United States became the largest supplier of goods to world market. Exports constituted 10 percent of the US GDP.¹⁸² About half of America's wheat was shipped abroad. The automobiles, steel, machine-tool industries, surplus cotton and tobacco required foreign outlets to trade. Keeping the bitter experience of 1930s' economic depression in mind, the United States' policy makers wanted to design an activist foreign policy. Moreover, American strategists believed that the

¹⁸² Norton, Mary Beth and others, *op.cit.*, p.822

nation's defense had to begin far beyond its own borders. Senator William J. Fulbright remembered, "After World War II, we were sold on the idea that Stalin was out to dominate the world."¹⁸³ In this situation, American President adopted a new policy to neutralize communist threat around the world. The policy was revealed in a speech by President Truman on March 12, 1947, which stated that the US would support Greece and Turkey with economic and military aid to prevent them from falling into the Soviet sphere.¹⁸⁴ He told the Congress that the Doctrine was 'to support free people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.'¹⁸⁵ Therefore, the Truman Doctrine became a metaphor for emergency aid to keep a nation out from communist influence. In fact, the Truman Doctrine was the first in a series of containment moves by the United States, followed by economic restoration of Western Europe through the Marshall Plan and military containment by the creation of NATO in 1949.¹⁸⁶ It shifted American foreign policy toward the Soviet Union from détente (a relaxation of tension) to a policy of containment of Soviet expansion as advocated by diplomat George Kennan. The Doctrine was informally extended to become the basis of American Cold War policy throughout Europe and around the world.¹⁸⁷ In fact, the Truman Doctrine underpinned American Cold War policy in Europe and around the world, it mobilized American economic power to modernize and stabilize unstable regions without direct military intervention. The Truman Doctrine was followed by the Eisenhower Doctrine, the Kennedy Doctrine, the Johnson Doctrine, the Nixon Doctrine, and the Carter Doctrine, all of which defined the foreign policy approaches of these respective U.S. presidents on some of the largest global challenges of their administrations.

1.2 Conflict on the issue of Germany

In the beginning of World War II, the Soviet Union annexed Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, part of eastern Finland and eastern Romania with her mainland and laid the foundation for the Eastern as Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) which was initially

¹⁸³ *ibid*, p.823

¹⁸⁴ *Special Message to the Congress on Greece and Turkey: The Truman Doctrine*, 'Truman Library Public Papers', 12 March 1947, see: <http://www.Trumanlibrary.org/publicpapers/index.php?pid=2189&st=&st1=>>, retrieved: May 21, 2013

¹⁸⁵ Beschloss, Michael, *Our Documents: 100 Milestone Documents From The National Archives* (London: Oxford University Press), 2006, p. 194–99.

¹⁸⁶ Dennis Merrill, 'The Truman Doctrine: Containing Communism and Modernity,' *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, March 2006, Vol. 36(1) p. 27–37; online edition

¹⁸⁷ Merrill, Dennis, 'The Truman Doctrine: Containing Communism and Modernity', *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, March 2006, Vol. 36(1), pp. 27–37 (online edition)

ceded by Nazi Germany in the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.¹⁸⁸ These included eastern Poland; the Central and Eastern European territories liberated from the Nazis and occupied by the Soviet armed forces were added to the Eastern Bloc. The USSR converted them into satellite states before adding to Eastern Block such as East Germany, the Peoples' Republic of Poland, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the People's Republic of Hungary, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the People's Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of Albania. Stalin planned to increase security by dominating the internal affairs of countries that bordered it because Russia had historical experiences of facing frequent invasions through these countries. In the American view, Stalin seemed a potential ally in accomplishing their goals, whereas in the British approach Stalin appeared as the greatest threat to the fulfillment of their agenda. Roosevelt's goals were military victories in both Europe and Asia, the achievement of global American economic supremacy over the British Empire, and the creation of a world peace organization. On the other hand, Churchill's goals were—securing control over the Mediterranean, ensuring the survival of the British Empire, and the independence of Central and Eastern European countries as a buffer between the Soviets and the United Kingdom. Therefore, the Western Allies were divided in their vision of the new post-war world. President Roosevelt's sudden death led the situation complex as Truman did not trust Stalin. In this situation, following the Allies' May 1945 victory, the Soviets effectively occupied Central and Eastern Europe, while U.S. and Western allied forces remained in Western Europe. In Allied-occupied Germany, the Soviet Union, United States, Britain and France established zones of occupation and a loose framework for parceled four-power control. Later the United States and the United Kingdom merged their zones into 'Bizonia' on January 1, 1947. In April 1949, France's zone joined the 'Bizonia' and it became 'Trizonia.' They established there a Federal government system and in accordance with the 'Marshall Plan' of the United States and began to re-industrialize and re-build German economy. Later this block was renamed as 'West Germany' and the Eastern Block as 'East Germany'. Shortly thereafter, Stalin declared the Berlin Blockade (June 24, 1948 – May 12, 1949) and prevented supplying food, materials and supplies from arriving in West Berlin. The United States, Britain, France, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and several other countries began the massive 'Berlin airlift', supplying West Berlin with food and other provisions. The Berlin blocked was the first major crisis of the cold war period and showed the firm unity of the 'democratic allied forces.'

¹⁸⁸ Roberts, Geoffrey, *Stalin's Wars: From World War to Cold War, 1939–1953* (Yale University Press. 2006), p.43

Therefore, in May 1949, Stalin withdrew the blockade. In 1952 Stalin proposed for a 'united Germany' by holding a free election under supervision of the United Nations. Stalin also gave a condition that the 'New Germany' would have to stay out of Western military alliances, but this proposal was turned down by the Western powers.

1.3 Conflict in Greece and Turkey

In March 1947 Britain announced that she could no longer afford to sustain its support for the Greek government in the civil war, which had raged intermittently after the liberation of Greece from the Germans in 1944¹⁸⁹ because she was now near bankruptcy and was forced to radically reduce her involvement. Therefore, American policy planners made a list of countries in April of the same year on the basis of two criteria: 'importance to national security' and 'urgency of need.' The enlisted important countries were (according to the importance):¹⁹⁰ 1. Great Britain, 2. France, 3. Germany, 4. Belgium, 5. Netherlands, 6. Austria, 7. Italy, 8. Canada, 9. Turkey, 10. Greece, 11. Latin America, 12. Spain, 13. Japan, 14. China, 15. Korea, 16. The Philippines. An important point emerges from the document that no South Asian countries were in the list, though it was already obvious that the South Asian countries were going to be independent from the British colonial rule. It is also notable that Japan got more priority than China among the Asian countries.

However, American policy makers recognized the instability of the region, fearing that if Greece was lost to Communism, Turkey would not last long. Similarly, if Turkey yielded to Soviet demands, the position of Greece would be endangered. Therefore, in 1950, Truman signed the top-secret policy plan NSC-68, which shifted foreign policy from passive to active containment. This plan explicitly stated that the Communists planned for world domination. It won the support of Republicans who controlled Congress and involved sending \$400 million in American money, but no military forces, to the region. On the other hand, Stalin demanded partial control of the Dardanelles, a strategic passage between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. But the United States dispatched \$100 million in economic and military aid to ensure that Turkey would retain chief control of the passage. Since British assistance to Turkey had ended in 1947. The effect was to end the Communist threat, and in 1952 both

¹⁸⁹ Crockatt, Richard, *The Fifty Years War: The United States and the Soviet Union in World Politics 1941-1991* (London: Rutledge), 1996, p.73

¹⁹⁰ The list was prepared in a meeting of Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCF) of the United States on the basis of 'United States Assistance to Other Countries from the Standpoint of National Security' see: Richard Crockatt, *op.cit.*, p.93

countries (Greece and Turkey) joined NATO, a military alliance that guaranteed their protection.

1.4 South Asia

At the time of partition, India and Pakistan was enemy to each-other. The situation originated in the pre-partition hostilities between Muslims and Hindus. The conflict became more severe when the two locked in clash in 1948 on the issue of Kashmir. The hostility strengthened by the confrontation in 1950 and 1951. All these confrontations, Pakistan realized the strength of the security threat from India. Therefore, Pakistan sought western assistance so that it might develop its defense capabilities. So, it joined CENTO and made a friendship bond with Iran and Turkey to defend its region against any aggression from outside. It has also a security agreement with the United States signed in 1959 which promised that the United States would come to aid Pakistan if the sovereignty and independence are threatened by a third party. So things remained until the Sino-Indian war in 1962.

On the other hand, before Sino-Indian war, India's stand was on neutralism and keeping the world powers out of this sub-continent. But now¹⁹¹ it sought arms from the west and the West readily provided arms for the defense of India. After the partition, Nehru proclaimed that the New India was a successor of British India and inherited the mantle of glory that the British had won. India would, therefore, play a great role in the world, starting with South Asia. But the other states of South Asia became mistrustful of India's design. They resisted India's attempts but failed to withstand due to India's pressure. However, Pakistan was the only state that remained adamant and would not acknowledge India as dominant because it had emerged as the largest Muslim state of the time and declared itself dedicated to serve and fight for Muslim interests everywhere. Therefore, Pakistan became an obstacle in India's march to greatness. If Pakistan would not accept India as a great power, the rest of the world was not likely to do so either. This state of affairs has created 'cause' and at the same time 'effect' of any incidents in the Indian sub-continent.¹⁹² In fact, the two states have a state of mentality of conflict which is derived from mistrust. Whenever one side makes a proposal for the improvement of relations, the other side is convinced that it is a 'trick' or trap. This animosity between the two countries led them to a war in 1965.

¹⁹¹ During the Sino-Indian War in 1965

¹⁹² Lt. General A I Khan, 'Security and Stability in South Asia', Stephen Philip Cohen (edited), *The Security of South Asia: American and Asian Perspective*(New Delhi: Vistaar Publication, 1988), p.163

Before the Indo-Pak war in 1965, the United States had no security policy toward South Asia. As we have already mentioned, the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCF) of the United States enlisted some countries toward which the she had a specific security policy. India and Pakistan were not in the list. This means that the United States had no South Asian policy at the onset of the cold war. She treated India and Pakistan as the members of ‘free world’ and there were some reasons of U.S.’s non-involvement in the South Asian affairs. They are:

- i. The United States was pre-occupied elsewhere;
- ii. The American policy makers thought that the nationalism in the Indian sub-continent would prevent them from subordinating themselves to the USSR; the ruptures in Soviet relations with Egypt, Ghana and Indonesia were a ready example.
- iii. The détente with the USSR reduced concern over Soviet expansionism.

The United States’ concern was to prevent India from becoming another ‘communist China’ and a ‘balanced’ Indo-Pak relation. Therefore, it provided limited military and economic aid to both the country. However, during the 1965 Indian-Pakistan war the United States halted arms shipments to both Pakistan and India. This action gave Pakistan much blow than India because the former was far more dependent upon the United States.¹⁹³

1.5 Reagan doctrine¹⁹⁴

The Reagan Doctrine was an important Cold War strategy by the United States to oppose the influence of the Soviet Union by backing anti-communist guerrillas against the communist governments of the Soviet-backed client states. It was created partially in response to the Brezhnev Doctrine and was a centerpiece of American foreign policy from the mid-1980s until the end of the Cold War in 1991. The Reagan Doctrine initially focused South Asia in its security policy by designing plans to drive out Soviet occupants in Afghanistan. It ended the success of ‘*Détente*’ and was significantly shifted the post–World War II foreign policy of the United States to a new pattern. Prior to the Reagan Doctrine, U.S. foreign policy in the Cold War was rooted in ‘containment’, as originally defined by George F. Kennan, John Foster

¹⁹³ William J Barnd, ‘The United States and South Asia: Policy and Process’, *op.cit*, p.154-155

¹⁹⁴ Regan doctrine was initially an expansion of Carter’s Afghan policy. But later it took global shape and was applied to Angola, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Iran, Laos, Libya, Nicaragua and Vietnam etc.

Dulles, and other post–World War II U.S. foreign policy experts.¹⁹⁵ In January 1977, four years prior to becoming president, Reagan bluntly stated, in a conversation with Richard V. Allen, his basic expectation in relation to the Cold War. ‘My idea of American policy toward the Soviet Union is simple, and some would say simplistic,’ he said. ‘It is this: We win and they lose. What do you think of that?’ This statement was a clear indication that the cold war rivalry with the USSR would find a new shape. Some scholars defined ‘Regan Doctrine’ as the ‘a second cold war’ policy of the United States.

During the tenure of the 40th US-president Ronald Regan (1981-1989), the policy thinkers of the Heritage Foundation and other conservative foreign policy think tanks took the opportunity to expand Carter’s Afghanistan policy into a more global ‘doctrine’.¹⁹⁶ They had a strong influence over President Regan’s policy. This was obvious in Regan’s 1985 State of the Union Address in February 1985 in which he said:

We must not break faith with those who are risking their lives...on every continent, from Afghanistan to Nicaragua...to defy Soviet aggression and secure rights which have been ours from birth. Support for freedom fighters is self-defense.

As a result, Regan administration paid vigorous attention to the affairs of South Asia, which is, eventually, paved the way of the rise of ‘Muslim extremist groups’ in the region. Regan’s attitude might be realized from his following remarks: ‘To watch the courageous Afghan freedom fighters battle modern arsenals with simple hand-held weapons is an inspiration to those who love freedom.’¹⁹⁷ He made the remarks when he met the Afghan Mujahideen leaders in the Oval Office in Washington in 1983. However, Regan was not the pioneer of this policy. In fact, he followed his predecessor Jimmy Carter. The policy of aiding the ‘Afghan Mujahideen’ to drive the Soviets out of Afghanistan or at least raise the military and political cost of Soviet occupation was the proposal of Zbigniew Brzezinski, the National Security Advisor of Carter administration. The policy was implemented by the intelligence services of the United States, especially by CIA. For this purpose, the Regan administration formed a team including Democratic Congressman Charlie Wilson, CIA manager Gust Avrakotos and a few dozen insiders enhance support for CIA’s secret war and funneling money and arms to Afghan Mujahideen. This team worked out its secret

¹⁹⁵ Regan doctrine followed the tradition of Presidential doctrines started with the 1947 Truman Doctrine, under which the United States provided support to the governments of Greece and Turkey as part of a Cold War strategy to keep those two nations out of the Soviet sphere of influence.

¹⁹⁶ ‘Think tank fosters bloodshed, terrorism’, *The Daily Cougar*, August 22, 2008

¹⁹⁷ Message on the Observance of Afghanistan Day by U.S. President Ronald Reagan, March 21, 1983

war through the Pakistan's intelligence ISI.¹⁹⁸ It is much interesting to note, on the Afghan issue, both the Republicans and the Democratic party of the United States were same views. As a result, Regan administration enjoyed bipartisan political support in an effort to expel the Soviets from Afghanistan.¹⁹⁹ During this secret war, the Regan administration appealed anti-Soviet leaders of various countries, including Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Israel and China to increase support for the rebels. CIA manager Gust Avrakotos even hired Michael G. Vickers, a young Paramilitary Officer, to enhance the guerilla's odds by revamping the tactics, weapons, logistics, and training used by the Mujahideen.²⁰⁰ Michael Pillsbury, a Pentagon official, and Vincent Cannistraro pushed the CIA to supply the Stinger missile to the Afghan Mujahideens.²⁰¹ The success of the policy lured the US-think tank to expand it to Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Cambodia.

Before the Regan administration, the U.S. government, fearing an escalation of the Cold War and possible nuclear conflict, chose not to confront the Soviet Union directly. However, with the Reagan Doctrine, the United States began to openly confront Soviet-supported governments through support of rebel movements in the doctrine's targeted countries. One perceived aim of implementing the Reagan Doctrine was to maintain relatively low cost of supporting guerrilla forces compared to the Soviet Union's expenses in propping up client states. Another reason was to ensure the direct involvement of American troops, which allowed the United States to confront Soviet allies without sustaining casualties. However, this policy was proved fatal even for the US national security. Especially since the September 11 attacks, some Reagan Doctrine critics have argued that, by facilitating the transfer of large amounts of weapons to various areas of the world and by training military leaders in these regions, the Reagan Doctrine actually contributed to 'blowback' by strengthening some political and military movements that ultimately developed hostility toward the United States, such as al-Qaeda in Afghanistan.²⁰² Obviously, this statement is not unanimous. The western scholars such as Jason Burke, Steve Coll, Peter Bergen, Christopher Andrew, and Vasily Mitrokhin opposed the idea and argued that Osama Bin Laden developed his network because of 'CIA's indifferent eyesight'. They also claim that there was 'no support' in any 'reliable source' for the claim that the CIA-

¹⁹⁸ Julfiqar Ali Khan Bhutto was then the President of Pakistan and an ally of US-secret war. See: <http://www.globalissues.org/article/258/anatomy-of-a-victory-cias-covert-afghan-war>

¹⁹⁹ Crile, George, *Charlie Wilson's War: The Extraordinary Story of the Largest Covert Operation in History* (USA: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2003), page 246, 285, 302

²⁰⁰ *ibid*

²⁰¹ *ibid*

²⁰² 'Think tank fosters bloodshed, terrorism', *The Daily Cougar*, August 28, 2008

funded bin Laden or any of the other Arab volunteers who came to support the ‘Mujahideen.’²⁰³ However, the contemporary newspaper reports show that the American aid which was given to Pakistan’s ISI to give to the ‘Mujahideen’ created long lasting links between ‘Mujahideen’ and Pakistan’s secret service (ISI). Later, Pakistan sought to promote a faction that would promote its interests, and potentially help Pakistan in a feared new conflict with India. This led to Pakistani support for the rise of the Taliban, who were later willing to become allies of Al-Qaeda. However, the ‘Regan Doctrine’ crushed the backbone of the Soviet Military prestige, although it turned the United States as a net debtor country.²⁰⁴ According to Michael Johns:

...the Reagan-led effort to support freedom fighters resisting Soviet oppression led successfully to the first major military defeat of the Soviet Union...Sending the Red Army packing from Afghanistan proved one of the single most important contributing factors in one of history's most profoundly positive and important developments.²⁰⁵

However, Reagan's successor, George H. W. Bush, who assumed the U.S. presidency in January 1989 featured the final year of the Cold War and the Gulf War, and the Reagan Doctrine soon faded from U.S. policy as the Cold War began to end. Bush administration started to introduce a new policy based on ‘Rogue State Theory’.²⁰⁶ While President Regan entered into the second tenure of his presidency, Soviet president Michael Gorbachev published his widely read book *Perestroika* (1988). It was completely based on anti-Stalinism and full of criticism of the ‘stagnation’ of Brezhnev. Gorbachev wanted to return to the ideals of ‘Lenin’. Through *Perestroika* and *Glasnost* Gorbachev wanted to reform Soviet economy and social system. But the relaxation of the censorship of media jeopardized his plan. Gorbachev intended that the people should consent to what he wanted in his *Perestroika*. However, the liberalization from the *Glasnost* gave peoples’ ability to compare their life with the people living in Western culture. For example, West German TV was widely watched in East Germany and in Czechoslovakia. As a result, people of East Europe and Soviet Union were able to compare their life by listening radio, by travelling in Western countries and enjoying western pop music. Gradually, Gorbachev shifted Soviet policy toward the United States from ‘cold war arms race’ to ‘inter-dependence

²⁰³ Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan and Bin Laden* (USA: Penguin Books Ltd., 2004), p87

²⁰⁴ Richard Crockatt, *The Fifty Years War: The United States and the Soviet Union in World Politics, 1941-1991* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), p.301-302

²⁰⁵ “Charlie Wilson’s War Was Really America’s War”, by Michael Johns, *Los Angeles Times*, January 19, 2008.

²⁰⁶ Alexandra Homolar, ‘Rebels without a conscience: The evolution of rogue states narrative in US security policy’, *European Journal of International Relations*, April 17, 2010, p. 705

mutual world security system' for the collective security of the world. INF Treaty was already signed in December 1987 and under this treaty both the United States and the Soviet Union removed some intermediate range nuclear weapons in Europe- SS-20s on the Soviet side and Cruise and Pershing II missiles on the American.²⁰⁷ This shift in Soviet Philosophy: from a conception of class struggle and irreconcilable conflict between capitalism and communism to a conception of an interdependent world in which nations faced common global challenges weakened the spirit of the Soviet system.²⁰⁸ However, the United States did not change her previous hard policy toward the Soviets. Paul Nitze, Regan's arms control advisor, wrote in December 1988 that stability was the goal of arms control and that 'reduction per se are not necessarily good.'²⁰⁹ He also remarked:

We must always remember to base our security policies on Soviet capabilities rather than hoped or expressed intentions. There is no evidence to date that their military capabilities have changed.²¹⁰

Again, the abandonment of Brezhnev's 'stagnant policy' led the East-European countries into a mass-movement against the communist government there. In those countries demand for free life was becoming stronger. Gorbachev declared not to interfere in those affairs. As a result, they were able to come out of the communist system to free democracy with the help of US-allies. NATO helped them eagerly to do so. Following the events, Berlin wall was collapsed. Thus, the conviction of a great communist leader, Trotsky was proved: "...an island of communism could not ultimately survive in a capitalist sea.'²¹¹

Fifth Phase: 1992-2016

Post-Cold War diplomacy

1. Bush doctrine

US president George Bush (senior) primarily enjoyed the situation that his predecessor Ronald Regan left and that was the collapse of Soviet communism. However, he had to face the challenges of a new world system under a unipolar world mechanism. The collapse of Soviet Union ceased the threat of cold war, but simultaneously produced a new threat to the security of the United States. This

²⁰⁷ Richard Crockatt, *op.cit.*, p.361

²⁰⁸ *ibid* p.360

²⁰⁹ *ibid* p.359

²¹⁰ *ibid*

²¹¹ *ibid*

situation had been created as a result of ‘Regan’s Doctrine.’ Because, President Regan’s foreign policy rested heavily on the single theme of the restoration of the United States’ economic and military strength.²¹² To defend the USSR in every nook and corner of the world, Regan administration extended ‘Marshall Plan’ worldwide and gave arms and monetary support of the anti-communist rivals in most third world countries, which ultimately helped spread terrorist activities in those areas. Following the destruction of the Berlin wall in 1989 and the end of Soviet Socialism created completely new conditions for U.S. diplomats. The United States became the sole superpower but they had no experience, even had no prior preparation²¹³ for how to cope with the new conditions. As a result, the United States became a ‘police state’ and had to help resolve issues worldwide stemming from ethnic, religious, and regional rivalries, most notably in Somalia, Bosnia, and Haiti. Ethnic conflicts also were seen in the Middle East and in the former Yugoslavia, which saw ethnic cleansing of the Muslim Kosovo Albanians by the Serbian majority. Therefore, NATO’s role was also recast and the US-UNO relations were asked to re-examine.²¹⁴ Gradually, the United States became a key player in the United Nations and NATO executed military strikes to resolve conflicts in Iraq and in the Balkans. The media became more influential than ever before, forcing U.S. policy to focus on these crises. During the last half of the 1990s the United States enlarged NATO eastward to former Soviet bloc nations to cope with multilateral challenges and to prevent the so called ‘unlawful actions’ of ‘rogue states’.

However, with a close observation, we see the end of the cold war created two opposite situations before the United States. Firstly, the security challenges from the USSR was shifted to the third world countries. This was due to multilateral reasons. One of the main reasons was the income and development disparities in third world countries. This frequently led to political instability and economic regression in nations unable to compete in the new hyper-tech global economy. Secondly, those Muslim ‘militias’ who were fighting ‘communism’ worldwide for an ‘idealism’ saw the United States selfish for the sake of expanding ‘market economy’. The role of ‘world policing’ had also made the United States enemy to them. Therefore, terrorist tactics in regional and ethnic conflicts put U.S. diplomats in greater danger than ever before. On the other hand, the United States enjoyed a record level of prosperity

²¹² *ibid*, p.306

²¹³ A theory of ‘rogue states’ was developing before the end of the cold war but there were no comprehensive preparations because the ‘speed’ and the ‘comprehensiveness’ of the events during the collapse of the USSR was a challenge to the existing theories of political change.

²¹⁴ Alexandra Homolar, *op.cit.*, p. 707

through its leadership in global trade and the new information and bio-medical technologies similar to the situation after the Second World War.

After the collapse of the ‘evil empire’ Soviet Union, anxiety among the US defense establishment about the horizontal proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the spread of advanced weaponry to ‘third world’ countries increased.²¹⁵ The US policy makers increasingly labeled ‘third world’ countries which aimed to develop or acquire weapons of mass destruction that were supposedly engaged in terrorist activities as ‘rogue states.’ In the mid-1980s President Regan described Iran, Libya, North Korea, Cuba and Nicaragua as ‘outlaw governments’, as ‘confederation of terrorist states’ or as ‘core group of radical and totalitarian governments’.²¹⁶ In a speech before the American Bar Association in 1985, President Regan warned his audience of the dangers presented by ‘a confederation of terrorist states’, but Iraq was off the list then. In those days, Iraq was seldom considered as a ‘third world rogue state’. Not only that the United States still supported Saddam Hussein of Iraq in his war against Iran. However, only five years later the United States changed its stand toward Iraq. No sooner had Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1990 the United States, along with 34 other coalition states under US-leadership launched ‘Operation Desert Storm’ with massive air strikes against Iraq on the basis of UN security Council Resolution No. 678 on 17 January 1991. Within seven weeks US-led coalition forces occupied Iraq. The allegation against Iraq was that it had preserved huge amount of weapons of mass destruction (chemical weapons) which is a great threat to the world security. The Overwhelming success in the Gulf War in 1991 relived the US military forces from the nightmares of the Vietnam War; therefore, US diplomacy took a different shape. Firstly, the US policy makers realized the possibility and reasonability of ‘an international concert’ against any military aggression or threat from ‘third world rogue states’ or any other so called terrorist state. The joint opposition of both the United States and Russia against Iraq (after a prolonged international negotiation led by the United States) ushered the potential significance of the perception of a shared responsibility²¹⁷ for maintaining international law. This perception was also proved fruitful in applying on the issues of Libya and Afghanistan afterwards. Before invading Afghanistan and Libya, the United States followed a series of diplomatic maneuver for making a combined opposition against the latter to

²¹⁵ *ibid*, p. 711

²¹⁶ *ibid*

²¹⁷ The Gulf War in 1991, the war against Afghanistan and Libya were launched under the umbrella of the United Nations in the name of collective security but ironically, the United States made the UNO ‘rubber stamp’ for its unprecedented military and economic superiority.

shoulder its responsibility on other nations. Secondly, the US defense policy came out of its traditional cocoon; which was proved unfruitful in the Vietnam War and followed a new design. From the Gulf war onwards the US defense policy was being followed the combination of a heavy mechanized ground force supported by air superiority fighters and precision fighter-bombers.²¹⁸ Another reason behind Bush's military action against 'third world rogue states' lies on the 'much discussed' theory of Fukuyama which envisioned the future of the world. Francis Fukuyama regarded the 'end of the cold war' as the 'end of history.'²¹⁹ He argued that the collapse of the 'Soviet Socialism' has proved 'the western liberal democracy' as the final form of 'human government'. Therefore, the policy makers of Bush (senior) intended to overthrow the 'dictatorial governments' of the 'third world rogue states' and ensured forced transplant of western democracy there. On the day Iraq invaded Kuwait, President George H.W. Bush officially announced that the new direction of US defense planning was to prepare for regional contingencies in the face of 'serious threats to important US interests wholly unrelated to the earlier patterns of US-Soviet relationship.'²²⁰ On 9 August 1990, he argued that 'appeasement does not work. As was the case in 1930s, we see in Saddam Husein an aggressive dictator threatening his neighbor.'²²¹ In fact, during the chaos of 'collapsing Soviet Socialism' the US security advisors were considering the significant need to shift attention from Soviet Union to 'well-equipped regional powers' those in the 'third world' which were 'armed with' 'first world weapons. Between 1988 and 1989 CIA director William H. Webster argued in a series of speeches, statements and congressional hearing that 'the Soviet Union is certainly not our focus', because 'third world' countries were increasingly engaged in the proliferation of ballistic missiles and weapons of mass destruction.'²²² However, Bush's global warfare policy did not satisfy his domestic supporters as the US-economy was going to decline and 'the forced transplant of democracy' in Iraq could not earn peace; therefore, he could not come to power for the second time.

2. Clinton doctrine

William Jefferson Clinton, the 42nd president of the United States came in power in 1993. In fact, he had no clear doctrine in the way that many other doctrines were. His aim was to restore the economy of the United States; therefore, he attempted liberal

²¹⁸ Alexandra Homolar, *op.cit.*, p. 713

²¹⁹ See: Fukuyama, F., *The End of History and the last Man*(London: Hamish Hamilton, 1992)

²²⁰ Alexandra Homolar, *op.cit.*, p. 714

²²¹ *ibid*

²²² *ibid*

negotiations rather than ‘hard ball’ policy so that the United States might avert warfare since there was a strong opinion of the people of the United States against warfare. At the beginning of his tenure, in a speech before the ‘Joint Session of Congress on Administrative Goals’ on February 17, 1993 Clinton said,

But this is not an ordinary time, and for all the many tasks that require our attention, I believe tonight one call on us to focus, to unite, and to act. And that is our economy. For more than anything else, our task tonight as Americans is to make our economy thrive again.²²³

However, Clinton continued Bush’s policy of cooperation with Russia because he was aware of the ‘new cold war’ resulting from a face-off between an expanded NATO and an isolated Russia.²²⁴ He promised Russia that the United States would ensure greater coordination between the G7 nations and Russia. As a symbol of the promise, Clinton visited Moscow to make Washington-Moscow relation warm. As a result, following the NATO summit in January in 1994, it was announced that both nations had agreed to stop targeting their strategic nuclear missiles on each other.²²⁵ In fact, Clinton wanted to focus his attention on the coming new challenges from the hostility with Russia. Scholars predicted that in future economic competition would dominate world politics and then Japan would be the mortal rival of the United States. Some of the scholars, for example, Friedman and Lebard warned of a ‘coming war with Japan.’²²⁶ Not only that, Clinton wisely observed the shifting of the new world order and keenly found out the future competitor of the United States. He realized from the global economic change that indicated the splitting of the world into large and increasingly exclusive trading blocs- North American Free Trade bloc comprising the United States, Mexico and Canada and Asian bloc that centered on Japan; and the European Community.²²⁷

However, in the middle of his second tenure of the presidency, on February 26, 1999 speech, he said the following, which shows what his policy was:

It’s easy...to say that we really have no interests in who lives in this or that valley in Bosnia, or who owns a strip of brush land in the Horn of Africa, or some piece of parched earth by the Jordan River. But the true measure of our interests lies not in how small or distant these places are, or in whether we have trouble pronouncing their names. The question we must ask is, what are the consequences to our security of letting conflicts fester and spread. We cannot, indeed, we should not, do everything or be everywhere. But where

²²³ See: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=47232>, retrieved on 12/02/2014

²²⁴ Richard Crockatt, *op.cit.*, p.374

²²⁵ *ibid*

²²⁶ See: Friedman, G. and Lebard M., *The Coming War With Japan* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1991)

²²⁷ *ibid*

our values and our interests are at stake, and where we can make a difference, we must be prepared to do so.²²⁸

During the tenure of Clinton presidency, US-military intervention became slower, for example, in Rwanda, Clinton did not intervene to stop genocide in 1994 though once he said,

...genocide is in and of itself a national interest where we should act and...we can say to the people of the world, whether you live in Africa, or Central Europe, or any other place, if somebody comes after innocent civilians and tries to kill them en masse because of their race, their ethnic background or their religion, and it's within our power to stop it, we will stop it.²²⁹

Perhaps the policy makers of Clinton better assessed the new conditions of world conflict that was indicated in Samuel Huntington's writing. Huntington, in 1993, proposed that the fault lines in the world which was emerging from the cold war lay between civilizations or cultures rather than between nation-states or economic blocks.²³⁰ However, there is less difference between the Bush doctrine and Clinton's policy. President Bush used the 'theory of internationalism' in the name of 'collective security' to ensure the national interests of the United States, which were implemented by the United Nations through the US pressure. On the other hand, Clinton did the same thing, but in a liberal way so that the United States' economy might sustain with the new challenges coming from Asia- from Japan and China. For this purpose, we see, President Clinton visited India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. To defend 'China, the potential world power' Clinton sought India's help through military and economic cooperation. But the 'Bush Doctrine' perceived in Clinton's policy deepened the clash of civilization as imagined by Samuel Huntington. Clinton's seemingly liberal maneuver did not able to outdo the increasing rage of 'regional anti-US rival groups', namely 'Al Qaeda' network but considerably lessen their hostile activities. His successor, Bush (junior) left 'the liberal maneuver' and showed 'crushing attitude' against them, which led the historic '9/11 attack'.

3. US diplomacy under Bush Jr. administration

The forty third US President George W. Bush dropped Clinton's 'policy of negotiation' and took the 'America First' unilateralism as the main element in his doctrine. Not only that, he withdrew the United States from the UN's Kyoto Protocol to reduce worldwide greenhouse gasses in March 2001, just two months into his presidency. President Bush argued that transitioning American industry from coal

²²⁸ Michael T. Klare, 'The Clinton Doctrine', *The Nation*, retrieved on September 16, 2008

²²⁹ *ibid*

²³⁰ Huntington, S. (1993) 'The Clash of Civilizations?', *Foreign Affairs* 72, No.3, Summer: 22-49

to cleaner electricity or natural gas would drive up energy costs and force a rebuilding of manufacturing infrastructures. During the election campaign, he and his policy advisors strongly criticized Clinton's loose-fisted policy and undertook military action as diplomacy. The overwhelming 9/11 attacks on the US ground helped to prove the legitimacy of his declared policy. He added a new dimension to his policy, which in fact, similar to the teaching of a proverb— 'offense is the best defense.' Although, the American sentiment was to face the challenge of terrorism with collective effort, President Bush chose to advance unilaterally. On September 20, 2001, before a joint session of US Congress he declared:

“We will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime.”²³¹

He also said,

“...The terrorists' directive commands them to kill Christians and Jews, to kill all Americans and make no distinctions among military and civilians, including women and children.... There are thousands of these terrorists in more than 60 countries. Our war on terror begins with Al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated.... make no distinction between the terrorists who commit these acts and those who harbor them.”²³²

This tight fisted war diplomacy compelled the President of Pakistan General Pervez Musharraf to discard Taliban. It also deposed Saddam Hossain in Iraq with millions of innocent people death. However, President Bush's policy of unilateralism did not please the American citizens since it created economic challenges for the United States. However, after 2006 his preemptive action became unpopular to the American citizens because they were already fed up with the unusual monitoring activities of the govt. agencies since they were a freedom loving nation.

4. US diplomacy under Obama administration

Barak Obama won the heart of the war-weary American nation by calling for a change. He dropped Bush's war diplomacy and emphasized on engagement and nonintervention. He ended the cold war finally in the American hemisphere by visiting Cuba on March 20, 2016, engaged in Iran, withdrew troops from Iraq and Afghanistan, visits India and supports India's NSG membership application. However, his breakthrough on creating 'nuclear-free world' did not reduce the Pentagon's slush

²³¹ *The Washington Post*, Thursday, September 20, 2001

²³² *ibid.*

fund. During his time, the United States continued to develop new weapons of mass destruction including \$20 billion on nuclear weapon in 2016.²³³ Drone attacks continued in the Pak-Afghan border areas. However, during Obama period, the United States focuses its attention more on Asia than Europe. Consequently, India became the first choice in South Asia and Indo-US partnership relations developed during this period.

Conclusion

Through the historical standpoint, in the above, we have discussed how the diplomacy of the United States evolved through ages. At the early stage, especially before the Monroe Doctrine, the United States was busy with its own building. American founder president, George Washington started the policy of keeping the United States out of the European broils. From 1688-1763, the United States had taken part in the major four European wars as a British colony from which it gained nothing but the burden of the wars. This experience led the earlier US presidents (i.e. G. Washington, J. Adams, Jefferson and so on) to follow isolation policy. Even the United States kept it away from the French Revolution (1789) and from the Napoleonic wars (1801-1815). As a result, the US economy developed by leaps and bounds. Economic strength helped it stretch its boundary to manifest destiny. Soon the United States became a giant state having the coastlines of two oceans- the Atlantic to the east and the Pacific to the west. Then it turned to the neighboring countries of its own hemisphere. This time, the main aim of US diplomacy was only to expand volumes of trade. During the First World War, the United States reluctantly joined the war for the sake of saving democratic world. After the war, it achieved the prestige of a super power, but it again retreated from the European politics. Even, the US congress did not ratify Wilson's brainchild- the bill of admission to the League of Nations. However, the rise of authoritarian dictator Hitler compelled President Roosevelt to join the Triple Alliance. The Second World War destroyed the economy of England, France and Germany. The United States became one of the most powerful economic and military giant. Invention of Atom Bomb gave it unprecedented dominating leadership. The fallen world power England encouraged the United States to take the leadership of the democratic world. Thus the United States entered into the cold war regime. It fought for democracy against communism for about fifty years. During this period, the United States used to use its economic power to contain communism.

²³³ See: <http://www.nti.org/analysis/articles/us-nuclear-weapons-budget-overview/>, retrieved on 22/11/2016

However, both the super powers- the USA and the USSR focused their attention mainly on Europe and the Middle East; South Asia got a peripheral room in their diplomacy. On the eve of the fall of the Soviet Union, the US scholars developed 'rogue states' narratives and emphasized on the third world countries. During the whole period, the United States had shown very little interest toward South Asia. But after 9/11 of 2001 attacks, the United States checked and double checked its foreign policy and in the reshuffled policy South Asia got a significant room. Soon US attention shifted to Asia from Europe. It is a grand shift in US diplomacy after the Second World War. As a part of this shifting, Iraq-Iran-Syria-North Korea-Afghanistan-Pakistan became its security concern because it designated these countries as breeding places of international terrorist networks. China-Japan and India are becoming its economic rival. China already has gripped number one position in the world economy (in 1914) and for the first time within one and a half century, the US economy comes down to the second. It is assumed that the US economic success always hides its diplomatic failure. However, after 9/11 attacks, the US 'counter terrorism' policy has led its economy go down. The following chapters reveal how it has been happening.

Chapter-Three

The US-South Asia Relations: A Historical Analysis

Introduction

The term 'South Asia' is difficult to define in respect of geographical locations. However, it is one of those regions in the world, which remained important in all periods of history. Generally, the territory within the Himalayas in the north, the Indian Ocean in the south; Iran, Turkmenistan in the west and Myanmar in the east are considered as South Asia. Before 1947, South Asia was a colony of the British Empire. After the Second World War, the British colonial power declined; therefore, unable to face the popular anti-British movement here. As a result, two inborn rival states—India and Pakistan emerged in 1947. This was followed by Nepal (in 1947), Sri Lanka (in 1948), Bhutan (in 1949),²³⁴ Maldives (in 1965) and Bangladesh (in 1971). The departure of British colonial power created a political vacuum in South Asia. The newly emerged capitalist superpower, the United States proceeded to fill the vacuum through the British look. Since then up to 1991, the main objective of the United States was the containment of communism; therefore, it had tried to make good relations with both India and Pakistan, the major countries of South Asia. Pakistan was ready to be allied with the United States because it felt serious security threats from India since its inception. Therefore, Pakistan participated in many treaties that were articulated by the United States to contain communism; in return, it received a massive military and economic aid. However, the United States did not give the promised support to Pakistan against India during the Indo-Pak wars in 1948, 1965 and in 1971. On the other hand, India followed non-alignment policy and took the benefit of bargaining opportunity derived from the cold war rivalry.

Scholars all over the world generally consider the issues concerning India and Pakistan as the burning issues of South Asia. Therefore, when we study South Asia, we are really looking at India and Pakistan, for they are the protagonists of the sub-continent. When these two countries are at peace with each other South Asia by and large is at peace. If the two countries have troubled relations, South Asia is uneasy. When the two fight, South Asia trembles. Therefore, this chapter undertakes an in depth study of the patterns of the diplomatic shifts in the policies of the United States

²³⁴ Bhutan was a princely state in British India and remained under the influence of Indian foreign policy till 2007.

toward South Asia up to the Obama administration to shed more light on mainly the issues related to both India and Pakistan than other countries of this region.

The US Policy toward South Asia had been fluctuating several times. Before 1971, the policies of the United States experienced fluctuations in some issues and continuations in other fields. Nevertheless, US attitudes drastically changed its earlier course in 1971. Again, after 1971 it followed its previous course. In fact, it had developed a policy of continuations within fluctuations over times, which is similar to its national 'unity within diversification'. In this chapter, our aim is to find out 'the patterns and causes' of the 'fluctuations and continuations' in the US diplomacy toward South Asia. It is assumed that there are some patterns in US diplomatic maneuver in South Asia. They are, firstly, if the Sino-American relation becomes critical, India holds preferential treatment;²³⁵ secondly, if the Sino-American relation becomes warm, India gets general treatment;²³⁶ thirdly, the United States is always allied with Pakistan, but considers India as a regional power; fourthly, in the context of an Indo-Pak conflict, the United States, generally, takes a role of a mediator; fifthly, in Bangladesh the United States always prefers an anti-Indian government. However, whatever shifts it materializes, it has been following the above-mentioned patterns in its diplomatic chalk-out toward South Asia within or without the cold war world system.

1. US interests in South Asia

A nation's key interests are those, for which it is prepared to undertake a serious economic, political and military action irrespective of the cost involved.²³⁷ However, without going into the details of American policy toward South Asia, we can identify the basic objectives and interests of the former in its involvement with South Asia. Nevertheless, South Asia has always remained an area of peripheral and derivative interest to the United States. Neither the American investment nor the volume of trade with the region was substantial enough to make the area an important partner; therefore, the main consideration governing its South Asia policy stemmed from global pursuits and interests. The area's importance has fluctuated in rhythm with the shifts in America's global policies. Hence, US objectives in South Asia are subservient to its global interests.

²³⁵ It refers to a special kind of relation where the United States gives India top priority and leverage (i.e. arms and economic aid, grants) so that it might not tie with the USSR or China; it might open its market of both public and private sector for the western capital investment.

²³⁶ It refers to giving no leverage by toppling the interests of neighboring south Asian countries.

²³⁷ F. N. Trager and P.S. Kronenberg (ed.), 'By Whom and How Determined', *National Security and American Society* (University Press, Kansas: Lawrence, 1973), pp.63-67.

Before the Second World War, American interests in the subcontinent were very limited. Then America saw South Asia as a British show as there was no equivalent in South Asia of the Business organizations that had long traded with China and Japan or of well-publicized activities of American missionaries here. Even after 1947, Washington continued for a while to look to London for knowledgeable advice in its dealings with the area.²³⁸ From the beginning, Pakistan²³⁹ sought US military ally to take over India. India followed a non-aligned policy. Other countries in South Asia were negligible in the context of world politics except for Sri Lanka due to its Geo-strategic position in the Indian Ocean. Nepal and Bhutan were impoverished countries and landlocked by India, therefore, they were mainly under the influence of Indian foreign policy. So did Maldives. The United States was busy with countering the spread of communism in Europe, East Asia, and the Middle East; therefore, South Asia got less importance in the list of American interests. However, as time marches on, South Asia has gradually been taken an important place in the United States' Asia policy to counter its Cold War rival, the USSR. Until the event of 9/11 attacks, the US policy, at this juncture, fluctuated several times due to the different issues. But its mainstream policy of 'preferential treatment to New Delhi' remains continued except for in 1971. Until 1991, the US policy in South Asia, whether it shifted or continued, was vividly desired to counter Soviet influence. Let us see how it worked.

The United States emerged as a sole superpower through the Second World War by joining the war with a slogan of 'saving democracy'. After WW2, serious economic degradation caused the previous world powers declined and there started a competition between the United States and the USSR to grab the vacuum. The United States wanted to preserve and expand the space for 'Free World' so that it might sustain 'market economy.' But the communist ideology opposed the idea of democracy. As a result, Cold War era began. At the beginning of the Cold War, the policy planners in the United States focused their eyes mainly on the Eastern Europe and the Middle East to contain communist expansion. Asia got less importance in the US policy choices. But this proved a fatal mistake. In the absence of strong attention of the United States to China civil war that was begun during the Second World War, the nationalist government of Chiang- Kai-Shek failed to resist the communists. As a result, in 1949, Chiang was forced to flee from China and a communist government was formed there. The United States 'lost' China, which is considered as a major

²³⁸ Howard B. Schaffer, 'US interests in South Asia', *Prospects for Peace in South Asia*, edited by Rafiq Dossani & Henry S. Rowen (India: Orient Longman Private Limited, 2006), p.326.

²³⁹ US-Pakistan diplomatic relation started from October 20, 1947; in May 1954 Pakistan and the United States signed on a defense agreement named 'Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement'.

diplomatic failure. Thus, thirty-two years after the Bolshevik Revolution, one-fourth of the world's land and over one-third of the world's population came under the communist regime. The United States thus realized the importance of South Asia. Since then, the United States' vital concern in Asia, especially in South Asia, was to prevent India from becoming a communist state. It is observed that both the superpowers, especially the United States' general objectives in South Asia were to bring the Indians and Pakistanis together to unite the region as an ally against each other.²⁴⁰ However, some other scholars differ the idea. They think Washington was influenced by the British attitudes about India and Pakistan, especially on Kashmir, and saw Pakistan as a better prospect for the requirements of the western Cold War alliance.²⁴¹ Thus, despite Washington's greater affinity with India's democratic political experiment, it allied with Islamabad, even after the military took over in Pakistan in 1958.

After the 'loss' of China, the policy framers of the United States paid attention to the Geo- strategic significance. Gradually, South Asia became the focus point of the United States' interests due to its Geo-strategic position. Its location is in the vicinity of two strategic regions of the world— the Gulf and Southeast Asia.²⁴² The Indian Ocean area between the Middle East and the Southeast Asia, though not as important as the Atlantic and the Pacific, also held significant attention to the US scholars.

Secondly, South Asia is considered as the soft belly of Eurasian lands. Its heartland is accessible from the two adjacent sea waters: the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal to the submarine-based international missiles. Diego Garcia base, a cornerstone of American nuclear deterrence, is very close to the Southern tip of South Asia. It is also a link in the United States global strategy: Pakistan is well located in regard to the Middle East and Indian Ocean oil lines.

Thirdly, since the emergence of Bangladesh on the geographical map of the world, the United States was re-evaluating its policy in South Asia. Like most other major global powers, it noticed that India is already playing a pivotal role in G-77 and serving as an advisor on tactics and becomes a source of economic assistance for the oil-importing 'Third World' countries. As a result, after 1971, the major world powers recognized

²⁴⁰ Rajesh Rajagopalan, 'Extra-Regional Powers and the Emerging Security Scenario in South Asia', Smaruti S. Pattanaik (ed.), *South Asia: Envisioning Regional Future* (New Delhi: Institute of Defense Studies & Analysis, 2011), p.207.

²⁴¹ Srinath Raghavan, *War and Peace in Modern India: A Strategic History of the Nehru Years* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2010), pp.125-126.

²⁴² M. L. Chopra, 'South Asia and its Strategic Environment', *United States International Journal* (New Delhi, July-September 1977), p.205.

India as a 'new influential' and, therefore, the United States has also shown increasing awareness of a basic change in its list of new priority areas.

Fourthly, after the nuclear explosion of India in 1974 and strong rumors about Pakistan manufacturing the first Islamic bomb and the unsuccessful pursuance of the Carter Administration over India to sign 'nonproliferation treaty', the US policy planners realized the danger of being a disinterested observer. Lea E. Rose mentioned an American scholar's concern in this regard:

...While no vital US interests in the narrow sense are at stake in South Asia, a low-profile policy for this region could be seriously detrimental to a wide range of American goals and policies at the global level.²⁴³

Fifthly, President Ronald Reagan changed US strategy drastically and armed Pakistan heavily to contain the Soviet Union in the Gulf.

Since the end of the Second World War, the balance of power in the international community has been defined and dominated by a bipolar relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. As a result, the major American interest was to prevent the absorption of the area into the communists' orbit. The desire behind choking the Soviet expansionism is to retain an assurance to access to the strategically important Gulf region. Therefore, the United States attention to this region remained particularly in the context of other major power's engagement in the region. As long as a major power tends to be active in the region, the United States also will pose an active role. For an example, during Soviet Naval presence in the Indian Ocean in 1970s, and in Afghanistan in the 1980s, the United States considered it a threat to its interests in South Asia and the Gulf region because the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Iranian Revolution (1979 AD) became a prime concern of threat to choke off oil supplies to the west. Another concern of the United States was to maintain regional stability to prevent the nuclear proliferation. Economic and commercial interests were secondary importance.

For some reasons, the Nixon administration was in favor of Pakistan. During the liberation war of Bangladesh, initially like the USSR, the United States considered the crisis as Pakistan's domestic affairs. The Nixon government did not want to disturb Yahiya because Pakistan helped the United States to a fresh opening in China. Secondly, during his visit to India in 1967, Nixon did not get warm hospitality compared to that of in Pakistan. In this regards, let us consider Kissinger's statements. In a meeting called by the Senior Review Group to review East Pakistan crisis on 6

²⁴³ Lea E. Rose, 'The Super Powers in South Asia: A Geo-strategic Analysis', *Orbis*, Pennsylvania, Vol. 2,3, Summer 1978, p.400.

March 1971, Kissinger²⁴⁴ said, ‘Nixon does not wish to do anything against Pakistan what makes upset Yahiya Khan.’ He also demonstrated Nixon’s stand by mentioning Nixon’s belief: ‘Pakistan is the faithful media of the USA to open in China.’²⁴⁵ Therefore, Nixon’s government took double-standard policy toward India and Pakistan. According to the two proposals of Kissinger, the key policy maker of the US government, the United States suspended all economic and military aid to Pakistan for the time being and sent aid to East Pakistan and India in favor of the victims and refugees. But politically Nixon took part in favor of West Pakistan.²⁴⁶ However, as soon as India made a friendship treaty with the USSR in August 1971, the United States started to reconsider its stake in Pakistan. The same type of drama was staged during the the1980s.

The United States’ counter action against the USSR was also obvious through the US President Jimmy Carter’s address to the nation on the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan January 4, 1980. In the address before the nation Carter argued:

This is a callous violation of international law and the United Nations Charter. It is a deliberate effort of a powerful atheistic government to subjugate an independent Islamic people. We must recognize the strategic importance of Afghanistan to stability and peace. A Soviet-occupied Afghanistan threatens both Iran and Pakistan and is a stepping stone to possible control over much of the world’s oil supplies.²⁴⁷

It is interesting to note that Carter ‘mentioned’ the USSR government as ‘atheistic government’ and showed his sympathy toward the Muslim of the region, why? He was anxious about the possible Soviet control over much of the world’s oil supply. So, it is clear that Carter planned to engage Muslim sentiment against the Soviets to fulfill his economic desire which pushed him back to reconsider the sanctions against Pakistan. In the address, he continued:

....Along with other countries, we will provide military equipment, food, and other assistance to help Pakistan defend its independence and its national security against the seriously increased threat it now faces from the north. The United States also stands ready to help other nations in the region in similar ways.²⁴⁸

In response to the Soviet aggression in Afghanistan, the United States also cancelled SALT-2 Treaty and an order of 17 million tons of grain, which was previously

²⁴⁴ Kissinger was a Jew.

²⁴⁵ Kissinger, H., (1979), *White House Years*, Boston, pp. 704 & 860.

²⁴⁶ *ibid*, pp. 848-49.

²⁴⁷ Jimmy Carter, “Address to the Nation on the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan”, January 4, 1980. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*.

<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=32911>, retrieved on 12/10/2014.

²⁴⁸ *ibid*.

approved to sell to the USSR. Carter also legitimated his steps against the USSR by mentioning in his address, ‘...the aggression unopposed becomes a contagious disease.’²⁴⁹ So, we see, the South Asian policy of the United States developed in line with the Soviet movement. It was totally dependent on the ‘cold war’ aspect.

In the late 1940s, the strategic focus of the US foreign policy was the new global competition with the Soviet Union. Europe, not Asia, was the primary arena. And when Asia intruded beginning in the 1950s, South Asia assumed a strategic importance, but not in its own right. To explain the United States perception to the significance of the region, the *Atlantic Monthly* of March 1948 wrote,

We must realize what the British and the Russians have always understood, that the eastern Mediterranean basin and the Middle East countries bordering it are part of one political complex; and a new line from Karachi north to Kabul must enter into calculations of Washington as it has for many years into that of Moscow and London.²⁵⁰

In the 1980s, the balance of power internationally was shifting due to the emergence of Japan as an economic world power. US relations with the Soviet Union and other nations of the world affect how America will conduct foreign policy toward the nations of East Asia. That policy is also influenced by the international economic and political context. In 1989, there were too many other competing priorities, and a focus on multiple immediate challenges—the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the Gulf War, China—meant that an opportunity to craft a fresh approach to South Asia was lost. One minor exception was the Kicklighter Agreement on Defense in 1991, which initiated the US-India military relationship.²⁵¹

The following table shows the major incidents that shaped US diplomatic maneuvers toward South Asia:

1947	Indian independence, creation of Islamic Republic of Pakistan
1955	Baghdad Pact (Turkey, Iraq, Great Britain, Pakistan, and Iran)
1962	Sino-Indian border war, military equipments supply to India
1962–63	Kennedy administration’s meditation effort on Jammu and Kashmir
1965	India-Pakistan war, cut off US aid to both countries
1971	India-Pakistan war and independence of Bangladesh
1974	India’s nuclear test, pressure on India for signing nonproliferation treaty
1979	Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, waiver of nonproliferation act for Pakistan
1990	US aid cut to Pakistan
1998	India and Pakistan nuclear tests
1999	Kargil crisis between India and Pakistan

²⁴⁹ *ibid.*

²⁵⁰ Cited in Bahabani Sen Gupta, *Role of Pakistan in the emerging security scenario in South Asia and South West Asia*; in Pandav Nayak (ed.), *Pakistan: Society and Politics* (New Delhi: South Asian, 1984), p.97.

²⁵¹ Lieutenant Colonel Brian K. Hedrick, *India’s Strategic Defense Transformation: Expanding Global Relationships*, (USA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, November 2009), <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=950>, retrieved on 12/10/2014..

2001	9/11 attacks in the United States and intervention in Afghanistan
2001–02	Twin Peaks crisis between India and Pakistan
2001 to present	US intervention in Afghanistan
2004 to present	Drone attacks in Pakistan, CIA maintains drone surveillance and launches hundreds of attacks on pro-Taliban targets
2006	President George W. Bush signs the United States-India Peaceful Atomic Energy Cooperation Act into law; US no longer opposes India's civilian and military nuclear programs; bilateral relations improve
2008	US Congressional approval for US-India nuclear cooperation
2011	CIA uses Navy Seals to raid Al-Qaeda founder Osama bin Laden's compound in Pakistan, killing Bin Laden; seize computers; Pakistan was not informed

The end of the cold war has given the United States much more advantage in shaping its policy choices because uni-polarity ceased the opportunity of regional players that they enjoyed within the bipolar world System.

Rajesh Rajagopalan explained in his article 'Extra-regional Powers and the Emerging Security Scenario in South Asia' that it was the regional powers, India and Pakistan, that achieved their strategic objectives by subverting American and Soviet agenda in this region.²⁵² T.V. Paul also noted this 'reverse influence' of regional powers.²⁵³ According to Rajagopalan, despite their enormous power, both superpowers were forced to follow the lead of their regional allies more often than the other way around. In the bipolar world, at least for two reasons, the regional powers were able to exert a greater influence on superpowers than the other way around. According to him, India and Pakistan (and Bangladesh) to some extent are fairly capable states in the international system. Though there is significant disparity in power between these states, and the two superpowers, these are not exactly weak states. By most measures of power-size, wealth and military muscle— these are middle powers that need to be treated with respect. Their voice and influence may not carry much beyond their borders and definitely not small states and manipulating them is somewhat more difficult than manipulating some of other much weaker third world post-colonial countries.

The second reason, according to Rajagopalan, for what the superpowers within bipolarity were not able to manipulate India-Pakistan-Bangladesh was that the interests of external powers in South Asia have been sporadic. There have been periods when external powers intensely involved in the region, but there have also

²⁵² Rajes Rajagopalan, 'Extra-regional Powers and the Emerging Security Scenario in South Asia', *South Asia : Envisioning Regional Future*, Smruti S. Pattanaik (ed.) (New Delhi: Institute of Defense Studies & Analysis, 2011), p.11.

²⁵³ 'Influence Through Arms Transfers: Lessons from the U.S.-Pakistani Relationship', *Asian Survey*, 32(12), 1992, pp.1078-1092.

been long periods when they have not shown much interest in the region or had withdrawn from the region. For example, the United States withdrew from active engagement in South Asia for several years in the mid-1960s, the mid-1970s and mid-1990s. This sporadic involvement led to distrust between the regional players and the superpowers, especially the United States. This is most clearly visible in the US-Pakistan relations, where the Pakistanis constantly complained of American 'fickleness'. Mr. Rajagopalan also mentioned a third reason which was quite general in nature: the structure of the bipolar competition, which allowed the regional players to play the superpower off against each-other. This way bi-polarity helped the regional players getting unique advantages from the superpowers because both superpowers sought the support of regional players. This way, the regional powers— India and Pakistan were able to use the implicit threat of defection to the other party as a way of ensuring greater support from their superpower patron, i.e. India from the Soviet Union and Pakistan from the United States. Again, both the United States and the Soviet Union were worried about the demonstrative effect of their reputation as an ally if they did not fully support their respective local allies. For example, in 1971, the Soviet Union found itself forced to repeatedly wield a 'veto' in the UN Security Council in support of India (for the cause of Bangladesh Liberation War) and the United States tried hard to establish a cease-fire between India and Pakistan so that its ally, Pakistan, might not face dismemberment (Bangladesh might not achieve its independence). The United States did not take an account of the brutality of Pakistani army over innocent Bangalee people due to the bipolar competition.

The end of the cold war ceased the competition of bipolarity. As a result, uni-polarity significantly reduced the maneuvering room of the regional powers. For example, after 9/11, Pakistan had no choice but to essentially give in to American demands that Islamabad abandon its Taliban friends and facilitate the US war on Afghanistan. According to Rajagopalan, president Musharraf justified it as a decision in which Pakistan had not much choice. It is clear, if Pakistan had not cooperated with the United States, the latter could have made life very difficult for Pakistan. No other external power or even China would have lifted a finger to help Pakistan. Similarly, due to America's support behind Pakistan, India compelled to prevent herself taking any direct military action against terror attacks on India by Pakistan-based terror groups.²⁵⁴

²⁵⁴ Ashley J. Tellis, 'Pakistan's Record on Terrorism: Conflict Goals, Compromised Performance', *The Washington Quarterly*, 31(2), Spring 2008, pp.7-32.

With the brief discussion above, we can conclude that, although subservient in nature, the United States reshuffled its interests in South Asia several times in response to the following incidents: (a) during the Sino-India war in 1962; (b) Indo-Pak war in 1965; (c) Bangladesh liberation war in 1971; (d) India's nuclear test in 1974; (d) Soviet aggression in Afghanistan in 1979; (e) in the post-cold war period; and (f) after 9/11 attacks.

During the Sino-Indian war, the United States got a chance to get in close touch with India when Nehru appealed help from the west. The United States supplied India huge armaments. At the same time, it also assured Pakistan that those arms might not be used against it. The United States continued to provide aid to Pakistan also. However, during Indo-Pak war in 1965, the United States became neutral and suspended all aids to both countries. Again in 1971, the United States took Pakistan's side as a reward for helping it opening to China. The US-Pakistan relations deepened in the context of India's nuclear test in 1974. The United States withdrew sanctions against Pakistan as soon as the USSR invaded Afghanistan.

However, the United States' common interests during the cold war was countering the spread of Communist movement, nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and opening to Communist China.²⁵⁵

2. US diplomacy toward South Asia before 9/11

2.1 The Cold War: China and Soviet factor

The displaced superpower Britain departed Indian subcontinent in 1947 leaving two inborn rival states: India and Pakistan. Immediately after emergence, both the countries were locked in the clash on the Kashmir issue. Before the departure, Britain could settle down the issue of 'princely states'. But they left the issue unsettled with a view to having a scope of further manipulation. In the meantime, the United States emerged as a new superpower having no diplomatic experience to lead the world. So, they started their diplomatic maneuver in South Asia through British look and gradually tried to shape their distinct course. As the 'heartland' of the global politics after the Second World War was the Eastern Europe, the United States paid less attention to Asia, therefore, South Asia's position was peripheral in the US policy. After 1949, when the US efforts of aiding China went in vain, Washington's sub-continental concerns focused on the perceived danger that India could become another

²⁵⁵ Promod K Misra, 'Determinants of Intraregional Relations in South Asia, *India Quarterly* (New Delhi: ICWA, Supra House) January-March 1980, Vol. XXXVI, No.1, pp.62-83.

Communist China. During the Truman (1945-53) and the Eisenhower (1953-61)²⁵⁶ administration, the US policy planners thought that higher level of aid assistance were more effective in mobilizing congressional, bureaucratic and public support than humanitarian and moral importance of relieving South Asia's terrible poverty through economic development. Therefore, the United States also, like its cold war rival Soviet Union, tried to tame India by preferential approach and invited Nehru to Washington.

Nehru visited the United States four times: one in Truman's period in 1949 and three times in Eisenhower's period in 1956, 1960 and 1961 respectively. During his first three weeks visit accompanied by his daughter Indira Gandhi, Nehru spoke 15 minutes before House members in the Ways and Means Committee of the United States where he said:

I have come here on a voyage of discovery of mind and heart of America, and to place before you our own mind and heart. Thus we may promote that understanding and cooperation which, I feel sure, both our countries earnestly desire.²⁵⁷

He repeated the same words before the Senate, the House Foreign Affairs and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. However, Nehru's session with the US President Truman became flopped as the latter declined to offer economic aid in response to India's neutrality within a cold war global system.

The situation began to change a few years later when the US administration suddenly realized that the Soviets²⁵⁸ were effectively using economic assistance and other inducements to influence South Asian countries.²⁵⁹ Therefore, though highly criticized, Eisenhower and his Cold Warrior secretary of state, John Foster Dulles were defining American interests in both India and Pakistan in the context of Cold War concerns and objectives. President Eisenhower wanted to tame both India and Pakistan, but showed preferential attitude toward India due to his 'Domino doctrine.'

²⁵⁶ First American President visited India in December, 1959.

²⁵⁷ Nehru first visited Washington on 13 October, 1949.

(see: <http://www.politico.com/story/2015/10/prime-minister-nehru-visits-capitol-hill-october-13-1949-214690>, retrieved on 12/10/2014.

²⁵⁸ It is significant that until the entry of the Soviet Union in World War II on the side of the allies, there was no authorized Soviet national in India. During the Second World War some Soviet officials were permitted to visit Calcutta and several other industrial centers in India for the purchase of war material. During the war, India emerged as an important source of war supplies to the Soviet Union. (See the article *Russian Policy towards South Asia* of Jyotsna Bakshi, Research Fellow, IDSA at <http://www.idsa-india.org/an-nov9-9.html>, retrieved on 12/10/2014.)

²⁵⁹ With the assistance of Soviet Union (since the mid-fifties) India has emerged as the 10th industrial power and has built an impressive army in Asia. [see: Hemen Ray, *The Enduring Friendship :Soviet-Indian Relations in Mrs. Gandhi's Day* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1989), p.xi.

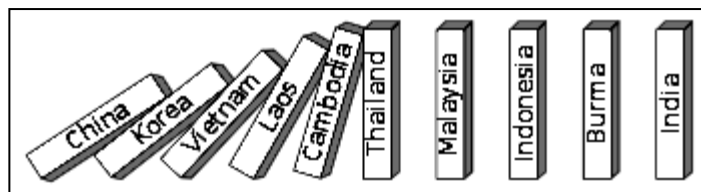
He provided aid for Pakistan²⁶⁰ to hold US influence in the Middle East; on the other hand, he gave India a preferential hospitality to check it becoming another communist China.

At the Governors' Conference, August 4, 1953, the US President Eisenhower said:

Now, first of all, the last great population remaining in Asia that has not become dominated by the Kremlin, of course, is the sub-continent of India, including the Pakistan government. Here are 350 million people still free. Now let us assume that we lose Indochina. If Indochina goes, several things happen right away. The Malayan peninsula, the last little bit of the end hanging on down there, would be scarcely defensible. . . , and tin and tungsten that we so greatly value from that area would cease coming. But all India would be outflanked. Burma would certainly, in its weakened condition, be no defense. Now, India is surrounded on that side of the Communist empire. Iran on its left is in a weakened condition. I believe I read in the paper this morning that Mossadegh's move toward getting rid of his parliament has been supported and of course he was on that move supported by the Tudeh, which is the Communist Party of Iran. All of that weakening the position around there is very ominous for the United States, because finally, if we lost all that, how would the free world hold the rich empire of Indonesia? So you see, somewhere along the line, this must be blocked. It must be blocked now. That is what the French are doing.²⁶¹

By the early 1954, when it became clear to many US policymakers that the French might fail to re-establish colonial control in Indochina (Vietnam), which they lost during the World War II, when the Japanese took control of the area. The Vietnamese nationalists, led by the communist Ho Chi Minh, were on the verge of winning a stunning victory against the French forces at the battle of Dien Bien Phu. The US officials were concerned that a victory by Ho's forces and/or an agreement in Geneva might leave a communist regime in control of all or part of Vietnam. To avert communists capturing Vietnam, Eisenhower wanted to help the French, but he needed congressional and public support for increased US aid to the French. Thereafter, President Eisenhower gave a historic press conference on April 7, 1954. At this conference, he explained,

You have a row of dominoes set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is a certainty that it will go over very quickly. This would lead to disintegration in Southeast Asia, 'with the loss of Indochina, of Burma, of Thailand, of the Peninsula, and Indonesia' as well as India following.²⁶²



Eisenhower's Domino Theory

²⁶⁰ US Pakistan diplomatic relation started from October 20, 1947 based on military and economic support.

²⁶¹ *Public Papers of the Presidents*, 1953, p. 540.

²⁶² <http://www.history.com/>, retrieved on 12/10/2014.

Eisenhower also suggested that, even Japan, which needed Southeast Asia for trade, would be in danger. After his prophecy, Dien Bien Phu fell to the communists, and an agreement was reached at the Geneva Conference that left Ho's forces in control of northern Vietnam. Thereafter, however, Eisenhower's announcement of the 'domino theory' laid the foundation for US involvement in Vietnam. Both John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson used the theory to justify their calls for increased US economic and military assistance to the noncommunist South Vietnam and, eventually, the commitment of US armed forces in 1965. Thus, the United States extended preferential treatment to Delhi was an application of this theory.

On February 24, 1954 US President Dwight D. Eisenhower wrote Nehru a letter assuring that despite American arms aid to Pakistan, India would have no reason to worry as the US aid might not be used against India. He wrote to Nehru:

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I send you this personal message because I want you to know about my decision to extend military aid to Pakistan before it is public knowledge and also because I want you to know directly from me that this step does not in any way affect the friendship we feel for India. Quite the contrary, we will continually strive to strengthen the warm and enduring friendship between our two countries...

...What we are proposing to do, and what Pakistan is agreeing to, is not directed in any way against India. And I am confirming publicly that if our aid to any country, including Pakistan, is misused and directed against another in aggression I will undertake immediately, in accordance with my constitutional authority, appropriate action both within and without the UN to thwart such aggression.

I know that you and your Government are keenly aware of the need for economic progress as a prime requisite for stability and strength. This Government has extended assistance to India in recognition of this fact, and I am recommending to Congress a continuation of economic and technical aid for this reason.²⁶³

He also told Nehru that the military aid will be given to Pakistan only for the sake of taming aggression in the Middle East. In the same letter he mentioned:

Having studied long and carefully the problem of opposing possible aggression in the Middle East, I believe that consultation between Pakistan and Turkey about security problems will serve the interests not only of Pakistan and Turkey but also of the whole free world. Improvement in Pakistan's defensive capability will also serve these interests and it is for this reason that our aid will be given.²⁶⁴

In 1956, Nehru visited Washington second time in search of big economic aid. He spent a day and a half at President Dwight Eisenhower's Gettysburg farm, where the

²⁶³ Dwight D. Eisenhower, "Letter to Prime Minister Nehru of India Concerning US Military Aid to Pakistan," February 25, 1954. See: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10170>, retrieved on 12/10/2014.

²⁶⁴ *ibid.*

two leaders built a rapport during discussions that covered some 14 hours. Subsequently, the US economic aid to India rose to \$822 million a year. From 9-14 December in 1959, Eisenhower paid a successful visit to India.²⁶⁵

Pakistan got shocked at the preferential treatment given to New Delhi by Washington from the beginning. In the hope of gaining parity, Pakistan desperately tried to take over India into the United States' South Asia policy. Just at the moment,²⁶⁶ in an exercise of 'real Politik', Stalin invited Liaquat Ali Khan to visit the Soviet Union with a denunciation of India as 'an appendage of Anglo-American imperialism'. But Liaquat made use of the Soviet invitation to attract the US attention and extract an invitation from the latter, and chose to visit the USA instead of the Soviet Union. Thus Pakistan gained US sympathy, but due to such humiliation, the Russo-Pak relation lost its chance to reconcile from the very beginning. The United States also was not fully pleased with Pakistan because during PM Liaquat Ali Khan's first visit to the US, President Truman requested Pakistan's premier to let the CIA formulate a base in Pakistan, strictly to keep an eye on the activities of the Soviet Union—a request, which was not granted by Khan.²⁶⁷ However, during Truman's period, series of Pakistan's top level officials i.e. Commander-in-Chief Ayub Khan, foreign minister Zafrullah Khan, foreign secretary Ikramullah, finance minister Ghulam Muhammad, defense secretary Sikander Mirza and special envoy Mir Laiq Ali visited Washington, aiming to receive financial aids from the country.²⁶⁸ In May 1954, Pakistan signed Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement with the United States, therefore, the United States was able to establish a Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) in Rawalpindi. In return, many Pakistani soldiers received access to the United States for training. In 1956 Pakistani Prime Minister H.S. Suhrawardy granted the US President Dwight D. Eisenhower's request to lease Peshawar Air Station to American Army so that they could keep an eye on the Soviet Union and its ballistic missile program.²⁶⁹ During 1960s, Ayub Khan allowed the United States to fly Spy Mission²⁷⁰ to Soviet Union from Pakistan's territory and accompanied by his daughter visited the United States of America.

²⁶⁵ Anton Harder, *Not At the Cost of China: India and the United Nation's Security Council 1950* (Wilson Center: March, 2015.)

²⁶⁶ In 1949.

²⁶⁷ *The Dawn*, July 04, 2012.

²⁶⁸ *ibid.*

²⁶⁹ *The Dawn*, July 4, 2012.

²⁷⁰ *ibid.*

Since all the steps taken by the United States toward South Asia was due to counter Soviet influence here, let us mention here how the Soviet Union tried to keep both India and Pakistan away from the US influence before 1971.

2.2 US-Soviet responding activities: bargaining opportunity for India and Pakistan

Prior to 1950 during Stalin's regime, the USSR had followed a policy of 'isolation' at the governmental level and took no footing in Asia. However, since the western powers had been successful in the formation of alliances such as the Bagdad Pact²⁷¹ and SEATO,²⁷² the USSR decided not to give them chance reaping a rich diplomatic harvest as it had been competing with the US to prove that it was no less than the USA in almost every sphere of economic, diplomatic and military matters. Therefore, the USSR started to evolve counteracting the growing American influence in its own backyard during the last days of Stalin. By the time (within 1950), the USSR had recovered her setbacks, it had suffered during World War II through a Stalinized program of reconstruction. After Stalin, the Soviet leaders realized that its goal could be effectively pursued through cooperation with the nationalist governments in power in Asia rather than their overthrow and replacement by communist parties.²⁷³ Like the US influence in Latin America, the USSR desired to be a dominator in Asia. For this purpose, it took two policies: political maneuvering and economic relations build-up. The Soviets realized that the economic weapon of industrialization had much more impact than military cooperation. The Soviet leaders thought that the rise of industry would foster the growth of a working class proletariat and this proletariat would eventually lead to the rise of a revolutionary ferment in the developing countries. That's why after Stalin, Soviet leaders dropped the policy of isolation and started to use 'economic weapon' to tame the developing countries of the third world. The Soviet leaders also bore in mind Lenin's comments:

²⁷¹ The Baghdad Pact was a defensive organization similar to NATO and SEATO for promoting shared political, military and economic goals founded in 1955 by Turkey, Iraq, Great Britain, Iran and Pakistan. Its main purpose was to prevent communist incursion and foster peace in the Middle East. It was renamed the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) in 1959 after Iraq pulled out of the Pact.

²⁷² To check any communist incursion in the free territories of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, or Southeast Asia US President Dwight D. Eisenhower directed Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to forge an agreement to put together an anti-communist military alliance with the countries including France, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Pakistan, Thailand, and the United States. This organization is named as Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and established in 19 February 1955 in Bangkok, Thailand. However, SEATO was dissolved on June 30, 1977.

²⁷³ A. Bromke, *The Communist States and the West* (New York: Praeger Inc., 1967), p. 209.

...for only when the Indian, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Persian, Turkish workers and peasants join hands and march together in the common cause of liberation—only then will decisive victory over exploiters be ensured.²⁷⁴

Let us see how the Soviets tried to manipulate India.

Before 1950 Soviet Union's trade with India was virtually nil and there was no agreement of aid assistance. But during 1953-1964 Indo-Soviet trade and aid volumes raised as follows:²⁷⁵

	1953 (million dollars)	1964 (million dollars)
Exports	0.5	235.0
Imports	0.4	156.0
Loan and Grants	0.08 (1955)	81.0 (1963)

While the Indian government was asking English and German firms to give their estimates on building of one million-ton steel mill projects, the Russians decided to assist India. On 2 February 1955, the Soviet Union announced that it would build Bhilai Steel Plant—the first plant in the public sector to be built and also the first one that was being installed in India under India's first Five Year Plan. In comparison to the English and West Germans, the Russians had lower construction costs, less operating problems and the number of technical staff was fewer. Bhilai cost \$275 million. The Russians accepted the repayment of the loan in rupees at the rate of 2.5% repayable over a period of twelve years. Here is an important thing to be noted, Soviet agreements, unlike the capitalist countries, stipulate that all repayments could be made in the Indian currency. The Russian acceptance was followed by Britain and Germany for building other plants at Durgapur and Rourkela respectively. The German one cost \$375 million and the British Durgapur amounted to \$290 million. However, the main point of the USSR's huge economic investment was to create an excellent public image of the Soviet Union in the Indian mind. Therefore, when the Germans and the English were hesitant to invest in these projects, the Russians jumped into pick up the best bargain; the Russian plant had made an extremely favorable impression on both the government and the masses in India because of their favorable credit terms, speedy completion of the first phase shipping at 12,500 tons of rail to Sudan (the first export of the Indian Steel industry). It was the first gigantic project that the Russians had decided to build in South Asia.

²⁷⁴ V. I. Lenin, *The National Liberation Movement in East* (Moscow, 1957), p. 248.

²⁷⁵ M. I. Goldman, *Soviet Foreign Aid* (New York: Praeger Inc., 1967), p. 108.

Along with the economic maneuvering, the Soviet political moves toward India were also significant.

From the very beginning, India had the opportunity to have a seat in the United Nations Security Council. However, it needed a promoter. While Nehru was negotiating for the economic aid, Washington offered to join the United Nations Security Council as a permanent member in August, 1950.²⁷⁶ America's interest in seeing India join the Security Council was motivated by the emergence of the People's Republic of China as a regional power. As a counter realpolitik, Soviet Premier Nikolai Bulganin offered Nehru of a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council in 1955.²⁷⁷ According to A. G. Noorani, a major scholar of modern Indian history and politics, Nehru denied the Soviet offer as he realized the offer was just a 'feeler to test India'.²⁷⁸ Both the country's offer he denied in the name of following the ideology of non-align movement.²⁷⁹

The Soviet mediation between India and Pakistan became obvious after the Indo-Pak war in 1965. The role played by Moscow during the Tashkent Peace Conference²⁸⁰ following the Indo-Pak War in 1965 gave the Soviet Union a diplomatic lead in this sub-continent. Gradually India tilted toward the Soviet influence.

When Mrs. Indira Gandhi was elected as a Prime Minister in 1966, *The Pravda* expressed the hope that as a daughter of Nehru, she would implement his ideas and contribute to the further development of the Soviet-India relations.²⁸¹ In a congratulation message to Mrs. Gandhi, Prime Minister Kosygin wrote:

We are convinced that the Government headed by you will follow the road of Jawaharlal Nehru and implement his ideas... I would like to express the assurance that as the head of the Government of India you will contribute to the further development of friendship and cooperation between India and the Soviet Union.²⁸²

²⁷⁶ 'This Day That Age', *The Hindu*, September 28, 2005.

²⁷⁷ *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, second series, vol. 29 (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund 2001)

²⁷⁸ *ibid.*

²⁷⁹ Recently, Nehru has been criticized for his culpability of denying both US and Soviet offer to join the United Nations Security Council as a permanent member, especially in 2002 when well-documented Soviet offer of 1955 was publicly discussed.

²⁸⁰ Tashkent Agreement accord was signed by India's Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistan's President Ayub Khan on January 10, 1966, ending the 17-day war between Pakistan and India of August–September 1965. The agreement was mediated by Soviet premier Aleksey Kosygin, who had invited both the parties to Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan. A cease-fire had been secured by the United Nations Security Council on September 22, 1965 and both the parties agreed to withdraw all armed forces to positions held before August 5, 1965; to restore diplomatic relations; and to discuss economic, refugee, and other questions.

²⁸¹ *The Pravda*, January 28, 1966.

²⁸² Hemen Ray, *op.cit.*, p.6.

In reply to Kosygin, Mrs. Indira Gandhi wrote:

The Government and the people of India also entertain the warmest feelings of deep and immutable friendship toward the Government and the people of the Soviet Union ...Friendship and active cooperation between our two countries serve as a bulwark of peace...we are deeply grateful for the generous help received by us from your Government for this purpose.²⁸³

However, despite the Soviet assistance from mid-fifties and promise for further aid, India did not give up US friendship because the US 'preferential treatment' was really enjoyable within a bipolar world. Therefore, along with the Soviet friendship, India tried to hold the extended helping hand of the United States in parallel. That's why; Indian Government devalued the Rupee in June 1966 for the sake of Indo-US trade mobilization without prior consultation with the Soviets, which Moscow regarded as 'an Indian capitulation' to the American business interests.' Consequently, Moscow warned India by saying '...every dollar is given to further American interests.' Moscow also was displeased with the agreement of the Indo-US Foundation.

Nehru died in 1964 and the Soviets considered this event as a great loss for Indo-Soviet relations. Post-Nehru Indian National Congress became disorganized and the USSR was anxious whether Congress could maintain its influence among the masses. In the meantime, the right wing of Indian politics has steadily emerged and this group repeatedly was putting pressure on Gandhi's policies to bend toward the west. The right wing repeatedly questioned the necessity of 'protected industries' of the state sector and agrarian reforms. Once Mrs. Gandhi conceded that the 'reactionary forces' were struggling to 'retain their position' in India.²⁸⁴ When Gandhi opened 'protected industries' for the foreign capital and let the American companies build fertilizer factories in India, the Soviets expressed their concern. Moreover, the ascendancy of Morarji Desai as a deputy Prime Minister shocked the Soviet leaders and they thought Indo-Soviet relations were going to be jeopardized by the growth of 'reactionary forces' and the Indian Government's increasing soft attitude toward Washington.

Indian's double standard treatment, which India claimed as their neutral policy led Moscow think a while. Therefore, Moscow took a very critical stance toward India in the early seventies. As a warning to India, Soviet Union considered the idea of supplying arms to Pakistan. Thereafter, Moscow gave a fresh attention to Pakistan by offering arms. As a part of this game, in June 1966 a Pakistani Military Mission led by Air Marshal Nur Khan paid a visit to Moscow to explore the possibility of Soviet arms assistance to Pakistan. After a dinner, Marshal Nur Khan said, 'We succeeded in

²⁸³ *The Pravda*, January 20, 1966.

²⁸⁴ Hemen Ray, *op.cit.* p.6.

developing so rapidly a sense of mutual confidence and understanding between our two sides.²⁸⁵ The Soviet Marshal Zuckharov also said that Soviet-Pakistan relations would be further consolidated as a result of Marshal Khan's visit.²⁸⁶ However, the Pakistani Military Mission failed to sign any agreement with the Soviet Union.

The ongoing development of Soviet-Pakistan relations tensed India and the reported Soviet decision to supply arms to Pakistan sent a Shockwave throughout India. The Indian press reported that the Soviet Union signed with Pakistan an arms supply agreement and the delivery of Soviet arms would begin in early 1967. But the Soviet news agency TASS denied Indian claims and described the meeting as 'a purely goodwill visit.' However, the Soviet reply could not satisfy Indian people. Faced with severe Indian reaction Moscow at last invited Mrs. Gandhi to visit the Soviet Union to discuss on the matter.

In July 1966 Mrs. Gandhi arrived in Moscow to discuss Soviet-India relations. During her visit, she said:

The Soviet-India friendship was not a mere fact. It is an important factor in international relations. The tactical adjustments of policies should not be construed as a deviation from the settled policies of friendship with the Soviet Union and non-alignment.²⁸⁷

During Gandhi's visit in Moscow, Prime Minister Kosygin expressed his dissatisfaction by pointing out that the extension of the public sector in Indian economy was the 'determining factor' in economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and India. He also advised Mrs. Gandhi to follow her father's policy of planned development and non-alignment. About India's fear of Soviet arms supply to Pakistan, Kosygin assured Gandhi that his country has no intension to give arms to Islamabad and the efforts of improving Russo-Pak relation should not be interpreted as a change in the Soviet policy toward India. Kosygin also told Gandhi that his country wanted 'the best relation' with India. To a group of Indian news reporters, Kosygin told that he was 'confident' and 'convinced' that India would continue to strengthen the public sector and the policy of non-alignment. On the Other hand, Gandhi ensured Kosygin that her government was firmly and unalterably committed to the policy of non-alignment and establishment of a socialist society in India. However, she said:

...in our march toward socialism, we do not want to be prisoners of dogma...we may sometimes pause, to take a breath, we may sometimes lean on a friend, we may sometimes have to take hard choices and make

²⁸⁵ *ibid*, p.4.

²⁸⁶ *ibid*.

²⁸⁷ Hemen Ray, *op.cit.*, p.6.

adjustments in certain circumstances at a particular point of time... but whatever adjustments we make, the strategic objective in our struggle against poverty and on behalf of socialism is unchanging.²⁸⁸

Later in December 1966, Moscow and India signed an economic and technical cooperation agreement providing a Soviet credit of 300,000,000 Rubles for the establishment of twelve industrial projects during the fourth Five Year Plan.²⁸⁹ In May 1967 the Soviet Union granted India a new credit of 500,000,000 Rubles and also promised 200,000,000 Rubles worth of agricultural implements to set up.²⁹⁰ In October 1967 Mrs. Indira Gandhi stopped over Moscow on her way to Poland and met Kosygin and Gromyko for talks on Indo-Soviet relations. At the end of their discussion, Kosygin told a group of Indian newsmen, '...I must say that our talks were frank and friendly.' On the other hand Mrs. Gandhi said, '...I think that we have had fruitful, friendly and very useful talks.'²⁹¹ In January 1968, Moscow announced that Prime Minister Kosygin accepted a one year old Indian invitation and he would be paying visits to India in the coming occasion of the Republic Day.

However, the Soviet Union did not discard relations with Pakistan completely though in April 1967 Pakistan praised China's Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, which shocked Soviet Union. The USSR expressed her unhappiness for Pakistan's friendship with China and condemned Pakistan for echoing Chinese arguments. But to continue pressure on India lest it should fall in the hands of capitalist economy, the USSR continued to exchange views with Islamabad in the official level. In May 1967, Pakistani Foreign Minister Pirzada visited Moscow to discuss Soviet military supplies to his country. He met President Alexander Podgorny, Prime Minister Kosygin and other high officials. Thus a joint communiqué issued at the end of the meeting, which said that 'both the Soviet Union and Pakistan were satisfied with their mutual relations and look forward to their further development in political, economic and other fields.' Four months later, Pakistani President Ayub Khan visited Moscow to talk with Soviet leaders. There he complained that Soviet arms to India were creating a growing military imbalance in the sub-continent.

Due to the Soviet attitude mentioned above, the US perceptions of its South Asian interests were changed again in the early 1960s. The US government resented Pakistan's deepening relations with the Communist China at a time when Beijing was widely considered the US most implacable foe. The Sino-Pakistan ties were

²⁸⁸ *ibid*, p.6.

²⁸⁹ *ibid*, p.09.

²⁹⁰ *ibid*, p.12.

²⁹¹ *The Hindu*, October 9, 1967.

considered irreconcilable with the US global containment interests. At the same time, the Sino-Indian border war in 1962 dramatically changed Washington's assessments of US interests in India. It now regarded India as a potential quasi-ally against Communist China. Therefore, the United States supplied 12 Nos. C-130 Hercules Transport Plane to India so that the latter could continue to send supplies to help her people living in the Himalayan hill tracts. Not only that, to make South Asia safer for anti-Communism, the Kennedy administration (1961-1963) perused India and Pakistan to come to terms over Kashmir soon after the war of 1962. Kennedy first defined Indo-US relation as 'special partnership'. The Johnson administration (1963-69) also gave top priority on a strategic partnership with India. During the Kennedy and the Johnson administration, the US policy makers realized that a prolonged hostility between India and Pakistan might pave the way of Soviet mediation and might destroy the possibility of the US manipulation in India. In fact, John F. Kennedy was generally a pragmatist in foreign policy, and therefore, he decided to continue the Eisenhower's policy by funding Nehru's Third Five-Year Plan (1962-67) in order to make it more difficult for the Soviets to have influence in South Asia. For the same reason, he provided military aid to India during the Sino-Indian War of 1962. During an interview with Walter Cronkite he said:

Chinese Communists have been moving ahead the last 10 years. India has been making some progress, but if India does not succeed with her 450 million people, if she can't make freedom work, then people around the world are going to determine, particularly in the underdeveloped world, that the only way they can develop their resources is through the Communist system.²⁹²

According to *the Financial Express*²⁹³ former CIA official Bruce Riedel in his latest book entitled *JFK's Forgotten Crisis: Tibet, the CIA and the Sino-Indian War* wrote that anticipating an attack on India by China after the 1962 war, the then John F. Kennedy administration was planning a \$ 500 million military aid package for India including help to increase the arms production and creation of six mountain divisions. According to the book, the package, which was shelved due to Kennedy's assassination, also included an aid of \$120 million to be equally split between the United States and Britain. To explain the aim of the package, Riedel wrote in his book: 'The first two missions were to assist India developing its capabilities, and the third was 'joint American British military exercise in India.' Therefore, in 1963,

²⁹² Interview between John F. Kennedy and Walter Cronkite on Foreign Policy Challenges to the US, 22 October 1960 (see: *The Washington Post*, October 22, 1960); See also: *The Pentagon Papers*, Gravel Edition, Volume 2, p. 799.

²⁹³ *The Financial Express*, October 15, 2015.

American, British, Australian and Canadian pilots were trained in India on bombers and jet fighters; six Indian mountain divisions were being equipped by American and British arms accordingly, and a robust dialogue was underway on further military co-operation.²⁹⁴ However, the US offer to provide \$ 500 million over five years did not satisfy Nehru because he wanted \$ 1.3 billion. After Kennedy's assassination, the new administration led by President Lyndon B. Johnson postponed the proposed military aid package due to heavy pressure from Pakistani lobby. President Johnson, thereafter, decided to review the proposals for several months. He wanted to approve the package-deal and scheduled a date on May 28, 1964 for the final Indo-US meeting at the White House. Unfortunately, the day before the final meeting Nehru died and the Indian team, who had come to Washington to negotiate the agreement left. Once again the decision was postponed. Riedel wrote, "...That the Indians never signed an arms deal with the United States was a 'lost opportunity' in Indo-American relations."²⁹⁵ Under the new Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri India increased its defense co-operation with Russia.

The Indo-US relation again became warm when Indira Gandhi paid a visit to Washington in 1966 within two months of taking over as India's PM. Then the US President Lyndon B. Johnson was much impressed by her. The visit helped India secure more food and development aid from the United States. However, the ties between the two countries went downhill because of Johnson's tight-fisted attitude to PL 480 food program and New Delhi's refusal to support America in the Vietnam War. During the following US administration, the Indo-US relations reached its worst.

2.3 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979: US preferential treatment in Pakistan

The Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 made a quick re-shift in US diplomacy toward South Asia. This event led the Carter (1977-81) and the Reagan (1981-89) administration recognizing Pakistan as a 'Frontline state' in the armed effort to prevent the consolidation of the Communist power in Kabul. The US President Jimmy Carter visited Pakistan only after a month of Soviet invasion for the purpose of coordinating with the Pakistanis a joint response. Therefore, nonproliferation became a distant second to the removal of the Soviet Red Army. The Carter administration also used waiver provisions to restore economic assistance program that had been suspended because of Pakistan's violation of US nonproliferation legislation. Not only had that, during this period, the United States overlooked Pakistan's nuclear activities

²⁹⁴ *ibid.*

²⁹⁵ *ibid.*

as the Soviets remained in Afghanistan. Moreover, the Reagan administration decided to train up and equipped Afghan Mujahedin through the integrated approach of CIA and ISI. For this purpose, the United States launched covert operations.²⁹⁶ The supplying of billions of dollars in arms to the Afghan Mujahedeen militants was one of the CIA's longest and most expensive covert operations.²⁹⁷ The CIA provided assistance to the fundamentalist insurgents through the Pakistani secret services, Inter Services Intelligence (ISI). This was designed under a program called Operation Cyclone. According to *the New Republic*, the CIA had fewer than 10 operatives in the region. At least 3 billion in US dollars were funneled into Pakistan to train and equip Afghan troops with weapons.²⁹⁸ Pakistan's secret service was used as an intermediary for most of these activities to disguise the sources of support for the resistance. According to Pakistani Brigadier Mohammad Yusuf:

The scarcity of CIA personnel was because 'a cardinal rule of Pakistan's policy' was that 'no Americans ever become involved with the distribution of funds or arms once they arrived' in Pakistan. 'No Americans ever trained or had direct contact with the Mujahedeen, and no American official ever went inside Afghanistan.'²⁹⁹

It is worth mentioning here that during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the US National Security Advisor was Zbigniew Brzezinski.³⁰⁰ In 1997, he gave an interview to CNN when he explained the Carter administration's South Asian policy in the context of Soviet invasion as follows:

We immediately launched a twofold process when we heard that the Soviets had entered Afghanistan. The first involved direct reactions and sanctions focused on the Soviet Union, and both the State Department and the National Security Council prepared long lists of sanctions to be adopted, of steps to be taken to increase the international costs to the Soviet Union of their actions. And the second course of action led to my going to Pakistan a month or so after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, for the purpose of coordinating with the Pakistanis a joint response, the purpose of which would be to make the Soviets bleed for as much and as long as is possible.³⁰¹

Pakistan had embraced Carter's policy, perhaps for two reasons: firstly, to neutralize US strong pressure of imposing NPT. Secondly, as for Pakistan, the Soviet war with Islamist Mujahidin was viewed as retaliation for the Soviet Union's long unconditional support of regional rival, India, notably during the 1965 and the 1971

²⁹⁶ General Akhtar Abdur Rahman, *Silent Soldier: the Man behind the Afghan Jihad* (Karachi, Sindh: Jang Publishers, 1991), p. 106.

²⁹⁷ *The Time*, May 13, 2003.

²⁹⁸ *The New Republic*, 'Back to Front' by Peter Beinart, October 8, 2001.

²⁹⁹ Peter Bergen, *Holy War* (New York: Free Press, 2001), p.6.

³⁰⁰ 10th National security advisor of the United States. He was a Democrat.

³⁰¹ 'Full Text of Interview', archived from the original on 2000-08-29, *CNN.com*, retrieved October 2, 2014.

wars, which led the loss of East Pakistan .³⁰² Therefore, the then Pakistani military ruler General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq called for a meeting of senior military members and technocrats of his military government, including the Chief of Army Staff General Khalid Muhammad Arif and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Muhammad Sharif to lead a specialized civil-military team to formulate a geo-strategy to counter the Soviet aggression. At this meeting, the Director General of the ISI at that time, Lieutenant General Akhtar Abdur Rahman advocated for an idea of covert operations in Afghanistan by arming the Islamic extremists or Mujahedeen.³⁰³ The Carter administration's policy makers accepted the idea and thus, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq started accepting financial aid from the Western powers³⁰⁴ to aid the Mujahedeen. The next US President Ronald Reagan increased aid for the Mujahedeen through Zia's Pakistan significantly.³⁰⁵ President Reagan realized that with the increasing rapidity of international communications, enhanced global trade, and the rising world-wide movement of people, many issues previously considered 'domestic' became subject to 'diplomatic negotiation'. Once in 1981, in an address at Notre Dame University President Reagan stated: '...the West won't contain Communism, it will transcend Communism.' Therefore, he rejected the compliance in the Cold War *status quo* that had emerged during the Nixon, the Ford, and the Carter presidencies and strongly advocated opposition to Communist-supported regimes wherever they existed. For this purpose, Reagan reorganized his own administration also. The Secretary of State, George Shultz, occupied a prominent position in Reagan's approach to creating and implementing foreign policy. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and Director of Central Intelligence William Casey played key roles in the foreign policy arena. During his two terms in office, Reagan successfully advocated increasing the Defense Department budget by 35% and a lion's share of this budget, he spent in aiding Soviet-backed regime in Kabul, anti-communist forces in Angola, the Contras in Nicaragua and in Grenada to hinder installation of a Marxist regime. Specialists think this flow of money and the Carter-Reagan administration's waiver provisions to restore Pakistan's economic assistance program helped the latter develops its nuclear weapons program.

However, the United States had quickly shifted its South Asia policy and pushed the nonproliferation policy to a distant second not only for mere cold war hostility with

³⁰² General Akhtar Abdur Rahman, *op.cit.*, p. 106.

³⁰³ *ibid.*

³⁰⁴ Covert operations were financed by CIA along with the British M16 and SAS through Pakistani ISI.

³⁰⁵ Ralph G. Carter and James M. Scott, *Choosing to Lead: Understanding Congressional Foreign Policy Entrepreneurs* (USA: Duke University Press, 2009), p. 122.

the USSR; but the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan extremely risked its very national interests in the gulf area. The Soviet presence in Afghanistan had given the USSR at gaining access to the Indian Ocean by coming to an arrangement with Pakistan. Because, the Soviet air base outside of Kandahar was, according to Robert Kaplan, '30 minutes flying time by strike aircraft or naval bomber' to the Persian Gulf.³⁰⁶ It 'became the heart of the southernmost concentration of the Soviet soldier' in the 300-year history of Russian expansion in central Asia.³⁰⁷

The Soviet invasion in Afghanistan also helped develop the Indo-US relations, which had been strained after India's nuclear tests in 1974. This was because, despite being a close ally of the Soviet Union, India refused to support the Afghan war.³⁰⁸

2.4 The US role as a sole superpower: India and Pakistan lost bargaining opportunity

On 11 September 1990, on the eve of the gulf war, the US President George Bush (senior) declared: "A New World Order can emerge. A new era, free from the threat of terror." This declaration gave a clear message to all that the diplomacy of the United States was going to take a new shape. The outbreak of the gulf war and the subsequent US-led allied move against Iraq to vacate the annexed territory of Kuwait and its quick success proved that America has emerged as a sole super power in military terms with no one to challenge it. This was possible due to the decline of the USSR and inability of opposing the consensus built up under the leadership of the United States. That's why on January 28, 1992 George Bush was pompously able to declare: '....The United States is the leader of the west that has become the leader of the world.'³⁰⁹ The end of Soviet-Afghan war also ended the significance of Pakistan's collaboration, which the United States had to purchase at the cost of overlooking the latter's nuclear weapons program. However, the United States, as a sole superpower, did not forget the significance of imposing nonproliferation legislation over the South Asian countries. Hence, after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989, Bush administration (1989-93) finally acknowledged widespread evidence of Pakistan's nuclear program and strongly imposed nonproliferation legislation over both India and Pakistan. For instance, in 1992, Senator John Glenn wrote:

....Shockingly, testimony by Secretary of State James Baker this year revealed that the administration has continued to allow Pakistan to purchase

³⁰⁶ Robert D. Kaplan, *Soldiers of God: With Islamic Warriors in Afghanistan and Pakistan* (New York: Vintage Departures, 2001), p. 186

³⁰⁷ *ibid*

³⁰⁸ 'India to Provide Aid to Government of Afghanistan', *The New York Times*, December 5, 2011.

³⁰⁹ A. P. Venkateswaran, 'New Paradigms in Indo-US Relations', *World Focus*, Vol. 143-44, p.41.

munitions through commercial transactions, despite the explicit, unambiguous intent of Congress that ‘no military equipment or technology shall be sold or transferred to Pakistan.’³¹⁰

Therefore, President George Bush and the Secretary of State James Baker decided that the US would cut off foreign aid to Pakistan because of its nuclear weapons program. Pakistan had been a major recipient of the foreign aid during the Soviet Afghan war, when the US channeled support to the Mujahidin through it, but as soon as the Soviet forces began withdrawing from Afghanistan in February, it was decided that aid would be provided for 1989, but not for 1990.³¹¹ Not only had that, in a letter handed to Pakistani Foreign Minister Sahibzada Yaqub Khan, the United States demanded that Pakistan would destroy the cores of its nuclear weapons, thus disabling the weapons.³¹² Pakistan did not do so. The United States then imposed sanctions on Pakistan such as cutting off US aid to it, due to the nuclear weapons program. However, it softened the blow by waiving some of the restrictions. Similarly, the United States gave pressure on India to sign CTBT but in September 10, 1996, India refused to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) banning nuclear testing.³¹³ Indian political scientist and nuclear critic Kanti Bajpai later said: ‘Whatever Indians say officially, there is a status attached to the bomb. The five permanent members of the UN Security Council are all nuclear powers.’³¹⁴ Again, as the cold war hostile era ended, China’s significance was felt vigor to policy personnel of the United States for the latter’s economic advancement. However, after the economic reforms of India in 1990; the US business concerns became seriously interested in India as a potential trading and investment partner. The breakup of the Soviet Union was also helpful in promoting better Washington-New Delhi bilateral ties. Moreover, after 1991, the US officials might note that both India and Russia occupy a position of predominance in their respective regions—Russia in the former Soviet space, and India in South Asia. Both recognize each other’s important position in their respective regions. However, the Indo-US relations were steadily becoming warmer during Afghan war because India did not happy with the Soviet presence in Afghanistan and gradually was changing its pro-Soviet stands to pro-US policy. By contrast, the US view of Pakistan becomes increasingly negative. The Bush administration justified its negative approach to Pakistan mention the following reasons:

³¹⁰ *The International Herald Tribune*, June 26, 1992.

³¹¹ *The New Yorker*, March 29, 1993, P.4.

³¹² *ibid.*

³¹³ *The Federation of American Scientists*, December 18, 2007.

³¹⁴ *The New York Times*, April 05, 2003.

- a. Pakistan's military dictatorship
- b. Supporting Afghan-Taliban
- c. Collecting ballistic missiles from China and North Korea

2.3 The Proximity of 3rd World War in 1971: preferential treatment to Pakistan

1971 is marked as one of the most significant years not only in the chronology of continental *history* but in the world history due to the complex of world politics. In this year an outbreak of mass-movement in response to the two decades of Pakistani oppression turned into a liberation war in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) as the former started the world's biggest mass-killing³¹⁵ in the name of 'Operation Search Light' there. According to the *New York Times*,

“...Of course, no country, not even the United States, can prevent massacres everywhere in the world— but this was a close American ally, which prized its warm relationship with the United States and used American weapons and military supplies against its own people.”³¹⁶

Again, it is the darkest year in the history of US diplomacy because the United States not only closed her eyes in the context of Pakistani brutality, but also was beckoning the latter to continue its course in reward of helping US 'China Opening'.³¹⁷ The spot of the 'diplomatic blindness' in the forehead of the Nixon Government, perhaps, will never be removed as the United States took a deceived role before the world: she supplied military aid³¹⁸ to Pakistan, which was being used illegally against a nation of 'freedom loving people'; on the other hand, she declared 'relief aid' for the 'Bengali refugees' in India. According to Rohde³¹⁹, the sentiment of the Bangalee people toward the US role in 1971 was as follows: 'You are trying to help people to shoot us with one hand and then feed the survivors.'³²⁰ However, India, and later the USSR, took a firm stand against Pakistani brutality. They supported the 'Bangladesh Liberation War'. Gradually, India-USSR-Bangladesh line up was developed and the two line-ups locked in a diplomatic clash even in the debates in the UNO. The whole

³¹⁵ Except the two world wars, no other event in the world history caused as many human tolls as in the liberation war of Bangladesh within the shortest time. Within nine months, the Pakistani military and their collaborators killed more than three million Bangalee people in Bangladesh.

³¹⁶ Gari J. Bass, 'Nixon and Kissinger's Forgotten Shame', *The New York Times*, September 29, 2013.

³¹⁷ Gari J. Bass, a leading columnist wrote in *The New York Times*, '...Nixon and Kissinger were not just motivated by dispassionate realpolitik, weighing Pakistan's help with the secret opening to China or India's pro-Soviet leanings.' (see: Gari J. Bass, *op.cit.*).

³¹⁸ According to GAO Report, the United States supplied arms to Pakistan worth \$7.5 million in 1971. (see: *Relief Problems in Bangladesh*, US Government Printing Press, Washington D.C., 1972, p. 28).

³¹⁹ Ex-medical activist of SEATO Cholera Research Laboratory, Dhaka in 1971. Rohde was invited by the US Government to express his experiences during 1971 in Dhaka before the Committee on the Judiciary, the Ninety Second Congress, Second Session, February 2, 1972.

³²⁰ *Relief Problems in Bangladesh*, p. 28.

world became divided into two on ‘Bangladesh Issue’ and in December 1971, the world reached on the shore of a ‘third world war’. American Journalist Jack Anderson said, “Richard Nixon brought the United States to the edge of another world war. His actions were deliberate; he operated in secret; and he lied to the American people about his actions.”³²¹

Let us see, how the US policy toward South Asia was in 1971.

In recent years, we have got lots of declassified documents of the United States among which, the transcripts of Nixon-Kissinger tape record will help us conclude that the US policy in South Asia was drastically changed during the Nixon administration. Why did he shift US prolonged South Asia policy? There goes a story that US secretary of the State Henry Kissinger had a strong influence over Nixon and Kissinger conveyed a strong anti-Indian sentiment. It is Kissinger, for whose interest, the United States u-turned her ‘two and a half decades’ of South Asian policy and gave up ‘preferential treatment to India’. Behind the drastic change, perhaps, there were three reasons: international situation, US domestic politics and personal intention of both Nixon and Kissinger.

While Nixon took his office, cold war between the US and the USSR had become deepened due to severe international crises (i.e. the Korean War, the Cuban missile issue, the Vietnam War, the Arab-Israel War etc.). China emerged as an ‘Asian power’, especially, after Sino-Indian war in 1962; it was increasingly becoming ‘key factor’ in handling Asian conflicts. Therefore, the United States felt ‘China gain’ would be more valuable than ‘non-aligned’ ‘Soviet-tilted’ India. The Sino-Soviet ideological conflict in 1967 and the Sino-Pak warm relation after the Indo-Pak War in 1965 paved the way of the Sino-American relations. Kissinger believed that the fear of Sino-American collusion would keep the Soviets in line and force the Soviets to restrain the Indians and avert war on the subcontinent. He also thought that the Sino-American bond would be helpful to contain the potential risks of the regional conflict expanding into a superpower conflict due to entangling alliances and obligations. Nixon thought, his triangular diplomacy and ‘hotline’ diplomacy with Moscow could be able to make up ‘India loss’ and ensure ‘balance of power’ in South Asia. Moreover, Nixon’s administration was then making preparations to Nixon’s 1972 visit to China. Yahiya was a vital go-between for the United States in providing a diplomatic back channel for Nixon’s trip to China, and the Nixon Administration did

³²¹ Richard M. Nixon, *The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (New York: Touchstone, 1978), p.530.

not want to anger a country that was still sore over the 1962 Sino-Indian War by favoring India over Pakistan.

Secondly, Richard M. Nixon became US president by defeating a democratic candidate. It is widely believed that the Indo-American voters worked for democrats by the persuasion of Indian PM Indira Gandhi. Moreover, in the bureaucracy of the United States, there were many officials who were fond of Kennedy; and therefore, they were not easy with Nixon's policy toward South Asia. Although Nixon and Kissinger directed policy during the crisis, they used the State Department to send messages through official channels and to build a public relations case for action in the UN.³²² The policies partially grew out of inherent distrust for the 'bureaucracy' at the State Department. The bureaucratic disturbance in implementing Nixon administration's policy is also obvious in Kissinger's remarks in his *White House Papers*. There he mentioned that he wanted to preserve the special channel to the People's Republic of China (PRC) but he saw three obstacles to handling the situation in South Asia: the policy of India, public debates in the United States, and the indiscipline of US bureaucracy.³²³

Thirdly, Nixon and Kissinger's policy perceptions were influenced by their personal experiences with Indira Gandhi and Yahiya Khan. The White House was unwilling to dismiss Yahiya's role because the latter was an honest broker in the Sino-American rapprochement. Some scholars think that Nixon was a racially and religiously prejudiced man who once said of both Pakistan and India: 'Unwashed heathen. They're picking at each other over there.'³²⁴ The Nixon White House tapes reveal that he associated India with the hippie counterculture. However, he would have preferred a strongman like Yahiya over a country he associated with heathens and dirty filthy hippies because of his conservative outlook. Nixon used to travel a lot and during his visits to South Asia, first as a Vice President and later as a private citizen, he enjoyed the Pakistani Generals' hospitality. Indira Gandhi showed no interest in talking to Nixon when he visited India as a private citizen.³²⁵ Indians, he believed, were cooled to him and did not accord him the respect he deserved because on both occasions, he noted, the Indians had received him with minimum of appropriate protocol. Nixon visited India again in July 16, 1969. When the Air Force One carrying

³²² Geoffrey Warner, 'Nixon, Kissinger and the breakup of Pakistan, 1971', *International Affairs*, Vol. 81, May 2005, p. 1098.

³²³ Henry A. Kissinger, *White House Years* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1979), pp. 842-918.

³²⁴ *Nixon tapes*, Executive Office Building, Conversation No. 309-1, December 24, 1971 12:00 – 1:37 p.m., retrieved on 12/10/2014.

³²⁵ Nixon visited India as a private citizen in 1964 and 1967.

the Presidential party landed in New Delhi, the public welcome was none of the overwhelming enthusiasm president Eisenhower received ten years earlier, according to a *New York Times* report dated 1 August 1969. Of course, he formed his opinions on the basis of how he was treated by the top leadership in both the countries.³²⁶ He never forgot the respect he got in Pakistan and wrote to Ayub Khan how grateful he was for all the courtesies extended to him. On the other hand, White House saw duplicity on the part of Indira Gandhi after she visited Washington, DC in early November 1971 and claimed that India had no desire for war with Pakistan.³²⁷

These three reasons made the US preferential treatment in Delhi cool down on the eve of the eighties. Kissinger's memoirs and nearly every other account of the US response to the South Asian crisis indicate that Nixon administration's 'tilt' to the dictatorial and arguably genocidal regime of Yahya Khan was due to anti-Indian bias. Its claim that the US 'saved' West Pakistan by challenging India and the Soviet Union was actually propaganda to cover Nixon administration's diplomatic failure.

In fact, Washington used to prefer India against Pakistan with a view to countering newly emerged regional power China and to restrain India from becoming a communist country. However, Indo-China war in 1962 and Indo-Pak war in 1965 amalgamated the previous security calculations in South Asia. Thereafter, India became increasingly closer to the Soviet Union to tame so-called Soviet-Pak friendly relations and Pakistan moved to China to hold back Washington's preferential treatment in Delhi. To overthrow Soviet distrust over India, Indira Gandhi started to visit communist countries in the eastern Europe and make trade agreements with them. Thus, the United States temporarily lost her bargaining power in South Asia and turned back to Pakistan. Pakistan took the opportunity and in the hope of taking over her inborn rival India, she arbitrarily managed to open China for the United States. Pakistani dictator General Ayub Khan masterfully used pro-Chinese popular Bangalee leader Moulana Bhasani in this purpose and sent him China to convince Mao Tse Tung. Thus, the US-China-Pakistan line emerged in Asia, which was US long cherished desire. Nixon was grateful to Yahya Khan for the key role he played in the historic US opening to Communist China. President Nixon was so pleased with Yahya Khan that on April 28, 1971, he wrote by hand in a memo to his Secretary of

³²⁶ However, Dennis Kux in his book, *Estranged Democracies*, pointed out that 'This treatment presumably did nothing to lessen Nixon's preference for Pakistan, the erstwhile ally of the United States, and his dislike for India and its policy of nonalignment.' However, Nixon began his regime with a determination to maintain good relations with both India and Pakistan. The open tilt towards Pakistan came later.

³²⁷ The tapes and communications with the Soviets demonstrate that Nixon and Kissinger believed that the war started on November 21, 1971, in contrast to the date most often cited as the start of the war, December 3, 1971, when Pakistan attacked forward Indian airbases.

State H. Kissinger on 'Policy Options toward Pakistan': "To all hands. Don't squeeze Yahiya at this time."³²⁸ Not only had that, in spite of Blood's telegram, Nixon declared to a Pakistani delegation that 'Yahiya is a good friend.' To give legitimacy of Yahiya's brutal genocide named 'Operation Search Light' Nixon explained that he 'understands the anguish of the decisions, which [Yahiya] had to make'. Due to Yahiya's importance to the China initiative and his friendship with Nixon and Kissinger, Nixon declared that the US 'would not do anything to complicate the situation for President Yahiya or to embarrass him.'³²⁹ Nixon believed that Washington's support for Pakistan against India was important to their goal of restructuring US relations with Moscow and Beijing.

However, as we've mentioned earlier, from the emergence up to 1971, India always enjoyed her non-aligned position because both the United States and the Soviet Union were given India a preferential treatment. The US motive behind giving India priority was to contain China as well as restrain India becoming another communist country. But US long cherished desire was to hold China under her umbrella, which she lost in the fifties. Therefore, when she succeeded to reopen China, preferential treatment to India lost its significance. In fact, the Nixon Government purchased 'China Opening' at the cost of 'losing India.' Although the Nixon Government gave up preferential treatment to India and tilted toward Pakistan, she was fully aware of the consequences of this shifting. Therefore, Nixon Government used back channels to exploit Soviet influence to contain the Indians. In his 1978 memoir, President Richard M. Nixon confessed and claimed:

By using diplomatic signals and behind-the-scenes pressures we had been able to save West Pakistan from the imminent threat of Indian aggression and domination. We had also once again avoided a major confrontation with the Soviet Union.³³⁰

The White House initially believed that India wanted to avoid conflict and argued for several months that the US and the Soviet Union had 'parallel interests' in trying to prevent an Indo-Pakistani war lest this should expand a perceived superpower conflict. Initially, the Soviets were convinced by this theme of 'parallel interests'.³³¹ The theme

³²⁸ *The White House and Pakistan: Secret Declassified Documents, 1969-1974* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004), p.241.

³²⁹ NPMP, NSC Files, Country Files: Middle East, Box 625.

³³⁰ Richard M. Nixon, *op.cit.*, p.530.

³³¹ Moscow remained convinced with U.S.'s theme of 'parallel interest' until Indira Gandhi's visit. In September 29, 1971 Indira Gandhi told at a function in Moscow University: "...When millions of people are pushed into another territory, jeopardizing its normal life, its plans for the future, and it's very security, it is obvious that peace is in peril." During her visit Gandhi met three top Soviet leaders: Leonid Brezhnev, Alexis Kosygin and Nicolay Podgorny. Then Brezhnev observes that there is an element of national liberation present in the

of ‘parallel interests’ also entered into the Kissinger-Dobrynin backchannel.³³² Before his secret trip to China, in July 1971, Kissinger, for an example, at Nixon’s request, invited Dobrynin to the presidential retreat at Camp David on June 10, 1971, to explore new horizon of US-Soviet relations. Soviet ambassador Dobrynin accepted the invitation and met Kissinger. During the meeting, Kissinger claimed that Washington had ‘reliable information’ that India ‘has still not rejected the idea of providing armed assistance to East Pakistan.’³³³ He informed Dobrynin that he had been instructed by President Nixon to ‘visit Delhi’ but call Indira Gandhi’s attention to the fact that the US takes a very serious view of this dangerous Indian course of action and the serious consequences associated with it. He also warned that in the event of an Indo-Pakistani war, the US would ‘cut off’ all future economic aid to India. In his report to the Kremlin, Dobrynin mentioned:

In short, Kissinger summarized, the US Government is for maintaining the territorial status quo between India and Pakistan while at the same time seeking a political solution to the problems that have arisen...Once again, Kissinger had stressed the parallel interests of the US and the USSR, and made it clear that the President [considered] the confidential exchange of views on this matter between him and the Soviet leadership to be useful.³³⁴

However, as soon as the United States declared ‘China Opening’, the balance of power in South Asia became changed and India gave up her non-aligned nature and tilted toward the Soviet Union. On July 1971, the US President Nixon gave a nationwide address when he announced the US opening to China. In response to this announcement, Indian Ambassador to the USSR Mr. D.P Dhar traveled to Moscow in late July, 1971 and quickly concluded the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation on August 9th.³³⁵ On that morning, Henry Kissinger informed President Nixon that India and the USSR had just signed a 25-year friendship treaty. At this, President Nixon became furious and the Nixon-Kissinger conversation went on as follows:³³⁶

situation. Then non-aligned India became a de facto alliance with the Soviet Union and the latter dropped the theme of ‘parallel interest’ in South Asia. [see: an interview of D .P. Dhar mentioned in *Muldhara 71* by Moidul Hasan (Dhaka: UPL, 2010) p. 300; ‘Bangladesher Songram and Soviet Unioner Bhumika’, Hasan Hafizur Rahman (edited) *Bangladesher Shadhinatajuddho: Dalilpatra*, Vol. 13(Dhaka: Ministry Of Information, Peoples’ Republic of Bangladesh, 1982), p. 561.

³³² US Department of State, *Soviet-American Relations: The Détente Years, 1969-1972* (Washington, DC: GPO, 2007), p.374.

³³³ *Détente Years*, p.372.

³³⁴ ‘Kissinger-Dobrynin Memcon (USSR),’ June 30, 1971, *Détente Years*, p.391.

³³⁵ Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko and Indian Foreign Minister Swaran Singh officially signed the treaty in New Delhi on August 9, 1971 [see: R. K. Jain, ed., *Soviet-South Asian Relations, 1947–1978*, v.1 (Atlantic Heights, NJ: Humanities Press, 1979), pp.113–116.

³³⁶ NT, OVAL Conversation No. 557-1, August 9, 1971, 8:52–11:47 a.m.

“Nixon: And the thing is, though, they [the Indians] should well understand if they’re going to choose to go with the Russians, they’re choosing not to go with us. Now, Goddamn it, they’ve got to know this...Goddamn it, who’s giving them a billion dollars a year? Shit, the Russians aren’t giving them a billion dollars a year, Henry.

Kissinger: Bureaucratically I am going—we have to keep this in the NSC system because—

Nixon: Hell yes.

Kissinger: while the combination of Bill [Rogers] and [Joe] Sisco is going to be hip-shooting all over the place if they do it alone, and all on the Indian side because they’re very influenced, as you know, by *The Washington Post* and *New York Times*. So far—

Nixon: [Sighs]

Kissinger: I’ve—Bill has, has been fine. But now that Sisco is back—

Nixon: He’s going up to New York, is he?

Kissinger: Yeah. Well, I don’t mind. I think it’s good for him to do the relief—

Nixon: That’s on the refugees—

Kissinger: As long its relief, but all the briefing papers he gets—every time he listens to his own bureaucracy, he’s in trouble because all of them are pro-Indian, all of them are—are really Kennedyites (John Kenneth Galbraith-writer)...”

Nixon-Kissinger conversation shows how much hatred Nixon had for the Indians. Even he was displeased over some of his bureaucrats for pro-Indian nature. However, after Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Nixon expressed his anger to Kissinger: “...Now, Goddamn it, they’ve got to know this...Goddamn it, who’s giving them a billion dollars a year? Shit, the Russians aren’t giving them a billion dollars a year, Henry.”³³⁷ Nixon thought, despite opening China, he could manage India by his triangular diplomacy and economic trump card. But US announcement of ‘China Opening’ and so called ‘Quiet Diplomacy’ crushed the balance of power in South Asia and compelled India dropping non-aligned policy and tilt toward the USSR. That the liberation war of Bangladesh is a historic opportunity for India to dismember Pakistan, and if it happens, the South Asia will go under Soviet influence, was not unnoticed by the Nixon government. Therefore, the Nixon government took every possible step to materialize a ‘ceasefire’ between India and Pakistan under the guidance of UN Security Council’s resolution. Along with the pressure on India through the UN, the United States tried to send military aids to Pakistan from third-party suppliers.³³⁸ According to the declassified document No. 28, published by the National Security Archive in the United States on December 16, 2002 concerning with United States’ policy toward India and Pakistan during the South Asian Crisis of 1971, Nixon directed to provide aircraft to Iran and Jordan in exchange for providing aircraft to Pakistan.³³⁹ Again, document No. 29 reveals that Kissinger sent notes to

³³⁷ See: <http://nixontapes.org/transcripts.html> , p.5, retrieved on 12/09/1014.

³³⁸ NPMP, May Release, MDR# 4.

³³⁹ NPMP, NSC Files, Country Files: Middle East, Box 643.

Jordan government on December 7, 1971 to provide Pakistan F-104's aircraft since the United States could not send Pakistan due to arms embargo. Though Pakistan formally attacked India on December 3, 1971, the United States publicly pronounced India as the aggressor in the war and sent the nuclear submarine, *the USS Enterprise*, to the Bay of Bengal in favor of Pakistan.³⁴⁰

On December 10, 1971, the Indian intelligence intercepted an American message, indicating that the US Seventh Fleet was steaming into the war zone. The Seventh Fleet, which was then stationed in the Gulf of Tonkin, was led by the 75,000 ton nuclear powered aircraft carriers, the USS Enterprise. The world's largest warship, it carried more than 70 fighters and bombers. The Seventh Fleet also included the guided missile cruiser USS King, guided missile destroyers USS Decatur, Parsons and Tartar Sam, and a large amphibious assault ship USS Tripoli. The British and the Americans had planned a coordinated pincer to intimidate India: while the British ships in the Arabian Sea would target India's western coast, the Americans would make a dash into the Bay of Bengal in the east.³⁴¹

Meanwhile, the Soviet intelligence reported that a British naval group led by the aircraft carrier Eagle had moved closer to India's territorial waters. However, India did not panic. It quietly sent Moscow a request to activate a secret provision of the Indo-Soviet security treaty, under which Russia was bound to defend India in case of any external aggression.³⁴²

The USSR responded promptly to India's request and dispatched a nuclear-armed flotilla from Vladivostok on December 13 under the overall command of Admiral Vladimir Kruglyakov, the Commander of the 10th Operative Battle Group (Pacific Fleet). Though the Russian fleet comprised a good number of nuclear-armed ships and atomic submarines, their missiles were of limited range (less than 300 km). Hence to effectively counter the British and American fleets the Russian commanders had to undertake the risk of encircling them to bring them within their target. This they did with military precision.³⁴³

Thus, a nuclear war between the two superpowers became inevitable. Critics are of the views that Nixon acted recklessly by sending Task Force 74, a flotilla led by the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier *USS Enterprise*, to the Indian Ocean at the height of the war, thereby exacerbating tensions and risking broader conflict between

³⁴⁰ NPMP, NSC Files, Indo-Pak War, Box 573.

³⁴¹ Rakesh Krishnan Simha, '1971 War: How Russia sank Nixon's gunboat diplomacy', *Russia and India Report*, December 20, 2011.

³⁴² *ibid.*

³⁴³ *ibid.*

competing alliances: India and the Soviet Union on one side; the US, the PRC, and Pakistan on the other.³⁴⁴

In an interview with a Russian TV program after his retirement, Admiral Kruglyakov, who commanded the Pacific Fleet from 1970 to 1975, recalled that Moscow ordered the Russian ships to prevent the Americans and British from getting closer to 'Indian military objects'. The genial Kruglyakov added:

The Chief Commander's order was that our submarines should surface when the Americans appear. It was done to demonstrate to them that we had nuclear submarines in the Indian Ocean. So when our subs surfaced, they recognized us. In the way of the American Navy stood the Soviet cruisers, destroyers and atomic submarines equipped with anti-ship missiles. We encircled them and trained our missiles at the Enterprise. We blocked them and did not allow them to close in on Karachi, Chittagong or Dhaka.³⁴⁵

At this point, the Russians intercepted a communication from the commander of the British carrier battle group, Admiral Dimon Gordon, to the Seventh Fleet commander: "Sir, we are too late. There are the Russian atomic submarines here, and a big collection of battleships." The British ships fled to Madagascar while the larger US task force stopped before entering the Bay of Bengal. Thus, the proximity of a 'Third World War' was over. Thus, all the efforts taken by the United States to save Pakistan from dismemberment went in vain when the Commander in Chief of the east wing of Pakistan General A. A. K. Niazi signed an unconditional surrender to the Bangladesh-India combined force commander General Jagojit Singh Arora on December 16, 1971 and a unilateral ceasefire was declared by India.³⁴⁶ Perhaps, the United States ignored the increasing strength of 'Mukti Bahini' (freedom fighters) and merely considered the latter as a 'proxy' of the Indian side. In fact, it was not a 'proxy war' as the Nixon thought, it was a peoples' war. Had the United States realized the nature of Bangladesh liberation war, she would not be ashamed in the Vietnam War.

Nixon government's attitude toward South Asia reveals a second type of pattern of its diplomacy. Here, it supported Pakistan blindly because Pakistani dictator Yahya Khan was 'a go between' the Sino-American relations. Nixon was then so desperate to meet Chinese premier in the forthcoming Peking session in 1972 that he dropped America's long-standing policy toward India and discarded the latter. He thought 'the losses' derived from the discussion and 'quiet diplomacy' could be made up by fostering 'parallel interest' with the USSR. But he could not realize what Brezhnev realized. After the meeting with Indira Gandhi in September 1971, as we mentioned

³⁴⁴ Christopher Van Hollen, 'The Tilt Policy Revisited: Nixon-Kissinger Geopolitics And South Asia,' *Asian Survey*, Vol. 20, No. 4., April, 1980, pp.339-361.

³⁴⁵ *ibid.*

³⁴⁶ *Document No. 42*, NPMP, May Release, MDR# 4.

earlier, Brezhnev came to realize that ‘Mukti Bahini’ was not a mere ‘Indian proxy’; ‘...there is an element of the national liberation present in the situation.’³⁴⁷ Hence, Brezhnev came out of cooperating with the US ‘parallel interest’ doctrine and stood firm against US-initiatives. Therefore, with the Indo-Soviet help Bangladesh came into being dismembered Pakistan. The failure to save Pakistan from dismembering destroyed US image both in Pakistan and India and upheld the prestige of the USSR in this region.

However, the new-born nation-state Bangladesh declared herself as ‘Peoples’ Republic’ and introduced ‘Parliamentary Democracy’ in its constitution of 1972; India remained Soviet-tilted but ‘non-aligned’ country. The USSR also continued its policy of ‘cooperating with the nationalist governments in power in Asia rather than their overthrow and replacement by communist parties’ to reach its ultimate goal. Therefore, the United States relieved of the fear of ‘communist expansion’ and South Asia again got less importance in the list of US interests. The United States then concluded that South Asian regional peace could be best promoted by the bilateral agreements rather than by multilateral efforts. Nixon’s successors in White House maintained these hands off for almost two decades as they concluded that no South Asian country was likely to ‘go Communist.’ Gradually, it went back to its third and fourth patterns of policy.

2.6 The US-India relations: nuclear test in 1974 and sanctions

Before the Second World War, India was a British colony and thus, it had no separate diplomatic relation with the United States. India caught sight of the American policy framers not only because of its size (together with Pakistan it is as big as Europe) but also its stand on world affairs, which was influential to other Asian nations. In a speech on December 7, 1947, US Ambassador Henry F. Grady said that the US policy-planners started paying attention to India during the Second World War as American imperialism was going to fill the vacuum of declining British capitalism.³⁴⁸ Therefore, at a high level discussion between the American and the British experts of Asia, at which American Secretary of State Acheson and British Foreign Secretary Bevin were present, it was decided that India should become the main base for the development of US foreign policy in Asia.

In response to the US-Pakistan alliance in 1950s, India moved closer to the Soviets. Nehru accused America of introducing ‘cold war’ into the region. Consequently, America continued to pour into India on a much bigger scale of economic aid than

³⁴⁷ ‘Bangladesher Songram and Soviet Unioner Bhumika’, *op.cit.*, p. 561.

³⁴⁸ ‘India-Oriental Third Force’, *US Defense Forces Information Division Bulletin*, November 16, 1951.

that allocated to Pakistan. According to the NSC³⁴⁹ report, India received \$ 34,108,283 of equipment of which \$28,853, 450 had been delivered immediately by September 30, 1956.³⁵⁰ During years 1955-65 India received \$ 10.5 billion, whereas Pakistan received \$ 2.5 billion aid from the United States.³⁵¹ Though Pakistan received more aid 'in proportion of per capita' than India, the amount provided to India was much bigger than Pakistan and it seemed betrayal to the latter, since Pakistan sought US assistance against Indian threat and joined US alliance only for that purpose. US interest behind economic allocation in India was to slow down or to stop the Indian drift toward the Soviets. However, with the help of huge American aid, India allocated its own resources toward military requirements. It was able to pursue its policy of non-alignment and earn worldwide prestige as a truly independent country. Thus, India successfully found out benefit from the bipolar security-conflict of the cold war. This became clear when we see, the American aid continued to India despite its Soviet biased attitude over the Hungarian crisis in 1956. In 1959, when the United States and Pakistan signed a bilateral agreement, Nehru again reacted strongly. Immediately, the United States assured India that the agreement was nothing more than to follow 'Eisenhower Doctrine', which only covered aggression from communist countries.

During the Kennedy administration, the United States' view about India shifted drastically. This administration not only accepted India's non-alignment policy, but also admired democratic India in comparison to the military government of Pakistan. The Kennedy administration gave Ayub Khan assurance that before extending military aid to India, Pakistan would be consulted. But this promise was never fulfilled.

Before the period of President Johnson, the US policy makers began to believe that despite its pronounced stance on non-aligned movement, 'a vital change' had already taken place in India's foreign policy since the early 1960s. While Johnson was US Vice-President, he visited the Indian sub-continent in 1961. It was assumed to him that 'India is clearly neutral in favor of west'. After visiting India he reported, 'This administration is highly regarded and well received in India. Only part of this flow out of hope or expectation of aid. Mainly, there is an intellectual affinity, or an affinity of spirit.' The US National Security Council Study also viewed the Sino-Indian conflict

³⁴⁹ 'National Security Council' of the United States.

³⁵⁰ NSC report 5617, p.33.

³⁵¹ Shirin Tahir-Kheli, *The United States and Pakistan: The Evolution of uninfluenced Relationship* (New York: Praeger, 1982), p.155.

as an opportunity of working further with India to contain China. The study commented, 'India can become an important asset in our confrontation with China. The problem is how the west can exploit this sudden opportunity.'³⁵²

Though India was an ally of US cold war rival USSR, in July 1962, the US Secretary of State Dean Rusk told the journalists in Washington, DC that the United States had sympathized with the Indian view that the integrity of its northern frontier should be assured against 'Chinese incursions.'³⁵³

Before the Sino-Indian war in 1962, India's stand was on neutralism and keeping the world power out of this sub-continent. But now it sought arms from the west. The west readily provided arms for the defense of India.³⁵⁴ According to the report of *The New York Times*, October 18, 1962, India had been making unofficial approaches to the United States and Britain for military aid especially for high altitude transport planes. On October 30, 1962, *The New York Times* again reported that the USA and Britain had sent pledges to the effect that weapons would be rushed to India. Thus, the United States started its arms transport on 3 November and, according to the disclosure of The State Department, within 10th November the airlift to India had transported sixty planeloads of automatic weapons, ammunition and light equipments and by 14th November mobile equipments worth about \$70 million were airlifted to India. The USA started these airlifting from the Air base in West Germany. The press in Pakistan also supported the report of *The New York Times* and reported on 4 November that the giant American C 135 transport planes landed at Dumdum airport in Kolkata carrying about 40,000 pounds of military cargo each. The Pakistan press also reported that started from November 3, the planes landed after every three hours from Frankfurt, West Germany with refueling stock at Adana, Egypt. Fifteen aircraft were put into operations manned by US Air force crews. Later, Jet transport planes were put into operations to airlift automatic rifles, mortars, mountain artillery, anti-personnel mines etc. from McGuire Air Force Base, New Jersey, USA. The USA also supplies 12 giant turbo C-130 Hercules transport planes from the European fleet of US Air Force on loan basis.³⁵⁵ All these were staffed by American crews.

The United States' diplomatic perception toward South Asia again changed as soon as India revealed herself as a nuclear weapon country. India was successfully conducted

³⁵² Memorandum for the National Security Council quoted in Mahmudul Huque, *The Role of the USA in the India-Pakistan conflict 1947-71*(Dhaka: Academic Publishers, 1992), p.115.

³⁵³ Indian Ministry of Defense Report, 1985-1986.

³⁵⁴ Lt. General A I Khan, 'Security and Stability in South Asia', Stephen Philip Cohen (edited), *The Security of South Asia: American and Asian Perspective* (New Delhi: Vistaar Publication, 1988), p.163.

³⁵⁵ *The New York Times*, 23 November, 1962.

a nuclear weapons test at Pokhran on May 18, 1974. A recently declassified intelligence community staff post-mortem made by the US National Security Archive and the American Nuclear Proliferation, International History Project shows that the United States was surprised³⁵⁶ at the event in part because the intelligence community had not been looking for signs that a test was in the works.³⁵⁷ The project reasoned that the United States had taken its eyes off India as the White House was more focused on the Vietnam War and ‘a grand strategy’ toward Beijing and Moscow.³⁵⁸ Secondly, after 1971 tragedy, the US President Nixon appointed Daniel Patrick Moynihan as the Ambassador to India in 1973, which led to the resolution of several long-standing economic and political tensions, although New Delhi continued to object to US support for Pakistan and alleged a US role in its domestic instability.³⁵⁹ Thirdly, the Nixon administration’s policymakers assigned a low priority to the Indian nuclear program and there was no sense of urgency ‘to determine whether New Delhi was preparing to test a nuclear device.’³⁶⁰ According to the report of *the Times of India*, in early 1972, the US State Department’s Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR) predicted that India could make preparations for an underground test without detection by American intelligence. Consequently, INR and other government establishments prompted a review of India’s nuclear intentions, but the US government officials could not decide whether India had made a decision to test, therefore, remained indifferent.³⁶¹ India took the opportunity and succeeded in concealing its plan of preparing for the first nuclear weapons’ test.

India’s efforts toward building the nuclear bomb, infrastructure, and research on related technologies dated back to World War II (in fact, from 1944). In 1943 Indian nuclear physicist Homi Bhabha established the TATA Institute of Fundamental Research (TIFR). A year later, he started to persuade the Indian Congress toward harnessing of the nuclear energy. During 1950s, with the help of the United States, the preliminary studies were carried out at the BARC and plans were developed to produce plutonium. The US President Dwight D. Eisenhower mentioned in his famous speech in the UN General Assembly on December 8, 1953 that the United States was going to make a plan to launch a joint program to share technology for

³⁵⁶ Srinivas Laxman, ‘Smiling Buddha had caught US off-guard in 1974’, *The Times of India*, December 7, 2011

³⁵⁷ National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 367.

³⁵⁸ *ibid.*

³⁵⁹ Arun Kumar, ‘India’s 1974 nuclear test hurt ties: US’, *The Hindustan Times*, December 22, 2007.

³⁶⁰ *The Times of India*, December 7, 2011.

³⁶¹ *ibid.*

developing atomic energy for civilian uses. Nehru welcomed the US plan. In 1958, India-US nuclear cooperation was finalized when India included an atomic power plant in the western region in its third Five-Year Plan. Later, the United States signed 'Tarapur Agreement' with India in 1963, which established the Tarapur atomic power generating plant, the first ever set up by the US outside Europe. By then, IAEA had been set up and the United States desired that India strictly adhere to international safeguards on nuclear cooperation. But India's pioneer scientist Homi Bhabha strongly opposed the idea. He argued that acceptance of the IAEA imposed safeguards regime would only widen the gap between the developed and the developing nations. The defeat in Sino-Indian war in 1962 and succeeding Chinese nuclear test in 1964 intimidated Indian policy makers and escalated the militarization of the nuclear program. However, this development became slowed down during the tenure of Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri when Vikram Sarabhai became the head of TIFR in 1965, because the latter was less interested in the nuclear program. The nuclear program was consolidated again in the tenure of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi when physicist Raja Ramaistnna joined the efforts in 1966. In 1967, when China exploded another nuclear test, India took a firm decision toward building nuclear weapons. When the United States came to know the Indian initiatives, it warned India not to proceed in that way in 1970. But this warning was not strong enough to avert India withdrawing its adventure. And finally, India succeeded to conduct its first nuclear test in 1974 proving US intelligence failure.

However, India's nuclear tests ushered another phase in the US perceptions of its South Asian interests. Now the game in South Asia started in the name of 'nonproliferation of nuclear weapons.' The test amplified the US concerns about then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's close relationship with the Soviet Union and her decision to develop nuclear technology while dependent on US food aid. Then, the United States' chief concerns were the enforcement of the 1972 Simla Agreement and the re-establishment of normal relations between India and Pakistan. It thought that India's successful tests would escalate Indo-Pak conflict, which could lead the South Asia become a battlefield. Therefore, world's major nuclear powers, persuaded by the United States, imposed 'technological embargo' on India as well as Pakistan, which was technologically racing to meet India's challenge. The embargo had two aims: to slow down India's nuclear assignments and to avert Pakistan becoming first Islamic nuclear weapon country. Since the nuclear development is heavily dependent on imported technology and technical assistance, it might be crippled by the lack of indigenous resources and outsource suppliers. During this time US concern in South

Asia was to neutralize the arms race between India and Pakistan since its key policy maker's attention heavily focused on East Asia.

During the Ford administration (1974-77), legislation passed threatening both India and Pakistan with sanctions if they pursued unsafeguarded nuclear activities. Nuclear cooperation with both the countries was terminated and economic assistance to Pakistan briefly suspended. However, although India was threatened to be sanctioned by the United States, sanction was imposed neither upon it, nor upon the countries that supplied the technologies and other materials to India. Moreover, the countries that sold the technology to it, continued to help India's nuclear program. Being extremely upset at India's nuclear tests, Pakistan, therefore, asked the United States to provide it with a nuclear umbrella since it had obvious difficulties producing its own nuclear bomb. But the US Secretary of the State Henry Kissinger told Pakistan's ambassador to Washington that the test is 'a fait accompli' and '...Pakistan would have to learn to live with it.' The United States had a cold reply to Pakistan because relations between Pakistan and the US had been worsening for some years. Later, Pakistani foreign minister Agha Shahi said that, if Kissinger had replied otherwise, Pakistan would have not started its own nuclear weapons program. Shahi also pointed out to his colleagues that if Pakistan did build a bomb, it would probably not suffer any sanctions either.

Here is an important thing to be noted; Pakistan had made military alliance with the United States in the early sixties to gain parity with India, when India was sucking both the superpowers by taking 'bargaining opportunity' in the existing cold-war world system. Therefore, it is natural, as a loyal ally, Pakistan deserved priority against India. But the USA never gave Pakistan that 'deserved facility', neither in 1965 or in 1974. In 1974, India exploded nuclear tests not Pakistan. Then why did the United State suspend assistance to Pakistan? Was it a rightful feedback to Pakistan's loyalty? However, by suspending economic assistance to Pakistan, the United States actually wanted to avert Pakistan becoming first Islamic nuclear weapon country. The United States knew that the geostrategic position of Pakistan is important not only within South Asian affairs but also for the Middle East politics. If Pakistan becomes a nuclear weapon country, Iran may follow suit. If Iran becomes a nuclear weapon country, 'transplanted' Israel will be affected. That's a vital concern of US Jews lobby in the US administration, especially, in the State Department. Hence, it is seen, the United States always gave 'preferential treatment' to India except in 1971; if it is bound to withdraw this treatment, it also cuts off or holds off assistance toward Pakistan. In 1971, the United States opposed India's stance strongly and shamefully

supported Pakistan's inhuman massacre in Bangladesh, but it is also an irony that it cut off 'the proposed economic and military aid' to Pakistan. So, US-Pakistan relation is actually fake, Indo-US relation is real. This is due to the impact of Zionism against Islam over US foreign policy.

Responding to India's nuclear tests, Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto decided to counter this 'grave and serious threat' by making its own nuclear weapons. He urged, the Islamic countries worldwide to support him. He stepped up Pakistan's nuclear research efforts in a quest to build a bomb secretly. For this purpose, at sometime in 1981, Pakistan began digging some tunnels under the Ras Koh Mountains, which was apparent to both the India and Israel. George Schulz, the Secretary of State in the Reagan administration, once said, '...We have full faith in (Pakistan's) assurance that they will not make the bomb.'³⁶² The US Congress was continuously giving pressure on the White House to check Pakistan's nuclear program but, the latter followed a dual role. Although the White House was fully aware of Pakistan's desire behind its nuclear program, it continued to address the program as 'peaceful'.

In August 1985, the US Congress passed legislation, which mentioned that a US economic sanction on Pakistan was required unless the White House could certify that Pakistan had not embarked on a nuclear weapons program. From then up to 1990, the White House had been certifying this every year, although it was known to all that Pakistan did have a continuing nuclear program. For instance, in 1983, a State Department memo said, Pakistan clearly had a nuclear weapons program that relied on stolen European technology.

Why did the United States not recognize Pakistan's nuclear program officially? The answer is, perhaps, the United States did not want to give waiver to other countries of the 'nuclear suppliers group' to tag with Pakistan in its nuclear program because it's a 'big business'. Secondly, Pakistan became very much important thing for the United States to help Afghan Mujahidin to fight back the Soviets from Afghanistan. Pakistan's cooperation was then so significant in the USA that the latter even fired her own officials from the service who were outspoken about Pakistan's nuclear weapons program. For example, Richard Barlow, an analyst, who had repeatedly insisted that Pakistan had a nuclear weapons program, was fired from his position at the Pentagon. His superiors had a doubt that he might leak information about Pakistan's nuclear program to congressmen in favor of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. Not only

³⁶² *The Guardian*, October 13, 2007.

that, Barlow remained under surveillance by security officers for the next eighteen months when he was attached in the Pentagon personnel pool. Barlow later said, “...They told me, they had received credible information that I was a security risk.”³⁶³ So, it is clear, US nonproliferation policy toward South Asia, which was strongly shaped after India’s nuclear tests in 1974, lost its significance for a couple of years since it sought Pakistan’s help to evacuate Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. Since 1974, the Indo-US relations have been overshadowed by the nuclear nonproliferation issue. Even though significant improvements have been registered in the areas of trade and investment, a number of obstacles hindered defense co-operation between the two countries. This was due to the eagerness of the US government of seeking India’s co-operation in maintaining stability in the South Asian region. In a congressional debate in the US Senate in June 11, 1998 after India’s nuclear test, Henry Kissinger’s statement on India’s nuclear test in 1974 was quoted as follows: ‘...We objected strongly, but since there was no violation of US agreements involved, we had no specific leverage on which to bring our objections to bear.’³⁶⁴ When India did her first nuclear test at Pokhron, the whole world became astonished; even the US intelligence did not aware of the preparation of the test.³⁶⁵ Despite Indira Gandhi’s statement in the Indian parliament in 1972 that her government was studying situations under which peaceful nuclear explosions carried out underground can be of economic benefit to India without causing environmental hazards³⁶⁶, the US policy-planners’ ignorance revealed how South Asia held insignificant attention to them. The debaters also remarked that despite ‘nuclear test’ India is no longer a threat because she has no ballistic missile system to reach up to the heartland of its security concern-China. So, they thought with strong sanctions, India could be managed to slow down her nuclear adventure.

However, the United States put major obstacles to the transfer of high technology to India, which included the sale of US ‘Cray Super Computers’.³⁶⁷ To ensure the pressure, the US Congress, strongly recommended the nuclear nonproliferation Act of 1978, which made confusion in the US-India relations. The act forbade the exports of nuclear fuel, equipments and technology to such country which is non-nuclear. But India refused to abide by the act and turned to France for the supply. The issue of

³⁶³ *ibid.*

³⁶⁴ *United States of America : Congressional Record, Recordings and Debate of the 107 Congress*, second edition, Vol. 144, part-8, p.12263.

³⁶⁵ *ibid.*

³⁶⁶ *ibid.*

³⁶⁷ Rajesh Kumar, ‘U.S. and South Asia in the New Millennium’, *Pakistan Horizon* (The Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, Karachi, Vol. 53, No. 1, January 2000), p.41.

export-importing spare parts for nuclear-arms for the 'Tarapur' nuclear base in India also made further conflict between India and the United States.³⁶⁸ In this context, the USSR invaded Afghanistan in December, 1979.

India's continuous reluctance to acknowledge the Soviet-invasion in Afghanistan as a serious threat to the region made it impossible for the United States to gain any support to adopt any policy that gave top priorities in the sub-continent to India. That's why it was a great challenge for the United States to provide Pakistan enough arms to give it strength and confidence to withstand the Soviets in Afghanistan. There was always a strong opposition to give Pakistan sophisticated arms (i.e. F-16 aircraft) lest it should bring about serious war against each other.

Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi visited the United States in August 1982. During her seven days visit to the United States, the American media projected her as a major spokesman of the developing world. Through this visit, both the parties succeeded to remove some deep-rooted misgivings in the minds of American people.³⁶⁹ However, the United States attempted to substitute France as regards the supply of nuclear fuel to the Tarapur plant.

Here is one thing to be considered. According to the Nonproliferation Act, India was not eligible to receive nuclear fuel and a full scope safeguard on the operation of all its plants since India did not sign the NPT. Yet, American President won senatorial support for shipment of fuel to India. It is to be further noted here that in 1964, the United States committed India to 30-years fuel supply for 'Tarapur Plant'. Many scholars believed that despite no provision in 1978's nonproliferation act to meet previous commitments, the Regan administration provided nuclear fuel to India as a part of moral obligation of Indira Gandhi's visit to Washington in 1983.

The end of the cold war emerged new situation in South Asia. After the cold war, scenario dramatically changed in the Indian policies and according to the new world situation, the United States re-evaluated its relations with India. For the past situation, a former US Ambassador of India William Saxby, remembered that, when he met with Henry Kissinger during his term as the US secretary of state, he (Kissinger) said, "The less I hear from you and less I hear about India, the happier and will be".³⁷⁰ This statement reminds us about the tremendous bitter relation between the Nixon-government and the Indian government. It is argued that the Indian lobby in

³⁶⁸ *ibid.*

³⁶⁹ Promod K Misra, *op.cit.*, p. 155.

³⁷⁰ Hathawy, Robert M, "The US India Courtship: from Clinton to Bush" in Gangly Summit (ed.), *India as an Emerging Power* (London: Frank Case, 2003), p.6.

Washington worked for Kennedy in the election of 1969 and that's why Nixon did not like India. The United States had no existential interests at stake, although nuclear nonproliferation was still viewed as a vital national interest. India no longer had a superpower ally. Pakistan lacked the same strategic utility to Washington. Despite this scenario, a new bureau was established in South Asia in the State Department in 1992 that tried to advance a range of policies pursued by the first Clinton administration.³⁷¹ It was also the newest and smallest bureau, with just 29 officers in Washington. Wendy Chamberlin argues that:

This small, underfunded bureau weakened South Asia [policy]. Policy interests included nonproliferation, democratization, human rights, regional security, and development. Christina Rocca, later assistant secretary of state for South Asia, remembers this period as one during which "the functional bureaus became the powerhouses of policy."³⁷²

The visit of the US first lady Hillary Clinton in 1995 through South Asia made a transformation in US-India relations. According to the former Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs Karl Inderfurth,

She was clearly impressed by the region...She came back from that trip and...let the president know that this was a part of the world he ought to pay more attention to, that it was an area of the world with great promise, economic potential, and increasingly democratic.³⁷³

Therefore, in 1997, the 'National Security Council Review' of the Clinton administration strongly advocated for 'greater engagement' with South Asia. According to the direction of the travel, which was established during the 1990s, the transformation in the US South Asian policy continued for the following decade, although interrupted by the 1998 Indian and Pakistani nuclear tests and the 1999 Kargil Crisis. The big change occurred in the relations of India and the United States, when Clinton elected second time and Indian Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP) came into power in 1997. The new Indian government established very warm relationship with the Clinton administration and eliminated the policy of 'estrangement.' However, India's attitudes were better realized by the comments of R. Chidambaram, the Chief of Atomic Energy Commission in 1998, "...The greatest advantage of recognized strength is that you don't have to use it and the greatest disadvantage of perceived weakness is that an enemy may become adventurous."³⁷⁴

³⁷¹ Alexander Evans, *The United States and South Asia After Afghanistan* (New York: Asia Society, 2012), p.38; see: www.asiasociety.org/policy/publications, retrieved on 22/09/2014.

³⁷² *ibid.*

³⁷³ *ibid.*

³⁷⁴ *The Times of India*, May 9, 1998.

In 2000, President Clinton visited India, the first visit since that of President Carter in 1978. Thus, there was a fresh emphasis on building a new partnership.³⁷⁵

2.7 US-Pakistan relations: full of fluctuations

Pakistan has a dual identity. 'No doubt, it fragmented from the sub-continent, but the topographical barriers separating Pakistan from its western and northern neighbors-Afghanistan, Iran and China, are much more formidable, but the cultural affinities are greater still.'³⁷⁶ Though primarily, many American scholars thought that the spiritual nationalism in South Asia could prevent communism, the emergence of communist China and its proclamation to march with the USSR led the American scholars reevaluate their previous analysis. Therefore, despite containing policy, the American policy makers were willing to sign up a security alliance with the regional players without bothering to analyze closely. The intension of achieving parity with India and to acquire much needed economic and military assistance to balance the Indian threat, Pakistan joined SEATO (in September 1954) and CENTO (in September 1955). The United States also accepted Pakistan's participation in their collective security arrangement without intensive homework on the nature and intensity of the deep rooted Indo-Pakistan hostility. This was, perhaps, because America as a superpower was less experienced as a role of 'world-policeman'. However, the United States gained privileges in supporting Pakistan and that is the ability of establishing both the northern and southern tiers of their defense alliance system. They were able to enjoy facilities for launching high altitude reconnaissance aircraft over the Soviets or Chinese territories, which was a significant privilege in the era before spy satellites.³⁷⁷

In September 1965, the second Indo-Pakistan war broke out. Although the United States was a security partner of Pakistan, it decided not to get involved in a regional crisis, which was not a direct concern to them. It was clearly a betrayal to Pakistan because Pakistan was totally dependent on the United States and there was an agreement between the two. Rather, the United States announced an arms embargo over the two. Whereas Indian dependence on American arms was less than 10%, Pakistan was entirely dependent on it.³⁷⁸ The embargo affected Pakistan more because

³⁷⁵ Teresita Schaffer, 'Building a New Partnership with India', *The Washington Quarterly*, Issue 25, No. 2, 2002, pp. 31-44.

³⁷⁶ Ralph Braibanti, 'Strategic Significance in Pakistan', *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. XX, No.1, Fall 1996, pp.3-4

³⁷⁷ Rodney W. Jones, 'Mending Relations with Pakistan', *The Washington Quarterly*, Issue-4, Spring, 1981, p.20

³⁷⁸ Sangeeta Thapliyal, *Indo-Pak Conflict and the Role of External Powers* [see: <https://www.idsa-india.org/an-oct8-8.html>, retrieved on 11/10/2014]

India had other external sources of support (USSR) and thus Pakistan's dependency on the US and its embargo placed it at comparably greater risk. Thus, the embargo was in favor of India. Therefore, Pakistan realized 'long nourished American equalizer' would not be available in time of crisis.³⁷⁹ Consequently, Pakistan tended to shift its policy and moved to China. But the material support of China in 1965 was very insignificant. In fact, the initial US-Pakistan alliance came to an end during the 1965 India-Pakistan war, when the United States halted arms shipments to both Pakistan and India because the action gave Pakistan much blow than India. During the Indo-Pakistan war in 1965 and the Soviet aggression in Afghanistan in 1979; the United States had no special interest in South Asia.

In 1971, the United States' role in South Asia was not more significant than that of the Chinese in 1965 war, except sending Enterprise Task Force Aircraft carrier to the Bay of Bengal. But this was 'too little' and 'too later' action to prevent the dismemberment of Pakistan. The scholars think that the sending of the Enterprise Task Force was basically a function of the Nixon-Kissinger approach to China. Basically, it was nothing more than a symbolic gesture. The Nixon Government thought that the failure to take action against India after its invasion in East Pakistan would indicate to China that the United States was a paper tiger. Most American analysts demonstrated the mission of the 'Enterprise Taskforce Aircraft Carrier' as a move to woo China.³⁸⁰ The American scholars think that the mission was intended to communicate with the Chinese for the desire to have some kind of working relationship with China. It was neither designed to save Pakistan's dismemberment nor to upgrade reliance on America. Another argument was that President Nixon was very annoyed over Indira Gandhi's duplicitous attitude and wanted to give a message to the Soviets that unless the latter restrained India, Americans might have to undertake tougher action.³⁸¹ However, when the Indian predominance on the sub-continent was established, the United States accepted it and took no direct role in South Asian affairs.

There are some reasons of US non-involvement in the South Asian affairs as follows:

- a. The United States was pre-occupied elsewhere;
- b. The American policy makers thought that the nationalism in the Indian sub-continent would prevent them from subordinating themselves to the USSR; the ruptures in Soviet relations with Egypt, Ghana and Indonesia were a ready example.

³⁷⁹ Thomas P. Thornton, 'South Asia and the Great Power', *World Affairs*, Issue No.132, March 1970, p.352.

³⁸⁰ Van Hollen, 'The Tilt Policy Revisited : Nixon-Kissinger Geo-politics and South Asia', *Asia Survey*, April 20, 1980, pp.339-61; Kissinger, *White House Years*, p.842-918.

³⁸¹ Richard M. Nixon, *The Memories of Richard Nixon* (New York: Warner Books, 1978), pp.650-59.

c. The détente with the USSR reduced concern over Soviet expansionism.

However, US recognition of Indian predominance shocked Pakistan with much disappointment. As a result, the latter left SEATO and Commonwealth and marginally improved its relations with the Soviet Union.

After the nuclear explosion of India on May, 1974, the Pakistan President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto declared, 'Pakistanis would eat grass if necessary to match the India's nuclear capability.'³⁸² Two years later of Indian nuclear explosion, Pakistan signed an agreement with France to purchase a nuclear reprocessing plant. Again, the United States became active and added a new dimension in her South Asian policy and that was nonproliferation of nuclear weaponry. Although nonproliferation got higher priority in US South Asian policy, this shift in US policy made little impact on the South Asian security issues because, at that time, the United States was not actively involved in the security issues of South Asia. Under this policy, the Carter administration imposed strong pressure on both France and Pakistan to cancel the deal since to check nuclear proliferation was US global commitment. It is interesting to note, whereas American government was anxiously gave pressure to stop Pakistan producing first 'Islamic bomb', it took no similar actions to India. Rather, Kissinger told the Congress that they had nothing more to do than strong protest against India's explosion of nuclear devices because it broke no agreement between them.³⁸³ Two years later in 1978, the United States' Congress passed nonproliferation act.

The Symington Amendment to Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 created the initial conflict between Pakistan and the United States. For this amendment in 1974, the United States cut off all foreign assistance to Pakistan except PL 480 early in 1979.

American policy again shifted on the context of Soviet aggression in Afghanistan. The long-standing western fear of Soviet expansionism led the Americans abandoned their low-profile policy in the region. Soviet aggression in Afghanistan had brought the USSR forces to within 500 Kilometer of the Persian Gulf, which is the 'Free World's major source of oil. It also brought the Soviets near 'warm water' of the Arabian Sea, the old Russian's desire to get, where Soviet naval bases might be located. Therefore, the United States responded vociferously and tried to make a new relation with Pakistan considering the latter a 'Frontline state'. Why the United States desired to do so is clear. The United States was anxious to strengthen Pakistan's defense capabilities in order to raise Soviet costs if they decided to invade Pakistan. Secondly,

³⁸² P. I. Cheema, 'Pakistan's Quest for Nuclear Technology,' *The Australian Outlook*, Issue 34, August 1980, pp.188-90.

³⁸³ *United States of America : Congressional Record, Recordings and Debate of the 107 Congress*, Second Edition, Vol. 144, part-8, p.12263.

Pakistan had a same border with Afghanistan. To enforce the Soviets withdraw from Afghanistan, Regan wanted to strengthen ‘the Afghan Mujahidin’, which was not possible without Pakistan.

When the USSR invaded Afghanistan in 1979, President Carter waived the requirements of Symington Amendment and provided \$200 million in economic and \$ 200 million in military aid to Pakistan over two-year period. But Pakistan President Ziaul Hoq refused the grant as it was too small amount and the duration of the relationship too uncertain. Moreover, the impact of the Soviet intervention is that Pakistan was flooded with three million refugees whose maintenance cost was almost \$2 million per day. Therefore, the Soviet invasion of a non-aligned third world country helped the US Congress realize the importance of waiving restrictions over Pakistan and providing a large sum of funds. The United States thus provided 3.2 billion dollars for the six year program despite Pakistan’s continued efforts to develop a nuclear enrichment capability. The US Congress agreed to waive Nonproliferation Act because, cutting off aid in 1979 had not been successful in causing Pakistan to halt its nuclear development. Secondly, the presence of the USSR army in Afghanistan posed a serious threat to the security of Pakistan since Pakistan was an ally of the United States. However, Pakistan never recognizes the USSR army as its security threat but demanded the withdrawal of any foreign troops from Afghanistan without naming any country.

2.8 India-Pakistan nuclear test in 1998: preferential treatment in India

Being a sole superpower after the collapse of the USSR in December 1991, the United States realized that both India and Pakistan had lost their bargaining capacity. The concern of sub-continental situation, then became peripheral in US foreign policy again. Therefore, the United States emphasized on to retain its honeymoon relation with China to reduce its trade gap with the later with the help of its traditional ally, Pakistan. This new form of US-China relations and the growing collaboration between China and Pakistan aggravated the Indian perception of a national security threat.

In the mean time, the US exports to China had touched \$12.8 billion in July 1998 against Chinese exports to the US of \$62.6 billion³⁸⁴; thus, China was controlling over \$49.8 billion in trade surplus.³⁸⁵ So, the Chinese cooperation was essential in getting at least some money back into the US economy as Chinese investments. Secondly,

³⁸⁴ P. M. Kamath, *Indian Nuclear Tests, Then and Now: An Analysis of US and Canadian Responses* [see: <https://www.idsa-india.org/an-aug9-4.html>, retrieved on 09/11/2014]

³⁸⁵ Mark Magnier and Richard Silk, ‘China’s Trade Surplus Hits New High’, *The Wall Street Journal*, September 8, 2014[see: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/chinas-exports-grew-9-4-in-august-1410143041>,retrieved on 16/09/2014]

there occurred an economic crisis in the South-East Asian countries in early 1998 and the countries of the region could not but devalued their currencies. On request of the United States, China agreed not to devalue its currency and slow down its trade with the US, which helped reduce the trade gap. The United States naturally became grateful to China. Thirdly, President Clinton was politically grateful to China for helping him re-elected for the second time. China is suspected to have indirectly contributed to Bill Clinton's re-election fund in 1996. It is alleged that Loral Space and Communications Inc., which was permitted by the Clinton administration to transfer satellite technology to China in 1996, gave an election contribution of \$632,000. Among others, a Chinese aerospace official also gave \$100,000 to the same cause.³⁸⁶ Fourthly, India was in a great dilemma for the US pressure to sign CTBT, because time was running out. Earlier in 1996, at the insistence of China in the Conference on Disarmament (CD) in Geneva over the negotiations on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), the US had agreed to include an entry-into-force clause, which provided that India has to be one of the eight signatories to the CTBT and in the event of India failing to sign, the 44 members of the CD were to decide on the steps to be taken to secure India's compliance. If India signed the CTBT, how could it be able to neutralize a nuclear threat from the north-west and north-east? Again, India could not be able to hold on to the nuclear option indefinitely like the previous Prime Ministers (Narasimha Rao, Deve Gowda, and I.K. Gujral) who were able to hold on. Therefore, Atal Bihari Vajpayee took prompt decision to test its nuclear weapons for the second time before compelling to sign CTBT.

The Indo-Pak nuclear tests became inevitable for other reasons also. On the eve of the new millennium, two major political changes in both India and Pakistan led the countries in the new course of conflict. In Pakistan, a conservative political force PML (N)³⁸⁷ led by Nawaz Sharif scored exclusive public mandate in the general election held in 1997 defeating leftist PPP³⁸⁸ led by Benazir Bhutto. Similarly, in India an extreme conservative political force, BJP came to power in 1998 general elections with an exclusive public mandate defeating liberal political platform, Indian National Congress. During the election campaign, the BJP platform expressed their desire clearly to exercise the option to induct nuclear weapons. They publicly declared that India should become an open nuclear power to garner the respect on the world stage that India deserved. Peoples' exclusive mandate gave BJP-led government's Prime

³⁸⁶ *The Times of India*, May 21, 1998.

³⁸⁷ Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz).

³⁸⁸ Pakistan Peoples' Party.

Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee strength to fulfill his vow; similar attempt had been jeopardized due to the American spy satellite in 1995 during the tenure of Prime Minister Narasimha Rao. But on March 18 1998, Vajpayee declared: ‘...there is no compromise on national security; all options including the nuclear options will be exercised to protect security and sovereignty.’ Only ten days later, he asked the scientists to make preparations in the shortest possible time, and preparations were hastily made.³⁸⁹ At last India successfully tested its nuclear weapons in two groups: one group on 11 May, and the second group on 13 May respectively. It was India’s second nuclear tests and by doing this Pokhran-II tests India became the sixth country to join the nuclear club. On May 13, 1998 Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihary Vajpayee made the following statement before the press:

Today, at 15:45 hours, India conducted three underground nuclear tests in the Pokhran range. The tests conducted today were with a fission device, a low yield device and a thermonuclear device. The measured yields are in line with expected values. Measurements have also confirmed that there was no release of radioactivity into the atmosphere. These were contained explosions like the experiment conducted in May 1974. I warmly congratulate the scientists and engineers who have carried out these successful tests.³⁹⁰

The Indian tests drew immediate condemnation from the Clinton administration, which said the United States was ‘deeply disappointed’ and was reviewing trade and financial sanctions against India under American nonproliferation laws. President Bill Clinton himself criticized the Indian tests by characterizing them as a ‘terrible mistake.’³⁹¹ He also said that with democratic traditions, the nuclear path is not the way to ‘greatness.’³⁹² Madeleine Albright, the US secretary of State said in a TV interview on June 20: ‘We want to make them understand that they cannot blast their way into nuclear status.’³⁹³

And what happened to Pakistan? It was an open secret to all that Pakistan had already built nuclear bombs in 1987 but kept it secret to avoid US sanction. However, India’s second nuclear tests gave Pakistan an opportunity to reveal itself as a nuclear weapon country. Pakistan’s pioneer nuclear scientist Abdul Qadeer Khan once mentioned in an interview:

...What the CIA has been saying about our possessing the bomb is correct....They told us, Pakistan could never produce the bomb and they

³⁸⁹ ‘Pokhran II row: Sethna slams Kalam, Iyengar says tests were done in hast,’ *Press Trust of India*, retrieved 15 November 2011.

³⁹⁰ David Lyon, ‘India detonates two more bombs’, *BBC India*, 31 May 1998 (Follow up), retrieved 17 January 2013.

³⁹¹ *The New York Times*, May 14, 1998.

³⁹² *The Times of India* May 14, 1998.

³⁹³ *The Times of India*, June 23, 1998.

doubted my capabilities, but they now know we have it....Pakistan does not want to use the bomb, but if driven to the wall there will be no option left.³⁹⁴

Mr. Qadeer Khan made those comments during a major Indian army exercise known as 'Brass Tacks' that Pakistanis considered a serious threat, as it was close to the Pakistani border. However, this confession embarrassed the United States since the latter aided Pakistan during the Soviet-Afghan War. Therefore, Khan withdrew his remarks a few days later and apologized for this, saying he was tricked by the reporter.

However, on May 12, 1998 the day after India's first test, Pakistan's Foreign Minister Gouhar Ayub Khan gave an indication, while he was expressing his reaction, that Pakistan was ready to conduct a nuclear test of its own. In an interview he said:

Pakistan is prepared to match India, we have the capability....We in Pakistan will maintain a balance with India in all fields...we are in a headlong arms race on the subcontinent.³⁹⁵

On the other hand, Pakistan's Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said, 'We are watching the situation and we will take appropriate action with regard to our security'. Thereafter, Nawaz Sharif rushed to mobilize the entire Muslim World in support of Pakistan and also continued to criticize India for the nuclear proliferation in the subcontinent. However, only fifteen days after India's first test Pakistan carried out nuclear testing under the Codename Chagai-I on 28 May, 1998 and Chagai-II on 30 May, 1998. In announcing the tests, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif declares, "Today, we have settled the score."³⁹⁶

India's second nuclear tests in May 1998 and the subsequent first nuclear tests by Pakistan in the same month disappointed White House because these two incidents proved that the United States was unable to prevent both India and Pakistan starting a nuclear race in the sub-continent. Though it was an integrated situation that led US diplomatic failure, the random fluctuations of US policy toward South Asia destroyed US credibility as a mediator to both the countries which led the countries continue nuclear race. However, at a news conference on 28 May 1998, President Bill Clinton condemned Pakistan's nuclear tests, saying: 'I deplore the decision.' He also promised to reprimand Islamabad with the same sanctions the United States has imposed on India. He said, 'By failing to exercise restraint in response to the Indian tests, Pakistan lost a truly priceless opportunity to strengthen its own security [and]

³⁹⁴ *The New Yorker*, 3 March, 1993.

³⁹⁵ *ibid.*

³⁹⁶ *The New York Times*, April 05, 2003.

improve its political standing in the world,'³⁹⁷ Clinton also mentioned, 'Although Pakistan was not the first to test, two wrongs don't make a right.'³⁹⁸ Clinton urged both Pakistan and India to 'renounce further tests, sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and take decisive steps to reduce tensions in South Asia and reverse the dangerous arms race.' US law (the Glenn Amendment) requires Clinton to impose sanctions on any nation that detonates a nuclear device. White House officials said the sanctions would include a cancellation of \$6 million in US aid and a delay in US backing for international lending to Pakistan.³⁹⁹ These were all, the Clinton administration adopted in response to Pakistan's nuclear tests.

In 1999, after a year of the nuclear tests, according to the observation of *the Times of India*, the United States believed that the CTBT would primarily restrict India and Pakistan from continuing to develop their nuclear arsenals and would delay or prevent China from developing more technologically advanced 'miniaturized' nuclear weapons such as the US already had. It would also 'prevent the vertical proliferation and technological refinement of existing arsenals by the other four nuclear weapons states.'⁴⁰⁰ But the reports of contemporary newspapers and electronic media have revealed that the US sanctions to both India and Pakistan were short lived and became nonfunctioning. The US again began to provide Pakistan with military and technological aid, which had been frozen in the wake of Pakistani tests of nuclear weapons in May.⁴⁰¹ The US also froze agricultural aid after the tests, but began to provide it again in July 1998, only three months later. The US imposed a new series of sanctions against Pakistan in 1998, after Pakistan exploded a nuclear weapon⁴⁰² and in 1999, when President Pervez Musharraf overthrew a democratically elected government⁴⁰³. The lifted sanctions had prohibited the export of US military equipment and military assistance to a country whose head of government has been deposed. However, President Bush (senior) waived the last set of US sanctions against Pakistan.

Similarly, remarkable changes have also taken place in the framework of US-India security relations on the eve of the new millennium. At this stage, the United States and India have moved from being 'estranged democracies' to 'engaged

³⁹⁷ CNN, 28 May 1998; Reuters, 28 May 1998.

³⁹⁸ *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*: William J. Clinton, Book I, May 28, 1998, pp. 846-849, from the U.S. Government Printing Office www.gpo.gov, retrieved on 11/09/2014.

³⁹⁹ See: CNN.com, 28 May 98, retrived on 17/09/2014

⁴⁰⁰ *The Times of India*, October 16, 1999.

⁴⁰¹ *The Times of India*, July, 1998.

⁴⁰² *The Times of India*, May 30 1998.

⁴⁰³ *The Times of India*, October 12, 1999.

democracies'.⁴⁰⁴ Such a change is primarily due to America's adjustment of its strategy and policy toward India as well as South Asia and the Asia-Pacific. In fact, the US never really understood India because of its 'arrogance, ignorance and condescension'.⁴⁰⁵ However, with the end of the Cold War, myriad factors began to push the United States and India to change their relationship from estrangement to one of convergence. Perhaps, the United States hoped that India would play an active role in the process of democratization in Russia. Even though, the relationship that had taken off after the Cold War had not been ended with a US embargo against India's nuclear bomb tests. During the Kargil crisis of 1999, India successfully won sympathy and support from the US. In contrast, the US initially cold-shouldered Pakistan's new regime, when General Pervez Musharraf rode to power through a military coup. The two situations in 1999 led United States' South Asian policy shift to 'focusing on India and reducing on Pakistan.' Moreover, President Clinton's visit⁴⁰⁶ to India in March 2000 ended the ambivalent US-India relations of yesteryears as President Clinton admitted that the US had ignored India over the preceding 20 years and indicated that it would end the passive impact caused by nuclear issues in future.⁴⁰⁷ The new US President George W. Bush continued the policy after he took office. When the then Indian Foreign Minister, Jaswant Singh visited Washington on April 2001, Bush told him that the new administration would continue and strengthen its predecessor's policy to promote bilateral relations because both India and the United States are vibrant democracies.

1. The US role in Bangladesh before 9/11

3.1 Mujib era

The United States-Bangladesh diplomatic relation started when the former officially recognized the latter on April 4, 1972. Prior to that, the United States tried utmost to check the birth of Bangladesh. Pakistan was US cold war ally; therefore, the United States considered the liberation struggle of Bangladesh in the context of 'cold war diplomacy.' To prevent dismemberment of Pakistan was the prime concern of the United States than to prevent the Pakistani army from committing genocide and

⁴⁰⁴ Dennis Kux, *India and the United States: Estranged Democracies, 1941-1991* (Washington, D. C.: National Defense University Press, 1993).

⁴⁰⁵ A.M. Rosenthal, 'The Shout From India,' *New York Times*, May 14, 1998.

⁴⁰⁶ It was the fourth presidential visit in the history of the two countries and the first in the last 22 years.

⁴⁰⁷ Opening statement by President Clinton in the Joint Press Conference held in Delhi, March 21, 2000.

massacre in Bangladesh.⁴⁰⁸ The United States did not want the dismemberment of Pakistan because it would destroy the possibility of a balance of power between India and Pakistan in the security context of South Asia. However, the role of the United States in the liberation war of Bangladesh was a ready example to show how cruel the ‘US diplomacy’ might be. Though the nature of the liberation struggle of Bangladesh and that of the United States was similar,⁴⁰⁹ the latter took the opposite position of their own national spirit and did not stand beside a nation of freedom loving people. The attitude of the political elites of the powerful party of the United States was better realized from Alexis Johnson’s comment in a meeting of WSAG⁴¹⁰ held on December 6, 1971 at Washington. While evaluating the situation of the US relief activities in the refugee camps in India, Johnson, a member of WSAG, addressed Bangladesh as ‘International Basket Case.’⁴¹¹ Later, it becomes a fashion of Western countries that opposed the birth of Bangladesh to address our country as ‘bottomless basket.’ The negative attitudes of the United States’ government toward Bangladesh government remained the same until 15 August, 1975, when the father of the Bengali nation Bangabandhu sheikh Mujibor Rahman and his family members were killed and a pro-Pakistan government was established. After four decades of diplomatic relations, it is surprising to observe that the United States still want a pro-Pakistan government in power, though the ‘cold war’ world system is ceased and the Indo-US relation becoming warmer than the US-Pak relations. According to Wendy R. Sherman, Under Secretary of the Political Affairs of the government of the United States (delivered lecture on May 27, 2014 at Hotel Ruposi Bangla): “....The US-Bangladesh relations are deeply rooted in the shared democratic values, strong economic ties, mutual security concerns and ‘broad and deep people-to-people connections’”. He also told that the United States is elevating and institutionalizing the framework for the relationship, accelerating her engagement across the board, enhancing her already excellent cooperation on counterterrorism, narcotics, climate change, food security, police training, disaster risk management etc. Though Sherman’s lecture sounds delighting, things were not rosy enough during the past decades. The United

⁴⁰⁸ From 10 April, 1971 East Pakistan took its own name ‘Bangladesh’ by the ‘Proclamation of Independence’ of the ‘First Government’ of Bangladesh (known as ‘provisional government’ or ‘exile government’.) However, the name was first publicly declared by Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on 5th December, 1970 at a meeting of the death anniversary of Hossain Shaheed Suhrawarthy in Dhaka.

⁴⁰⁹ Both Bangladesh and the United States struggled against domestic colonialism and achieved independence through a liberation war. John F. Kennedy, democrat senate member of US congress in 1971 also had the same view while he delivered a speech before an audience in Dhaka University on February 12, 1971.

⁴¹⁰ Washington Special Action Group.

⁴¹¹ Hasina Matin, ‘Muktijuddha: Kotipoy Prottekkhodors Markinir Drishtite Banglar Manus’, *Etihas Somity Patrika*, (Dhaka: Bangladesh Itihas Somity, Vol. 23-24, 1995-1997), p.92.

States claims that it conveys the democratic spirit but, it has failed to prove it during the Pakistani genocide in 1971. The US government did not even express condolence while the assassins uprooted a democratic regime through military coup in 1975, rather they welcomed the shifts and rewarded the coup leaders by giving shelter. Similar situation, we have seen in 1981 and 1982.

Let us discuss briefly what the US government did in Bangladesh during the past decades.

The US-Bangladesh relation was not warm enough during Mujib periods despite the sympathy of the US-Congress for the new-born Bangladesh. It was reported that 54 members of the US Congress wrote a letter to the US Secretary of State William Rogers to ensure the safety of Sheikh Mujib while the latter was thought to be hanged by Pakistan Government.⁴¹² In fact, the emergence of Bangladesh was a sign of diplomatic failure of the United States in the context of 'Cold War' world system. It not only destroyed the pride of Pakistan and changed 'balance of power' in South Asia, but also revealed the weakness of the US diplomacy. Therefore, US general desire was to make the Mujib-government unpopular and failure. However, primarily both the countries were in a fix to develop close bilateral relations.

From Bangladesh's point of view, the left wing leaders in Mujib's cabinet were openly reluctant to accept the US-aid lest they should become the 'puppet' of American Imperialism'. They tilted toward communist countries. But Mujib was a true 'nationalist leader', therefore, wanted to choose neither 'capitalism' nor 'communism'. He wanted to keep Bangladesh out of cold-war rivalry and sought friendship from all sides for the speedy rehabilitation of war-weary Bangladesh. On the other hand, from the US point of view, Mujib was firstly a democrat.

Secondly, Mujib was not the main reason of dismemberment of Pakistan as he tried utmost for a peaceful settlement with the West Pakistan for the last and also restrained himself from a direct proclamation of 'independence' in his historic 7 March speech. Rather, he continued dialogue with the President of Pakistan till March 25, 1971 despite he became a *de facto* leader in Pakistan and the whole East Pakistan was under control of his leadership. He declared the independence of Bangladesh immediately after the crackdown of Pakistan army in Dhaka on the first hour of March 26, 1971.

Thirdly, Mujib visited London rather Moscow after his release from Pakistani captivity. In his maiden news conference in London Mujib declared, "...We are a small country. We want friendship to all and malice toward none."⁴¹³ All these

⁴¹² A.M.A. Muhith, *American Response to Bangladesh Liberation War*(Dhaka: UPL, 1996), p.437.

⁴¹³ *The new York Times*, January 10, 1972.

symptoms ushered the possibility of Mujib's neutrality in 'the cold war alliance system'. Therefore, the Nixon government decided to extend helping hand to Bangladesh for the rehabilitation program so that Bangladesh might not fall deep within the sphere of the influence of the Indo-Soviet alliance. The first direct assistance from the United States totaled about US\$ 122.2 million over a period of only four months.⁴¹⁴

However, the government of the United States was fully aware of the 'pulse' of the people of Bangladesh. Thus it re-examined its policy toward the new born Bangladesh and revised the diplomatic course. In fact, before recognizing Bangladesh, officially, the United States tried to get the following answers:

- i. Is it possible to win the 'goodwill' of the people of Bangladesh only through relief and aid?
- ii. Is it possible to prevent Mujib from falling in the hands of the Indo-Soviet alliance?
- iii. Does the new bureaucracy of Bangladesh capable of doing rehabilitation programs successful?

In February 2, 1972 a hearing of 'Relief and Rehabilitation Sub-Committee' of the United States, working for pointing out the problems of Bengali refugees in India, was held in Washington and the Democrat Senator Edward Kennedy presided over the hearing. In this hearing, Republican Senator Hiram Fong, James McCracken (Chairman of American Council of Voluntary Agencies), Mr. McGlason (Member, Assemblies of God, Foreign Service), Dr. Gustav Papanok (Chairman, Harvard University Development Advisory Service), Dr. Rohde and Dr. Chen (Staff, Seato Cholera Research Laboratory, Dhaka) took part. Before the Liberation War Dr. Chen and Dr. Rohde were working in Bangladesh and they were witness to the brutality of 'Operation Searchlight.' They said in the hearing: while they left Bangladesh in April 1971, some panic-stricken Bengalis asked them why the United States remained silent about the genocide of the Pakistani army and did not take the side of democracy-loving people of Bangladesh whereas the United States had been committed to democracy, to the right of self-governance and to the justice. After the emergence of Bangladesh, they again came to visit with self-interest. This time they also observed the same attitude of the people of this country toward the United States. Mr. Chen said that he was asked why the United States did not recognize Bangladesh even after the

⁴¹⁴ Harun Ur Rashid, , *Bangladesh Foreign Policy: Realities, Priorities and Challenges* (Dhaka: Academic Press and Publishers Library, 2010), p.277.

surrender of Pakistani army.⁴¹⁵ In the hearing, Mr. Rohde and Mr. Chen presented their other observations also. The Democrat Senator Kennedy realized what Mr. Rohde and Mr. Chen wanted to say. However, the Republican Senator Fong, the member of Foreign Aid Sub-Committee, opposed their arguments and justified the strategy of the Nixon-Government. In the hearing, he said, despite the US government did not recognize Bangladesh, she allocated \$300 million as a relief for the refugees and \$100 million had already been handed over.⁴¹⁶ He argued, though the US-government did not support the Bangladesh Liberation War, she might be able to earn the ‘goodwill’ of Bengali people for her huge aid and relief. But Dr. Chen argued that it was a great blunder on America’s side not to stand beside Bangladesh in 1971 and the United States should confess this blunder and recognize Bangladesh as soon as possible if it wants to earn the ‘goodwill’ of the people of Bangladesh. According to Rohde, to give Bengali refugees relief-aid and to supply \$5 million military supply to Pakistani army was a double-standard policy. This policy created a feeling like: ‘You are trying to help people to shoot us on one hand and then feed the survivors.’⁴¹⁷ Dr. Papanok and others were also having the same analysis as Dr. Chen and Dr. Rohde. Moreover, Dr. Papanok was confident about the efficiency of the new bureaucracy of Bangladesh. Here is one thing to note that, from 1963 onwards, all the districts and central civil administrations of East Pakistan were completely being administered by Bengali Civil Service Officers. According to Dr. Papanok, within 1972, these officers became ‘first class standard officers’ in all aspects— experienced, well-trained and intelligent. He remarked that these civil servants were the real asset to the country and fully dependable. He also compared the spirit of the United States and the people of Bangladesh and told that the Bengalis had the same attitude toward nation-building as theirs.

In the hearing, Dr. Lincoln Chen, Dr. Rohde and Dr. Papanok praised the spirit and skill of the then Mujib government significantly and remarked that only ‘money’ could not be the standard of measuring ‘friendship’. Democratic fellow-feeling is more important than ‘money’ in building ‘friendship’. He also told that the people of Bangladesh were grateful to India and Soviet Union for their historic helping hand in their ‘War of Liberation’ but they did not want to fall under ‘Indian influence.’ The

⁴¹⁵ See: Hearing before the Sub-committee to investigate Problems Connected with Refugees and Escapees of the Committees on Judiciary, United States Senate, Ninety-Second Congress, Second Session, February 2, 1972, Washington: US Govt. Printing Office, 1972, pp. 1-64.

⁴¹⁶ Hasina Matin, ‘Muktijuddha: Kotipoy Prottekkhodorsir Dristite Banglar Manus’, *Itihas Somiti Patrika*, Vol. 23-24, November 1998, pp.92-118.

⁴¹⁷ *ibid*, p.99.

people of Bangladesh were mainly moderate and they had no special feeling for 'communism'. While Mr. McGlason, the member of the Assemblies of God, Foreign Service met Mujib with his team, he also enchanted by Mujib's statesmanship behavior. After this hearing, Democrat Senator Kennedy strongly urged the US government to recognize Bangladesh immediately as a sign of 'friendship'. However, the report of this hearing strongly influenced the US-policy toward Bangladesh in deciding whether to recognize Bangladesh as an independent country.

After the liberation, the US policy objectives in Bangladesh considered the following elements:

Firstly, Bangladesh is adjacent to a very volatile Indian states of Assam, Tripura, Monipur, Meghalaya and West Bengal. Therefore, instability in Bangladesh might threaten the stability in the entire sub-continent.

Secondly, the deteriorating economic situation of Bangladesh with a growth rate of 3 percent per year, lack of industrial infrastructure could seriously undermine the stability of the region, which ultimately frustrate broader American policy goal in South Asia.

Thirdly, the proximity of Bangladesh to the Indian Ocean also became an American interest here.

However, two most important issues in the Mujib era became significant in repairing bridges of friendship with Bangladesh: question of recognition of Bangladesh and the question of acceptance of direct American aid by Bangladesh.

3.1.1 The US recognition issue

The US recognition of Bangladesh was actually depending on the attitude of China-Pakistan factor. In fact, Nixon government did not want to recognize Bangladesh in such a manner which might have been seemed too early in the eyes of China and Pakistan. To comment on this issue, the US president Nixon stated at a press conference on February 10, 1972:

...with regard to the political side, we have under study our whole relationship with the sub-continent and as a part of that relationship, of course, the 70 million people in Bangladesh are involved. We have not yet made a decision with regard to recognition, and you should not expect a decision prior to the time I return from China.⁴¹⁸

This statement proves that the Nixon government gave China priority in its Asian policy. Another cause of delaying the US recognition to Bangladesh is the presence of Indian troops in Bangladesh, which the US government considered 'a lack of full

⁴¹⁸ Department of State Bulletin (USA), 6 March, 1972, p.292.

sovereignty', therefore, not fit for the US-recognition. On March 6, 1972 US Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs Christopher Von Hollen stated before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations:

....The case of Bangladesh is set the against tragic background of the recent hostilities between India and Pakistan and of the political and military situation in the wake of the war which has yet to be fully clarified. Among other things, we are especially concerned about the continued presence of Indian troops in Bangladesh.⁴¹⁹

However, after a hesitant period, the US Senate approved a resolution unanimously calling for prompt US recognition of Bangladesh on March 21, 1972. In a letter to Mujib on 4 April 1972 President Nixon wrote:

....Historically there had been warm ties with your people. The USA has maintained an official mission in Dacca since 1949 and over the years, many Americans, both in private and official capacity, have desired satisfaction to work side by side with Bengali people.⁴²⁰

Needless to say that Nixon's letter shows the attitude of the people of the United States rather than the existing government. Therefore, it is clear that the Nixon government was not very much interested to develop warm relations with Bangladesh but due to people's sympathy and the interest of the private sector, his government could not but recognize Bangladesh and also compel to change diplomatic course toward Bangladesh for developing bilateral relations.

3.1.2 Aid

Before the recognition, the United States gave aid assistance to Bangladesh through the UN program to reconcile its relation and achieve goodwill of Bangladesh. However, after the official recognition, it started to give aid directly through bilateral agreement. In May 1972, the US signed the first bilateral agreement with Bangladesh providing \$90 million of American aid. In June 1972, the United States signed another agreement granting \$25 million in addition to \$90 million, which had already granted.⁴²¹ By 30 June 1973, the United States had provided \$443 million of grant assistance to Bangladesh. Until 1975, the United States had loaned or granted \$500 million to Dhaka and supported its borrowing from the World Bank.⁴²²

⁴¹⁹ Richard P. Stebbins, and Elaine P. Adams, edited, *American Foreign Relations 1972: A Documentary Record* (New York: Council of Foreign Relations, 1972), p.230.

⁴²⁰ *The Times of India* (New Delhi), 9 April, 1972 [The letter was handed over to Sheikh Mujib by Herbert Spivac, Head of US mission in Dhaka.].

⁴²¹ Sharma. Sarbjit, *op.cit.*, , p .39.

⁴²² *ibid.*

3.1.3 US support for the UN admission

In early July, 1972 president Nixon sent a special convoy to Bangladesh to ensure support and assistance for the membership in the United Nations. The US special envoy John Connally ensured foreign minister Abdus Samad Azad about this while meeting together in Dhaka.

Bangladesh applied for the UN membership on 8 August, 1972. India, the USSR, the UK and Yugoslavia sponsored a resolution for immediate admission of Bangladesh into the United Nations. The Security Council voting took place on 26 August 1972. The United States voted in favor of Bangladesh but Chinese 'Veto' postponed the initiative. China took a negative stand against Bangladesh in favor of Pakistan, the regional ally against India. However, as soon as the problems between the three countries: India, Pakistan and Bangladesh on 'the repatriation of Pakistani prisoners of war' was removed by treaty, China no longer applied its 'Veto' power against Bangladesh's admission to the UN. Therefore, with the recommendation of the United States, Bangladesh became able to get membership in the United Nations on June 10, 1974. However, China was absent on the day when the Security Council arranged 'voting' on the issue.

3.1.4 Mujib's support for the Arabs against Israel in the UN and US response

Being a member of non-aligned group and having religious ties with the Arabs, from the very beginning Bangladesh consistently supported the Arabs against Israel. Many people in the United States considered this policy of Mujib as 'anti-American' since the Jews lobby was very more powerful in the US foreign policy making. However, this lobby did not able to override Nixon's newly changed policy toward Bangladesh even after the burning of the United States Information Service (USIS) at Dhaka and the delayed appointment of the US Ambassador to Bangladesh. Perhaps, Nixon government wanted to give Mujib time to come out of 'Indo-Soviet cocoon'.

Mujib met President Nixon and other officials of the US government during his visit to the United States for the UN Session in September 1974. Though Mujib-Nixon meeting was not cordial enough, the two leaders achieved an understanding. Following this, Secretary of the State Henry Kissinger visited Dhaka and met Mujib on October 1974. In a press conference in Dhaka, after meeting with Sheikh Mujib, Kissinger addressed Mujib as 'a man of vast conception.' He also commented that he had really met such a man who was the father of his nation. Kissinger also said, "...we have no difficulties with Bangladesh and the United States would do everything

possible to help Bangladesh to achieve her long term goals.”⁴²³ Thus, it seemed the relation between the US and Bangladesh was becoming warm.

3.1.5 Food diplomacy

The US-Bangladesh so-called warm relation was not the outcome of US changed policy only. It was Mujib, who was aware of the situation ahead for Bangladesh. He keenly observed the gradual development of anti-Indian sentiment in Bangladesh. Sheikh Mujib also realized that only the Indo-USSR relation could not be sufficient for solving the deepening economic crisis in Bangladesh. His immediate need was to solve ‘food problems’ in Bangladesh. Rehman Sobhan, the then member of the Bangladesh Planning Commission remarked, “....There was evidence of a major effort by the US to use its ‘food aid’ as a direct instrument of political pressure.”⁴²⁴ Therefore, Sheikh Mujib wanted to make a warm relation with the United States. He joined the Commonwealth to decrease Indo-USSR influence over him. He also dropped his Finance Minister Taj Uddin Ahmed from his cabinet before Kissinger’s visit as a symbol of seeking the US-friendship.⁴²⁵ Dropping Taj Uddin gave Mujib neither the US-friendship nor the stability in governance, but he lost ‘the most faithful’ advisor. However, Mujib did this because he was desperately trying to get more ‘food aid’ from the United States to feed his hungry people.

After recognizing Bangladesh, the US-Bangladesh relation was developing steadily. But due to multiple internal and external reasons, close bilateral relations were being restrained. As a result, the promised aid from the United States was not sufficient enough. The delivery of food stuff was also delayed, which caused a severe situation in Bangladesh. After the liberation, Bangladesh was in a great shortage of food stuffs because of destroying cultivable lands, insufficient seeds, lack of agricultural tools etc. Moreover, nature also was not in favor of Bangladesh. During 1972-73, there was drought and delayed rainfall, which hampered food production. Again in 1974, there was severe flood. The entire situation made price hike and the Mujib-Government fall in a great victim. All on a sudden, Bangladesh government received a message from the US ambassador in Dhaka, which indicated that the United States would not provide food aid to Bangladesh in time in response to the violation of the US PL 480

⁴²³ *The Morning News*, 31 October, 1974.

⁴²⁴ *The Economic and Political Weekly* (Bombay), 1 December, 1979.

⁴²⁵ Taj Uddin Ahmed, the first prime minister of Bangladesh, was considered as leftist and the United States had strong allegation against him.

regulations.⁴²⁶ The allegation against Bangladesh was the trading relation with Cuba.⁴²⁷

Cuba lies 217 kilometers south of Florida, State of the US where Fidel Castro established communist occupation on January 1, 1959. As a result, the United States severed diplomatic relations with Cuba in 1961 and passed a regulation indicating 'food aid could not be provided to any country having a trading relation with Cuba.' The fact was that Bangladesh had a severe shortage of foreign currency; therefore, she could not import daily commodities. That's why; she decided to sell to Cuba 4 million gunny bags for US\$5 million as a onetime transaction. According to the Deputy Chairman of Planning Commission of Bangladesh in 1974, there was no long term trading agreement between Bangladesh and Cuba and Bangladesh was not in a regular business of selling jute bags to Cuba; it has been just one time transaction.⁴²⁸ So, the allegation of the violation of US PL 480 regulations was intentional. Moreover, some Caribbean LDC countries had also trading relations with Cuba and the United States did not impose PL 480 regulations over them.

However, after all the attempts to tame the United States, Mujib failed to control the domestic political situations. Then he decided to take a crash program to restore the deteriorated situation and introduced an authoritarian system of government with a presidential type of government by amending the constitution in the country in 1975. Mujib declared this change as a 'temporary action' to arrest the deteriorating situation. But it further worsened the situation instead of giving a dividend. The United States could not understand how a life-long democrat could impose a one-party government in the country.⁴²⁹ The rightist wing of Mujib government convinced the United States that Mujib did this by the influence of the left-minded leaders, especially, his nephew Sheikh Fazlul Hoq Moni. Therefore, the United States considered this change as a shift of Mujib's policy toward Indo-USSR influence. The US government became uncomfortable with the political situation in Bangladesh. Thus, a coup against Sheikh Mujib got strengthened by the perceived external support. Eventually Mujib, along with his family members, was killed in a coup on August 15, 1975 under the leadership of Khondokar Mustaq Ahmed, an American lobbyist in the Mujibnagar government.

Some critics allege that the coup was the mechanism of foreign powers and the United States was its mastermind. According to them, Kissinger, a Jew, never forgave Mujib

⁴²⁶ *ibid*, p.278.

⁴²⁷ The message was received on My 27, 1974 when a famine-like situation was created in Bangladesh.

⁴²⁸ Harun Ur Rashid, *op.cit.*, p.277.

⁴²⁹ Harun Ur Rashid, *op.cit.*, p.279.

for threatening to set up his major global realignment program in 1971.⁴³⁰ Their analysis was that the United States was trying hard to bring Bangladesh under its influence by using 'food aid' trump-card. However, major break-through was not possible as long as Mujib and his left-oriented Awami leaders were alive and in power.⁴³¹

Therefore, the United States maintained close links with pro-American group of Khandokar Mustaq Ahmed. It is now evident that the United States had prior knowledge of the coup, which ended the Mujib regime.⁴³² The US involvement with the domestic reactionaries was also proved from the immediate response of the US government toward the assassination of Mujib and his families. When Khandokar Mustaq gripped the power, the US government gave assurance of 'substantial help to the new regime'.⁴³³

The US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger immediately sent congratulatory message to the coup leaders.⁴³⁴ He also welcomed the prayer of asylum from the coup leaders from America and Pakistan. After the killing of Sheikh Mujib, the government of Bangladesh took an extreme turn to right. Gradually Washington and Beijing came boldly into the picture while Moscow and Delhi were put into back burner.⁴³⁵

3.2 US-Bangladesh relation during 1975-1991

After being uprooted the first democratic government of independent Bangladesh, four governments were formed within the 'cold war' world system; among them two were dictatorial regime, which ruled for long tenure.⁴³⁶ During this period, the United States enjoyed unprecedented influence over Bangladesh foreign policy. With the name of 'aid assistance' the United States compelled Bangladesh becoming a 'pawn' of the international political chessboard. Trade relations with Bangladesh were also expanded. To prevent Bangladesh's dependence on the USSR for arms and ammunition, the United States showed interest to consider export license requests from Bangladesh for the cash sales of military equipments. Another important achievement of the US diplomacy toward Bangladesh was the NPT (Nuclear

⁴³⁰ Lawrence Lifschultz and Kai Bird, 'Bangladesh: Anatomy of a Coup', *The Economic and Political Weekly* (Bombay), 15 December, 1979.

⁴³¹ *The Nation*, 21 June, 1980.

⁴³² *Tribute to Sheikh Mujib: Fifth Death Anniversary* (London: Bangabandhu Society, 1980), p.33.

⁴³³ *The Tribune* (Chandigarh), 20 August, 1975.

⁴³⁴ *The Indian Express* (New Delhi), 1 November, 1975.

⁴³⁵ Harun Ur Rashid, *op.cit.*, p.277.

⁴³⁶ Gen. Ziaur Rahman, the military dictator ruled from the last of 1975 to May 1981 & another military dictator Gen. Ershad ruled 9 years (1982-1990). Both of them started as a military dictator and afterwards they spread a democratic curtain over their regime.

Nonproliferation Treaty). As Ziaur Rahman government became fully dependent on the United States, the latter was easily able to convince the former to sign the NPT. Bangladesh signed the NPT on September 1979. In return, Washington agreed to help Dhaka in setting up a research reactor in Savar near Dhaka, which Americans had refused to do earlier.⁴³⁷ However, India and Pakistan refused to sign the NPT. Needless to say, the NPT helped make a strong bond in the US-Bangladesh relationship. When Ziaur Rahman met the US president Jimmy Carter in 1980 during UN General Assembly Session in Washington, the latter assured him of giving all possible cooperation in the successful implementation of the second Five Year Plan.⁴³⁸ However, the US assistance to Zia-government was not fruitful to tame political elites of Bangladesh and he had to face more than 19 military coups. On the other hand, with the help of the US-China-Pakistan line, the anti-liberation force in Bangladesh restored its strength, which paved the way of developing fundamentalism. After the killing of Ziaur Rahman, the US Ambassador to UN Jean J. Kirkpatrick visited the country to confirm the type of the US-Bangladesh relations that were articulated by Ziaur Rahman. During her visit, she remarked:

The most important reason of my visit is to extend the greetings and assurance of President Reagan and of our continuing appreciation for Bangladesh, of the determination of our new administration to cooperate with Bangladesh steadfastly.

....The United States looks forward to continued cooperation with Bangladesh in the field of economic development and in search of a solution for the problems of the politically and economically independent world.⁴³⁹

General Ershad grabbed the power through a bloodless military coup soon after the demise of Zia-government. The United States did not oppose the military rule strongly as the event ushered more opportunity for her diplomatic vision. This time the government of Bangladesh became totally dependent on the USA. Ershad never visited the USSR. He also ordered the expulsion of Soviet diplomats from Bangladesh and he forcibly closed the Soviet Cultural Center in the country in 1983.⁴⁴⁰ This anti-Soviet stand of General Ershad further deepened the US-Bangladesh relation. Despite overthrowing the Indo-USSR influence, Ziaur Rahman tried to be free from complete dependence on the United States. The initiative of SAARC was such an example. But during the Ershad tenure, Bangladesh's foreign policy was completely shifted away

⁴³⁷ The Government of USA, *Department of State Bulletin*, November 1979, pp.49-50.

⁴³⁸ Mr. Rashiduzzaman, 'Bangladesh Today', *Current History*, Vol.81, No. 475, May 1982, p.209.

⁴³⁹ *The Bangladesh Fortnightly*(Dhaka: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Dept. of Film and Publication), 1 September, 1982, pp.1-2.

⁴⁴⁰ M. G. Kibria and Shaikat Hussien, eds., *Issues and Challenges Facing Bangladesh Foreign Policy* (Dhaka: Bangladesh Society for International Studies, 1989), p.178.

from the Indo-Soviet influence to the US influence. However, the US president Reagan encouraged Ershad to move quickly to restore representative government while the latter visited Washington in 1983. When the people of Bangladesh became fed up with the long dictatorial rule of Ershad and demanded democracy, the United States changed its policy as the cold war rivalry was seemed to be ceased. This time, US attention was mainly confined to the Middle East and Eastern Europe and Bangladesh got less attention in its foreign policy.

3.3 The US-Bangladesh relations during 1991-9/11/2001

During this period, the US policy toward Bangladesh has transformed several times. Through a mass upheaval, General Ershad was overthrown from the power and a caretaker government was established in 1990. Under this government, a free and fair election was held. Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), with the help of Jamat-e-Islami, formed a democratic government in 1991. This government followed the US-China-Pakistan line and, therefore, the relation between the United States and Bangladesh remained the same. However, as the cold war world system was collapsing and the United States became the sole superpower, it gradually changed its policy toward India and Pakistan. Pakistan went to back burner in US South Asian policy and India became the main focus point. This trend also reshaped the policy toward Bangladesh. Therefore, the US-China-Pakistan line policy for ‘balance of power’ was replaced by the bilateral relations.

During this period, the United States tried to sign up ‘Trade and Investment Framework Agreement’ (TIFA) with Bangladesh. But the emphasis on Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) and reduction of non-tariff barriers within the proposed TIFA, none of the Bangladesh governments during this period was interested to sign TIFA, because Bangladesh is an LDC country. Signing TIFA would shrink the opportunities of Bangladesh as an LDC country in the US market. However, the United States gave several definitions of TIFA terms to ensure that it would not be harmful for Bangladesh. The United States also insisted Bangladesh to give India transit or transshipment facilities as well as exporting gas. It seemed, the United States recognized India as a regional power and wanted to be benefited from the friendship of the latter. In addition to this, the United States started to give the same importance to the two main political parties in Bangladesh— BNP and Awami League; because, within this period Awami League dropped ‘social economy policy’ and accepted ‘free market economic policy’ within its party manifesto. As a policy of taming BNP and Awami League, the United States gave Jamat-e-Islami a breakthrough, accepting them

as a moderate Muslim political party. During the democratic movement against Ershad regime and afterwards, the Ambassadors of European Commission and the United States made innumerable ‘sitting and meeting’ with the leaders of Jamat-e-Islami. This proves that the United States wants to establish Jamat-e-Islami as a third party pressure group to balance the two main parties— BNP and AL in Bangladesh. The scholars think, Jamat-e-Islami got US attention because it has already proved itself as an economic giant in Bangladesh economy. After 1990, the United States’ interest in Bangladesh was mainly a sustainable environment for democracy.

As the cold war world system had been collapsed and a new world order emerged, the United States also redesigned its policy toward ‘Third World Countries’. This is evident in the restructuring of the US State Department. Within the whole ‘cold war’ period, the United States calculated the South Asian policy as an extension of its Asian Policy; therefore, there was no ‘section’ for South Asia in the State Department. But in 1993, the US government introduced a ‘new section’ for South Asia in the State Department. Karl Inderfurth, a senior official of the State Department of the Clinton administration gave a statement at the Harvard University in early 2000. He said, “US interest in South Asia was to promote ‘democracy, economic reforms, social development and integration into the global mainstream.’”⁴⁴¹ US President William Jefferson Clinton (Bill Clinton) also visited Bangladesh to promote bilateral relations on 20 March, 2000. He was the first US President within 38 years of the history of independent Bangladesh, who visited the country. Regarding the bilateral relations Clinton said, “.... Tomorrow the sun will rise on a deeper friendship between America and Bangladesh... I am proud of the kind of the partnership we are forging.”⁴⁴² All these expanded the US-Bangladesh trade relations. Now, more than 200 US companies are engaged in business in Bangladesh. Volume of trade and investments were also increased manifold.

It is observed that the US economic growth depends on the exports of goods and service industry to other countries. That’s why, they want market access in banking, insurance, telecommunication, securities, audio-visual and agriculture. They also want lower tariff and non-tariff barrier for their goods. These are not complying with the existing economic system in Bangladesh. So, the United States insisted Bangladesh for economic reforms and the integration into the global mainstream. All these are possible only within a democratic environment. Needless to say, if Bangladesh remains a stable, democratic country, it may provide good opportunities for the US

⁴⁴¹ Harun Ur Rashid, *op.cit.*, p.284.

⁴⁴² *The Daily Independent*, Dhaka, March, 21, 2000.

firms to establish business ventures because of its accountability and transparency within the rule of law. That's why, after the collapse of the USSR, the United States dropped the US-China-Pakistan line policy and gave more emphasis on a stable democratic government in Bangladesh. However, while the democratic governments of Bangladesh (1991-2001) failed to fulfill the desired 'speedy economic reforms', the United States became disappointed and tried to rely on the Caretaker Government (2006-2008). According to Karl Inderfurth, this time, it followed 3-Rs policy, 'Reform, Registrar (voter) and Resign.'⁴⁴³ Again, the US policy has transformed to 3-Ds (Democracy, Development and Denial for Space Terrorism) as soon as a democratic government was established in Bangladesh in 2009.

The US-Bangladesh bilateral relation has deepened within this period for other significant reasons also. After 9/11 attacks in Washington, the United States declared 'Global War on Terror'. It sought Bangladesh's partnership in the battle against world terrorist networks. Though Bangladesh did not agree to be a direct partner of US counter terrorism, it declared that no terrorist activity would be accepted within the territory of Bangladesh and gives no shelter to any terrorist. The United States appreciated this firm stand. During the first tenure of Bush Administration, the US Secretary of the State and the Defense Secretary visited Bangladesh for the purpose. Then a series of visits by senior officials of the US State Department was held to consolidate bilateral relations. The counter terrorism chief of the State Department also visited Bangladesh in 2004.

However, the United States still wants to see its 'old ally' in power in Bangladesh so that it might achieve the best out of this ally. Dr. Yunus issue, denial of funding in Padma Bridge Project by World Bank, withdrawal of GSP facility and questioning over the 'International War Crimes Tribunal' and '5 January election in 1914' are some of the ready examples of its tendency.

4. US-Sri Lanka Relations

Sri Lanka is an island nation in the Indian Ocean having a constitutional democracy. It has a long colonial history when three major European powers: the Portuguese (1505-1654), the Dutch (1654-1815) and, finally the British (11796-1948) ruled the territory. Scholars thought, unlike the most other third world countries, Sri Lanka has been able to develop a flexible and perhaps more viable parliamentary political system, in which rival political parties have the opportunity to form an alternative government. This political structure evolved from the gradual constitutional developments under the

⁴⁴³ *ibid*, p. 285.

British colonial regime from 1798 to 1948. Therefore, Sri Lanka has been considered as a non-violent and non-volatile nation compared to other developing nations in Asia and Africa.⁴⁴⁴ However, soon after independence, the political, social, and economic development of Sri Lanka has been seriously constrained by ethnic conflict between the majority Sinhalese and minority Tamil ethnic groups. Since 1983, a civil war has broken out between the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) under the leadership of Velupillai Prabhakaran and the government of Sri Lanka, which cost at least 70,000 lives up to 2009. LTTE is considered as a rebel group that sought to establish a separate state or internal self-rule in the Tamil-dominated areas of the North and the East. The United States designated the LTTE as a Foreign Terrorist Organization in 1997. After a massive ethnic violence in mid-2006, the government of Sri Lanka took a major military offensive against LTTE in 2007, which followed the formal withdrawal from the ceasefire agreement in January 2008 and culminate in the military defeat of LTTE. From then, US main concern in Sri Lanka was to ensure the full political participation of all communities in its democracy as well as to find out the solution for ‘growing and grave humanitarian crises.’

With the defeat of the LTTE field forces and the combat death of their leader Velupillai Prabhakaran in May 2009, open conflict seems to be stopped. However, a large number of civilians are trapped with the remnant of the LTTE forces along a coastal strip of land in North-Western Sri Lanka. The US Department of State; therefore, urged the Government of Sri Lanka to allow international observers into the area of conflict.⁴⁴⁵ In a speech, President Obama pointed out on May 13, 2009, that these people have little access to food, water, shelter and medicine. This has led to widespread suffering and the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives.

Needless to say, Sri Lanka is located at the intersection of some of the world’s most important waterways. Therefore, during the cold war period, the United States’ concern was to prevent Sri Lanka from falling on the hand of the communist bloc. Hence, the United States provided large sum of aid to establish multi-dimensional with the country to foster its goal. Since Sri Lankan independence in 1948, the United States has provided more than \$3.6 billion funds in assistance, about two-thirds of this in the form of food aid. Direct nonfood aid for FY 2007 is estimated at \$9.4 million.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁴ S. J. Tambiah, ‘Ethnic Representation in Ceylon Higher Administrative Services, 1870-1946’, *University of Ceylon Review*, No. 2-3, 1995, pp.113-134.

⁴⁴⁵ Pradhan, Chandramani, ‘Ethnic Conflict and US-Sri Lanka Relations’, *Odisha Review*, July 2012, p. 44. (See: <http://orissa.gov.in/e-magazine/Oriissareview/2012/July/engpdf/45-56.pdf>, retrieved on 12/10.2014.).

⁴⁴⁶ *ibid.*

Sri Lanka was mainly an agricultural country where, prior to the independence, there was no industrial sector except those related to the plantation economy.⁴⁴⁷ There were only a cotton mill, a tile works, two match factories, two distilleries and a few engineering workshops before 1959. Therefore, the United States could have invested large sums for its industrialization and solving the growing unemployment problem. But the United States ignored the opportunity and continued to give assistance through USAID program. But China, taking the opportunity of cold war alliance with the United States, has been able to establish a strong base in Colombo on which, it is now enjoying unprecedented domination over the country confronting the US policy.

In recent years, China's influence over Colombo has accelerated by means of playing a central role in the country's post-war reconstruction. Lankan defense trade is more with China, Russia and Pakistan— less friendly with the Americans. At the beginning of April 2013, Deputy Defense Minister from China and Defense Secretary of Pakistan praised the post-civil war initiatives of the military and the government of Sri Lanka. The presence of Chinese nuclear submarines has also sighted in the Indian Ocean, close to Sri Lanka recently. All these proved China-Sri Lanka a strong military band, which is a prime concern to the United States.

Now, it is a matter of concern of the scholars of the United States that the acrimony between Colombo and Washington could accelerate Sri Lanka's burgeoning relationship with Beijing in such extent adverse to American interests in the region. The US Congress also organized debates over the scope, manner, and degree to which Washington should continue pressing Colombo over its human rights record reflects the potency of this challenge. Congress also raised questions over following 'quiet diplomacy' with respect to difficult and sensitive issues such as human rights situation in Sri Lanka.

However, the US government is steadily approaching toward the new challenges and reshaping its policy here. For this purpose, Washington reinforced its institutional aspect through Panetta by appointing Deputy Defense Secretary Ashton Carter as the point man for deepening bilateral defense trade with Sri Lanka. He wished to cut through "bureaucratic red tape on both sides" to make defense trade simple, responsive, and effective.⁴⁴⁸ The Congress also amended 'International Traffic in Arms Regulations (22 CFR 126.1)' effective on March 22, 2012, which includes the following paragraph:

⁴⁴⁷ Gamini Samaranayake, *Political Violence in Sri Lanka 1971-1987*, (New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 2008), p.89.

⁴⁴⁸ Austin Fernando, 'Sri Lanka and Indian/American Agenda', *the Colombo Tribune*, 8 April, 2013.

The Department of State is amending the International Traffic in Arms Regulations to add another exception to the license denial policy toward Sri Lanka. This change allows for exports to Sri Lanka for assistance for aerial and maritime surveillance.⁴⁴⁹

Again, in 2008 it had amended the regulation for arms embargo on the Sri Lanka, when the government took a crush military offense against LTTE. The US Department of State then added a new paragraph which included:

It is the policy of the United States to deny licenses and other approvals to export or otherwise transfer defense articles and services to Sri Lanka except, on a case-by-case basis, for technical data or equipment made available for the limited purposes of maritime and air surveillance and communications.⁴⁵⁰

By this amendment, the United States withdrew its trade embargo on Sri Lanka. So, it is clear, despite the United States' political pressure on Sri Lanka is going on, the former steadily reopening its trade relation with the later to combat Chinese influence. According to Jalia Wickramaduriya, Sri Lankan Ambassador in Washington, which she stated in a post entitled *A Role for Sri Lanka in US Pivot to Asia*, the trend of western economic and political power is gradually shifting to the east by reinforcing trade and security alliances across Asia.⁴⁵¹ By examining President Obama's foreign policy pivots to Asia, she unfolded Obama's vision of 'America's Pacific Century' viz: US strategic relations with Sri Lanka. Austin Fernando wrote:

...(President Obama) orchestrated links between Americans and Sri Lanka before 2009 and how the post-conflict status is being handled by Sri Lanka, and impressed on the potential openings for Americans and projected rebuilding trade partnership and means to become a stronger geopolitical and strategic ally of the USA. This is beckoning the Americans.⁴⁵²

However, the US-Sri Lanka relation has now depending on the characteristics of the US-India relations. This is also obvious in the remarks of the US Ambassador Karl F. Inderfurth. According to Ambassador Karl F. Inderfurth: "US-India defense relations could be taking shape with each defense dialogue, each defense sale, each military exercise," another dot being applied to the canvas of the US-India defense ties that is slowly, gradually, taking shape as an increasingly important defense partnership." The US Defense Secretary Leon Panetta also referred to India as a 'linchpin' in America's new defense strategy focused on 'rebalancing' to the Asia-Pacific region.⁴⁵³

⁴⁴⁹ US Department of State, *Federal Register*, Vol. 77, No. 56 / Thursday, March 22, 2012 / Rules and Regulations, P. 16670.

⁴⁵⁰ US Department of State, *Federal Register*, Vol. 73, No. 57 / Monday, March 24, 2008 / Rules and Regulations, p. 15409.

⁴⁵¹ *ibid.*

⁴⁵² *ibid.*

⁴⁵³ *ibid.*

2. The US-Nepal relations

Nepal is a landlocked Himalayan buffer kingdom between India and China. It had not been under direct occupation of the British regime. Therefore, it always enjoyed a kind of independence. However, after the departure of the British colonial power from South Asia, the United States of America recognized Nepal on 25 April 1947, thus it entered into diplomatic relationship with the latter.⁴⁵⁴ The relations between the two countries were upgraded to ambassadorial level in 1953. Nepal established its Embassy in Washington D.C. on 3 February, 1958. On the other hand, American Embassy in Kathmandu was opened on 6 August 1959. Nepal is one of the poorest countries in the world and is prone to natural disasters. Per Capita income of the country was only \$242 in 2003 and 38% of its population lived below the poverty line in the same year.⁴⁵⁵ This was because the country has been burdened with political chaos from the departure of the British colonial regime. However, due to the end of the Maoist insurgency and the adoption of Maoist guerrillas in Nepalese Royal Army, introduction of democratic rule as well as massive US assistance, its economy is developing gradually. According to the report of *Nepal Economy Profile 2014*, its per capita income has increased to \$1500 (2011) and the poverty line has also upgraded. In 2011 the percentage of population below the poverty line became 25.2%.⁴⁵⁶ The United States had always been friendly with the landlocked country, Nepal. But due to the geopolitical reasons, Nepal got less attention in US South Asia policy. Nepal had been always a kingdom. Even the British colonial power did not destroy its age-old ruling tradition. However, after the departure of the British colonial government, Nepal became a safe zone for 'Maoist' communist insurgency. The unskilled Nepalese Royal Army could not resist the terrorists successfully. In 1990, following a democratization movement, Nepal became a parliamentary democracy under a constitutional monarch. But the political instability and internal security challenge severely hampered its economic growth and reform efforts. In June 2001 Nepalese royal family experienced a tragedy. A suicidal assassination killed ten members of the royal family including King Birendra. The younger brother of the murdered king, Gyanendra, occupied the throne. The following governments tried to restore the good political environment but failed. As a result, in February 2005 King

⁴⁵⁴ See : <http://www.mofa.gov.np/en/bilateral-relations-nepal-usa-208.html#sthash.EwEEhN3p.dpuf> , retrieved on 12/12.2014.

⁴⁵⁵ Sources: CIA World Fact book; Reuters News; U.S. Departments of Commerce and State; World Bank; Asian Development Bank; Global Insight.

⁴⁵⁶ Nepal Economy Profile, Index Mundi, (see: http://www.indexmundi.com/nepal/economy_profile.html, retrieved on 12/12.2014.).

Gyanendra declared a state of emergency, assumed full powers, suspended civil liberties and placed opposition leaders under arrest to fight the Maoist insurgency.⁴⁵⁷ Prior to that, the Kathmandu government faced serious political opposition and increasing pressure to end the Maoist insurgency. It is to be noted that long since Nepal was facing 'Maoist terrorists'. However, since 1996 this movement turned to a new shape. Maoists have caused widespread violence, which crippled the Nepali economy. The security situation in Nepal further worsened since the collapse of the ceasefire between the Maoists and the government on August 27, 2003. More than 10,000 people reportedly have been killed in the fighting.⁴⁵⁸ Consequently, King Gyanendra declared state emergency.

However, almost all the democratic world opposed King's took over. The US Ambassador James Moriarty reportedly warned the king that 'Nepal's future may be bleak if he does not restore constitutionally guaranteed freedoms, free political leaders and give them access to their parties.'⁴⁵⁹ India and the United Kingdom also declared to withdraw security assistance to the King, but the United States' stand was: "...we're still looking at our options for security assistance."⁴⁶⁰

Geopolitically Nepal situates between the two Asian giants-India and China; therefore, has severely constrained its foreign policy and trade options. Due to the natural boundary, Nepal is heavily dependent on India. The Himalayan mountain range along Nepal's northern border limits its access to China, whereas the 500-mile southern border with India is relatively open. Therefore, it is dependent on India for its primary source of imports, the main market for exports, and for an access to the sea through the major port of Calcutta. The Nepali leadership more often resented for its dependence on India and sought to achieve an independent foreign policy. Sometimes, they 'played the China card' to counterbalance the pressure from India. Since Nepal's stability is important to China as it serves as a buffer between China and India, China gave support to Nepal's fight against the Maoist insurgency.⁴⁶¹ In November 2001, China agreed to train Nepali Army and to provide communication equipments.

⁴⁵⁷ Bruce Vaughn , *Nepal: Background and US Relations*, (USA: Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division, Congressional Research Service, The Library of Congress, March, 2005), see: summary; (source: <http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/crs/rl31599.pdf>, retrieved on 12/12.2014.)

⁴⁵⁸ *ibid*, p.2

⁴⁵⁹ See: <http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/crs/rl31599.pdf>, retrieved on 12/12.2014.

⁴⁶⁰ Government of the United States, 'Department of State Issues Daily Press Briefing, Feb 25', States News Service, February 25, 2005.

⁴⁶¹ Philip Pan, 'China Backs Nepal Over Maoist Rebels; Move Reflects Beijing's Growing Interest in Fostering stability, Not Revolution,' *The Washington Post* , July 14, 2002.

Moreover, China continued to provide \$10 million economic aid per year.⁴⁶² So, it is clear that the United States has limited access to Nepal, the landlocked country, altering the two giant regional forces to foster its wider interests. It seemed, Nepal's significance in the US-policy is peripheral and it recognizes India's perceived dominance here. The United States provided support to India-Nepal relations against China. However, the US policy objectives toward Nepal include supporting democratic institutions and economic liberalization, promoting peace and stability in South Asia, supporting Nepalese independence and territorial integrity and alleviating poverty.

The United States has been assisting in Nepal's development programs since 1951. US total development assistance over the years amounts to 400 million dollars.⁴⁶³ In more than five decades, the United States has provided assistance to Nepal in various sectors such as transport, communication, public health, family planning, malaria eradication, agriculture, forestry, energy etc. On January 26th, 2005, United States' senate approved Trade Act of 2005, which would allow duty free access for products from Nepal.⁴⁶⁴

After having started the democratization process in 1990, the US-Nepal relation has been deepened. The US First Lady Hillary Clinton visited Nepal in 1995 to observe the development. However, after 1996, the US-Nepal relation was severely restrained due to the Maoist insurgency. Nepali government received strong pressure from the western world to take necessary actions and develop the human rights situation. However, after 9/11 attack in Washington, as a part of US 'counter terrorism policy', Nepal also got special attention to the US policy makers. Onwards, series of visits of the US officials were held in Nepal: Assistant Secretary of State Christina Rocca in 2001, 2002, 2003 and 2005, Secretary of State Colin Powell in January 2002, Richard Boucher, Assistant Secretary of State in May 2006, November 2006 and February 2009, Under Secretary of State Henrietta Fore in March 2007, Assistant Secretary of State for South and Central Asian Affairs Mr. Robert O. Blake on June 12-13, 2009 and on 11 September 2012, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Wendy R. Sherman on April 4, 2012 and Under Secretary of State for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights, Maria Otero from November 17 to 19, 2012 and on

⁴⁶² *Nepal: Country Report*, The Economist Intelligence Unit, February 2005.

⁴⁶³ *Press Release*, Embassy of the United States, Nepal, Tuesday, May 10, 2005.

⁴⁶⁴ S. 191 Trade Act of 2005 as introduced in the Senate and 'Bill Seeking Duty Free Access of LDC Products Raised in US Congress', Organization of Asia-Pacific News Agencies, February 23, 2005.

February 12 to 14, 2012.⁴⁶⁵ These series of visits of the US high officials in Nepal indicates, though peripheral, Nepal is becoming increasingly important in the US policy.

In December 2002, the United States and Nepal signed an accord similar to that of US-India pact known as ‘An Article 98 Agreement’, in which Nepal agreed the non-surrender of nationals to any international criminal court without prior consent of the United States.⁴⁶⁶ To strengthen ‘Antiterrorist Assistance Program’ of the United States, both the country also signed a ‘Memorandum of Intent’ in March 2003.⁴⁶⁷

In recent years, the United States approached for wider trade relations with Nepal and the latter also eager to increase the volume of trade with the United States, since it wants the burgeoning opportunity from both India and China. Therefore, both the country signed ‘The Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA)’ on 15 April 2011. In December of the same year, the United States cancelled the warning against travel to Nepal. Under TIFA agreement, Nepal received an inflow of Rs. 5,138 million until July 2012 as FDIs from the US. The investments were made in 198 various joint ventures with the generation of employment for 12,876 people. The Peace Corps Nepal, which temporarily suspended its operations and activities from September 2004, has resumed its operations from January 17, 2012. The volunteers have been working in rural areas in various sectors including teaching in schools.

In the recent past, US most concern in Nepal was to prevent the ‘Maoist insurgency’ since the former is committed to democracy and free market economy. Therefore, to enhance the capability of the Nepalese Royal Army to fight Maoist terrorists, the United States provided Nepal with \$22 million in light weaponry and other military assistance.⁴⁶⁸ Not only that, in the congressional budget session, the US government proposes an increase in military assistance from \$1,488,000 to \$4,000,000 for Foreign Military Financing (FMF) in ‘FY 2006 request’ for Nepal with a stable \$650,000 for International Military Education (IMET) and training in Nepal.⁴⁶⁹

It seems ‘Maoist concern’ has been over. Nepal also became a partner of the US counterterrorism policy. Nepal wants US friendship to bring out benefit from the Indo-China burgeoning. On the other hand, the United States wants Nepal’s good

⁴⁶⁵ See: <http://www.mofa.gov.np/en/bilateral-relations-nepal-usa-208.html#sthash.EwEEhN3p.dpuf>, retrieved on 12/12.2014.

⁴⁶⁶ ‘Nepal-U.S. Non-Surrender Accord’, Press Release, American Embassy, Kathmandu, December 31, 2002

⁴⁶⁷ ‘Nepal and U.S. Governments Sign Antiterrorism Assistance’, Press Release, American Embassy, Kathmandu, April 25, 2003

⁴⁶⁸ ‘US Saddened Over Maoist Targeting’, *BBC Monitoring*, South Asia, August 1, 2003.

⁴⁶⁹ ‘South Asia’, FY 2006 Congressional Budget Justification for Foreign Operations, Released February 15, 2005, United States Department of State.

relation with India, the Asian ‘point man’ of the United States to counterbalance China influence.

However, the US-Nepal relations are strengthening day by day. According to the *REPORT ON NEPAL’S FOREIGN AFFAIRS (2015-2016)* produced by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Nepal, Kathmandu [published in Nepal June, 2016] The ‘Trade Facilitation and Trade Enforcement Act, 2015’ has boosted the prospect of Nepal’s increased export to the US. Again, the US also has increased its development cooperation in Nepal through the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) compact initiative and is currently engaged with the Government of Nepal to identify appropriate projects in infrastructure and energy sector under the initiative. The report also mentions that the US Government continued to offer a large number of trainings, short-term study courses, and exchange of study tours to the officials and professionals of the Government of Nepal, especially, the military and police personnel.

3. The US-Maldives relations

Maldives is a country of the island nation in the Indian Ocean— an Arabian Sea area. Maldives have been always an independent polity before 1887 when it became a protectorate of the British Empire. In 1965 it became independent from the British rule and turned into a Presidential Republic in 1968. It is the low⁴⁷⁰ country of the world, having an average ground level elevation of 1.5 meters (4 ft 11 in) above sea level with a territory of 1,192 islands spread over roughly 90,000 square kilometers (35,000 sq mi) of which 192 islands are now being inhabited by approximately 328,536 people (2012).⁴⁷¹ Its main economy is tourism and fishing. Tourism accounts for 28% of the GDP and more than 60% of the Maldives’ foreign exchange receipts. Over 90% of government tax revenue comes from import duties and tourism-related taxes. Maldivians enjoy the highest GDP (PPP) per capita \$11,900 (2013)⁴⁷² among the South Asian countries. However, the country is now facing the serious concern of future inundation due to rising sea level.⁴⁷³

Maldives, 450 miles off the south-western tip of India, is located in such a strategic area in the Indian Ocean, which connects West Asia, Africa and East Asia with

⁴⁷⁰ Henley, Jon ‘The last days of paradise’ *The Guardian* (London, 11 November 2008); retrieved 12 May 2010.

⁴⁷¹ ‘2014 Human Resource Report Summary’, United Nations Development Program, 2014, pp. 21–25; retrieved: 27 July, 2014.

⁴⁷² World Resources Institute Data, see: <http://www.wri.org/our-work/project/earthtrends-environmental-informationtext/economics-business/variable-638.html>, retrieved on 12/12.2014.

⁴⁷³ Jon Henley, *op.cit.*

Europe and the Americas. So, the country is significant not only for the greater interests of the United States but also in India and China. China has already achieved global preeminence in World Economy in 2014 and the recent analysis predicts that it will be the world's largest importer of oil by 2017 and 80 percent of this oil will be transported through the Indian Ocean.⁴⁷⁴ China wants to ensure its vital energy routes remain open in the Indian Ocean; and therefore, has strengthened its military presence in the region. On the other hand, the United States wants to retain its long standing dominance in the Indian Ocean area and it seems that it will fight to maintain this at whatever it costs. Thus, Maldives becomes a 'strategically buffer country' among the three nations: Americans, Chinese and Indians. Needless to say, the United States wants to sign SOFA treaty with the Maldives for the US military presence in the country to counter China. The United States has another interest in Maldives and that is to foster 'counter terrorism.' It has become a great concern for the United States that in Maldives, recently, Islamic Radicalism is spreading rapidly. Therefore, the United States has designated the Maldives as a backward Islamic terrorist state.

However, before 2002 the US ambassadors in Colombo charged with following Sri Lankan and Maldivian affairs was indifferent about the Maldives' domestic affairs because they were busy with the civil war in Sri Lanka.⁴⁷⁵ In December 2002, US officials sat down with senior Maldivians in Male and demanded that the Maldives sign 'an Article 98 agreements, which Sri Lanka had already signed in November. They also warned that, the states refused were being removed from US Aid programs.⁴⁷⁶ Regardless, the United States wanted an interactive relationship with the government of the Maldives as an anti-terrorism response of the 9/11 attacks. The US expected the Maldives to enact anti-terrorism laws and sign an 'Article 98 agreement' making Maldivian-US prisoner exchange procedures immunities from the International Criminal Court.

However, the US has no experience or knowledge of Maldivian culture and its long relationship with Islam that is so vastly different from the radical Islam. Perhaps, the misinterpretation of the US 'Counter Terrorism' policy has led to the spread of radicalism here. Though the United States has a vast budget and plan for counter-radicalization efforts that go beyond its borders, it does not have any research on how

⁴⁷⁴ Dr. Azra Naseem, 'Comment: Speaking of sovereignty-US interest in the Maldives', *Minivan News* (Maldives), 5 October, 2013.

⁴⁷⁵ Michael O Shea, 'How the US discovered the Maldives in the aftermath of 9/11', *Minivan News* (Maldives),

September 11th, 2011.

⁴⁷⁶ *ibid.*

and why the Islamic Radicalism is becoming popular in the Maldivian society, rather it sends its ‘terrorism experts’ who opt to train the people how they can prevent radicalism. This kind of working framework is not fitted with the culture and creed of Maldivians; therefore, creating a negative perception about the US interests there. One example is the forcefully installation of the PISCES (Personal Identification Secure Comparison and Evaluation System) in the border control system in the Maldives. Under this project, the officials of Maldivian immigration are to take such basic computer training that has made them frustrated because they are more advanced level of learners in computer literacy than the imposed knowledge-training. Moreover, the PISCES is not actually a border control system compared to the earlier offered system of ‘Nexbiz’, a Malaysian company. It is actually a software that just counts the number of ‘Mohameds’ and ‘Ahmeds’ and other passengers with ‘Muslim names’ [terrorists by default] who enter and leave from the geo-strategically important Maldives so that US Terrorist Database is kept up to date.⁴⁷⁷ This actually hampered Maldivian immigration system. Due to the installation of the PISCES on Maldivian immigration system, the Maldivian officials have totally lost control over their own borders and become wholly inept at handling the human trafficking crisis because it does not allow immigration officials to trace expatriates’ whereabouts, which is greatly increasing the opportunities for expatriates’ remaining in the Maldives illegally. According to Azra Naseem, a prominent columnist in the Maldives, meddling in the domestic affairs of the Maldives is actually US imperialist neo-colonial attitude.⁴⁷⁸ We have seen that the United States attacked Iraq on the basis of an allegation of having mass-destructive chemical weapons. But after having massacred Iraq, they found nothing.

According to some released cables (published by wiki leaks) of the US diplomats in Colombo, after 9/11 the United States officials knew nothing more about the status of the Maldives states. But working with the Gayoom government, they gradually knew that the Maldives have strong terrorist elements. While the United States was eager to sign ‘an Article 98 agreements’, the delegation of Maldivian government placed three demands before them:

- a) LDC status, which due for review by the UN Committee for Development Policy in April 2003;
- b) a photo with George Bush and

⁴⁷⁷ *ibid.*

⁴⁷⁸ *ibid.*

c) an access to Guantanamo Bay to question Maldivian convicted citizen Ibrahim Fauzee.’

According to the leaked cables, the Maldivian delegates said, ‘...Gayoom would deeply appreciate the honor of even a very short meeting... [He] was up for re-election next year and, as a politician, a meeting with President Bush was especially important to him at this time.’⁴⁷⁹ The leaked cables revealed that the US government agreed the secret negotiation for signing ‘Article 98 agreement.’

In January 2003, the Maldives Foreign Minister Fatulla Jameel assured that they are considering the agreement speedily. But the United States became impatient. After a series of negotiations, delay-dealing, the US pressure and Maldivian counter assurance, the agreement finally concluded and the United States promoted the payoff to the Maldives, namely a positive response to a request for continued Least Developed Country (LDC) status in July 2003. In August 2003, two senior Maldivian security officers were allowed to question Ibrahim Fauzee at Guantanamo. The Maldivian officers reported, the results of their interrogation to US officials in Colombo, and the embassy then distanced Fauzee from suspicious activities.⁴⁸⁰ On September 15, 2003, the embassy continued to claim that there was ‘little sign of serious political dissonance.’⁴⁸¹ Then a riot occurred in the Male, which led to a serious social disorders and killing.

The present crisis in the Maldives is also a ‘blue print’ of the Obama administration. The US administration wants such a president in the Maldives who will be eligible for promoting US interests there. Dr. Waheed is best suited for the purpose because he is educated at Stanford, San Francisco and a US ‘green card’ holder. Dr. Waheed’s children are also US citizens. On the other hand, President Nasheed is a popular leader in Maldives; therefore, according to the US diplomats, has lacked ‘statesmanship’ and is incompetent to the democracy of Maldives. The fact is that, President Nasheed discharged General Nazim, considered as a dubious general, who was the mover and shaker not only implementing PISCES but also securing a SOFA with the United States. This state of Nasheed’s act annoyed the United States. Therefore, a military coup overthrew Nashed government on February 7, 2012.⁴⁸² The United States accepted the illegal coup in 2012.⁴⁸³ Then Mohammad Waheed Hassan, pro-US

⁴⁷⁹ *ibid.*

⁴⁸⁰ *ibid.*

⁴⁸¹ *ibid.*

⁴⁸² *BBC News*, 7 February 2012, retrieved 7 February 2012.

⁴⁸³ <http://mondoweiss.net/2013/11/undermine-democracy-military#sthash.bbuEGhP5.dpuf>, retrieved on 11/08/2014.

political leader, established a coalition government with all political parties except Nasheed's MDP (Maldivian Democratic Party), which lasted up to 17 November 2013. In early in 2013 the incumbent government held an election. In that election, MDP under the leadership of Nasheed got 45.45 % votes (95,224 votes-highest).⁴⁸⁴ Abdullah Yameen's Progressive Party got 25.35% votes (53,099 votes-second highest). But the military backed government postponed the election-result through court and planned for a re-run election. In the first round of the re-election on 7 September 2013, none of the parties got 50% vote. However, the Supreme Court Judge Ahmed Abdulla Didi annulled the elections and cancelled the planned second round on 19 October⁴⁸⁵ on the basis of a confidential police report that claimed that 5,623 ineligible people had voted in the elections including dead people and others under 18.⁴⁸⁶ India hoped for the completion of voting by 11 November, 2013. At last the second round election took place on 9 November, 2013 and ex-President Nasheed was defeated.⁴⁸⁷

The scholars, who have been observing the present Maldivian political situation, believe that Abdullah Yameen's's winning is actually a part of the big game of the USA. The defense minister Mohamed Nazim, a coup leader of 7 February, was very close to the US ambassador (to Sri Lanka and the Maldives), Michele Sison. Earlier this year, the US government was negotiating with the Maldives about a Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA), which would have led to the increased military cooperation between the two countries, possibly including the US bases there.⁴⁸⁸ Someone leaked a draft of the agreement to the Maldivian press, and the US embassy was forced to acknowledge that such talks were going on, although denying plans for a permanent American base.⁴⁸⁹

So, it is clear that US counter terrorism alliance with the Maldives is nothing but a plan to control the geo-strategically significant country so that it might retain its dominance over the Indian Ocean.

However, the United States' relations with the Maldives are not warm. The US alleged about the human rights situations in Maldives and calls for targeted sanctions on government officials for human rights violations. It rejects the imprisonment of ex-

⁴⁸⁴ See: <http://mondoweiss.net/2013/11/undermine-democracy-military#sthash.bbuEGhP5.dpuf>, retrieved on 11/08/2014.

⁴⁸⁵ See: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-24974019>, retrieved on 11/08/2014.

⁴⁸⁶ *The Reuters*, 8 October 2013

⁴⁸⁷ See: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-24974019>, retrieved on 11/08/2014.

⁴⁸⁸ See: <http://mondoweiss.net/2013/11/undermine-democracy-military#sthash.bbuEGhP5.dpuf>, retrieved on 11/08/2014.

⁴⁸⁹ *ibid.*

Maldivian president Nasheed. In May, US Secretary of State John Kerry called Nasheed's imprisonment on a terrorism charges "an injustice that needs to be addressed soon."⁴⁹⁰ However, according to the present Government of Maldives appointed a US lobbyist group named 'Podesta' to "provide strategic counsel on strengthening" the Maldives' ties to the US government.⁴⁹¹ The contract with Podesta runs from September 8, 2015 through March 7, 2016.

4. The US-Bhutan relations

Bhutan is another landlocked small country in South Asia, located in the eastern end of the Himalayas. It is surrounded by India in three sides: the South, East and West. To the North, it borders with China. It is separated from Nepal by the Indian state Sikkim to the west and from Bangladesh by Assam and West Bengal in the South. Before the 17th Century, it was a part of greater Tibet. Bhutan came into contact with the British Empire in the early twentieth century. In 1907, when Ugyen Wangchuck was chosen to ascend to the throne of Bhutan unanimously, the British government recognized him. In 1910 Bhutan signed the 'Treaty of Punakha' with the British government of India, which gave Bhutan as a status of 'princely State.' The treaty was actually a 'subsidiary alliance', which gave the British government in India a control over Bhutan's foreign affairs. On 8 August 1949, Bhutan signed a treaty with the sovereign Indian similar to that of the 'Treaty of Punakha'.' Since then it has maintained bilateral relation with India. In 2007 both the country signed a new treaty, which superseded the earlier treaty of 1949. This new treaty indicates Bhutan's own control over its foreign relations, but it is still sometimes taken to mean that India controls Bhutan's foreign affairs. By holding a general election in 2008, Bhutan was changed into a constitutional monarchy from the absolute monarchy.

Bhutan has no significant economy. Its major source of foreign exchange is the export of electricity to India through the development of hydroelectric power and tourism. But globally Bhutan is famous for its king having introduced the concept of 'Gross National Happiness' as an alternative to the western materialistic construct of Gross National Product. According to *the Business week*, Bhutan was one of the happiest countries in Asia in 2006.⁴⁹²

⁴⁹⁰ *The Maldivian Independent*, September 27, 2015

⁴⁹¹ *ibid*

⁴⁹² *The Business Week*, 11 October, 2006.

Bhutan has an UN mission in New York. But the United States has no diplomatic office in Bhutan since there is no diplomatic formal relation with the latter.⁴⁹³ There is no significant US-Bhutan trade relation except cordial relation with the country. According to Dr. David C. Mulford, the former US diplomat in India, “There are no disadvantages [of not having diplomatic relations with Bhutan] for either of us and in my opinion, there is no need to move ahead quickly and try to do that because there is no real driving necessity.”⁴⁹⁴

However, both the countries maintain informal diplomatic relations through their embassies in New Delhi and Bhutanese honorary consulate in Washington. Through the US International Visitors Program, Bhutanese military officers can come to the US.⁴⁹⁵

Bhutan was once India’s protectorate. But now both the countries recognize its sovereignty. However, it is so tiny in size and its population was also so insignificant in number that many people in the United States have not yet heard of Bhutan.⁴⁹⁶ Only after two months of the Indo-Bhutan Friendship Treaty in 2007, the US Ambassador to India Dr. Mulford paid a ‘goodwill’ visit to Bhutan.⁴⁹⁷

Bhutan is mainly a Buddhist country. 75% of the population are Buddhists, 22% people are Hindus and only 3% people are ‘others’ category among them approximately 3000-6000 are Christian who deserve their religious rights. But the ‘Christianity’ in Bhutan is banned. The National Assembly of Bhutan banned Christianity twice: in 1969 and in 1979. The allegation against Christianity was that they were trying to convert the Buddhists in South Bhutan.⁴⁹⁸ In Bhutan there were more than 100,000 ‘refugees’, most of Nepalese ethnicity, who were in seven camps in Nepal. These refugees often tended to harm Bhutanese cultural distinction. Therefore, Bhutan government disagreed to let them stay on the conviction that they are severely harmful for Bhutanese distinct culture. Since many of the refugees were

⁴⁹³ Still today (in 2014) the US has no diplomatic relations with five countries: Cuba, Iran, North Korea, Tiwan and Bhutan.

⁴⁹⁴ *The Daily Kuensel* (Bhutan), April 18, 2007.

⁴⁹⁵ *Background Notes on Countries of the World: Bhutan* (USA:EBSCO Host Connection, July 2007), p. 5; see: <http://connection.ebscohost.com/c/country-reports/25813489/u-s-bhutan-relations>, retrieved on 11/08/2014.

⁴⁹⁶ Anugrah Kumar, ‘Why Should Tiny Bhutan Matter to the U.S.?’ *The Christian Post*, March 10, 2011.

⁴⁹⁷ *ibid.*

⁴⁹⁸ *The Daily Kuensel* (Bhutan), Nov. 4, 1992.

‘Christian’, of late 2012, more than 60,000 of these individuals had resettled in the United States.’⁴⁹⁹

However, the United States is trying to help Bhutan ensure the religious rights of the minority in Bhutan as it is one of the US global efforts to promote religious freedom. The United States tries to bridge the gap with Bhutan. But they are, according to ambassador Mulford, moving slowly and steadily.⁵⁰⁰ Bhutan tactically follows the policy of ‘entertain, not engagement.’ Why? The answer may be firstly, perhaps, the Bhutanese government is anxious about protecting its distinctive culture. Bhutan is always considered as the ‘Last Shangri La’.⁵⁰¹ They think, if the country becomes engaged with a large country like the United States, the western culture may override its native culture.

This viewpoint is also echoed in the statement of the Bhutanese Prime Minister. Jigmi Yoser Thinley, the Prime Minister of Bhutan said in an interview to IANS, “If we can have all kinds of interactions, relations and cooperation with the US, as with Germany and France, with which we have no diplomatic relations, what is the purpose (of such relations with Washington)?”⁵⁰² This was the reply of the proposal of US Ambassador Timothy J. Roemer. It is worth mentioning here that the latter visited Thinley’s office in the capital Thimphu to discuss, ‘ways to further strengthen the ties between our two countries’.⁵⁰³ Thinley also said, “There was a time when diplomatic relations signified one’s position vis-à-vis conflicting powers, choosing sides. It’s no longer the case.”⁵⁰⁴ Secondly, some scholars also think that the reason behind the reluctance of the Bhutanese government to make diplomatic relations with the United States lies not only the concern of cultural distinction, it is Bhutan, which lacks sufficient manpower or intelligence resources and the monetary capacity to maintain them to counter the foreign officials of the United States. However, according to the last updated information of the US Department of State the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi has

⁴⁹⁹ According to the view of Gerald W Fry, Professor, Department of Organizational Leadership, Policy, and Development; see: <http://www.nationmultimedia.com/opinion/Bhutan-The-Last-Shangri-la-30200227.html#sthash.1T5yZ4Wm.dpuf>, retrieved on 11/08/2014.

⁵⁰⁰ Scholars thought that the United States is following ‘Taiwan Policy’ here. The United States has no embassy in Taiwan because it would be bad for the US-China trade relations. Similarly, in the case of Bhutan, the United States does not want to make any discontent in US-India relation. It seems ‘trade’ is something more than anything else for the United States.

⁵⁰¹ ‘Last Shangri La’ means ‘last place on the roof of the world’.

⁵⁰² Bhutan News Service, ‘We don’t need formal relations with Washington: PM Thinley’, published on April 23, 2011 as a main news; see:<http://www.bhutannewsservice.com/main-news/we-dont-need-formal-relations-with-washington-pm-thinley/>, retrieved on 11/08/2014.

⁵⁰³ US Ambassador to India Timothy J. Roemer visited Bhutan on April 7, 2011 and the PM met the press on April 21, 2011. Thinley is the first democratically elected Prime Minister of Bhutan (election held in 2008).

⁵⁰⁴ Bhutan News Service, April 23, 2011.

consular responsibilities for Bhutan and maintains frequent and friendly communications with the Bhutanese Embassy in New Delhi. A consular officer periodically visits Bhutan to renew passports, and take applications for Consular Reports of Birth Abroad.⁵⁰⁵

From the discussion above, we see, the United States' policy toward South Asia had randomly been fluctuated, therefore, unable to achieve trust from any country of the region. To sum up, the patterns of US policy in South Asia before 9/11 were as follows:

1. In the fifties and sixties, the United States took Pakistan as a strategic partner in South Asia but gave aids in India to prevent it becoming another communist China.
2. In the seventies, the United States took Pakistan as its valuable strategic partner for reopening China to counter balance cold-war situation. The United States tried to counter India by triangular diplomacy.
3. In the eighties and nineties, the United States withdrew its special attention from South Asia as the cold war world system ended. This time, it continued to impose pressure on both the countries so that they might not become a nuclear weapon country. However, when India tested its first nuclear bomb in 1974, the United States became more conscious checking Pakistan becoming first Islamic nuclear weapon country.
4. On the eve of the twenty first century, the United States' concern was to prevent any clash between India and Pakistan lest it should spread nuclear warfare in this area. In this period, the United States did not recognize the Taliban in Afghanistan and did everything to sanction and isolate the Taliban to outdo the Al Qaeda.
5. The United States persuaded Pakistan to slow its nuclear weapons program and maintained shaky terms with Pakistan to enforce it not to support the Taliban.
6. The United States blamed Pakistan for provoking a near war with India in Kashmir and India became US special partner. However, before 9/11 the United States had no military presence in South Asia.

Analysis

In the above, we have discussed on how the interactions between the United States and the countries of South Asia took changes. Though we have tried to evaluate the relations of South Asian countries with the United States, our main focus lay on three

⁵⁰⁵ See: <https://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/35839.htm>, retrieved on 22/11/2016

major countries namely, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Our main endeavor is to find out the pattern of changes in the US diplomacy toward South Asia if any.

In the case of Pakistan, we have seen that its main concern was to gain parity with India. From the very beginning, it sought the assistance of external power i.e. the United States to achieve parity with India. On the other hand, India tried to prevent any exercise of the influence of external powers in the sub-continent. Hence, it followed non-alignment policy. However, both the countries took the benefit of the bargaining opportunity from the contending superpowers. Initially, the United States and the USSR had little interest in South Asia because the 'geo-political heartland' lay on the canvas of the East Europe and the Middle East. South Asia was peripheral in their policy of Asia. Both the superpowers tilted toward the two countries⁵⁰⁶ only to expand their sphere of influence. But there is a difference between the United States and Soviet Union. Whereas Moscow continued to tilt toward India, the stand of Washington fluctuated several times. Though Pakistan was US initial ally in South Asia, the latter always tried to make India as its 'spokesman'. One of the reasons was that the United States inherited British perception about South Asia. In this regards, we have already mentioned earlier that after the WW2, Anglo-American diplomatic bureaucrats met a discussion and forwarded this policy. Nehru's non-alignment approach led them tilt to Pakistan. But the United States **has been** always ready to 'open' India within its alliance format. This was seen during the Sino-Indian war in 1962 and the Indo-Pakistan war in 1965. In 1962, when India faced quick defeat by China, it sought American help. The United States promptly responded to India's appeal despite Pakistan's repeated protests. However, in 1965, the United States became neutral and imposed economic and military sanctions on both the countries. The sanction was reasonable against India, but to Pakistan, it seemed a betrayal because the United States was committed to assist Pakistan; therefore, they had signed treaties assuring this assistance.

Again, in 1974, when India exploded nuclear devices, Henry Kissinger argued that the United States could do nothing but oral protest because the former had not signed any treaty with the United States in this regards. On the other hand, when Pakistan exploded nuclear devices in 1998, the United States took strong action against it. Moreover, when India took police actions in 'Goa' in December 1961 and expressed resentment over America's support for Portugal, America did not impose arms

⁵⁰⁶ India and Pakistan.

embargo or any negative actions against India rather continued to provide military aids.

When American interests face challenges (i.e. after 'China lost', during the Sino-Indian war in 1965, during India's nuclear explosion in 1974 and during the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan in 1979) the United States tilted toward Pakistan. But in the time of Pakistan's need, the latter showed either neutrality or eye-wash propaganda.

Why the United States always gave more preference to India than Pakistan is not a matter of mystery. Most scholars explain this tendency in the context of US global interests and ignore one crucial thing. And that is Pakistan's label of 'Muslim Country.' After the emergence, Pakistan declared itself as the protector of Islam anywhere on earth. When this declaration was made, the newly born Israel was facing the threat of Arab attack. The American Jewry considered Israel as their religion and they were heavily influential in the American's policy framing. Therefore, it became US main concern to prevent Pakistan becoming a nuclear state. In fact, Jews lobby in America controls US foreign policy; therefore, India was regarded as the main prize in South Asia and Pakistan was being used as a balancing lever. Israel's anti-Muslim sentiments became obvious when Israeli parliament (Knesset) passed a resolution on July 2, 1971 containing hatred against Pakistani inhuman brutal military massacre in Bangladesh⁵⁰⁷. Though it seemed a noble stand against Pakistani genocide in Bangladesh, the perceived aim was not 'helping the struggling Bangalee people', rather it was aimed at dismembering Pakistan. If Israel really felt pain for the Pakistani brutality in Bangladesh, it would have imposed pressure on the US policy makers through its Jews lobby in the United States to do something to stop Pakistan doing this. It had the ability to do this. The Secretary of the State Henry Kissinger was also very shrewd enough to realize the consequence of the US policy. However, the Israeli reaction was 'a reaction' against OIC.

According to Mohammad Hasnain Heyckle, the editor and chairman of the editorial board of the newspaper *Al Ahram*, Egypt, 'Muslim countries in Arab-world were ignorant about the Pakistani genocide in Bangladesh', therefore, they considered 'the liberation of Bangladesh' as a policy of dismembering Pakistan to weaken the Muslim world'.⁵⁰⁸ This way he justified OIC's early anti-Bangladesh policy. The Jeddah Conference of 22-member OIC on May 1971 passed a resolution supporting 'Pakistan's military action to protect its territorial integration.' This resolution also

⁵⁰⁷ Syed Anwar Husain, 'Bangladesh and Islamic Countries, 1972-83', S. R. Chakravarti and Virendra Narain (edt.), *Bangladesh, Global Politics*, vol.111, Asian Publisher, New Delhi, p.137.

⁵⁰⁸ *The Daily Azad*, January 28, 1973.

gave a strong warning against any initiative of dismembering Pakistan considering the 'liberation struggle of Banglalee people' as Pakistan's 'internal affairs'.⁵⁰⁹ To many scholars, Israel's support of 'Bangladesh movement' and 'sending food, clothing and medicine for the Bengali refugees through Israeli 'Red Cross' was actually an artificial sympathy. The Provisional government of Bangladesh was also aware of Israel's perceived aim; and therefore, reluctant to accept Israeli help. After the liberation, while Bangladesh was trying to achieve as much as 'recognition' of the other countries of the world as soon as possible, Israel offered 'diplomatic recognition' to Bangladesh on April 1972. This time also, the Awami League-led Bangladesh government rejected the offer due to the same reason.⁵¹⁰ Not only that, before introducing 'Machine Readable Passport (MRP) in Bangladesh, all the passports for Bangladeshi nationals used to convey government permission to travel any country of the world except 'Israel.'

Again, in 1971, the United States supported Pakistan, but this support was a paper-propaganda. Had the United States been a good friend of Pakistan, it might suggest the latter to compromise with Mujib earlier. Rather, it supported Pakistan's ruthless genocide activities and encouraged a war against India. Why? Did not America know the consequence of such a war? Why did America send the Enterprise Task Force belatedly? It may be a speculation, but not unreasonable to argue that it was the US intention and not India or the USSR, to dismember Pakistan and weaken it so that afterwards it can make Pakistan fully dependent on it. Moreover, we've seen that the British and the American high-profile officers decided that India should become the main base for the development of the US foreign policy in Asia where American Secretary of State Acheson and British Foreign Secretary Bevin were present.⁵¹¹ On the other hand, Pakistan wanted parity with India. What would happen if Pakistan achieves parity with India? The US policy of making India of their main base of foreign policy in South Asia would be postponed. Therefore, there is a reason to believe that US provocation to Pakistan to attack India on 3rd December 1971 was a part of a big game. It was not for saving Pakistan, but a policy of 'let the breaking thing broken and take due profit from it'. This becomes obvious when we see that the United States recognized India's dominance in South Asia after 1971 despite 'water-tight' cold relation with the latter. It is assumed that Henry Kissinger, a Jew, had

⁵⁰⁹ Syed Anwar Husain , *op.cit*, p.137.

⁵¹⁰ *ibid*, pp.28-29.

⁵¹¹ V.D. Chopra, *Pentagon shadow over India* (USA: Patriot Publishers, 1985), p. 64.

shrewdly exploited President Nixon to let Pakistan break in 1971 to save Jew's interest against any Muslim threat from Pakistan-Iran or any other Arab alliances.

The United States needs India as a 'strategic partner' against China. This aim is actually a continuation of US policy toward South Asia and a fluctuation in the policy toward China. If there are two anti-Indian governments on either side of India, which are pro-US in nature, it will be easier for the United States to exploit the latter.

During the cold war period, both India and Pakistan used to enjoy a bargaining opportunity from both the superpowers. Pakistan gained leverage from the United States by placing the threat of 'communist incursion'. The same way, India used to exploit the USSR by placing 'the threat of US capitalism.' Although the superpowers had no special interest in South Asia, they had to incorporate such exploitations of the regional powers to withstand the global balance of power within a bipolar world system. But 'this bargaining aptitude' of the regional powers has lost its appeal as soon as the USSR collapsed. Therefore, the United States, the sole superpower, has become an unparalleled policy assembler and all the other regional powers rallied behind it. This is evident while the United States desired to attack Iraq or Afghanistan. Before the invasion, the United States alleged that these countries are 'rogue states' because they not only 'produce terrorists but also export terrorism'. Therefore, the United States advocated for ensuring world's 'collective security' to destroy the 'evil regimes' of the 'rogue states' with the help of 'multinational alliance.'

Now, let us take a look at the issues regarding Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan and Maldives. Both Sri Lanka and Maldives have significant geo-strategic value due to their exclusive location in the Indian Ocean. In the case of Sri Lanka, the United States raised the question of 'human rights situations' and demanded third party access to monitor real scenario there. Especially, the western media showed significant concern about the Sri Lankan military action against LTTE. Western media alleged the Sri Lankan government for committing genocide against the rebels. However, due to 'China factor' and Indian influence, the United States' demand seems feeble. On the other hand, in the Maldives, the United States compelled Dr. Waheed government to sign 'Article-98 Agreement forcefully. In the name of 'Counter Terrorism' the United States designated the country as 'rogue state'; therefore, it is dominating over the country. So, the policy of the United States toward South Asia is multidimensional. If it is a Muslim country, it is concerning. If it is backed by India or China or the USSR, there is reason to go slow. In fact, the United States has mixed up the difference between the two conceptions: 'the threat of a terrorist group' and 'the threat of a rogue state.' In the following chapters we'll see

that the United States, either intentionally or from wrong perception, is unable to realize that ‘the terrorist activities of some groups in a country do not represent the whole country’. Therefore, the policies of the United States toward South Asia have turned to a new course based on the above mentioned perception.

Conclusions

American regional policy moves from one end of the spectrum to the other in congruence with global and regional developments rather than being based on a well-calculated, long term regional policy. Compared to the shifting of American policy, the Soviets and the Chinese have been extremely consistent in their approach to South Asia. It is observed that the US credibility in South Asia becomes low due to their inconsistent policy, despite their huge economic and material aid. Despite all international developments Moscow’s support of India and Afghanistan and China’s support of Pakistan remained stagnant. But America has lost sight of long term regional objectives because they are always reacting to unexpected events and sudden developments. However, from the above discussion, we may draw the following conclusions:

- a. The policy of the United States in South Asia is not stagnant, it fluctuates erratically.
- b. Before 1990 it tried to grip India, Pakistan as well as Bangladesh under its influence to check communist threat. However, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, it gave priority to India, and Pakistan went to back burner. The bargaining opportunity of both India and Pakistan has been also elapsed as soon as the United States emerged as a sole superpower.
- c. As a part of global policy, the United States has never wanted Pakistan to become a nuclear weapon state.
- d. The United States wants India to become a counterweight to China, however, it prefers anti-Indian government on the either sides of its border.

Chapter Four

The 9/11 Attacks and Changes in US Diplomacy

Introduction

In the history of the United States ‘the 9/11 attacks’ or ‘the September 11 attacks’ was the first assault after WWII on the US ground articulated by an external power. On September 11, 2001, a series of four coordinated air attacks were launched by the Al Qaeda⁵¹² warriors (who are labeled as ‘Islamic terrorists’ by the western media) and hit four significant ‘spots’ in the United States. Two of them destroyed the Twin Tower, the symbol of ‘free market economy’. The destruction of the Twin Towers and other properties gave a serious shock to the global markets and the failure to find out any prior sign of this sudden attack raised suspicion about the security capabilities of the United States. As a result, the Wall Street remained closed until September 17, 2001. The civilian airspace in the US and Canada also remained closed until September 13 either out of fear of further attacks or respect for the tragedy. Consequently, the United States reviewed its security narrative and focused its attention on ‘rogue states theory.’ Promptly, the United States organized a ‘multinational armed force’ under its leadership to launch ‘the Global War on Terrorism (GWOT)’ which was declared by George W. Bush in response to the attacks of September 11, 2001. Soon the United States launched an insurgency against Afghanistan to depose the Taliban, which, according to the United States, had harbored the Al Qaeda network.⁵¹³ This followed the wars against Iraq⁵¹⁴ and Libya⁵¹⁵, against Syria by helping ‘Free Syrian Army’ and recently against ‘ISS’⁵¹⁶ warriors. It seems that the US rage against Al Qaeda has perceivably turned to any organized Islamic movement. The Muslim community around the world is now facing great threats from the two: from so called ‘Islamist terrors’ for the blame of not supporting them and from the United States, whether the latter designate them as ‘terror’ or ‘the harbor of terrorist network’. This sense of insecurity in the large proportion of world

⁵¹² It is still a matter of controversy whether these attacks were launched by Al Qaeda, because at first Bin Laden denied the responsibility of the attacks. Some feeble arguments are also found, which claim that the attacks were launched to justify the ‘rogue states theory’.

⁵¹³ The United States’ military began bombing in Afghanistan after 26 days of the 9/11 attacks. (See: *The Guardian*, Sunday, 18 August, 2002).

⁵¹⁴ The United States and its alliance attacked Iraq on March 19, 2003 vowing to destroy Iraqi weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and ended the dictatorial rule of Saddam Hussain. This insurgency caused one hundred thousand Iraqi civilians death and no sign of WMD was found. (see: www.cfr.org/, retrieved on 12/12/2014)

⁵¹⁵ The United States, along with a multi-state coalition began a military intervention in Libya in the name of implementing United Nations Security Council Resolution 1973 on 19 March 2011.

⁵¹⁶ ISS means ‘Islamic States’ (a new movement aimed at establishing Islamic Caliphates).

population⁵¹⁷ is fueling further dissatisfaction, which is an encouraging terrorist activity against US interests among some Muslim extremist groups. The recent trend of world security narrative, as is following by the United States, is whispering the scholars about the possibility of ‘repeating history’. As the blunder of the ‘Treaty of Versailles’ paved the way of the Second World War’, the faulty security narratives of the United States might pave the way of further giant terrorist venture. However, history might not be the end, as mentioned by Samuel Huntington, but repeat with a new form. The compulsion to compromise with the Taliban in Afghanistan, failure to establish peace in Iraq and Libya and the withdrawal of US army from there, the sudden rise of ISS warriors...all these show the faulty diplomatic maneuver of the United States. Why did the US policy makers choose such kind of steps against their public opinions, which ultimately earned nothing but trillions of US dollar loss and hundreds of US soldier’s death? If the attacks were truly launched by Al Qaeda, as claimed by numerous western analysts, to give a real blow to ‘free market economy’, they have become unsuccessful because they were uprooted by the united attacks of ‘the axes of the war.’⁵¹⁸ On the other hand, if the attack is designed by the Jew Community to compel US policy makers pay attention to ‘rogue states theory’ so that they can grab the control over petroleum and other natural resources in the third world countries, they are successful. However, the assumed motives behind the 9/11 attacks and the consequent US reaction raised a strong suspicion about the linkage of Jew blueprints in this regards. The aim of this chapter is to examine whether there is any change in the diplomacy of the United States toward South Asia in the post 9/11 era and find out the pattern(s) if any. It is assumed that South Asia got special focus in US policy from peripheral position after 9/11 and the US attitude toward India, Pakistan and the other countries of South Asia followed the same earlier patterns with some modifications in the policy implementation process.

1. 9/11 attacks and its tolls

According to *the Encyclopedia of 9/11*⁵¹⁹ the attackers hijacked four passenger airliners namely: American Airlines Flight 11, United Airlines Flight 175, American Airlines Flight 77 and United Airlines Flight 93. The first one, was hijacked after

⁵¹⁷ The Muslims constitute more than 1.7 billion in world population.

⁵¹⁸ The Security Council of the United Nations was divided into two axes on the question of attacking Iraq: ‘Axis of Peace’ which included France, Germany, Russia, and China and ‘Axis of the war’ which included the United States and the United Kingdom. The latter two countries had bonded together after the ‘Fulton Speech’ of Winston Churchill after the Second World War and remains bonded together in the context of any international dispute.

⁵¹⁹ see: <http://nymag.com/news/articles/wtc/>, retrieved on 15/11/2013.

taking off from Logan Airport, Boston en route to Los Angeles, hit the North Tower of WTC at 8:46 am. The tower collapses at 10: 38 am. The second one also took off from Logan Airport en route to Los Angeles. The hijackers flew it into the South Tower of the WTC at 9:03 am. The South tower of WTC collapses at 9: 59 am and took only approximately 10 seconds to collapse. The time between the first attack and the collapse of both World Trade Center towers is 102 minutes.

American Airlines Flight 77 took off from Dulles International Airport in Virginia en route to Los Angeles; the hijackers flew it into the Pentagon at 9:37 am. United Airlines Flight 93 left Newark International Airport en route to San Francisco. Perhaps the hijackers wanted to fly this into Capitol Hill or White House. However, the passengers attempted to subdue the hijackers and thus the latter crashed the airline into the ground near Shanksville, Pennsylvania, at 10:03 a.m. All these four aircraft were fuel-loaded commercial airlines.

Death tolls

In the worst terrorist attack in US history on the very day of 9/11, a total of 2,977 people are killed in New York City, Washington, DC and outside of Shanksville, Pennsylvania.

2,753 people are killed at the World Trade Center site in Lower Manhattan, when hijacked American Airlines Flight 11 and United Airlines Flight 175 are crashing in the north and south towers. Of those who died during the initial attacks and the subsequent collapses of the towers, 343 are New York City firefighters, another 23 are New York City police officers and 37 others are officers of the Port Authority.

184 people are killed at the Pentagon in Washington when hijacked American Airlines Flight 77 crashes into the building. 40 passengers and crew members aboard United Airlines Flight 93 die when the plane crashes into a field near Shanksville, Pennsylvania.

Economic tolls⁵²⁰

According to the CNN library report⁵²¹ updated on August 24, 2015 the estimated amount of money it cost to plan and execute the 9/11 attacks is \$500,000.

Here are some data that show the estimated loss of US economy for the attacks of 9/11⁵²²:

⁵²⁰ See: <https://9-11commission.gov/report/911Report.pdf>, retrieved on 11/02/2014.

⁵²¹ See : <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/07/27/us/september-11-anniversary-fast-facts/>, retrieved on 11/02/2014

⁵²² Report of *The 9/11 Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States*.

[see: <https://9-11commission.gov/report/911Report.pdf>, retrieved on 11/02/2014].

Economic sectors that face losses	Estimated Amount (US Dollar)
Estimated economic loss during the first 2-4 weeks after the World Trade Center towers collapsed in New York City, as well as decline in airline travel over next few years.	\$123 billion
Estimated cost of the WTC site damage, including damage to surrounding buildings, infrastructure and subway facilities.	\$60 billion
Value of the emergency anti-terrorism package approved by the US Congress on September 14, 2001.	\$40 billion
Aid package passed by Congress to bail out the airlines.	\$15 billion
Insurance claims arising from the 9/11 attacks.	\$9.3 billion
Cleanup at Ground Zero officially ends on May 30, 2002. It took 3.1 million hours of labor to clean up 1.8 million tons of debris.	\$750 million.

Let us discuss the direct impact of the attacks. The hijackers planned to hit four target points. Two of them were successful and the others were failed. The two major unsuccessful attacks which were aimed to blow down the White House and Pentagon led the hijackers' mission in vain and raised international rage against them. During the Second World War we have seen what had happened after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. By this attack, Japanese violated one of the basic principles of warfare: '...if you strike a king, strike to kill'. According to Allan Nevins⁵²³, the assault on Pearl Harbor knocked out the United States' Pacific Fleet, but it did not knock out the United States. On the contrary, it united that nation which led the nation dedicated all its resources and energies to war. It inspired its people an implacable determination to fight on to victory. As a result, within one year, the nation that was knocked out launched a successful offensive on opposite sides of the globe. Finally, Japanese saw that this mere knocking was a blunder. It gave Japanese nothing but to digest two explosions of nuclear bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Same thing happened in the case of Al Qaeda attack on American ground. History has repeated here, not ended as claimed by Samuel P. Huntington.

2. Motives behind the attacks: different speculations

No event in recent history has twisted so many explanations as the 11th September attacks. The assaults were so overwhelming that within the space of an hour, the

⁵²³ Allan Nevins and Henry Steel Commager, *History of the United States* (USA: Appleton-Century Company Inc., 1951), pp. 448-449.

terrorists inflicted more direct damage on the US than the Soviet Union had done throughout the cold war, a catastrophe seen by more people than any other event in history. It is astonishing that only 19 men armed with small knives destroyed the World Trade Centre, demolished a wing of the Pentagon and killed 3,000 people. However, immediately after recovering the shock, the United States established a commission named ‘National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States’ under ‘Public Law 107-306, November 27, 2002’. This commission launched the largest criminal investigation in the history of the United States. Finally, the commission concluded that Al Qaeda network is responsible for the attack. Osama bin Laden himself also claimed that al Qaeda was solely responsible for 9/11 attacks although initially he denied the responsibility. In 2004, he released a video in which he explained his dealings with the lead hijacker Mohammed Atta. However, there are suspicions also. Some believe that: the Jews were behind the attacks; the US government engineered them; the ‘Cheney-Bush energy junta’ planned them so that they could grab the oil fields of central Asia. According to a poll, 20 percent German citizens have a strong belief that ‘US Government ordered itself the attacks’.⁵²⁴ Even the commission chaired by Thomas H. Kean, a Jew, could not give a satisfactory answer why the US intelligence or defense authority could not launch a coordinated action to stop the 3rd and 4th air attack although they got a couple of minutes after the 1st and 2nd aircraft crash on the Twin Towers.⁵²⁵

Let us examine some situations at the very moment of 9/11 attack as mentioned in the 9/11 Commission Report:

- “When American Airlines Flight 11 struck the World Trade Center at, 8:46, no one in the White House or with the President knew that it had been hijacked. While that information circulated within the FAA, we found no evidence that the hijacking was reported to any other agency in Washington before 8:46. Most Federal agencies learned about the crash in New York from CNN.” (9/11 Commission Report, p. 35)
- “President Bush was then at Emma E. Booker Elementary School in Sarasota, Florida. Before 8:55 Senior Advisor to the President Karl Rove first informed President Bush that a small twin engine aircraft had crushed into the World Trade Center. The President’s reaction was that the incident must have been caused by pilot errors.” (p.35)

⁵²⁴ Ian Johnson, ‘Conspiracy Theories about Sept. 11 Get Hearing in Germany’, *Wall Street Journal*, September 29th, 2003.

⁵²⁵ See: *The 9/11 Commission report*, pp.35-46.

- “At 8:55 before entering the class room, the President spoke to National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice, who was at the White House. She recalled first telling the President it was a twin engine aircraft- and then a commercial aircraft- that had struck the World Trade Center, adding “that’s all we know right now, Mr. President.” (p. 35)
- “At 9:37 Pentagon was hit by another aircraft. The first teleconference among CIA, FAA and other security agencies started at the White House at 9:40. The first topic was the physical security of the President”. (p. 36)
- “At the White House, Vice-President Dick Cheney had just sat down for a meeting when his assistant told him to turn on his television because a plane had just struck the North Tower of the World Trade Center. The Vice-President was wondering ‘how the hell could a plane hit the World Trade Center’ when he saw a second aircraft strike the South Tower.” (p.35)
- “The President was seated in the classroom, at 9:05, Andrew Card whispered to him,“ A second Plane hit the second tower. America is under attack.” The President told us his instinct was to project calm, not to have the country see an excited reaction at a moment of crisis. The press was standing behind the children; he saw their phones and pagers start to ring. The President felt he should project strength and calm until he could better understand what was happening. The President remained in the classroom for another five to seven minutes while the children continued reading. He then returned to a holding room shortly before 9:15 where he was briefed by staff and saw television coverage.” (p. 39)

From the above extracts that are mentioned in the 9/11 Commission Report, we get some clues to examine the situations. They are:

- a. Both the highest civil and military authorities of the United States were completely in the dark when the first aircraft (American Airlines Flight 11) hit the North Tower of the World Trade Center at 8:46 am.
- b. United Airlines Flight 175 hit the South Tower of the World Trade Center at 9:03 am; then American Airlines Flight 77 crashed into the Pentagon at 09: 37 am and then, the United Airlines Flight 93 crashed in a field of Shanksville in Pennsylvania the 10:03 am. However, it is interesting to note that none of the American authority could stop any of the four aircraft clashes of planned hiatus. The NORAD (North American Air Defense), FAA (Air Traffic Control Center), NEADS (Northeast Air Defense Sector), and NMCC (National Military Command Center) had got enough time (more than 15 minutes between the first two hits and around an hour before

hitting Pentagon) but unable to stop any further three crashes due to lack of integration of cooperation among them. Such failure of American national defense management is really a matter curiosity. The critics, therefore, alleged the United States' authority for plotting a conspiracy.

Now, let us discuss on PNAC document and some comments and steps taken by the Bush administration.

A year before the 9/11 attack, a document entitled *Rebuilding America's Defense: Strategy, Forces and Resources for a New Century* was published by an organization named PNAC (Project for New American Century) which concluded: "If the American peace is to be maintained and expanded, it is necessary for defense spending to be greatly increased."⁵²⁶ The document also explained how this huge defense spending could be materialized. According to the document, the process could occur more quickly if America suffered 'some catastrophic and catalyzing event like a new Pearl Harbor.'⁵²⁷ The critics of the 9/11 Commission observe that there is a strong communion between the PNAC members and the Bush administration. According to Dr. David Ray Griffin, a retired American Professor, University of Oregon, Richard Armitage, John Bolton, Dick Cheney, Zalmay Khalizad, Lewis Scooter Libby, Richard Perley, Donald Rumsfeld, Paul Wolfowitz, James Woolsey were directly participated in the project to produce *Rebuilding America's Defense* and also held key positions of the Bush administration.⁵²⁸ John F. Lehman, a member of the 9/11 Commission has also been a member of PNAC. All the PNAC members who held key positions in the Bush administration addressed 9/11 incident as 'a great opportunity for the United States'. Even, President Bush declared that the attacks provide a 'great opportunity'.⁵²⁹ Donald Rumsfeld stated that 9/11 created 'the kind of opportunities that World War II offered to refashion the world.'⁵³⁰ The security advisor of the Bush administration Condoleezza Rice said in a meeting, "...think about how do you capitalize on these opportunities to fundamentally change the shape of the world."⁵³¹ Nevertheless, all these statements of the Bush administration revealed that they considered the 9/11 attacks as 'an opportunity', the predicted opportunity of PNAC

⁵²⁶ Ian Johnson, *op.cit.*

⁵²⁷ The Project for the New American Century *Rebuilding America's Defenses: Strategy, Forces and Resources for a New Century*, September 2000 [see: www.newamericancentury.org, retrieved on 11/02/2014].

⁵²⁸ See: <http://www.911truth.org/>, retrieved on 11/02/2014.

⁵²⁹ See: Bob Woodward, *Bush At War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002), p. 32.

⁵³⁰ *The New York Times*, October 12, 2001.

⁵³¹ Chalmers Johnson, 'The Sorrows of Empire: militarism, Secrecy and the End of the Republic (New York: Henry Hold, 2004), p. 229.

project. Therefore, Dr. David Ray Griffin endorsed an alternative hypothesis of the Kean-Zelikow commission's hypothesis of conspiracy theory and accused the Bush administration as the actual mastermind of the 9/11 attacks.

Secondly, the PNAC document suggested for establishing a 'US Space Command', a separate military branch in America, which aimed at bringing about 'full spectrum dominance'. The US mission statement 'Vision 2020' also states: "US Space Command— dominating the space dimension of the military operations to protect US interests and investments." Dr. David Ray Griffin explains this statement as follows:

Its primary purpose, in other words, is not to protect the American homeland but to protect American investments abroad. Such protection will be needed because the globalization of the world economy will continue, with a widening between 'haves' and 'have-nots'. The mission of the US Space Command is to protect American 'haves' from the world's 'have-nots' as American-led globalization leaves these 'have-nots' with even less.⁵³²

Thirdly, the critiques are of the view that America's invasions in Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya were not for the necessity of the consequence of the 9/11 incidents, it was pre-planned. Let us discuss about the US motives behind War in Afghanistan first.

According to the *9/11 Commission Report*, the United States wanted 'regime change' in Afghanistan for several reasons: i) Taliban government is incapable of providing peace by ending the civil war, which started after the Soviet withdrawal in the late eighties ; ii) perpetrating human rights abuse and, iii) providing safe haven for al Qaeda. However, these were not the center of US motives. The reason behind 'regime change' was the desire to enable CentGas (Central Asia Gas Pipeline) which was formed by US Oil Company Unocal, the building of a multibillion dollar pipeline. The proposed planned pipeline would bring oil and gas from land-locked Caspian region with its enormous reserves to the sea through Afghanistan and Pakistan. In the nineties, the United States supported Taliban forming a government in the hope that they could unite all the warrior groups and end the civil war in Afghanistan with their military strength. However, by 2001 the United States realized that Taliban government is not fit for the US project. Therefore, it took steps to offer through Taliban government and establish a puppet government headed by Hamid Karzai. Chalmers Johnson's writing also supports the above hypothesis. He wrote: "The continued collaboration of Khalilzad and Karzai in post 9/11 Afghanistan strongly

⁵³² See: <http://www.911truth.org/>, retrieved on 11/02/2014.

suggests that the Bush administration was and remains as interested in oil as in terrorism in that region.”⁵³³ Chalmer Johnson also wrote:

Support for the dual oil and gas pipelines from Turkmenistan south through Afghanistan to Arabian Sea coast of Pakistan appears to have been a major consideration in the Bush administration’s decision to attack Afghanistan on October 7, 2001.

This statement, actually, support the allegation to the United States that the Bush administration orchestrated the attacks of 9/11.

In 1997, Ahmad Rashid in his renowned book entitled *The New Great Game*⁵³⁴ mentioned that when two companies: Argentina’s Bridas Corporation and the Unocal dominated CentGas Consortium were competing to get a chance to build the pipeline, the United States promoted Unocal dominated CentGas Consortium and also backed its plan to build the route through Afghanistan and Pakistan since it wanted to avoid Iran and Russia. In addition, Rashid says, “...that the strategy over pipelines had become the driving force behind Washington’s interest in the Taliban.”⁵³⁵

However, during the Clinton administration, frustrated by the Taliban’s incapability of ending the civil war, Unocal decided to withdraw its support from the CentGas pipeline project. Therefore, at the end of the tenure, the Clinton administration had shifted its support to the pipeline route from Azerbaijan through Georgia to Turkey as, according to Clinton, nobody wanted to touch Afghanistan and Taliban.⁵³⁶ The situation hangs on. Conversely, when Bush came to power, he wanted to give the Taliban one last chance.

In July 2001, the United States sat on a four day meeting with the Taliban in Berlin. In the meeting the US representative offered Taliban to accept the proposal of power-sharing with US-friendly factions. According to a Pakistani representative of the meeting, Niaz Naik, US representative said to the Taliban, “...either you accept our offer of a carpet of gold, or we bury you under a carpet of bombs.”⁵³⁷ When Taliban did not agree the offer of power-sharing, US representative said Niaz Naik that the United States would take military actions against Taliban before the snow started falling in Afghanistan, by the middle of October at the latest.⁵³⁸ In fact, the United

⁵³³ Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic* (USA: Metropolitan Books, 2005), pp. 178-79.

⁵³⁴ Ahmed Rashid, “The New Great Game: The Battle for Central Asia’s Oil”, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, April, 10, 1997.

⁵³⁵ Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 136.

⁵³⁶ *ibid*, p. 175.

⁵³⁷ See: <http://www.911truth.org/>, retrieved on 11/02/2014.

⁵³⁸ *ibid*.

States started the war on Afghanistan on October 7, 2001 only after 26 days of 9/11 attacks. If the war in Afghanistan was not pre-planned, it would be too early for the US military to get ready after 9/11. Again, in October 10, 2001 US Department of States had informed the Pakistani Minister of Oil that, "...in view of recent geopolitical developments, Unocal is again ready to go ahead with the pipeline project."⁵³⁹ So, the US war in Afghanistan is pipeline project and it is pre-planned. There are also some other evidences which indicate that the US invasion of Afghanistan was pre-planned. In a speech to the nation that evening, George Bush declared: "We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them."⁵⁴⁰ Again, in the meeting of the National Security Council that followed President Bush's speech to the nation, CIA Director said, "... Al Qaeda and Taliban are essentially one and the same."⁵⁴¹ Concurrently, Bush said at the same meeting, "...tell the Taliban that we are finished with them."⁵⁴²

The same argument should be placed before the American intention in attacking Iraq and Libya. Zbigniew Brzezinski gave an analysis of the philosophy of the American ruling class as follows:

America is too democratic at home to be autocratic abroad. This limits the use of America's power, especially, its capacity for military intimidation...the economic self-denial (that is, defense spending) and human sacrifices (causalities even among professional soldiers) required in the effort are uncongenial to democratic instincts. Democracy is inimical to imperial mobilization.⁵⁴³

The United States has 700 military bases in 135 different countries, including the British territories of Diego Garcia, Gibraltar, St. Helena in the Atlantic Ocean, Greenland and former Serbian province of Kosovo.⁵⁴⁴ Therefore, it had more than 320,000 troops stationed in 192 countries in 2004.⁵⁴⁵ Consequently, this vast network of military bases has formed a new type of American Empire. Nevertheless, the aspirations and implementations of the policies of this new form of empire are too complex to realize. However, whatever might be the motives and whoever might be responsible for the 9/11 attacks, it is obvious that it had created a great opportunity for the imperial America and it grabbed the full advantage of the new situation.

⁵³⁹ *The Chicago Tribune*, March 18, 2002.

⁵⁴⁰ *The Washington Post*, January 27, 2002.

⁵⁴¹ *ibid.*

⁵⁴² *ibid.*

⁵⁴³ Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and its Geostrategic Imperatives* (New York: Basic Books, 1997), p.210.

⁵⁴⁴ Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic* (Washington: Sigur Center for Asian Studies, 2004), p.1.

⁵⁴⁵ *ibid.*

3. Impact of 9/11 Attacks

Policy shifts in domestic affairs

The September 11, 2001 attacks on US soil obliterated the US sense of security and the pride of its military might. Immediate aftermath of the attacks, therefore, the government under President George W. Bush took a series of reformations at home and launched the 'Global War on Terrorism' abroad, which has become the longest period of continuous war in US history. As a part of domestic reformation, Bush government enacted a series of laws and executive orders that have affected US everyday lives. Nevertheless, some of these laws compromising civil rights and due process in the name of national security have created serious discomfort among the citizens of the United States. However, such steps were taken to prevent any further attack on US soil and restore a feeling of safety to a nation shattered by tragedy.

3.1 Revision of the surveillance Laws: USA Patriot Act

Just six weeks after the September 11 attacks, in October 2001, US Congress passed the 'USA Patriot Act' through an overnight revision of the nation's surveillance laws that vastly expanded the government's authority to spy on its own citizens. Under this Act, the US law enforcement officials were empowered newly to conduct searches without warrants, monitor financial transactions and eavesdrop, and detain and deport, in secret, individuals suspected of committing terrorist acts. Most of the changes to surveillance law made by the Patriot Act were part of a longstanding law enforcement wish list that had been previously rejected by Congress, in some cases repeatedly. But now, pressured by the panicked President Bush, Congress passed it. The Bush Administration implied that those who voted against the bill would be responsible for any further attack on the nation. It was a serious threat to the member of the Congress because there were strong reports that the United States could be attacked by new anthrax letters any moment. So, there was a sense of 'forced acceptance' among the Congressmen for the bill.

The Patriot Act increases the government's surveillance powers in four areas:

- Records searches: It expands the government's ability to look at records on an individual's activity being held by third parties. (Section 215)
- Secret searches: It expands the government's ability to search private property without notice to the owner. (Section 213)
- Intelligence searches: It expands a narrow exception to the Fourth Amendment that had been created for the collection of foreign intelligence information (Section 218).

- ‘Trap and trace’ searches: It expands another Fourth Amendment exception for spying that collects ‘addressing’ information about the origin and destination of communications, as opposed to the content (Section 214).

However, the ‘Patriot Act’ had created much controversy all over the USA. It faced numerous criticisms. In August 2006, a federal judge in Detroit ruled the wiretapping program unconstitutional. However, in July 2008, Congress passed a bill overhauling the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act - effectively legalizing Bush’s secret program.

The USA Patriot Act was set to expire at the end of 2005. It was first extended and then renewed in 2006. The Obama administration has continued to use the law and technology to eavesdrop on terror suspects and to disrupt terror networks. In May 2011, three provisions of the law scheduled to expire were extended:

- The use of ‘roving wiretaps’ to follow individuals when they switch phone numbers or carriers;
- Investigators may obtain court orders to search business records of an individual for ‘any tangible things’ related to an inquiry; and
- Officials have the authority to conduct surveillance on foreign individuals suspected of having ties to terrorist groups.

3.2 Formation of 9/11 Commission

The President of the United States and the US Congress created a commission named “National Commission Attacks upon the United States under Public Law 107-306, November 27, 2002. The commission was formed with ten commissioners; five of them are from the Republican Party and another five members of the Democrats. The Chairman of the Committee was Thomas H. Kean and Executive Director was Philip Zelikow, both of them were in touch of Jew community in America. The Commission produced a report of 13 chapters having 567 pages including some recommendations. The report was finally published on July 22, 2004.

In the preface, the Chairman of the commission says:

.... We have come together with a unity of purpose because our nation demands it. September 11, 2001, was a day of unprecedented shock and suffering in the history of the United States. The nation was unprepared. How did this happen, and how can we avoid such tragedy again? To answer these questions the Congress and the President created the National Commission Attacks upon the United States.⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴⁶ *9/11 Commission Report*, ‘Preface’, p. xv, retrieved on 11/02/2014.

According to the report, from the day of the attacks, US President George Bush accused Al Qaeda for the attacks. President Bush, in his first meeting with his principal advisors through a secure video conference at about 3:15 of 9/11, uttered the words, ‘We are at war.’⁵⁴⁷ In the meeting, the Director of CIA said, “...the agency is still assessing who was responsible, but the early signs all pointed to al Qaeda.”⁵⁴⁸ At 8:30 pm on that day the President addressed the nation from the White House and said, “...We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them.”⁵⁴⁹ President Bush’s desire to punish ‘those who harbor them’ indicates clear shifts in US policy.

After the address to the nation, President Bush held a meeting with a group of top advisors which he later would call ‘war council’. This group included Vice-President Cheney, Secretary of State Powel, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, General Hugh Shelton, Vice-Chairman of the Joint Chiefs General Myers, Director of the CIA, Tenet, Attorney General John Ashcroft, FBI Director Robert Muller, National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice, Chief of Staff Card. In the meeting, Secretary Powel said, the United States had to make it clear that in Pakistan, Afghanistan and the Arab states that the time to act was now. He also said, we would need to build a coalition. According to the report, President noted that that attacks provided a great opportunity to engage Russia and China. Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld urged the President and the Principals to think broadly about who might have harbored the attackers, including Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Sudan and Iran.⁵⁵⁰ So, the report shows that from the very beginning, the core committee of US High-command decided to change its present world view and adopt a new policy and that is to attack so called ‘rogue states’ in the name of harboring terrorists of 9/11.

3.3 Creation of Department of Homeland Security (DHS)

By far the most far-reaching and significant measure enacted after September 11 was the Department of Homeland Security Act of 2002, which established the Cabinet-level Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and created the position of Secretary of Homeland Security. Former Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge was the first to serve in the position

In response to September 11 terrorist attacks, the US Government immediately created a new department named The Department of Homeland Security by merging 22

⁵⁴⁷ *ibid*, p.326.

⁵⁴⁸ *ibid*.

⁵⁴⁹ *ibid*.

⁵⁵⁰ *ibid*, p. 330.

governmental agencies into one, including the Customs Service, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the US Coast Guard and the Federal Emergency Management Agency. This department forcefully places 130 US inspectors at ports in major European, Asian and Muslim nations, as well as strategically-located ports, to inspect cargo for nuclear, chemical or biological weapons being smuggled into the US. The federal government also introduced The Homeland Security Advisory System (HSAS) on March 12, 2002 and raised the nationwide alert status from 'yellow'(elevated) to 'orange'(high) on five occasions. New York City has remained at 'orange' (high) since 9/11. In August 2006, the threat level for flights from the United Kingdom to the US is raised to red, the first time that threat level has been used. Recently, the US federal government has replaced the color-coded Homeland Security Advisory System (HSAS) to the National Terrorism Advisory System (NTAS) On April 26, 2011 which utilizes a vocabulary system including terms Elevated and Imminent.

In 2011 The Department of Homeland Security issued a progress report outlining the steps it has taken based on recommendations of the September 11 Commission to protect the country against another terrorist attack. The report noted the following accomplishments:

- i. Expanded information sharing. The DHS created 72 'fusion centers' throughout the country to gather, share, and analyze threat-related information with federal, state, and local agencies. Internationally, the DHS encourages the sharing of information about terrorists and criminals with global partners.
- ii. The creation of the Nationwide Suspicious Activity Reporting Initiative, which trains state and local law enforcement officials recognize behaviors and indicators related to terrorism, crime, and other threats and standardizes how the observations should be managed.
- iii. The launch of the 'If You See Something, Say Something' campaign to raise public awareness of indicators of terrorism and crime, and encourages citizens to report suspicious activity to law enforcement authorities.
- iv. Enhanced the screening of passengers flying into, out of, or within the U.S. and checking all passengers against government watch lists. In addition, all baggage is screened for explosives.
- v. Implemented the Visa Security Program at 19 areas in 15 countries known for high-risk visa activity. Officials conduct targeted, in-depth reviews of visa applications and applicants before they are allowed to travel to the United States.

- vi. Improved the security of the country's cyber networks and infrastructure through the creation of the National Cyber security Protection System and the National Cyber security and Communications Integration Center.

3.4 Military tribunals and abuse of prisoners

In November 2001, President Bush signed an order that called for foreigners charged with terrorism to be tried by military tribunals and that they be classified as illegal enemy combatants. Such tribunals permitted the admission of hearsay and evidence obtained under coercion, and allowed secret evidence that would be shown to the jury but not the defendant. In addition, the defendant could be excluded from portions of his own trial. Critics of the tribunals pointed out that this suspension of due process goes against the very principles that the United States claims that it is defending from terrorism.

President Bush decided to classify detainees in the war in Afghanistan as enemy combatants, and not as prisoners in war subject to the Geneva Conventions. This means the United States could employ inhuman interrogation techniques, indefinitely detain prisoners and deny them the right to due process. Alberto Gonzales, a White House Council, said that terrorism was ‘a new kind of war’ that rendered portions of the Geneva Conventions ‘quaint’.⁵⁵¹

President Bush’s classification of detainees and ‘exemption of Geneva Convention’ over them caused serious misfortunes to the prisoners of Iraq and Afghanistan war. By obtaining ‘the blank check’ from the supreme command of the USA, the US soldiers imposed unparalleled physical and sexual sadism to the prisoners.

In April 2004, some photos were released in American media depicting inexcusable physical abuse and sexual degradation of Iraqi prisoners in Abu Ghraib prison. A July 2004 military report identified 94 more suspected or confirmed cases of abuse of prisoners in Iraq and Afghanistan, including the deaths of at least 39 prisoners. These media reports created worldwide outrages against American torture. Even the US military officially condemns them as ‘purposeless sadism.’ However, the Pentagon-sponsored Schlesinger report strongly rejected the US military claims: ‘...the abuse was simply the work of a few aberrant soldiers.’ It claimed, “...there were fundamental failures throughout all levels of command, from the soldiers on the ground to Central Command and to the Pentagon.”

In June 2004, US Supreme Court rejected the Bush administration’s claim that the executive branch has unreviewable authority in time of war, ruling that detainees were

⁵⁵¹ See: <https://www.americanprogress.org>, retrieved on 11/02/2014.

legally entitled to challenge their imprisonment. In June 2006, in *Hamdan v. Rumsfeld* case, the Supreme Court addressed the legality of the special military tribunals to try detainees held at Guantánamo Bay prison for war crimes. The Supreme Court ruled that the administration's failure to obtain congressional approval for the military tribunals rendered them unconstitutional. Moreover, the Court stated, the tribunals violated both the 'Uniform Code of Military Justice and the Geneva Conventions'. It was the most significant ruling regarding the limitations of 'Presidential Powers' since Watergate. In another case, the Supreme Court ruled in June 2008 that prisoners at Guantánamo have a right to challenge their detention in federal court. A number of moderate Republicans joined Democrats in attempting to modify the legislation, arguing that failure to abide by the Geneva Conventions would damage America's standing in the world. However, all the attempts of the judiciary and the legislature had failed to stop Bush achieving what he sought, including the ability to unilaterally reinterpret the Geneva Conventions.

In December 2007 it was revealed that in 2005 the CIA destroyed videotapes of the 2002 interrogation of two al-Qaeda suspects, Abu Zubaydah and Abd al-Rahim al-Nashiri. The tapes, which included hundreds of hours of questioning, reportedly showed agency operatives using severe interrogation techniques, including water boarding, which simulates drowning. As a result, the Bush administration was burdened with scandal. The Senate and House intelligence committees voted to outlaw all methods of interrogation that are banned in the Army Field Manual, which prohibits water boarding. Bush's autocratic power practice in the name of safeguarding the American nation did not finally please American people anymore.

In the US election of 2009 'the inhuman abuse of war prisoners' and 'the use of military tribunals' became a burning issue and democratic candidate Obama promised to reverse the situation. Obama won the election.

On his second day in office in January 2009, President Barack Obama signed executive orders to halt military tribunals, close all secret prisons and detention camps run by the CIA including the infamous Guantánamo Bay prison and ban coercive interrogation methods. He, however, did not rule out the use of tribunals, saying he would review the Bush administration's policies on handling the detainees.

3.5 Shifts in US security doctrine

In June 2002 President Bush announced the new US defense doctrine in a speech at West Point. By codifying the doctrine as *The National Security Strategy of the United*

States, he justified the expansion of his war attempts from Afghanistan to Iraq and Libya. He said in his speech,

....Legal scholars...often conditioned the legitimacy of preemption on the existence of an imminent threat - most often a visible mobilization of armies. But a non-conventional war against terrorism requires taking anticipatory action to defend ourselves, even if uncertainty remains as to the time and place of the enemy's attack.⁵⁵²

President Bush gave hints to expand warfare from Afghanistan to other so called 'rogue states' when he said:

In the 1990s we witnessed the emergence of a small number of rogue states that, while different in important ways, share a number of attributes. These states: a)brutalize their own people and squander their national resources for the personal gain of the rulers; b) display no regard for international law, threaten their neighbors, and callously violate international treaties to which they are party; c) are determined to acquire weapons of mass destruction, along with other advanced military technology, to be used as threats or offensively to achieve the aggressive designs of these regimes; d) sponsor terrorism around the globe; and e) reject basic human values and hate the United States and everything for which it stands.⁵⁵³

President Bush explained in his speech how the new security doctrine would work. He said:

We must be prepared to stop rogue states and their terrorist clients before they are able to threaten or use weapons of mass destruction against the United States and our allies and friends. Our response must take full advantage of strengthened alliances, the establishment of new partnerships with former adversaries, innovation in the use of military forces, modern technologies, including the development of an effective missile defense system, and increased emphasis on intelligence collection and analysis.⁵⁵⁴

The doctrine also declared that the country 'will not hesitate to act alone, if necessary, to exercise our right of self-defense by acting preemptively against...terrorists.'⁵⁵⁵

It was a serious aggressive shift in the US policy that the world never saw before. Many international scholars expressed alarm at this declaration and addressed it as an 'international hunting license'. The doctrine was also strongly criticized by the United Nations Organizations and a number of world leaders, particularly France, Germany, and Russia.

During his 8-years tenure, President Bush strongly followed the declared security doctrine which caused unbearable casualties in Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya. Even

⁵⁵² US National Security Strategy: Prevent Our Enemies from Threatening Us, Our Allies, and Our Friends with Weapons of Mass Destruction [published in US Department of State Archive website; see: <https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ei/wh/15425.htm>, retrieved on 17/02/2014.]

⁵⁵³ *ibid.*

⁵⁵⁴ *ibid.*

⁵⁵⁵ *ibid.*

these causalities included US soldiers for which raised questions about necessity of the doctrine. President Obama, therefore, revised the doctrine with a new definition. In February 2011, the Obama administration revised the country's military strategy, expanding the focus to other areas of potential threats, including Asia and other parts of the Middle East. The National Military Strategy of the United States of America of 2011 recognizes a shift in geopolitical dynamics, toward coalitions built on a shared ideology between and away from cold war alliances. President Obama said:

The United States remains the world's preeminent power, even as a growing number of state and non-state actors exhibit consequential influence. This changing distribution of power indicates the evolution to a 'multi-nodal' world characterized more by shifting, interest-driven coalitions based on diplomatic, military, and economic power, than by rigid security competition between opposing blocs. There are global and regional powers exhibiting nationalism and assertiveness that test our partners' resilience and US leadership.⁵⁵⁶

The document outlines four goals: countering violent extremism, deterring and defeating aggression, strengthening international and regional security, and shaping the future military. Rather than acting alone and preemptively in the interest of self-defense, the new strategy states that the U.S. will 'serve in an enabling capacity to help other nations achieve security goals that can advance common interests.' In doing so, the U.S. will be acting as a 'convener.'

As a convener, our relationships, values, and military capabilities provide us, often unique, with the ability to bring others together to help deepen security ties between them and cooperatively address common security challenges.⁵⁵⁷

This way he rejected Bush's policy of 'acting alone' rather becoming 'a convener' the coalition against terrorism.

3.6 Change in airport checking and aviation system

Shortly after the attacks, the federal government created the Transportation Security Administration (TSA) and on November 19, 2001, Congress passed the Aviation and Transportation Security Act. Thereafter, anyone who passes any US Airport is bound to spend a few hours for security check. Passengers need to take shoes off when pass security and can't bring liquids on the plane.

About a year after 9/11, US immigration policy changed drastically with the Homeland Security Act and the Enhanced Border Security and Visa Entry Reform Act of 2002, according to the American Bar Association. Visas became harder to come by for tourists, students and foreign nationals and those who were admitted into the

⁵⁵⁶ *ibid.*

⁵⁵⁷ *ibid.*

country were subject to further scrutiny as fingerprints and other biometric data was collected. The Department of Homeland Security, formed November 25, 2002, and the US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), formed in 2003, are tasked with the protection of the US and its borders. The immigration policy affected people from Mexico and Latin America—despite their having nothing to do with 9/11 and their path to US citizenship.

3.7 Policy shifts in foreign affairs

Americans have also changed since 9/11 psychologically. In some ways, whether it's further awareness of foreign threats or the idea that the US is not completely safe—Americans underwent an existential crisis. Charles B. Strozier, a psychoanalyst from John Jay College of Criminal Justice in New York City said, “Despite the technological advantages, relative safety and general happiness, there's also a bit of fear. Beneath everything there's a profound malaise about life and uncertainty about the future, because now we've opened up a new dimension that reverses the natural sequence of how things have always been.”⁵⁵⁸ He also said, “Six ways our lives changed forever because of 9/11 attacks, National Security Agency (NSA) surveillance, NSA domestic spying, Transportation Security Formation (TSA), Tourism [9/11 tourism, 9/11 memorial, 9/11 museum, tourism after 9/11] and Government Trust after 9/11 etc.

3.8 Changes in diplomacy

American foreign policy changed dramatically in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, representing either a necessary reorientation toward a new threat or an over-reaching and self-defeating policy shift. According to 9/11 Commission report,

...in the post 9/11 world, threats are defined more by the fault lines within societies than territorial boundaries between them. From terrorism to global disease or environmental degradation, the challenges have become transnational rather than international.⁵⁵⁹

The report also defined how American policy should be developed in the post 9/11 era. The report says:

...9/11 has taught that terrorism against American interests ‘over there’ should be regarded just as we regard terrorism against America ‘over there’. In this sense, American homeland is the planet.⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁸ Charles Palladian, ‘The United States After 9/11: 6 Things That Have Changed Since 2001’, *The International Business Times*, September 11, 2015.

⁵⁵⁹ *9/11 Commission Report*, pp.361-362.

⁵⁶⁰ *ibid.*

Again, the report explains the foundation of American policy shifting as follows:

The United States finds itself caught up in a clash within a civilization. That clash arises from particular conditions in the Muslim world, conditions that spill over into expatriate Muslim communities in non-Muslim countries. Our enemy is twofold: al Qaeda, a stateless network of terrorists that struck us on 9/11, and a radical ideological movement in the Islamic world.⁵⁶¹

Hence, the Bush administration changed its foreign policy priorities, moving from a focus on relations with great powers such as China and Russia with an emphasis on the nexus between non-state terrorist groups such as Al Qaeda and 'rogue states' such as Iran, Iraq, and North Korea, with known or suspected WMD programs. Bush and his advisers also moved away from a reliance on deterrence and containment (status-quo oriented pillars of the Cold War era) and embraced the need for more transformational policies of preemptive action and regime change under certain circumstances.

US first military action against so called 'rogue states' had been launched with the invasion in Afghanistan. Immediate after 9/11 attacks, the United States accused Al Qaeda and its leader Osama Bin Laden for planning and committing the assault. It also accused the Taliban government in Afghanistan for harboring the terrorists and demanded to hand over Osama Bin Laden and expel al Qaeda from Afghan soil. But the Taliban government declined to send back Osama Bin Laden. Instead it demanded convincing evidence of Laden's involvement in the 9/11 attacks. Taliban government also declined to extradite other terrorism suspects apart from bin Laden. As a result, the United States withdrew the request and on 7 October 2001 launched Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan. Within a month the NATO force ousted Taliban government and established the Afghan Interim Administration headed by Hamid Karzai. An international security force named International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) created by United Nations Security Council took the responsibility of the security of the interim government.

3.9 Bush's preemptive warfare doctrine

In January 2002 it became obvious that President Bush is planning to a preventive war since the action in Afghanistan has been successful primarily by uprooting Taliban government from the power. Therefore, Bush described the so-called 'rogue states' Iraq, Iran, and North Korea as an 'axis of evil' and accused them for supporting terrors and seeking WMD. He said,

⁵⁶¹ *ibid*, p.363.

We'll be deliberate, yet time is not on our side. I will not wait on events, while dangers gather. I will not stand by, as peril draws closer and closer. The United States of America will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons.⁵⁶²

In the summer of 2002, President Bush announced his policy of regime change in Baghdad, followed by the assertion that he needed no legal authority from either Congress or the United Nations to invade that country and topple Saddam Hussein.⁵⁶³ However, US Iraq invasion is not only a preemptive action, it is preventive also. In fact, the most noticeable change in US foreign policy is its focus on preventive action, not just preemptive action. This is also known as the Bush doctrine. Nations often use preemptive strikes in warfare when they know that an enemy action is imminent. When the United States invaded Iraq in March 2003, however, it broadened its policy to include preventive warfare. The Bush administration told the public that Saddam Hossain's regime had nuclear materials and would soon be able to produce atomic weapons. Bush vaguely tied Hussein to Al Qaeda, and he said the invasion was, in part, to prevent Iraq from supplying terrorists with nuclear weapons. Thus, the Iraqi invasion was to prevent some perceived but not clearly evident event.

As *Washington Post* columnist Dan Froom kin commented, "Bush was putting a new spin on a traditional war policy. Preemption has, in fact, been a staple of our foreign policy for ages and other countries' as well," he said, "The twist Bush put on it was embracing 'preventive' war: Taking action well before an attack was imminent invading a country that was simply perceived as threatening."⁵⁶⁴

However, the United States' quest for primacy, its desire to lead the world, its preference for an open door and free markets, its concern with military supremacy, its readiness to act unilaterally when deemed necessary, its eclectic merger of interests and values, its sense of indispensability- all these remained and remain unchanged. Again, 9/11 had changed US foreign policies and its diplomatic maneuver, it is obvious, but the incident did not change the whole world as did the first or second world wars. According to Michael Cox,

After all, many things in the world have not changed - and will not change- because of 9/11, including the very uneven distribution of material resources in the world, the influence of neo-liberalism on economic discourse, the

⁵⁶² James M McCormick and Eugene R Wittkopf, 'Bush and Bipartisanship: The Past as prologue', *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol.13, 2009, p.9.

⁵⁶³ Michael J Kelly, 'The Bush Foreign Policy 2001-2003: Unilateralist Theory in a Multilateral World and the Opportunity for Change Offered by Iraq', *Washington University Global Studies Law Review*, Vol.2, Issue.1, p.228.

⁵⁶⁴ Steve Jones, *The Bush Doctrine: A Combination of Unilateralism and Preventive Warfare* [see: <http://usforeignpolicy.about.com/>, retrieved on 18/11/2014.]

process of European integration, the problems associated with NATO enlargement, the AIDS pandemic in sub-Saharan Africa, the continuing decline of Russia, the economic rise of China, the financial crisis in Japan and, or so it would seem, that ‘special and unique’ relationship between the UK and the United States.⁵⁶⁵

3.10 Policy shifts from multilateralism to unilateralism

The Bush Doctrine has an element of ‘America first’ unilateralism that revealed itself well before the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the United States, the War on Terror, or the Iraqi War. That revelation came in March 2001, just two months into Bush’s presidency, when he withdrew the United States from the UN’s ‘Kyoto Protocol’ to reduce worldwide greenhouse gasses. It was a drastic change from the policy of earlier Clinton government. Bush reasoned that transitioning American industry from coal to cleaner electricity or natural gas would drive up energy costs and force a rebuild of manufacturing infrastructures. Again, Bush’s policy of unilateralism became obvious in his speech that he gave immediate aftermath of 9/11 incident. In his address to a joint session of Congress nine days after the attacks on the Pentagon and World Trade Center, President Bush put forth his ultimatum:

Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime.⁵⁶⁶

After President Bush’s declaration of such unilateral stance, there was no outcry against it or even from the Muslim countries. All the Governments around the world rallied under US initiatives, which means, there was a complete multilateral support for invading Afghanistan, toppling the Taliban, rebuilding that country and pursuing al Qaeda operatives. Because the United States was clearly acting in self-defense after suffering a devastating armed attack, its unilateral, monochromatic response was accepted and, in fact, supported by the world community.⁵⁶⁷ So, it is clear that a coalition could easily be formed around the core NATO countries that reacted with support of military action. But, President Bush proceeded unilaterally.

After 9/11 the Bush administration gave a clear message to the world that this government does not care what the rest of the world thinks has been demonstrated time and again. Its guiding philosophy is to achieve whatever short-term political

⁵⁶⁵ Michael Cox, *Paradigm Shifts and 9/11: International Relations After the Twin Towers* (Norway: The Peace Research Institute Oslo, 2002) [see: <https://www.prio.org>, retrieved on 18/11/2014.]

⁵⁶⁶ President’s Message to Joint Session of Congress Responding to the Terrorist Attacks of September 11th, *Public Papers* (September 24, 2001).

⁵⁶⁷ Michael J Kelly, *op.cit.*, p.226.

gains it can. Because America's interests, defined by the White House, are paramount, consultation is a waste of time.

On December 13, 2001 President Bush announced the withdrawal of the United States from the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, a foundation of US-Soviet nuclear stability during the cold war era. Bush stated, "I have concluded that the ABM treaty hinders our government's ability to develop ways to protect our people from future terrorist or rogue state missile attacks."⁵⁶⁸ Shortly thereafter, the Pentagon determined that it would revive the Reagan-era dream of a national missile defense system in violation of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. President Bush supported Pentagon's 'The National Missile Defense' project, which was being designed to detect intercontinental ballistic missiles and destroy them in flight. It was anticipated by some critics that the project would cost US\$53 billion from 2004 to 2009, being the largest single line item in Pentagon's funding. So, it is clear, during the tenure of Bush, the United States gradually slipped from multilateral approach of defending so called 'rogue states' and 'stateless unlawful terrorist combatants' to unilateral way.

3.11 International Criminal Court

President Clinton had signed the agreement on 'The Rome Statute' just before leaving office. The statute was a UN effort establishing the International Criminal Court. It is the first ever permanent, treaty based, international criminal court established to promote the rule of law and ensure that the gravest international crimes do not go unpunished. The new Court will try, war criminals and perpetrators of genocide around the world instead of on an *ad hoc* basis as in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia. It came into being on July 1, 2002. However, President Bush had a monochromatic world view, therefore, decided to withdraw from 'The Rome Statute'. Pushed by the conservative sense of guarding America's sovereignty, Bush requested the United Nations to withdraw America's signature. In August 2002, US Congress passed the American Service Members' Protection Act (ASPA) to protect United States military personnel and other elected and appointed officials of the United States government against criminal prosecution by an international criminal court to which the United States is not a party. He then directed his diplomats to negotiate individual bilateral treaties with as many nations as possible, providing immunity from the Court's jurisdiction for Americans found within their borders. Twelve such bilateral treaties have since been signed.⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁸ See: <http://edition.cnn.com/2001/ALLPOLITICS/12/13/rec.bush.abm/>, retrieved on 18/11/2014.

⁵⁶⁹ Michael J Kelly, *op.cit.*, pp. 224-225.

4. US Diplomacy toward South Asia after 9/11

4.1 Strategy of George W. Bush administration: Global War on Terror

During the tenure of President George W. Bush American diplomacy changed its earlier course and dropped the policy of deterrence. Soon after taking office of the White House, George W. Bush had to face an overwhelming security threat for the American nation. The conservative critics of the Republican Party alleged Clinton's liberal policy for this. We've seen, after President Reagan, President Bush launched a policy of 'counter terrorism' to defend so-called 'rogue states' which caused serious degradation in the US economy. Thousands of Americans demanded for the withdrawal of American soldiers from the deployment needed for 'world policing.' They wanted to see no more dead bodies of their sons. Moreover, the people of the United States withdrew confidence from President Bush; therefore, he failed to be re-elected for the second term. Hence, President Clinton dropped Bush's 'policeman' policy for establishing democratic world. In a speech on February 26, 1999 President Bill Clinton stated:

...It's easy to say that we really have no interests in who lives in this or that valley in Bosnia, or who owns a strip of brush land in the Horn of Africa, or some piece of parched earth by the Jordan River. But the true measure of our interests lies not in how small or distant these places are, or in whether we have trouble pronouncing their names. The question we must ask is what are the consequences to our security of letting conflicts fester and spread. *We cannot, indeed, we should not, do everything or be everywhere.* But where our values and our interests are at stake, and where we can make a difference, we must be prepared to do so.⁵⁷⁰

4.1.1 India: preferential treatment

Relations with India have also improved significantly during George W. Bush's tenure. In September 2001, President Bush removed sanctions which had been imposed in May 1998, after the Pokhran-II nuclear tests. Like the Clinton administration, the Bush Administration had concluded that India must be the linchpin of US policy in South Asia despite American unhappiness about the Indian nuclear weapons program. The 9/11 attacks led the Bush administration to accelerate Indo-US bilateral relationship due to India's lucrative nuclear market. President Bush recognized India as a special partner. Lifting sanctions from India was a sign of this policy change.

In South Asia, President Bush followed his predecessor's policy and that is 'focusing on partnership with India' and also 'cooperation with Pakistan.' During the visit of

⁵⁷⁰ Michael T. Klare, 'The Clinton Doctrine', *The Nation*, April 4, 1999; retrieved 2008-09-16.

then Indian Foreign Minister Jaswant Singh in April 2001 US President Bush told him that the new administration would continue and strengthen its predecessor's policy to promote bilateral relations. As a symbol of the desire, during this visit, Special Assistant to the President on National Security Affairs Condoleezza Rice broke protocol and introduced Jaswant Singh the US missile defense policy. Moreover, US Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage, visited India to strengthen bilateral relation. This was the first time the United States valued India as an important partner in its strategic agenda. On May 1, 2001 President George W. Bush announced his plans for developing a missile defense system with India for which India had already expressed her approval. After this announcement India showed more supportive stance than Pakistan. Indo-US relations deepened hastily since the United States lifted its sanctions on India and the two nations agreed to comprehensively co-operate in the field of the global war against terrorism. In a memorandum to the Secretary of State from Camp David, the US President, George W. Bush said, “. . . the continuation of the punitive measures would not be in the national security interests of the United States.”⁵⁷¹

The September 11, 2001 attack and subsequent US decision to initiate the war on terrorism led the two countries come closer; therefore, both the countries together implemented a co-operative framework of relationships based on three dimensions: democracy, economy, and security. On November 9, 2001, President Bush told the visiting Indian Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, that his administration was committed toward developing a fundamentally different relationship with India, based upon both trust and mutual values.⁵⁷² Thereafter, just one year later of Bush's announcement (in May 2002), US Special Forces were flown into India and took part in a two-week military maneuver in north India, in the historical city of Agra. It was the first joint military exercise between the two countries in 39 years, which revealed that Indo-US military cooperation had reached a high level.⁵⁷³

Why did the United States become so fervent to value India? Experts suggest the following reasons:

Firstly, India's five nuclear tests in 1998 greatly damaged the US-led international non-proliferation regime. Therefore, the United States, along with thirteen countries imposed sanctions over India. It included export controls, suspension or curtailing bilateral defense relations, cancellation of foreign aid and many other cooperative

⁵⁷¹ 'US lifts sanctions against India, Pak', *The Hindu*, Chennai, September 24, 2001.

⁵⁷² See: www.indianembassy.org/indusrel/2001/vajpayee_bush_nov_9_01.htm, retrieved on 17/11/2013.

⁵⁷³ 'Military Exercises: Waltzing with arms', *The Week*, Kochi, November 10, 2002.

ventures. The United States seemed determined to get India adhere to global Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT). According to US Under Secretary of State Strobe Talbott: “the US cannot concede, even by implication, that India and Pakistan have, by their tests, established themselves as nuclear weapon states.”⁵⁷⁴ Such attitudes restrained both India and Pakistan to sign the NPT or CTBT. Even though eight rounds of ‘strategic talks’ were held between India and the United States, these talks begot nothing fruitful. However, the United States could not continue punishing India for a longer time due to the situation derived from 9/11 attacks rather it had to adjust its non-proliferation policy. After 9/11 attacks the United States felt that India, as a de-facto nuclear state, had co-operative potential with the US on the proliferation issue. Secondly, the United States thinks that South Asia is the ‘most dangerous region in the world’ due to territorial disputes, the ethnic and religious divergence, and the nuclear confrontation between India and Pakistan. According to the US Under Secretary of State for political affairs Michael Armacost:

...due to size and population, military and scientific establishments, and its geographic position between the oil rich Persian Gulf and dynamics of economics of East Asia give the area’s geo-political importance. Therefore, the United States has an interest in avoiding conflict among the major states of the region.⁵⁷⁵

Thirdly, the United States is concerned about China’s challenge to its world leadership as it was seemed that the latter was going to become the world’s number one economic power. On the other hand, India’s concern was about China’s future relationship with Pakistan, which might become a major security threat. The friendship of China as a regional power would be fruitful for India than the external power, the United States because as a developing country India’s priority is economic development. If Sino-Indian hostilities are removed, US influence will be lightened here, which will further strengthen Chinese influence in the Pacific Ocean area. Only an Indo-US groping can lead the United States securing a power advantage. Moreover, the Indian-Americans believe that China is a ‘threat’ to the interests of both India and the United States. Not only that the United States feared about the possibility of forming China-India-Russia alliance based on a common understanding and interests of a new international political and economical order unless it would make a strategic partnership with India. The new perception of India as an emerging power also led the

⁵⁷⁴ Rajesh Kumar, ‘US and South Asia in the New Millennium’, *The Pakistan Horizon*, Vol.53, No. 1, January 2000, p.41.

⁵⁷⁵ Dheeraj Kumar, ‘The United States’ Changing Perceptions of India’, *Post Cold War Developments in South Asia* by Ramakanto and P.Z. Bhola (Jaipur, India:PBSA Publishers, 1995), p.16.

US policy makers to reappraise their policy toward South Asia. Francine R. Frankel wrote:

....The time has come for Washington to develop a policy that views New Delhi as more than a minor player in the global superpower competition or simply one of dozens of Third World or non-aligned countries... India is increasingly exercising its influence from the sub-continent to the Suez Canal and deserves the treatment given today in China, another emerging giant determined and able to play an independent role in Asia.⁵⁷⁶

It would also be helpful to quote Armacost's remarks to the Philadelphia-based World Affairs Council here: "...We support India's Unity, territorial integrity and non-alignment, and recognize its pivotal role and its special responsibilities for regional peace and stability."⁵⁷⁷

All these reasons have led the United States and India to come closer, especially after 9/11 attacks. It was a clear shift in US policy toward India from the policy implemented during the cold war era. In those years the United States did not include India as its strategic alliance partner nor did it include India as a possible containment target. India's policy of non-alignment, maintaining warm relations with the Soviet Union and contrasting United States' policy of deterring the Soviet Union made it difficult for the US and India to work together.

However, on the part of the United States, winning India's friendship was very costly. Before 9/11 attacks the United States' demands to India were: not to carry out nuclear tests, not to produce fissile materials, not to deploy missiles with nuclear warheads, to stop a dangerous nuclear and missile arms race and to control the export of sensitive materials. All these demands went behind as soon as anti-terrorism became US number one choice. Not only that, in terms of Kashmir, which was a major element of Indo-Pak conflict, the United States changed its earlier stance of supporting Pakistan. It has now dropped the United Nations policy of giving the residents of Kashmir the right of a plebiscite for its future and supported India's policy of negotiations. How the United States changed its earlier attitude toward India was revealed in President Bush's statement. While visiting India President Bush signed a joint statement with Monmohon Sing on March 03, 2006 which stated:

India in the 21st century is a natural partner of the United States because we are brothers in the cause of human liberty...For many years, the United States and India were kept apart by the rivalries that divided the world. That's changed. Our two great democracies are now united by opportunities that can lift our people, and by threats that can bring down all our progress. The United States and India, separated by half the globe, are closer than ever

⁵⁷⁶ *ibid.*

⁵⁷⁷ *ibid*, p.17.

before, and the partnership between our free nations has the power to transform the world.⁵⁷⁸

4.1.2 Pakistan: becoming a Frontline state and discarding

As we have seen, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the bargaining opportunity of the third world countries, for example Pakistan, reached at its last and the foreign policy circles of the United States considered Pakistan as a failing state. But the US war against the Taliban and its hunt for the alleged mastermind of 9/11 Osama bin Laden made Pakistan ‘the most allied ally’ of the United States. Even after the assassination of Pakistan’s former premier Benazir Bhutto in December 2007, McCain rolled out the options of US forces entering Pakistan because he thought that it was not an appropriate time to ‘threat’ Pakistan. Nevertheless, after 9/11, Pakistan regained importance in US foreign policy due to its geo-strategic position. Pakistan was in a position to provide the United States with vital intelligence necessary for the United States. Moreover, any sort of attack on Afghanistan from aircraft carriers or from US air base in Diego Garcia needed to fly over Pakistani territory, therefore, required Pakistan’s permission. Pakistan’s military President Parvez Musharraf was also reconsidering its Afghan policy. Nevertheless, he well calculated that if he did not cooperate with the United States, the Vajpayee administration, which was steadily improving its ties with the United States, would surely try to marginalize Pakistan in the international community. Even, at its worst, Pakistan itself could be targeted by a ‘rogue state’ blaming. Musharraf got a message from US NSC meeting and realized that the United States was going to take a firm stand against the Muslim countries in Asia. In the first meeting of National Security Council at White House on the night of 9/11, Secretary of Defense General Colin Powell said, the United States had to make it clear to Pakistan, Afghanistan and the Arab states that the time to act was now.⁵⁷⁹

Musharraf’s policy shifts toward the Taliban regime became obvious in his nationwide television address on September 19, 2001 address. In his speech, Musharraf said, “...at this juncture, I’m worried about Pakistan only....I give top priority to the defense of Pakistan. Defense of any other country comes later.”

During 9/11 attack Pakistan was under US sanctions for nuclear tests in 1998 and also under pressure for not upholding democracy. 9/11 incident imposed an unlimited extra pressure over Pakistan. According to 9/11 Commission Report, on September 13, 2001 US Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage met with the Pakistani ambassador to the United States Maleeha Lodhi and the visiting head of Pakistan’s

⁵⁷⁸ See: <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/infocus/india-pakistan/>, retrieved on 18/11/2014

⁵⁷⁹ *ibid.*

military intelligence service Mahmud Ahmed. Armitage said that the United States wanted Pakistan to take seven steps:⁵⁸⁰

- to stop al Qaeda operatives at its border, and end all logistical support for Bin Laden;
- to give the United States blanket over flight and landing rights for all necessary military and intelligence operations;
- to provide territorial access to US and allied military intelligence and other personnel to conduct operations against al Qaeda;
- to provide the United States with intelligence information;
- to continue to publicly condemn the terrorist acts;
- to cut off all shipments of fuel to the Taliban and stop recruits from going to Afghanistan, and;
- if the evidence implicated Bin Laden and al Qaeda and the Taliban continued to harbor them, to break relations with the Taliban government.

Pakistan realized the situation and agreed all seven US demands quickly. However, initially Pakistan tried to strike a negotiation deal with the Taliban and Al Qaeda members to hand over Osama bin Laden to American authorities. But when negotiations failed, Pakistan allowed the American army to use its military bases for launching attacks on Afghan soil. However, President Pervez Musharraf confessed that the country had no option but to support United States as it had threatened Pakistan of ‘bombing it into the stone age’ if it did not join the fight against al Qaeda. According to 9/11 Commission Report, on September 13, 2001 US National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice chaired a meeting of the Principals at the situation room of the White House and ‘they concluded that if Pakistan decided not to help the United States, it too would be at risk.’⁵⁸¹ This way, Pakistan became a Frontline state in US ‘Global War on Terrorism’ and simultaneously in 2001, US officials introduced a bill to lift all the sanctions, previously imposed on Pakistan under Pressler and Glenn amendments.

On the other hand, along with the gradual development of Indo-US relations, the United States also continued to consolidate relations with Pakistan. Therefore, after the 9/11 attacks in 2001 Pakistan became one of the most important strategic allies for United States to eradicate militancy in South Asia, especially from Afghanistan. In fact, Pakistan had no option but to support the United States as the later had threatened

⁵⁸⁰ *ibid*, p.331.

⁵⁸¹ *ibid*.

Pakistan of ‘bombing it into the stone age’⁵⁸² if it did not join the war against Al Qaeda and its network. However, before allowing US army to use its military bases for launching attacks on the Taliban in Afghanistan, President Parvez Musharraf tried to strike a negotiation deal with Taliban and Al Qaeda members to hand over Osama bin Laden to American authorities so that an all out US attack on Afghan soil could be avoided. But the negotiation was failed and President Parvez Musharraf had to allow US army for the sake of Pakistan’s own safety. In return, the United States introduced a bill to lift all the sanctions, previously imposed on Pakistan under Pressler and Glenn amendments. Moreover, the Bush government officially forgave \$1 billion worth of loan it had granted to Pakistan in a goodwill gesture and appreciation for Pakistan’s cooperation. Along with economic support, the Bush administration declared Pakistan as a non-NATO ally granting it the authority to purchase strategic and advanced military equipments. While visiting South Asia President Bush signed a joint statement with President Parvez Musharraf on March 04, 2006 which stated:

Mr. President and I reaffirmed our shared commitment to a broad and lasting strategic partnership. And that partnership begins with close cooperation in the war on terror. President Musharraf made a bold decision for his people and for peace, after September the 11th, when Pakistan chose to fight the terrorists. The American people appreciate your leadership, Mr. President, and so do I.⁵⁸³

However, the US-Pakistan relations became frustrated soon. From 2004, the US media was continuously accusing Pakistan for nuclear proliferation.

Let us see some reports of world famous newspapers on the issue:

- US Under Secretary of State for Arms Control John R. Bolton told the *San Francisco Chronicle* in a telephone interview that ‘Washington has accepted the Pakistani government’s explanation that a small number of rogue scientists were acting on their own, without the government’s knowledge, when they sold the technology for enriching uranium as well as warhead designs to Iran, North Korea and Libya.’ (The *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 10, 2004)
- Former CIA director George J. Tenet described Mr. Khan as “being at least as dangerous as Osama bin Laden because of his role in providing nuclear technology to other countries.” (*The New York Times*, November 27, 2004)
- “Pakistani scientist Abdul Qadeer Khan had attempted through South African intermediaries, to sell a complete Uranium enrichment plant to Libya.” (November 28, 2004, *The Los Angeles Times*)

⁵⁸² See: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tVo9JorURws&feature=fvwrel>, retrieved on 18/11/2014.

⁵⁸³ See: <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/infocus/india-pakistan/>, retrieved on 18/11/2014.

- “Pakistan admitted that the scientist who headed its nuclear program sold Iran a crucial component needed to enrich uranium and produce nuclear material for warheads. The admission by Information Minister Rashid Ahmed was Pakistan’s first public acknowledgment that Abdul Qadeer Khan provided Iran’s secret nuclear program with completed centrifuges. But Ahmed said Pakistan knew nothing of his activities when they occurred and insisted that Khan would not be turned over to another country for prosecution.” (*The Associated Press*, March 11, 2005)
- “North Korea, according to the intelligence, had supplied Uranium Hexafluoride . . . which can be enriched to weapons-grade uranium . . . to Pakistan. It was Pakistan, a key US ally with its own nuclear arsenal that sold the material to Libya. The US government had no evidence, the officials said, that North Korea knew of the second transaction.” (*The Washington Post*, March 20, 2005)

The reports mentioned above were some of the propagandas to accuse Pakistan for nuclear proliferation. This propaganda led US-Pakistan relation to a confusion. Along with this blame Pakistan was suspected to use huge money that it received from the United States for helping its war on terror in strengthening its defense against India.

4.1.3 Policy toward Bangladesh

The incidents of 9/11 and ‘Global War on Terror’ have had enormous impact on US-Bangladesh relations. The Bush administration was concerned that Bangladesh might become a base or a breeding place for Islamist militants. There are at least six reasons behind the concern: having a majority of the Muslim population, existence of extreme poverty and illiteracy; existence of numerous radical religious institutions (i.e. Madrasa); proximity to Pakistan and North-east India; reportedly existence of some Islamist militant groups (i.e. Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen Bangladesh, Ansar al-Islam etc.); the robust ‘drugs and illegal weapons’ trade around the South-eastern part of Cox’s Bazaar. For all these reasons, Bangladesh was included in the list of terrorist prone countries by the United States. As a result, the migration policy toward Bangladeshi nationals had become tough after the 9/11 incidents. Regulations also were passed and imposed over Bangladeshi nationals against sending money through indirect channels. These caused much trouble in the Bangladesh economy because remittance is the second highest source of our national income.

Immediate after the 9/11 incident, the United States adopted an initiative to urge all the nations of the world to rally under its contingent to combat threats to world peace. The United Nations’ Security Council also passed resolution 1373, in which

Bangladesh is also a party. Following the UN resolution Bangladesh extended its full support to the United States immediately after the tragic 9/11, such as over flight permission and other logistic supports.

4.2 Strategy of Obama administration: policy of rebalancing

When Barak Obama took his office in the White House, the United States was on the eve of a great economic depression. Obama himself sketched the American economic conditions through his first State of the Union Address as follows:

I took office amid two wars, an economy rocked by a severe recession, a financial system on the verge of collapse, and a government deeply in debt. Experts from across the political spectrum warned that if we did not act, we might face a second depression.⁵⁸⁴

After a year-long struggle, according to him, ‘...the worst of the storm has passed.’ However, one in 10 Americans still were jobless, many businesses had been shuttered. Despite launching various steps under Recovery Act Obama could not make up for the seven million jobs that the United States had lost over the last two years. From the first day of taking office, Washington’s specialists repeatedly told Obama that addressing America’s larger challenges is too ambitious and too contentious, therefore, needs a hold. However, Obama asked him how long he should wait since China's not waiting to revamp its economy; Germany’s not waiting; India's not waiting.⁵⁸⁵ Finally, Obama decided not to hold but to create an atmosphere so that he could double US exports over the next five years, which would support two million jobs in America. That’s why he reshaped Bush’s foreign policy and initiated ‘the policy of rebalancing’ to strengthen trade relations in Asia.

We’ve seen, generally South Asia holds less room in US global policy framework, (i.e. it comes as a part of US policy toward Asia). But after 9/11 attack, the scenario has been changed drastically and US foreign policy toward South Asia has become increasingly important. The influence of al-Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan and Pakistan has led to increased violence, as well as pressure on the nation to become more involved in counter-insurgency.⁵⁸⁶ The use of drones in Pakistan has also strained relations between Pakistan and the US, as counter-terrorism operations continue unabated. American Muslims have also a vested interest in foreign policy in and South Asia (which has been dominated by the American Jews community since

⁵⁸⁴ CNN.com ; January 28, 2010 (see: <http://edition.cnn.com/2010/POLITICS/01/27/sotu.transcript/>), retrieved on 18/11/2014.

⁵⁸⁵ *ibid.*

⁵⁸⁶ See: <http://www.barackobama.com/record/national-security?source=primary-nav>, retrieved on 18/11/2014.

the country's inception, vividly from the end of the Second World War) as it pertains to US national security. However, Bush's belligerent foreign policy has led the United States to the economic crisis and, in the mean time; China came into being the world's number one economic power.⁵⁸⁷ In the first 'State of the Union Address' Obama mentioned, '.... But we took office amid a crisis, and our efforts to prevent a second depression have added another \$1 trillion to our national debt. That, too, is a fact.'⁵⁸⁸

He also said:

...Since the day I took office, we renewed our focus on the terrorists who threaten our nation.' And at April's Nuclear Security Summit, we will bring 44 nations together here in Washington, D.C., behind a clear goal: securing all vulnerable nuclear materials around the world in four years so that they never fall into the hands of terrorists.⁵⁸⁹

That Obama's foreign policy was going to be different from Bush's administration was clear through his Union Address when he expressed his fears and desires as:

....As we take the fight to Al Qaeda, we responsibly leave Iraq to its people.... We will have all of our combat troops out of Iraq by the end of this August.... Now, even as we prosecute two wars, we're also confronting perhaps the greatest danger to the American people, the threat of nuclear weapons. I've embraced the vision of John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan through a strategy that reverses the spread of these weapons and seeks a world without them. . . To reduce our stockpiles and launchers, while ensuring our deterrent, the United States and Russia are completing negotiations on the farthest-reaching arms control treaty in nearly two decades.⁵⁹⁰

Therefore, President Obama has to re-design US South Asia policy as a part of the policy toward Asia. He refocused the United States' efforts on defeating al-Qaeda in Afghanistan and Pakistan.⁵⁹¹ In one hand, he eliminated more of al-Qaeda's senior leadership, including the group's leader, Osama bin Laden,⁵⁹² and on the other hand, he has started to bring home the US troops from Afghanistan as Afghans take ownership of the security and leadership of their country. In the same Union Address Obama confessed, '...And in the last year, hundreds of Al Qaeda's fighters and affiliates, including many senior leaders, have been captured or killed, far more than

⁵⁸⁷ Since the end of WW1, the United States has never become second in world economy until the first decade of twenty first century, retrieved on 18/11/2014.

⁵⁸⁸ CNN.com ; January 28, 2010 (see: <http://edition.cnn.com/2010/POLITICS/01/27/sotu.transcript/>), retrieved on 18/11/2014

⁵⁸⁹ *ibid.*

⁵⁹⁰ *ibid.*

⁵⁹¹ See: <http://www.barackobama.com/record/national-security?source=primary-nav>, retrieved on 18/11/2014.

⁵⁹² On May 2, 2011, Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden is killed by US Special Forces during an early morning (approximately mid-afternoon on May 1 in the United States) raid in Abbottabad, located only about a mile from the Pakistan Military Academy, Pakistan. After killing, late in the evening (approximately mid-morning on May 2 in Pakistan), President Obama addresses the American nation and announces that Osama bin Laden has been killed, calling it "the most significant achievement to date in our nation's effort to defeat al Qaeda." Osama bin Laden is buried at sea off the deck of the USS Carl Vinson in the Arabian Sea.

in 2008.⁵⁹³ Moreover, Obama signed a historic Strategic Partnership Agreement between the United States and Afghanistan on May 1, 2013. It is assumed that this approach will help him complete US mission there and end the war in Afghanistan. However, Obama's newly approached policy toward Asia (South Asia is also included in the policy as a whole) is addressed as 'Rebalancing'. His first Union Address reveals his desire when he mentions:

We are filling unacceptable gaps revealed by the failed Christmas attack with better airline security and swifter action on our intelligence. We've prohibited torture and strengthened partnerships from the Pacific to South Asia to the Arabian Peninsula.⁵⁹⁴

We've seen, beginning in the fall of 2011, the Obama administration has issued a series of announcements and taken a series of steps to expand and intensify the already significant role of the United States in the Asia-Pacific region. *It was a clear shift in US policy toward Asia. Seeing this, some scholars, namely, Robert G. Sutter and Others of Elliot School of International Affairs, Sigur Center for Asian Studies, George Washington University presented a paper entitled 'Balancing Acts: The US Rebalance and Asia-Pacific Stability' in August 2013. In this paper, Professor Robert G. Sutter and Others conclude that the United States is explicitly identifying the Asia-Pacific region as a geostrategic priority for her own interests, therefore, the Obama administration is paying a higher level of attention to the region across a wide range of issue areas. However, they justified Obama's 'Rebalance' policy as follows:*

... The story of the rebalance is not a story of US disengagement and then re-engagement in Asia. Instead, it is a matter of emphasis and priority, building on an elaborate foundation of US-Asia relations that was already in place. The United States has had powerful national interests in the Asia-Pacific region since World War II and was deeply engaged in the region—militarily, economically, and diplomatically—throughout the Cold War. The post-Cold War administrations of presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush were actively engaged in Asia⁵⁹⁵

However, according to the paper, the Obama administration's policy toward the Asia-Pacific region has evolved over time and has gone through two distinct phases. When the policy was first rolled out in 2011-12, much of the emphasis was placed on military initiatives in the region.⁵⁹⁶ China disapproved of these initiatives, and Beijing

⁵⁹³ see: <http://edition.cnn.com/2010/POLITICS/01/27/sotu.transcript/>, retrieved on 18/11/2014.

⁵⁹⁴ *ibid.*

⁵⁹⁵ Sutter, Robert G. and Others, *Balancing Acts: The US Rebalance and Asia-Pacific Stability* (Elliot School of International Affairs, Sigur Center for Asian Studies, George Washington University, August 2013).

⁵⁹⁶ NATO launched its biggest military exercise in 13 years named 'Trident Juncture' mobilizing 36-thousand troops from over 30 nations, 140 aircraft and more than 60 ships to test the alliance's ability to respond to new security threats from 28 September to 06 November 2014. 'Trident Juncture' was extended throughout Italy, Portugal, Spain, the Atlantic Ocean, the Mediterranean Sea and also Canada, Norway, Germany, Belgium and

took steps to demonstrate its power in maritime territorial disputes with US allies.⁵⁹⁷ The Obama administration adjusted its approach in late 2012, playing down the significance of military initiatives, emphasizing economic and diplomatic elements,⁵⁹⁸ and calling for closer US engagement with China.

The paper also justifies that the US rebalance toward Asia is a reasonable reflection of changing geostrategic realities; it makes strategic sense. The Obama administration believes that the rebalance has more promise for advancing US interests, especially economic interests, than US policy efforts in most other parts of the world. It seems that the Obama administration is committed to the rebalance, and this is likely to continue through the end of the president's term in office.⁵⁹⁹

However, the policy of the Bush regime is shifted to 'the policy of rebalance' during Obama administration is also echoed in the recent interview between US Army Pacific Commander (*PACOM*), General Vincent Brooks and Jeremy Shapiro, editor of a blog named '*Order from Chaos*' conducted on March 4, 2015. In the interview, General Vincent Brooks was asked what the US military's role was in *the rebalance to Asia*. His reply was as follows:

We sustain an arrangement among nations in the region and security forces in the region that has been part of guaranteeing peace and prosperity within the framework that happened post World War II, so 1945 to present really. In the last 60 years especially, that has created opportunities for many countries to emerge and grow and develop—in some cases literally out of ashes into great countries, and great economic powers. More and more countries are able to do that now because of this framework for security that helps to enable prosperity. We will continue to be focused militarily on increasing the amount of engagements with countries that are changing direction and opening opportunities to us, while at the same time ensuring that sovereignty is supported and enforced throughout the region, that there's a strong security foundation in every country in the region. And to assist in the changing

the Netherlands. (See: <http://www.euronews.com/2015/10/19/nato-biggest-military-exercise-in-13-years/>, retrieved on 17/11/2013.)

⁵⁹⁷ Russia and China also staged their biggest joint maritime exercises in the history and named it as 'Joint Sea 2015 II' from August 20 to 28, 2015 in response to NATO exercise. The drills were held in Peter the Great Bay not far from the port-city of Vladivostok in Russia's Far East, as the vessels conducted their training operations in both Russian territorial waters and neutral waters in the Sea of Japan. A total of 22 ships, 20 aircraft, 40 armored vehicles, and 500 marines from the two countries, including the Varyag missile cruiser, flagship of the Russian Pacific fleet; and the Shenyang destroyer, the Chinese flagship, participated in the active phase of the exercises. The two countries have held the Joint Sea naval exercises since 2012 in response to the NATO exercise. On August 30, RT of Russia broadcast a Kremlin's bulletin which was: 'continued NATO expansion will see response from Moscow. (See: <https://www.rt.com/news/313815-russia-china-naval-drills/>, <http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/order-from-chaos/posts/2015/03/09-interview-pacific-china-general-brooks>, retrieved on 17/11/2013.)

⁵⁹⁸ President Barack Obama visited China from 10-13 November 2014 to attend the 2014 APEC Leaders Summit. He also delivered remarks at a joint press conference with President Xi Jinping of China in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing.

⁵⁹⁹ <http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/order-from-chaos/posts/2015/03/09-interview-pacific-china-general-brooks>, retrieved on 17/11/2013.

military relationships with the emergence of China, which we welcome. We're working closely with them on a number of fronts.⁶⁰⁰

He was again asked which of the new Chinese capabilities concerned the USA the most. In reply he said:

Well the only capabilities that concern us is that China is capable of changing the status quo without coordination. The military growth doesn't have to be a cause of concern, and it isn't when you have transparency and dialogue. So it's the absence of transparency and dialogue, which we're working on with China— and China is taking, steps toward us also—that's the greatest focus for us right now.⁶⁰¹

Brooks also argue that China needs to be a contributor to regional stability and security. However, he confessed that China has already become a contributor economically and its trade power throughout the region exceeds the United States. The degree of investment that they're engaging in is at a pace that others can't sustain, including the latter. When he was asked about the goals of expanding Chinese military capabilities he remarked:

They have a need to protect their economic interests and to be a regional leader and a contributor. So we're trying to encourage that. How do you bring then China into this fold of nations that are cooperating with and interacting with each other in a responsible way? That's what we're working on. It requires dialogue and a lot of transparency, and that's emerging as well.⁶⁰²

Again, Mr. Brooks explained the legitimacy of US Army's Pacific Pathways program as follows:

It does create a clear expression of our commitment. So the rebalance is a policy commitment, a strategic commitment. Our friends in the region still look for evidence. "Where are you?" "we want to see you" "we want to see you more" is what most of the countries in the region are asking. Pacific Pathways lets us do that. To be there, to interact with the countries in the region, and to do it on a sustained basis where we not only build our own readiness, but we increase the capacity of our friends in the region and have a greater persistence. That doesn't have to be threatening to China. It needs to be explained to China, just like the entire approach to rebalance is often a question we get from the Chinese. But when we talk about it, this is about being present, having relationships, continuing to exercise with countries—the exercises we've had before, but just doing it in a different way that's wiser in terms of resources and that really helps us to advance our capabilities as well.⁶⁰³

So, it is clear, despite existing 'rebalance' policy, the United States has the same continued policy toward Asia and the Obama administration is also following the same for its stake in South Asia right now.

⁶⁰⁰ *ibid.*

⁶⁰¹ *ibid.*

⁶⁰² *ibid.*

⁶⁰³ *ibid.*

Why does the Obama administration choose ‘the policy of rebalance’? According to Robert G. Sutter and Others, this is due to the increasing assertiveness of a rising China. It is now obvious that China is exerting extraordinary coercive diplomatic, economic, and military power over her neighboring countries. Therefore, many neighboring countries in the Asia-Pacific region have also drawn on classic balance-of-power thinking and “rebalanced” their positions closer to the non-threatening great power. Many other key countries in the region – including India, Vietnam and Burma (except Pakistan, which has strong ties with China) – have taken significant steps to improve relations with the United States in recent years. Although governments in these countries have been careful to preserve their close economic ties with China and to avoid offending the region’s rising power, they have found it strategically reassuring to position themselves a few steps closer to the world’s preeminent superpower.

Richard C. Bush III, a foreign policy expert of Asia and fellow of John L. Thornton China Center has recently analyzed Brooks’ interview. According to him⁶⁰⁴, it is not just a useful perspective on the Asia-Pacific from an official responsible for the conduct of American policy. It is also an implicit but an important response to ongoing discussions about the Obama administration’s approach policy toward Asia. He remarks, the tenor of the public commentary has been that the administration’s “pivot” or “rebalance” marked a major shift in US global policy, that its focus was military only, and that its goal was to contain China. He says, General Brooks’ recent interview corrects those misimpressions.

From Brooks’ interview Richard C. Bush III finds the following three important key points of US policy toward Asia:

- a) Continuity,
- b) Policy of rebalance to contain China and,
- c) Renewed commitment of US political leaders.

According to Brooks, as Richard C. Bush III analyzes from the above-mentioned interview, he (Brooks) implicitly emphasized the continuity in US-Asia policy. At least since the end of the Korean War in 1953, the United States has protected its own security by fostering security in the East Asian region. As former US Secretary of Defense Robert Gates once said, “We are an Asian Power”.⁶⁰⁵ Brooks remarks that the key to this approach is presented: forward deployment of US military forces; a

⁶⁰⁴ Director, Center for East Asia Policy Studies; Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy, John L. Thornton China Center

⁶⁰⁵ See: <http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/order-from-chaos/posts/2015/03/09-interview-pacific-china-general-brooks>, retrieved on 17/11/2013.

significant tempo of regional diplomatic activity (including helping Asian countries resolve disputes that they can't resolve themselves); and promoting an agenda of political reform where it is appropriate. For six decades, therefore, Washington has worked to create and sustain the context in which Asian nations formulate their own policies. Brooks confessed that this is a challenging task. On the one hand, it requires Washington to deploy a mix of methods: deterrence, reassurance, partnering, and sometimes the use of force. He also thinks that the region itself is complex, combining a vestige of the Cold War (Korean peninsula), the twin dynamics of globalization, and regional economic integration, weak states, global issues like climate change, and now the revival of China as a great power. In the current context, he suggests, the basic strategy that has served the United States well needs adjustment, and that is what the Obama administration's 'rebalance' was all about. However, it is not a new strategy. Secondly, to counter those who think that the rebalance is all about containing China; General Brooks takes a balanced approach to that country's military modernization. He looks less at the amount of money China spends on defense than what it buys with that money.⁶⁰⁶ As he said:

The only capabilities that concern us [are those that make] China... capable of changing the status quo without coordination. By the way, when it comes to China's military budgets, it has been basically flat in real terms and has consumed a fairly constant share of gross domestic product and government spending).⁶⁰⁷

Thirdly, Richard C. Bush III again emphasizes on General Brooks' seriousness about the new security challenge that China poses in East Asia. He thinks that the areas of greatest concern are the waters of the East China Sea and the South China Sea. As China seeks to expand its security perimeter eastward and southward, there is the potential for clashes with the coast guards, fishing fleets, and navies of other countries, including the United States Navy. According to Richard's observation, General Brooks has an interesting approach to dealing with the real challenge that China poses: he emphasizes the importance of engaging China, particularly the Chinese military, not confronting. However, not all of the issues that divide the two countries can be handled simply through dialogue and other tools of engagement, but some can—factual misunderstandings, differences over how to achieve goals that we have in common, or failures of implementation. In each of these, therefore, dialogue

⁶⁰⁶ In 2014, the Chinese defense spending was \$131.57 billion, an increase from the previous year of 12.2%. In 2015 the budget was announced to be US\$141bn which is 10% more than the previous year. In comparison, for the fiscal year 2016, the US President Barak Obama has requested a budget of \$585bn. (see: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-31706989>, retrieved on 17/11/2013.)

⁶⁰⁷ *ibid.*

can be very productive in narrowing differences. Even the management of conflicts of interest requires that Washington and Beijing talk to each other.⁶⁰⁸

Finally, according to Richard C. Bush III, what General Brooks did not say was that the future success of the enduring American strategy in Asia depends on the renewed commitment of US political leaders and the American public to it. This isn't just a question of budgets, but the strategy cannot be sustained without robust funding. Maintaining forward military deployment costs a lot, and the possible resumption of sequestration is relevant here. He says, although the benefits of the US presence in Asia are hard to calculate and impossible to quantify, they are substantial. If that presence is reduced, it will affect the calculations of allies and adversaries alike.

President Obama's policy of rebalance came into being for other reasons also. The policy experts of the Obama administration have also taken an account on the historical Indo-Iran relations. According to US Ambassador Teresita C. Schaffer,⁶⁰⁹ India's rapidly growing economy depends critically on energy imports. India's largest import is crude oil; interestingly, its largest export is refined petroleum. Iran has historically been a major oil supplier from India. Iran is also a country with which India has important historical relationships, and India's substantial Shia Muslim population makes Iran an important political touchstone. This explains India's strong support for the P5+1 nuclear deal, and its hope that nothing will interrupt it. India needs a strong economic relationship with the United States, but it also needs to be able to expand its economic ties with Iran for both economic and political reasons. It is assumed that the P5+1 nuclear deal⁶¹⁰ will remove much of the tension between these two goals.

Since the United States focused its eyes on the 'stateless enemies' and 'rogue states' after 9/11 attacks, it had decided to develop relations with the conventional rivals in Asia. Therefore, Bush administration simultaneously improved relations with India, Japan, South Korea and China. In the restricted National Security Council meeting on the night of 9/11, President Bush 'noted that the attacks provided a great opportunity to engage Russia and China.'⁶¹¹ A 'shocked' Chinese President Jiang Zemin was also

⁶⁰⁸ In chapter-4, we've already analyzed why China wants to ensure its vital energy routes remain open in the Indian Ocean and therefore, has strengthened its military presence in the region. In fact, due to the global preeminence in World Economy, China is going to be world's largest importer of oil by 2017 and scholars assume that 80 percent of this oil will be transported through the Indian Ocean.

⁶⁰⁹ *The Diplomats*, August 22, 2015.

⁶¹⁰ The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) is an international agreement on the Nuclear Program of Iran signed in Vienna on 14 July 2015 between Iran, the P5+1 (the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council— China, France, Russia, United Kingdom, United States—plus Germany) and the European Union.

⁶¹¹ *9/11 Commission Report*, p.330.

quick to express sympathy for the United States and the families of the victims and to condemn ‘all violent activities by terrorism’. Beijing supported Washington’s call for cooperation and responsive action, including the adoption of United Nations Security Council resolutions that condemned the attacks, called on all states to take measures to combat and prevent terrorist activities and organizations generally and al-Qaeda and the Taliban specifically.

In the security context of South Asia, we’ve have seen, when the United States lost China it extended helping hand to both India and Pakistan to counter Chinese influence over this region. Again, as soon as it regained China, both India and Pakistan got less importance in its global policy. But India, one of the largest lasting democratic countries in the world and also a potential regional power, always keeps strategically balanced policy toward the United States. It always welcomed US-assistance but tried to outdo US influence over this region. Therefore, India generally welcomed Washington’s renewed focus on Asia following ‘the rebalance’.

Again, in common with many of China’s neighbors, Delhi has been cautious to publicly embrace the new initiative. Privately, Indian officials are understood to have encouraged greater US commitment to the Asia-Pacific in the context of growing Chinese assertiveness in the region. According to US Ambassador Teresita C. Schaffer (one of the US State Department’s foremost experts on South Asia):

...in the past two decades, India and the US have increasingly found that their interests in peace and prosperity in Asia push them toward similar policies. This is the key to India’s place in the US rebalancing toward Asia.⁶¹²

Nevertheless, India remains wary of provoking Beijing, particularly in light of the widening Sino-India gap in defense capabilities and the two countries’ ongoing border disputes.⁶¹³ China is also India’s largest trading partner and an engine for growth. Moreover, India’s historical aversion to alliance building has led its political establishment to avoid entering into any comprehensive strategic partnership, thus far, despite US Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta’s description of India as a ‘linchpin’ of the rebalance.⁶¹⁴ At the same time, Delhi’s stance is subject to modification. Unambiguous Chinese assertiveness on the India-China border or in neighboring countries could lead Delhi to align itself more closely with the US, building on a decade of improved ties.⁶¹⁵ Indian officials remain sensitive to domestic political

⁶¹²*The Diplomats*, August 22, 2015

⁶¹³ *ibid.*

⁶¹⁴ *Global Times*, February 6, 2013.

⁶¹⁵ US Department of Defense Bulletin, June 6, 2012.

charges of bowing to American interests. However, the continuing distrust of China and the potential emergence of a China-centric Asia as a growing threat could push India to play a more prominent role in supporting the US rebalance.

As a part of Obama's 'Policy of Rebalance' US Secretary of State John Kerry traveled to India and Pakistan in the first week of January 2015. It is assumed that Kerry's visit to both countries has two potential agenda:

- a) Reducing the chances of a future Indo-Pakistani crisis and
- b) Restore US credibility as a negotiating partner.

According to Daniel Markey⁶¹⁶, Kerry might take advantage of a recent development in Pakistan to reduce the near-term likelihood of war on the subcontinent although there is little he can do to resolve long-standing tensions between these nuclear-armed neighbors.⁶¹⁷ Markey argued, despite American diplomacy has never yielded much success in addressing the underlying disputes between India and Pakistan, the United States has repeatedly played a central role in averting full-scale war when Indo-Pakistani tensions spike.⁶¹⁸ This was evident in 2001 when Pakistan-based terrorists attacked India's parliament, and in 2008 when Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) commandos rampaged through Mumbai, directed by Pakistani handlers through satellite phones.

According to Daniel Markey, the United States has high stakes in the Indo-Pakistani relationship. Given the enormous populations of the region, the human costs of another war would be staggering, even if it never crosses the nuclear threshold. The United States feared that an Indo-Pakistani crisis would distract Pakistan's attention from its fight against the Taliban. It would send debilitating shockwaves through India's economy and undermine its near-term prospects for becoming a major US strategic partner in Asia, a vision shared by the past three American presidents.

That's why; Secretary Kerry should seek ways to reduce the chances of a future Indo-Pakistani crisis and to restore US credibility as a negotiating partner in the event that one unfolds.

However, according to Daniel Markey⁶¹⁹, Washington's negotiating position with New Delhi becomes more offended because US officials were unsuccessful to place promised enormous pressure on Pakistan to hold back their anti-Indian terrorist organizations like LeT. India held off reprisal attacks for two reasons: US promise of

⁶¹⁶ A renowned columnist.

⁶¹⁷ Markey, Daniel, 'Down But Not Out: Kerry's Diplomatic Opportunity in South Asia: Can John Kerry make long-standing tensions yield diplomatic results?', *The South Asia Channel*, January 13, 2015.

⁶¹⁸ In 1965 and 1971 the US negotiation failed to avert Indo-Pakistan war.

⁶¹⁹ *The South Asia Channel*, January 13, 2015.

Pakistan-backed anti-Indian terrorist organizations and India's own recognition that it had no low-cost military solution to the problem posed by Pakistan's terrorists. Though Washington tried to keep its promise of using various legal and diplomatic tools against LeT, such as sanctioning it and its affiliated organizations and offering a \$10 million reward for information that would bring Saeed to justice, it did not prove fruitful. On the other hand, in December 2014, the mastermind of the Mumbai attacks, Zaki-ur-Rehman Lakhvi, was nearly set free on bail after six inconclusive years of Pakistani judicial proceedings which shocked Indians and they took it as Washington's incapability to force a real Pakistani crackdown on terrorists personally responsible for attacks on Indian soil. Such mistrust over the United States could lead India to way out unilateral military moves if Pakistan based terrorists strike occurs again. In such case, Obama administration fears, it will increase the potential for cross-border violence maybe even including nuclear war.

Analysis

Whether 9/11 incidents paved the opportunity before the Bush government to reshape its policy structure or the latter itself plotted the event is still a matter of controversy. Chalmers Johnson, Ahmed Rashid, Ian Johnson, Dr. David Ray Griffin and some others are of the view that the 9/11 incidents were the result of Bush-Cheney-Powel blue-print. On the other hand, Samuel P. Huntington, Philip Zelkow, Thomas H Kean and others are of the view that it was a result of the clash of civilization after the end of History in the last decade of twentieth century. According to them, the future conflict will be occurred along the cultural fault lines. As a result, in the coming decades, Asia will be the battlefield and South Asia will become the heartland of international disputes because it has several cultural lines.

While Brzezinski described China and India as 'five geo-strategic players,'⁶²⁰ Henry Kissinger listed them as the 'six big powers'.⁶²¹ Samuel Huntington also considered them as 'core states of seven civilizations.'⁶²² Since 'counter-terrorism' has become the primary issue in the strategy of the United States, it has to design an integrated military strategy for the Europe-Atlantic region and the Asia-Pacific region. Therefore, India and the Indian Ocean became important factors in such a geo-strategy because India and the Indian Ocean constitute the bridge for the United States in its

⁶²⁰ According to Brzezinski France, Germany, Russia, China and India would conflict with the global interests of the United States.[See: *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives* (New York: Basic Books, 1997)].

⁶²¹ Henry A. Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), p. 23.

⁶²² See: Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996).

regional military strategy. Hence, according to some experts, the United States has gradually changed its balance of power policy (as a method) to secure a power advantage (as a goal). That's why US South Asia policy has been changed from 'paying equal attention to India and Pakistan' in the early period of the post-Cold War era of 'focusing on India and reducing Pakistan' during the Clinton administration. This perception was once again changed to 'raising India and curbing Pakistan' as soon as George W. Bush entered into the White House.⁶²³ However, Bush's policy again changed to 'regarding Pakistan while respecting India' after the 9/11 attacks because the United States felt the needs of Pakistani support and co-operation as an Islamic 'frontline state' in the war against terrorism.

Moreover, 9/11 events have proved that 'stateless terrorism' is more powerful than 'state-sponsored terrorism' since stateless terrorists are invisible, unidentified to negotiate or battle. Therefore, Bush administration decided to give 'the terrorists' and 'their harboring states' similar value and threatened to punish them two equally. Since the terrorists were a faction of the Muslim community and there is a general hatred against the United States among the Muslim community, south Asia has reason to concern about US role because extreme poverty, lack of standard education and ambiguity of living have made the area a suitable breeding place of terrorist recruitment.

Secondly, in South Asia, as we have seen, three external powers always tried to influence: the United States, the USSR and China. It is widely known that the balance of power in South Asia has been upset as soon as the cold war ended. Visibly the influence of Russia, one of three external powers in South Asia, seems weakened. However, Russia never gave up a stable co-operative relationship with India, especially in the field of defense. To heighten the bilateral relations to a new level, both sides signed the Delhi Declaration on 'Further Consolidation of Strategic Partnership' when Russian President Putin paid a three-day visit to India in early December 2002.⁶²⁴ Again, US scholars believe that China and India are two major powers that can influence security affairs in the Asia-Pacific, especially in East Asia and South Asia.

Thirdly, from a close observation, we see the inclusion or exclusion in the list of 'rogue states' do not depend on 'remaining elements of terrorism' within a country, it

⁶²³ Samuel P. Huntington, who was greatly influenced by Jews writer Bernard Lewis, was an influential advisor of Bush administration.

⁶²⁴ www.satp.org. (It's a South Asian Terrorism Portal where full text of the Declaration on 'Further Consolidation of Strategic Partnership between the Republic of India and the Russian Federation' mentioned.)

mostly depends on whether a country rallies behind the US interests or not. That's why, in spite of 'preferential treatment' to India, the United States did not give utmost pressure on Pakistan to take vigorous action against LeT⁶²⁵ nor declared Pakistan as 'rogue State'; rather convinced India not to mobilize reprisal actions on Pakistan after Mumbai attack.⁶²⁶ Recently, the US President Obama has declared that the United States would not hesitate to attack any country if it thinks that there is a terrorist network. This declaration may be a concern for Bangladesh because it is proven that the blacklisted Islamic extremist group JMB⁶²⁷ is active in Bangladesh. The western media are also searching whether there is any 'ISIS' development here.

Fourthly, the United States wants to bring Pakistan into its possession so that it is able to crush or at least control armed Islamist extremist groups, who are alarming to US economy in South Asia. But its main conventional aim is to establish and continue strong 'partnership' with India. Because it thinks that only India would be the alternative regional power to balance newly emerged economic giant China, which is exerting its military influence over the vast Indian Ocean. Again, to exploit India, it is necessary to keep it engaged on either side of its border through cross-border insurgency so that the United States could be significant as a mediator in South Asian conflicts. In one side, India has an inborn hostile neighbor Pakistan with whom it fought three times and also locked in clash for several times. In the opposite side, it has been neighbored by friendly Bangladesh having Muslim majority. However, a large number of people in Bangladesh convey anti-Indian sentiment which is always a concern for India. However, in recent years, India has become so powerful in comparison to Pakistan that the United States needs the help of another influential South Asian country other than Pakistan to manage India. A large number of anti-Indian population, potential economy, and geo-strategic position of Bangladesh might make it a 'pawn' in the South Asian chess board to be used against India if there is an anti-Indian political party in power. Unless it can establish an anti-Indian government in Bangladesh, the eastern border of India will not be disturbed. Therefore, the United States is promoting the rightist parties in Bangladesh in the name of fostering democracy. In recent years, we see, the United States become outspoken in favor of the alliance of anti-Indian political parties in Bangladesh. This policy is actually a

⁶²⁵ Laskar -e- Tyoba.

⁶²⁶ The United States launched an expedition in Pakistan's military city Abbotabad and killed Al Qaida leader Osama Bin Laden, but still did not call Pakistan as 'rogue state' because the latter has rallied behind its 'counter terrorism', on the other hand the United States considers Syria as a 'rogue state' due to anti-US Asad Government.

⁶²⁷ Jagroto Muslim Janata.

continuation of the policy adopted by the Nixon government in 1971. Nixon government's anti-Indian policy was a necessity of 'Opening in China', but Obama continues it for his 'policy of rebalance.' Though supporting anti-Indian political parties in Bangladesh, the United States knows well that it has a potential threat of rising 'Islamic extremism' here. This policy is also contrasting to its policy of 'counter terrorism' stance, it is overlooking it, perhaps, it wants to penetrate in the region in the name of deviating extremists. It might be a part of extending the area of her 'rogue state theory'. Therefore, we have seen, during the army-backed caretaker government in Bangladesh in 2006-2008, the United States tried to use the image of Dr. Yunus to form a puppet government. When the effort failed, it tried to make the elected government unpopular. Withdrawal of GSP facility for Bangladeshi commodity, question of corruption in Padma-Bridge project and the denial of financing by World Bank persuaded by the United States, questioning on the legitimacy and procedures of International Crimes Tribunal of Bangladesh and stand against death sentences of war criminals of 1971 and above all questioning on the legitimacy of the National election of 2014 in Bangladesh- all are nothing but a part of promoting anti-Indian political parties in Bangladesh.

Conclusions

From the discussion above, we see the United States' policy toward South Asia is the same continuation in terms of fluctuations even after 9/11. On the eve of 9/11 it was reducing Pakistan, but as soon as the terrible thing happened, it hastily shifted its policy from the earlier course and made Pakistan its closely allied ally. The sanctions imposed after nuclear tests had been lifted and the pressure on non-proliferation issue is also becoming lighten. However, this honeymoon period did not last long. The US media were continuously blaming Pakistan for exporting nuclear materials to some 'rogue states' and also blaming US government for overlooking it. In fact, the US government was fully aware of this issue, but since it needs Pakistan as a 'frontline Islamic state' against terrorism it could not but overlook the concern. This is a same continuation of policies that it had followed during the Afghan war in the eighties. However, as soon as the US agenda in Afghanistan is fulfilled to a great extent, it went back to its earlier course of reducing Pakistan. On the other hand, US-India relation has reached to its peak. It seems that the policy adopted in the sixties is emerging again due to the rise of Russia. The end of the cold war abolished 'the bargaining opportunity' of India for a short period. However, it seems that rise of China as a great power and return of Russia in the world arena with the same vigor of

the cold war period has given India a new ‘the bargaining opportunity’. It seems that the ‘policeman-ship’ of the sole superpower America might not sustain in the newly emerging multi-polar world where India will become a great power. That’s why the United States is continuing its earlier course of policy and that is ‘preferential treatment’ to India in comparison to Pakistan.

To sum up, the patterns of US policy in South Asia after 9/11 were as follows:

1. Initially, Pakistan became the most allied ally to the United States to counter Islamist extremists. It is a repetition of the policy adopted during the Afghan war against Soviet occupation in the eighties. However, the United States is reducing Pakistan, although it remains within US alliance.
2. US-India relation has entered into a new era. In terms of Indo-Pak issue India is getting preferential treatment. But in terms of the global context, India has become US strategic partner after 9/11.
3. In terms of rising China as a great power, the United States is following a ‘policy of rebalance’. Since it is a concern of the United States that India-China-Russia strategic alliance may form unless it follows the policy of rebalance.

Chapter 5

Trends and directions in the post 9/11 period

Introduction

Since 2013 it has assumed that South Asia is in transition; firstly, because of the withdrawal of the international troops from Afghanistan and secondly, the general elections in the countries of South Asia.⁶²⁸ Except Bangladesh, in all other countries of South Asia, the existing governments have failed to be re-elected. In Bangladesh the existing government continues, but the United States considers the elections held in Bangladesh on January 5, 2014 controversial.⁶²⁹ However, in this transitional situation, it is difficult to conclude on the actual role of the United States in South Asia concurrently since its responses to different incidents in this region fluctuate randomly.⁶³⁰ For an example, in Bangladesh, in the name of true democracy the United States advocates for the alliance of rightist parties overlooking immeasurable violence before and after the general election in 2014; strongly criticized the election and denied to recognize the newly formed existing government.⁶³¹ But as soon as the newly formed government succeeded to handle the violence, established law and order situation with an iron hand, it has played a new tune and committed to work together with the government. Again, in India, before the election in 2014, the United States even denied to give Narendra Modi the US visa for his past deeds during the communal violence in Gujarat. However, as soon as the BJP-led government was formed under the leadership of Narendra Modi, the United States left its earlier stand and showed enthusiasm to work together with Modi government. Perhaps, these fluctuations occur due to the pressure of different lobbyist groups over the policy personnel of the State Department of the United States. However, according to

⁶²⁸ In the year 2013 general elections were held in Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan; in Bangladesh & India in the year 2014, in Sri Lanka in 2015, in Afghanistan in 2015 (Presidential election) and in 2016 (Parliamentary election) and in Maldives in 2013 (Presidential election) & in 2014 (Parliamentary election).

⁶²⁹ US Department of State gave a press statement on January 6, 2014 regarding the Parliament Election of Bangladesh which includes the comment: “The United States is disappointed by the recent Parliamentary elections in Bangladesh...the results of the just-concluded elections do not appear to credibly express the will of the Bangladeshi people...we call upon the Government of Bangladesh to provide political space to all citizens to freely express their political views.” (see: <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2014/01/219331.htm> , retrieved on 12/09/2013).

⁶³⁰ In the previous chapters (in Chapter-3) we have discussed how US policy toward south Asia has been fluctuated randomly.

⁶³¹ Deputy Spokes person of US Department of State Marie Harf said, “As I’ve been clear, they haven’t taken steps to hold free, fair, and credible elections, so clearly that’s not a good sign” while she was asked whether the US would recognize the elections. (see: <http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2014/01/03/us-recognition-of-jan-5-poll-undecided>, retrieved on 12/09/2013).

Michael Kugelman⁶³², Washington's chief objective for South Asia remains the same and that is 'attaining stability'.⁶³³ Like him, most of the think tanks in the United States concerning South Asia are concerned with the potential Indo-Pak competition for influence in Afghanistan since the presence of the international troops draws down.⁶³⁴ This may spark newer conflicts between the two nuclear weapon countries. Therefore, the United States considers 'attaining stability' in South Asia as an ambitious goal since the region is cursed by interstate and intrastate tensions alike, as well as flashed with security threats that range from Islamist militancy to organized crime.⁶³⁵ Washington believes that extreme poverty and disintegration among the countries of the region are the root causes behind regional instability. This is obvious when US President Barak Obama often calls for establishing a 'new silk road' that reconstitutes old trade links between South and Central Asia. Back in 2011, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton also urged Afghans to work alongside all of their neighbors to shape a more integrated economic future for the region that will create jobs and will undercut the appeal of extremism.⁶³⁶ However, the present trend of US policy in South Asia represents its recognition of India as an Asian power against China since it wants to give maritime security, including developing multilateral mechanisms of cooperation in Asia-Pacific region top priority. On the other hand, the withdrawal from Afghanistan has receded Pakistan's bargaining opportunity because the US may not need Pakistan's ports and roads like before to sustain its Afghanistan operations. However, Washington's policy toward Bangladesh is still following the same lineup that was adopted in 1971. Again, it is assumed that the US policies toward other countries of South Asia depend on US-India, US-Pakistan and recently US-Bangladesh relations. This is evident in Hillary Clinton's recent speech. She says,

India also has a great commitment to improving relations with Bangladesh, and that is important because regional solutions will be necessary on energy shortages, water-sharing, and the fight against terrorists. And in Nepal, as the latest deadline for concluding the peace process and promulgating a new constitution approaches, Indian support for that process is critical. And in the Maldives, India is providing important economic assistance and partnerships to improve ports and other infrastructure....And of course, the conflict in Afghanistan continues to be a major challenge for us both.⁶³⁷

⁶³² Michael Kugelman is the senior program associate for South Asia at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C.

⁶³³ See: Michael Kugelman, 'Five Resolutions for U.S. South Asia Policy in 2014', *The South Asia Channel*, January 15, 2014.

⁶³⁴ The Obama administration had announced right at the beginning that they took oath to evacuate all American Army from Afghanistan by July 2011.

⁶³⁵ *ibid.*

⁶³⁶ *ibid.*

⁶³⁷ A speech of US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton at Anna Centenary Library, Chennai, India, July 20, 2011

In one voice, Hillary says,“ We will continue to encourage New Delhi’s constructive role” and concurrently in other voice she says:

We also believe Pakistan has an essential role and legitimate interest in this process, and those interests must be respected and addressed. We welcomed Pakistan’s decision to participate in a joint peace commission with Afghanistan and in what we call the core group of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the United States to manage the withdrawal. Achieving lasting peace and security in the region will require a stable, democratic, prosperous Pakistan free from violent extremism.⁶³⁸

However, Hillary also warned Pakistan by mentioning:

So, we look to the Pakistani Government to press insurgents to join the reconciliation process, to prevent the Pakistani territory from being used for attacks that destabilize Afghanistan or India and to deny al-Qaeda the space to regroup and plan new violence.⁶³⁹

So, it is assumed that presently Pakistan has lost its bargaining capability and the United States is more prone to make a partnership relation with India. The United States needs a India’s pivotal role in this region to tame China and to sustain its dominance in Indo-Pacific Ocean area which is a passage that controls 90 percent of global oceanic trade.

Let us see how the United States is approaching toward India, Pakistan and Bangladesh with a new look.

1. US- India relations

The US-India relations are enjoying its full taste now and it is developing by leaps and bounds. No doubt, Hillary Clinton’s contemporary remarks have uncovered the US intensions behind building strong bond with India. In a speech at Anna Centenary Library, Chennai, India back in 2011 she mentioned,

President Obama made a state visit to India last year. I have been here twice in the last two years. And why, one might ask? Why are we coming to India so often and welcoming Indian officials to Washington as well? It’s because we understand that much of the history of the 21st century will be written in Asia, and that much of the future of Asia will be shaped by decisions, not only of the Indian Government in New Delhi, but of governments across India, and perhaps, most importantly, by the 1.3 billion people who live in this country.⁶⁴⁰

In the same speech Hillary Clinton explains the prospective goal of US-India partnership as follows:

Well, speaking for the United States, I can tell you that we are, in fact, betting on India’s future. We are betting that the opening of India’s markets to the world will produce a more prosperous India and a more prosperous

(see: http://chennai.usconsulate.gov/secclintonsspeechacl_110721.html, retrieved on 12/09/2013).

⁶³⁸ *ibid.*

⁶³⁹ *ibid.*

⁶⁴⁰ *ibid.*

South Asia. It will also spill over into Central Asia and beyond into the Asia Pacific region.⁶⁴¹

We have already observed that after 9/11, the United States started to give India top priority among the countries of South Asia because the United States recognizes India's global leadership. Hillary argued,

...But I came to Chennai today to discuss in more depth, publicly, two issues that we discussed in our official meetings in New Delhi. And it really – they both are about India's growing leadership role in the world, because today, India is taking its rightful place in the meeting rooms and conference halls where the world's most consequential questions are debated and decided. And President Obama recognized this when he said that the United States looks forward to a reformed United Nations Security Council that includes India as a permanent member.⁶⁴²

By this speech Hillary Clinton has endorsed the same offer of August, 1955 of the United States when it wanted India as a Cold War partner by offering the US support for India's seat in the UN-Security Council. According to Anton Harder⁶⁴³, in 1955 the United States wanted to use the United Nations to further its own Cold War interests. Nevertheless Harder's analysis shows that in the 50s, the United States interest in seeing India join the Security Council was motivated by the emergence of the People's Republic of China as a regional power. However, after six decades of its first offer, Hillary's recent speech proves that the United States still wants India in the UN Security Council to bring it into play against China. This is, in fact, a continuation of US policy toward South Asia in the context of 'China factor' in Asia. Moreover, the United States wants to control the international trade in the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean area. Therefore, it needs Indian trade-partnership since China has become a giant economic power, which is threatening to the US supremacy in the ocean area. The United States wants India's pivotal role in this area so that it could ensure the balance of trade with China. That's why Hillary explains,

There is no better place to discuss India's leadership in the region to its east than here in Chennai. In this port city, looking out at the Bay of Bengal and beyond to the nations of East and Southeast Asia, we are easily reminded of India's historic role in the wider region. For thousands of years, Indian traders have sailed those waters of Southeast Asia and beyond....And today, the stretch of sea from the Indian Ocean through to the Pacific contains the

⁶⁴¹ *ibid.*

⁶⁴² see: <http://www.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2011/07/168840.htm>, retrieved on 12/09/2013.

⁶⁴³ Anton Harder was a PhD candidate in the International History Department of the London School of Economics in May 2015. He presented an article at Wilson Center in CWIHP Working Paper #76 entitled "Not at the Cost of China: New Evidence Regarding US Proposals to Nehru for Joining the United Nations Security Council" which examines the controversy around Jawaharlal Nehru's decision of the denial of US offer.

(See: <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/not-the-cost-china-india-and-the-united-nations-security-council-1950#sthash.ct16G0QC.dpuf>, retrieved on 12/09/2013).

world's most vibrant trade and energy routes linking economies and driving growth.⁶⁴⁴

She also said,

The United States has always been a Pacific power because of our very great blessing of geography. And India straddling the waters from the Indian to the Pacific Ocean is, with us, a steward of these waterways. We are both deeply invested in shaping the future of the region that they connect.⁶⁴⁵

Let us discuss why the United States wants India's pivotal role in the economic context.

The United States has been one of the largest energy consumers. But now, due to soaring North American Shale gas, tight oil, and oil sands production the United States is now expected to become a significant energy exporter. Mikkal Herberg put this increase in perspective:

In oil production, in five years [the United States has] added the equivalent of a new Kuwait to global oil production, 2.5 mbd [million barrels per day]. Shale gas production has increased more than ten-fold in the last five years from 2.5 bcf [billion cubic feet] a day to nearly 30 bcf a day, with U.S. annual output equivalent to more than two times Japan's annual natural gas consumption.⁶⁴⁶

The United States' dependence on oil imports has already declined from a peak of 60% in 2006 to 40% in 2012⁶⁴⁷, and discussants highlighted that this figure is likely to move below 20% beyond 2020 and to net imports in 2030.⁶⁴⁸ The US Energy Information Administration (EIA) is of prediction that the United States will be a net exporter of natural gas by 2016.⁶⁴⁹

On the other hand, Japan has already become highly dependent on imported oil and gas supplies because the country's nuclear reactors were taken offline following the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster. Due to the deficit of nuclear power Japan has greater reliance on liquefied natural gas (LNG) which has reshaped outlooks for LNG markets. Similar stories of rising oil and gas imports are trending across Asia, in particular as China surpasses the United States as the world's largest importer of crude oil. This shifting has transformed global energy markets. Since the United States direct dependence on the Middle East oil is declining rapidly, Asian importers (i.e.

⁶⁴⁴ See: <http://www.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2011/07/168840.htm>, retrieved on 12/09/2013.

⁶⁴⁵ *ibid.*

⁶⁴⁶ *ibid.*

⁶⁴⁷ U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA), "AEO2014 Early Release Overview," December 2013, http://www.eia.gov/forecasts/aeo/er/early_production.cfm, retrieved on 12/09/2013.

⁶⁴⁸ See: Workshop Report on "New Outlooks for Asian Energy Security: Changing Global Dynamics and Regional Responses" held on May 2014 at The National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR), Washington, D.C.

⁶⁴⁹ See: EIA's *Annual Energy Outlook 2014* at http://www.eia.gov/forecasts/aeo/source_natural_gas_all.cfm, retrieved on 12/09/2013.

Japan, China, India and other South Asian countries) are now becoming the largest beneficiaries of the Middle East and Persian Gulf supplies and US strategic guarantees to the region. This introduces new considerations for the United States' role in the Middle East and raises the question of how Washington should respond to shifting energy and strategic priorities. In this context, the United States wants India getting a pivotal role in Asia to ensure 'attaining stability' because India has proven its strengthening economies and strong democracies.

Let us see how the United States approaches to India on different issues that are cultivating US-India relations now-a-days.

2.1 Partnership in the Indo-Pacific ocean area

The term 'Indo-Pacific'⁶⁵⁰ is introduced by the United States and for the sake of its own national objective it is trying to conceptualize the term. The United States is building the 'concept' in terms of 'containing' China and talks about managing Sino-Indian rivalry in the region. Therefore, it wants Australia, India, Japan, etc. to act as regional stabilizers; and China is a problem for US objectives. Thus, the Indian Ocean is gaining importance. In fact, the United States desires for security as a means to achieve prosperity. However, India still is concerned about 'trade' not 'security' but it seems to accept the US outlook. Ambassador Rajiv Bhatia, Director General of Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA) also believes that the security and development of India are linked with the Pacific. He says,"

...The Indo-Pacific concept has been inclusive of China yet is wary of the emerging power. The region does not want India and China to be embroiled in a conflict; however, it also does not want India and China to develop a G-2 sort of proximity.⁶⁵¹

According to Richard Rossow, a senior fellow at CSIS has also thinks that India needs to join with US partnership in the Indo-Pacific ocean area. In his article 'A New Vision for US-India Cooperation in Asia' Rossow mentioned:

Today, India's goods trade balance is around forty percent of GDP, up from thirteen percent in 1991. India shares a land border with only one of its top twenty-five trade partners (China) so much of this trade comes from the sea, including hydrocarbons. A disruption to these trade flows will have a meaningful impact on the Indian economy.⁶⁵²

⁶⁵⁰ The term 'Indo-Pacific' is first used by US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton at Honolulu in October 2010. Later the term is repeated in 2012 by Indian Premier Dr. Monmohon Singh at the Indian-ASEAN Summit. In Australian Defence White Paper it is further mentioned in 2013. However, the term has not been accepted by everyone in the region since the ASEAN nations are anxious that they could be marginalized if the new concept comes into being. China is one of them.

⁶⁵¹ Shreya Upadhyay (ed.), *Indo-Pacific Region: Political and Strategic Prospects* (New Delhi: Indian Council of World Affairs, 2014), p.7.

⁶⁵² See: <http://amti.csis.org/a-new-vision-for-u-s-india-cooperation-in-asia/>, retrieved on 12/10/2014.

He also said that President Barak Obama's visit to India on January 25-27, 2015 renewed India's place as a centerpiece of the 'pivot to Asia.' However, it is, in fact, important for the United States to secure a highway for international commerce since Hillary Clinton says,

The United States has always been a Pacific power because of our very great blessing of geography. And India straddling the waters from the Indian to the Pacific Ocean is, with us, a steward of, these waterways. We are both deeply invested in shaping the future of the region that they connect.⁶⁵³

The United States has already recognized the significance of India's naval presence with the United States' mission and expressed its desire to work together in the Indo-Pacific ocean area. Therefore, the United States invited India to join biennial RIMPAC⁶⁵⁴ exercise in 2012 as an observer and from 2014 it becomes a full participant in the exercise. In 2014, RIMPAC exercise, India participated with its navy (INS Sahyadri F-49) including Light Utility Helicopters.⁶⁵⁵

According to the *Economic Times* report on March 30, 2016 on the eve of Modi's visit⁶⁵⁶ to the United States, Nisha Desai Biswal, Assistant Secretary of State for South and Central Asia said,

India has become a key player and an important partner in advancing maritime security in the Indo-Pacific and there was an 'unprecedented' US-India cooperation to protect freedom of navigation for all nations.⁶⁵⁷

To explain why the United States wants India act as a key player, she said,

Nearly 90 per cent of global trade relies on maritime shipping and the Indian Ocean is the super-highway for much of this commerce. In the two decades from 1992 to 2012, the average number of ships in the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea increased by more than 300 per cent. As the economies of Asia continue to rise, so too will the need for greater maritime security in the Indo-Pacific region.⁶⁵⁸

She also added, "There is no question that a rising India, now the world's fastest-growing large economy, is and will continue to be the engine of South Asia's growth."

⁶⁵³ see: http://chennai.usconsulate.gov/secclintonsspeechacl_110721.html, retrieved on 12/10/2014.

⁶⁵⁴ RIMPAC is the world's largest international maritime warfare exercise initiated by the United States and its allies from August 1971 in the Pacific Ocean area. The initial participants were Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States. It actually aims at fostering and sustaining the cooperative relationships to ensure the safety of sea lanes and security on the world's oceans.

⁶⁵⁵ see: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Exercise_RIMPAC#Participants; retrieved 28 June 2014.

⁶⁵⁶ Indian premier Narendra Modi led a delegation at the Nuclear Security Summit hosted by President Barak Obama on March 31 and April 1, 2016.

⁶⁵⁷ *The Economic Times*, March 30, 2016.

⁶⁵⁸ *ibid.*

The United States recognizes India's leadership in this area for other reason also. Biswal explains,

We have seen in other maritime areas that tensions emerge when countries seek to advance competing territorial claims through unilateral actions. But the Bay of Bengal presents a more optimistic example, one where a dominant power worked with its neighbors to amicably resolve claims through international arbitration.⁶⁵⁹

2.2 India's APEC membership issue

With the rising economy, recently India has expressed its desire to become a member of the APEC forum for 21-Pacific Rim-member Economies. According to *The Economic Times*, Washington showed positive response toward India's desire. On behalf of President Barak Obama White House said in a press release on January 25, 2015, "As part of these efforts, the United States welcomes India's interest in joining the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, as the Indian economy is a dynamic part of the Asian economy."⁶⁶⁰ Not only US President Barack Obama, but also the top officials of his administration has welcomed India's desire in this regard and the two countries are holding talks on this issue. President Obama mentions why the United States wants India as an economic partner in the same press release as follows:

India and the United States are important drivers of regional and global growth. From Africa to East Asia, we will build on our partnership to support sustainable, inclusive development, and increased regional connectivity by collaborating with other interested partners to address poverty and support broad-based prosperity.⁶⁶¹

Responding to a question on India's desire to become a member of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Nisha Desai Biswal, the point person of Obama Administration for the South and Central Asia except for Afghanistan and Pakistan said, "The President has welcomed India's interest in APEC. The size of the Indian economy makes it one that we want to engage with and engage in an ambitious but constructive way."⁶⁶² She also informed the press that legislations have been introduced in the House of Representative and the Senate asking US secretary of state to develop a strategy for India becoming an APEC member.⁶⁶³ The United States thinks that India's membership in APEC will promote free trade throughout the Asia-

⁶⁵⁹ *ibid.*

⁶⁶⁰ Press release: "U.S.-India Joint Strategic Vision for the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean Region", Office of the Press Secretary, The White House, Date: January 25, 2015; (see: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/01/25/us-india-joint-strategic-vision-asia-pacific-and-indian-ocean-region>, retrieved on 12/10/2014.)

⁶⁶¹ *ibid.*

⁶⁶² *The Economic Times*, May 12, 2016.

⁶⁶³ *ibid.*

Pacific region. According to her, the United States believe there are multiplicity of views with respect to India's entry into APEC.

Recently, in a testimony before US House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, Alyssa Ayres⁶⁶⁴ recapped the course of US-India economic ties over the past decade and a half, and proposed ways to take the relationship forward. She recommended that the United States elevate its support for India's economic growth and its reform process to the highest bilateral priority, work more comprehensively to integrate India in global economic institutions, and prepare the next American generation for a more prominent India in world affairs by redressing the comparative lack of attention and underinvestment in the study of India in US higher education.⁶⁶⁵ In the testimony she suggests that the United States should play a leadership role in helping India gain membership in the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum. She mentions:

To elevate support for India's economic growth to the highest bilateral priority for the U.S. agenda with India, the United States should play a leadership role in helping India gain membership in the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum; promote high-level discussion of bilateral sectoral agreements; complete a bilateral investment treaty; define a pathway to a free trade agreement or regional equivalent; create initiatives responsive to Indian domestic reform needs; and continue to emphasize defense trade.⁶⁶⁶

She also suggests that the United States should work more comprehensively with India so that the latter can hold 'key partner' status with the United States of America in such organizations as International Energy Agency. According to Alyssa Ayres, India's prominence is needed for US economic preparedness. According to her observation, presently the incentive funds spent for US students to study India and South Asia is below than almost every other world region. Therefore, she suggests for the consideration of alternative initiatives and mechanisms so that more and more US students may choose to study Indian languages.

1.3 Bilateral Investment Treaty (BIT)

To increase large volumes of bilateral trade, recently both the United States and India has started talks for a new US-India bilateral investment treaty (BIT). This initiative started from Bill Clinton's administration, continued during the Bush (Junior)

⁶⁶⁴ Alyssa Ayres is a Senior Fellow for India, Pakistan, and South Asia in CFR. CFR(Council on Foreign Relations) is one of the leading think tank organizations in the United States which deals high-level discussions with world leaders, US-government officials, CEO's, policy analysts and others.

⁶⁶⁵ Alyssa Ayres, *Testimony: Economic Relations with India*, (see at: www.cfr.org/india/economic-relations-india/p37661, retrieved on March 15, 2016).

⁶⁶⁶ *ibid.*

administration and the present Obama administration is also carrying out talks about it. In Chennai speech Hillary Clinton said,

We are talking about a new bilateral investment treaty that will build on the 20 percent increase in trade we've seen just this last year (in 2010-author). And we have watched as trade is increasingly flowing in both directions.⁶⁶⁷

The US policy makers think that this treaty greatly advance and facilitate additional American investment in India and would create a level playing field for American companies and for American investment so that there are necessary safeguards and protections for that investment. To explain US attitude toward BIT, US Assistant Secretary of State Nisha Desai Biswal said that the United States is already starting to see that US investment is starting to flow toward India and in fact India because surpass China is the largest destination for some segment of American investment and the United States is likely to see that trend continue. Biswal further added:

We are in the midst of discussion on the bilateral investment treaty to ensure that there is a commitment on both sides to be able to address some of the areas of discrepancy between India's model BIT and what we see as a high standard investment treaty and were hopeful and confident that those discussions can lead to the formal launching of negotiations.⁶⁶⁸

Biswal outlined US policies and priorities for 2016 in South and Central Asia by mentioning that the Barak Obama administration has stepped up investment in India since the advent of the Narendra Modi government outpacing its investment in China. She also said,

The high-level engagements between our two countries since May of 2014 include six at the leader-level, including the Nuclear Security Summit this week, and we could well see more before the end of the administration.⁶⁶⁹

Biswal also said,

US companies have invested nearly USD 30 billion in India and our bilateral trade has grown by a factor of 5 over the last 15 years, to over USD 100 billion. As India's economy and middle class grow, we want to see that number increase another fivefold...about to where our trade with China is today.⁶⁷⁰

In fact, during Prime Minister Modi's visit to the US in September 2014, an India-US Investment initiative was decided, with a special focus on facilitating FDI, portfolio investment, capital market development and financing of infrastructure and a US-India Infrastructure Collaboration Platform to deploy cutting edge US technologies to meet India's infrastructure needs.

⁶⁶⁷ see: <http://www.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2011/07/168840.htm>, retrieved on 12/10/2014.

⁶⁶⁸ *ibid.*

⁶⁶⁹ *The Economic Times*, March 31, 2016.

⁶⁷⁰ *ibid.*

It is estimated that during President Obama administration, trade between the two countries has increased by about 60 percent to nearly \$100 billion a year— a record high.⁶⁷¹ However, President Obama remarked that it's still hundreds of billions less than the trade the United States do with China. While speaking at a US-India Business Council Summit in New Delhi, President Obama said, "We've got to do better." During this business summit, President announced a series of additional steps that will generate more than \$4 billion in trade and investment with India while supporting thousands of jobs in both countries.⁶⁷²

According to the US-India Business Council, nearly 30 American companies have invested over \$15 billion in the past year and a half, with over 50 US firms expected to ink more than \$27 billion worth of deals over the next year. According to the US Bureau of Economic Analysis, the US direct investment in India was estimated at about \$28 billion in 2014. As per India's official statistics, the cumulative FDI inflows from the US from April 2000 to September 2014 amounted to about \$13.19 billion, accounting for nearly 6 per cent of the total FDI in India, making US the sixth largest source of foreign direct investment into India. So, US-India economic ties are going to be stronger than before. President Barack Obama's recent visit to India also results the following promises:

- The Export-Import Bank will commit up to \$1 billion in financing to support "Made-in-America" exports to India.
- OPIC will support lending to small and medium businesses across India that will result in more than \$1 billion in loans in underserved rural and urban markets.
- The U.S. Trade and Development Agency will aim to leverage nearly \$2 billion in investments in renewable energy in India.

1.4 US support toward India for the NSG membership:

The Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) was founded in response to the Indian nuclear test in May 1974. The 48-member NSG seeks to reduce proliferation by controlling the export and transfer of nuclear materials. Although, Indian nuclear tests caused the concerned nations to form this body, now India too wants to join the NSG as it believes that this would lead to its recognition as a nuclear power. The United States supports India's application and since 2010, the US administration has been actively

⁶⁷¹ <https://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2015/01/26/highlights-president-obamas-visit-india>, retrieved on 12/10/2014.

⁶⁷² <https://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2015/01/26/highlights-president-obamas-visit-india>, retrieved on 12/10/2014.

supporting India's efforts to NSG.⁶⁷³ Pakistan also has applied for the membership; however, the United States did not support Pakistan's application. US State Department Spokesman Mark Toner argued, "This is about the peaceful civil use of nuclear energy and so we would certainly hope that Pakistan understands that." Moreover, when he was asked to comment on Pakistan's request, Toner said, "They have made public their interest and certainly any country can submit its application for membership. And we'll consider (it) based on a consensus decision."⁶⁷⁴

When US President Barak Obama visited India in 2015, he reaffirmed India's credibility of being a member of the Nuclear Supply Group (NSG). According to the US State Department Spokesman John Kirby, the US view was that India meets missile technology control regime requirement and now it is ready for entry into the exclusive club.⁶⁷⁵ Both China and Pakistan strongly opposed the US approval. However, China is playing dual role in this regards. To bloc India's entry to the NSG, China claimed that several members of 48-nation bloc have the view that signing NPT was an important standard for the NSG's expansion. On May 13, 2016 Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Lu Kang said in Beijing that not only China, but also a lot of other NSG members are of the view that Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) is the cornerstone for safeguarding the international nuclear nonproliferation regime. Although Islamabad has been caught selling nuclear weapons secrets to Libya and was named and shamed globally, US analysts are of the view that China's assertion may lead India's NSG application to a precarious position. China claimed, if the NSG countries make an exception for India, they should do the same for Pakistan because India becomes saddled with Pakistan's terrible track record.

A nuclear proliferation expert and co-founder of the Stimson Center, a think tank in Washington DC, Michael Krepon said,

Pakistan and China have played their cards really well this time around. Pakistan has an application for NSG membership and China can, therefore, argue what's good for the goose is good for the gander.⁶⁷⁶

In April 2016, Pakistan Prime Minister's Advisor on Foreign Affairs Sartaj Aziz had said China has helped Pakistan to stall India's bid to get the NSG membership. However, the United States denied to response Sino-Pak opposition as Kirby added, "Deliberations about the prospects of new members joining the Nuclear Suppliers Group are an internal matter among current members."

⁶⁷³ *The News International*, Washington, May 30, 2016.

⁶⁷⁴ *ibid.*

⁶⁷⁵ *The Economic Times*, May 14, 2016.

⁶⁷⁶ *The Indian Express*, Washington DC, June 6, 2016.

Although Beijing does not want New Delhi to have ‘full legal acceptance’ as a nuclear armed power and have an equal footing in the global nuclear regime, US analysts believe that China’s stand at the NSG is a part of a strategic battle being fought in Asia. In the long run China might not give negative vote in this concern because China knows that the US and several other NSG members will never agree to Pakistani membership. Again, China strongly opposed to approval of the 2008 US-India nuclear deal, but pulled back in the face of US and Indian pressure. According to Walter Andersen, Administrative Director of the South Asia Program at the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University,

China feared that a negative vote at that time would drive the Indians closer to the US in context of strategic hedging. Moreover, China believed that it could use its backing down as a carrot for India to move away from a closer strategic relationship with the US.⁶⁷⁷

Another expert on South Asian affairs Daniel Markey said, “China still does not want to antagonize India and will try to make an argument that it is not anti-India.”⁶⁷⁸ He also said, “They will try to suggest that they are purely not anti-Indian, but their opposition is out of a sense of due equality of nations and so on and there is a principal to be upheld here.” However, some nuclear proliferation experts point out that several NSG members are in a fix to support India’s membership because of its refusal to sign the CTBT and the Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty. According to them, a bigger issue for some NSG members is that the US promise of nuclear reactor construction contracts with India will never materialize. Michael Krepon also said,

All these countries were drooling at the possibility of selling power plants to India and that made them enthusiastic backers of India’s exceptions. But it hasn’t worked out that well.⁶⁷⁹

Some others criticize that in 2008 while US-India civil nuclear deal was strongly opposed, the Bush administration led a ‘remarkable diplomatic effort that was quite strenuous’ which compelled China to pull back but the Obama administration does not have as much on the line as the Bush administration did. That’s why; US think tanks believe that India has to pull a lot more of the weight.

India also does not remain stand-still. India has carried out a massive diplomatic exercise over the last decade in order to secure its membership to the NSG with President Pranab Mukherjee’s recent trip to China and Prime Minister Modi’s trip to Switzerland and Mexico seen as part of the final push. The US think tanks believe that India’s diplomatic efforts may manage to convince several NSG members to back

⁶⁷⁷ *ibid.*

⁶⁷⁸ *ibid.*

⁶⁷⁹ *ibid.*

India, but no one is ready to predict what will happen at the NSG meetings in South Korea on June 9th and June 23rd, 2016.

However, a key US Senator, Ed Markey, has warned that enabling India to join the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) would cause a ‘never-ending’ nuclear race in South Asia. By warning US Assistant Secretary for South Asia Nisha Desai Biswal at a hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on US-India Relation he said, “What you are doing is creating an action-reaction that has led to a never-ending escalation cycle that ultimately leads to the development of nuclear weapons including battlefield nuclear weapons.”⁶⁸⁰ He also said that the US had repeatedly carved out exemptions for India, starting with the sale of uranium in 1980, which was in 2008 through US-India nuclear deal that did not require full scope safeguards. He also argued that since 2008, when the US gave India an exemption, it has continued to produce fissile material for its nuclear weapons program ‘virtually unchecked.’ Concurrently, Pakistan warned the United States that the deal would increase the chances of the nuclear arms race in South Asia. Therefore, since then Pakistan has developed battlefield nuclear weapons that could be given to Frontline Commanders and there is a likelihood of the use. But Nisha Desai Biswal questioned Markey, “Is there a relationship between what we do with India such as granting them exemptions from the rules and how we deal with Pakistan in restraining them from making certain choices?” She informed the Senate, “We have distinct and robust dialogues with both countries and address interests of both countries on their respective merit.” In reply to Senator Markey Assistant Secretary Biswal also said that President Obama had reaffirmed that India met the criteria and was ready to join the NSG and it also had harmonized its export control with the NSG and has adhered to the group’s guidelines.⁶⁸¹ However, all these US efforts failed to ensure India’s access to the NSG group in the meeting held on June 9, 2016 at Vienna, Austria since New Delhi failed to win over China. But the United States still optimistic about India’s membership. US president Barak Obama announced after the meeting that the United States strongly supported India’s bid to join the NSG. Later, a senior US official told a news briefing that Washington wanted the NSG to induct India during its annual plenary session which will be held in Seoul, South Korea, on June 23-24.⁶⁸²

⁶⁸⁰ *The Dawn*, May 26, 2016.

⁶⁸¹ *ibid.*

⁶⁸² *The Dawn*, June 11, 2016 (see: <http://www.dawn.com/news/1264165>, retrieved on 12/10/2014).

1.5 Indo-US defense partnership:

The US President Barack Obama along with his First Lady visited India and joined India's 66th Republic Day Parade as a chief guest on January 26, 2015. This is his first time visiting the South Asian nation since Prime Minister Narendra Modi was sworn in on May 26, 2014. During this visit Obama remarked that the United States and India are true global partners -both in strengthening economies and strong democracies. At the end of the visit both the country gave a joint declaration with a slogan: '*Chalein saath saath; forward together we go*'.⁶⁸³ Not only that, at a reception of Indian President Pranab Mukherjee, President Barack Obama quoted a hymn that was dear to Mahatma Gandhi's heart:

Abide with me; fast falls the eventide;
The darkness deepens; Lord with me abide.
When other helpers fail and comforts flee,
Help of the helpless, O abide with me.⁶⁸⁴

Obama also said, "Here in the eventide, Indians and Americans, let us know, in the darkness or a day, in good times or bad, whenever one of us looks to the other, we will surely say, abide with me."⁶⁸⁵

In reply to President Obama's prospective remarks, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi said,

This is a natural global partnership. It has become even more relevant in the digital age. It is needed even more in our world for far-reaching changes and widespread turmoil. The success of this partnership is important for our progress and for advancing peace, stability and prosperity around the world.⁶⁸⁶

All these comments from both sides that are mentioned above indicate the clear shifting of earlier US policy toward India.

Nevertheless, president Obama's visit to India resulted in several key defense outcomes, including finalizing the '2015 Framework for the US-India Defense Relationship'. This Framework provides the two nations with guiding principles for defense engagement for the coming decade, including military exchanges and exercises, a promising outlook on defense trade, and increasingly closes consultations on regional security issues and maritime security.

⁶⁸³ <https://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2015/01/26/highlights-president-obamas-visit-india>, retrieved on 12/11/2014.

⁶⁸⁴ *ibid.*

⁶⁸⁵ *ibid.*

⁶⁸⁶ *ibid.*

However, the current trend of US-India defense cooperation started from 2005. Onwards the relations have deepened. Now let us see the recent milestones of US-India Defense Relationship as follows:

2005:

The United States and India signed ‘the New Framework for the India-US Defense Relationship’. This signing paves a way of setting US and India on a path to increasingly broad, complex and strategic cooperation.

2012:

US defense secretary Leon Panetta appointed his Deputy Secretary of Defense Carter to take a new initiative to formulize new defense agreement between India and the United State which has produced US-India ‘Defense Technology and Trade Initiative (DTTI)’.⁶⁸⁷ The DTTI seeks to deepen defense cooperation between India and the United states by elevating the dialogue on cooperative research & development and defense trade to the highest levels of government.

In fact, DTTI is an unprecedented joint endeavor that brings sustained leadership focus of the bilateral defense trade relationship, creates opportunities for US-India co-production and co-development, and fosters more sophisticated science and technology cooperation, all while ensuring that bureaucratic processes and procedures do not stand in the way of the progress.

2014

US President Barack Obama and former Indian Prime Minister Monmohon Singh endorse the ‘India-US Declaration on Defense Cooperation’. This declaration promises the United States’ and India’s commitment to a long-term strategic partnership, through which both the countries cooperate to increase the security and prosperity of their citizens and the global community.

2015

The US president Barack Obama traveled India as Chief Guest on the occasion of India’s 66th Republic Day. This visit has the following significant outcomes:

- The completion of the 2015 Framework for the US-India Defense Relationship, which will guide and expand both the nations’ bilateral defense and strategic partnership over the next 10 years.
- Agreement to pursue four pathfinder projects under the DTTI as well as cooperation on Aircraft Carriers and Jet Engine Technology.

⁶⁸⁷ <http://archive.defense.gov/pubs/US-IND-Fact-Sheet.pdf>, retrieved on 12/10/2014.

- Joint Strategic Vision for the Asia -Pacific and Indian Ocean Region. It affirms the shared vision for promising prosperity and stability in the region.
- Naval engagements, such as the bilateral MALABAR exercise, improve the cooperation of US and Indian maritime forces and contribute to both sides' ability to counter threats at sea, from piracy to violent extremism. These engagements also present opportunities to engage with other partners.

According to Nisha Desai Biswal, US focus in India is not just on economic relations. According to the report of the *Economic Times*⁶⁸⁸ US is engaged in unprecedented bilateral partnership cooperation with India because of maritime security in the Indian Ocean Region amid China's growing aggression. Therefore, India's defense trade with the US has also increased substantially from a mere \$300 million just over a decade ago to close to \$14 billion. Through the US-India Defense Technology and Trade Initiative, for the first time ever the United States and India are working together with another country on its indigenous aircraft carrier development program. Nisha Desai Biswal hopes to see the day when the United States and Indian navies, including US aircraft carriers, are cooperating on the high seas, protecting freedom of navigation for all nations through joint patrolling in the future.⁶⁸⁹

2. US- Pakistan relations

The United States-Pakistan relations are under stress now. Pakistan's utmost desire to ensure parity with India had led it come close to the United States, and therefore, compelled it to be dependent on the latter for military aids from the very beginning. As a result, during the cold war period Pakistan had become the most reliable partner of the United States in South Asia. But now the relation has become a standstill. The main source of US-Pakistan tensions has been the war in Afghanistan. The problem between the two countries lies in the different goals in this regards. The Obama administration fixed its goal to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan, but before that it wanted to ensure the negotiation between the Taliban and Karzai government. Therefore, in 2009 Obama administration carried out counterinsurgency operations in Southern Afghanistan so that it might be able to enforce Taliban to negotiate. The aim of US operations was not to defeat Taliban, but compel them to sit for table-talks. Hence, US has held secret meetings with Taliban representatives in Germany and Doha, Qatar and kept Pakistan out of those talks. On the other hand, Pakistan's desire was different. Pakistan considers the Taliban as the group in Afghanistan capable of

⁶⁸⁸ *The Economic Times*, March 31, 2016.

⁶⁸⁹ *ibid.*

blocking increased Indian influence in Afghanistan. Pakistan fears that after the withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan, Indian influence will be unabated there if the Taliban becomes weak. That's why Pakistan is reluctant to see US goal of demolishing Taliban successful. Other incidents have added fuel to the fire only.

Adviser to the Prime Minister of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan Sartaj Aziz said that Pakistan-US relations had come to a standstill in 2011 because of incidents of Wiki Leaks, Raymond Davis, Abbottabad operation, Datta Khel and Salala.⁶⁹⁰ He also said, since 2013 Pakistan's relations with the US had witnessed an 'upward trajectory'.⁶⁹¹ During the first quarter of 2016 US Senate held a debate on an adjournment motion on the US decision to withdraw the proposed subsidy on the sale of F-16 fighter jets to Pakistan. US Congress took a decision to block partial funding for eight F-16 aircrafts. Nevertheless, the actions taken by US Congress might have been caused by concerns on the nuclear issue. According to Sartaj Aziz, Haqqani Network issue has also remained the top US concern at the moment. He said,

The US officials, Congress, think-tanks and media, in tandem with our adversaries, have also been blaming Pakistan for supporting the Haqqani network without giving any concrete evidence to enable us to take additional action against it or other terrorist organizations.⁶⁹²

It is assumed that the United States is continuing the same patterns of diplomacy toward Pakistan and that is 'come close to Pakistan in times of emergency and then stay back when the situation lost bargaining opportunity.' At present, the geo-political situation in South Asia has withdrawn the leverage which was fruitful for Pakistan. Perhaps Pakistan itself is responsible to a great extent. For example, Pakistan recently has closed the Torkham border, a major border crossing point between Afghanistan and Pakistan and also started fencing along the Afghan border lines in order to stop infiltration of Afghan-militants. Both the United States and Afghanistan objected this decision. John Kirby, the spokesperson of US state department said, '...the US wants to see the crossing stay open.'⁶⁹³ Secondly, Afghanistan wanted a transit through Pakistan to connect Iran and India with the central Asia for easy exchange of commodities. But Pakistan denied accepting India within this link up. Therefore, Afghanistan also declared not to give Pakistan any leverage in this regards. Not only that, recently Iran, India and Afghanistan have signed at least five tri-lateral trade agreements which will open each other's border and connect them through transit facilities. This tri-lateral agreement will enable those three countries avoid South-

⁶⁹⁰ *Times of India*, May 13, 2016.

⁶⁹¹ *ibid.*

⁶⁹² *ibid.*

⁶⁹³ *Times of India*, May 14, 2016.

China sea for ocean-trade. As a result, Pakistan is going to lose its importance in the region. Thirdly, Pakistan still is showing the same attitudes of 1971 to Bangladesh and criticizing Bangladesh's effort to trial of liberation war criminals which is becoming alarming for Bangladesh-Pakistan diplomatic relations. All these incidents show that Pakistan's strategic failure leads it isolating from other countries in South Asia, which will ultimately affect US-Pakistan relation. However, some burning issues have already strained US-Pakistan relations. Let us discuss those issues first.

2.1 Haqqani network issue

Presently 'The Haqqani network' issue is one of the most sensitive issues in US-Pakistan relations. The United States has dedicated its utmost effort to demolish the guerrilla group. Therefore, it has continued to launch drone-attacks along Pakistan-Afghanistan border and also declared a reward for information leading to the capture of Haqqani leader Sirajuddin Haqqani in the amount \$ 5,000,000,00.⁶⁹⁴ The United States repeatedly urged Pakistan to use its military troops to weed out Haqqani network. However, Pakistan's efforts to demolish the terrorism of Haqqani Network have failed to satisfy the United States.

It is thought that elements within the Pakistani security establishment continue to view the Haqqani network as a useful ally and proxy force to represent their interests in Afghanistan. To this end, Haqqani forces have repeatedly targeted Indian infrastructure and construction projects in Afghanistan. Jalaluddin Haqqani's past relationship with the Pakistani intelligence apparatus, the Inter-Service Intelligence or ISI, has virtually guaranteed Jalaluddin's freedom of movement on the Pakistan side of the border as several 'failed' operations against him have proven.⁶⁹⁵ Recent telephonic intercepts by US and Indian intelligence agencies reportedly confirm a link between ISI officers and Haqqani operatives who are said to have jointly planned and executed the deadly suicide car bomb attack against US embassy and NATO headquarter in Kabul on July 7, 2008.⁶⁹⁶ However, weeks of diplomatic efforts succeeded to stabilize the situation, but a NATO attack on a Pakistani checkpoint in Salalah in late November threw the relationship into a tailspin.⁶⁹⁷ In this two hour NATO assaults there killed twenty four Pakistani soldiers. Pakistan became so furious

⁶⁹⁴See: <https://web.archive.org/20090822063810/http://www.rewardsforjustice.net:80/index.cfm?page=haqqani>. Archived from the original on 22 August 2009, retrieved on 9 January, 2014.

⁶⁹⁵ Matt Dupee, 'The Haqqani Network: The Reign of Terror', *The Long War-Journal*, August 2, 2008.

⁶⁹⁶ *ibid.*

⁶⁹⁷ Shehzad H. Qazi, 'US-Pakistan Relations: Common and Clashing Interests', *The World Affairs*, May/June Volume, 2012, p. 71.

that it immediately suspended NATO supply lines and boycotted Bon Conference on Afghanistan held in early December.⁶⁹⁸

Haqqani network was once a key recipient of US funding and arms during the Soviet-Afghan war of the 1980's. After the departure of Soviet forces it became engaged in the power politics of Kabul. At times it seemed Jalaluddin Haqqani's position is more prestigious than Taliban leader Molla Omar. After US invasion in Afghanistan, Haqqani Network became one of latter's most experienced and sophisticated insurgent organizations to fight against US-led NATO forces and the government of Afghanistan. Although it is officially subsumed under the larger Taliban umbrella organization led by Mullah Omar and his Quetta Shura Taliban, the Haqqanis maintain distinct command and control, and lines of operations. Its main exploring area is located in the village of Dande Darpa Khel near Miramshah (North Waziristan) across Afghanistan's southeastern border. Sirajuddin Haqqani, the son of the famous anti-Soviet fighter Jalaluddin Haqqani, is the current leader of the Haqqani network. They are ideologically aligned with the Taliban, who have worked to eradicate Western influence and transform Afghanistan into a strict sharia-following state.

In September 2011, the Obama Administration warned Pakistan that it must do more to cut ties with the Haqqani network and help eliminate its leaders. President Obama said, '...the United States will act unilaterally if Pakistan does not comply.'⁶⁹⁹ The US Admiral Mike Mullen confessed before a US Senate Panel that the Haqqani Network acts as a veritable army of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence Agency.⁷⁰⁰ However, President Obama has denied the allegation of ISI-Haqqani negotiations and said, '...the intelligence is not as clear as we might like in terms of what exactly that relationship is.'⁷⁰¹

2.2 US Abbotabad Operation

The United States unilaterally took actions to kill Al Qaeda Leader Osama Bin Laden who was reportedly hiding in Abottabad in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province of Pakistan. The attack was held on May 2, 2011, shortly after 1:00 am PKT (20:00 UTC, May 1) by the United States' Navy Seals of the US Naval Special Warfare

⁶⁹⁸ *ibid*, p. 72.

⁶⁹⁹ De Young, Karen, 'US Sharpens warning to Pakistan', *The Washington Post*, 21 September 2011.

⁷⁰⁰ 'Pakistan backed Haqqani attack on Kabul-Mike Mullen', *BBC*, 22 September 2011, retrieved on 22 September, 2013.

⁷⁰¹ 'Obama won't back Mullen's claim on Pakistan', *NDTV*, 1 October 2014, retrieved 20 May 2015.

Development Group (also known as DEVGRU or SEAL Team Six).⁷⁰² The operation is so crucial that it has been analyzed in almost six thousand languages and dialects all over the world within a week after the incident.⁷⁰³ Nevertheless, the US-Pakistan relations took a heavy blow following the US raid in Abbottabad to kill Osama Bin Laden and the mistrust derived from that incident is continuing to affect all other efforts. For an example, Pakistani army chief Raheel Sharif has overseen a major military operation against Islamists in the tribal areas of Pakistan, a long-pending US demand. However, still many officials and members of US Congress have openly expressed frustration at Pakistan's efforts to combat militant groups like the Haqqani Network, who pose a direct threat to US interests.⁷⁰⁴

In fact, US-Pakistan alliance was finally collapsed as soon as the force of the United States had raided Abbotabad without informing Pakistani government. Therefore, the anger and bitter feelings continued to rankle, impinging upon Pakistan's sense of pride and patriotism. Before the US attack in Abbottabad, US-Pakistan relation had already become complex for a bitter incident. Accordingly, the US raid and the killing Osama further added fuel to the fire of simmering animosity and a swell of anti-US public anger began to take shape.

In January 2011, Raymond Davis, the CIA contractor whom President Obama referred to as 'our diplomat in Islamabad', shot to death two people on one of the busiest intersections in Lahore, while a third bystander was run down by the car sent by the US Consulate to aid him. It was widely believed that he was one among a large contingent of US intelligence operators who had, in an unauthorized and surreptitious manner, saturated Pakistani landscape to run clandestine spy networks. There was strong public reaction when he was plucked out of the Lahore jail by invoking the provisions of paying blood money to the relatives of the slain persons, permitted by the Sharia law.

However, it is worth mentioning here that a June 2011 Pew Poll found that 75 percent of Pakistanis held an unfavorable view of the United States; 70 percent believed that it is an enemy rather than a friend; and 70 percent saw it as a possible military threat to Pakistan.

⁷⁰² *The Abbottabad Commission Report* (Pakistan Govt.'s classified document but leaked by Al Jazeera television on May 8, 2013); see: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abbottabad_Commission_Report, retrieved on 22 September, 2015.

⁷⁰³ "Impacts of Abbottabad Operation on US-Pak Relationships and Afghan War", a report produced by the Stars Academy, Lahore (see: <http://www.ilmkidunya.com/articles/impacts-of-abbottabad-operation-on-us-pak-relationships-and-afghan-war-962.aspx>, retrieved on 11/09/ 2014.)

⁷⁰⁴ BBC News, November 19, 2014 (See: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-30105416>, retrieved on 22/12/2013.)

In this situation, the United States should not overlook Pakistan's notable achievements in arresting 9/11 convicted persons and notable intelligence cooperation that provided the vital lead for tracking Osama to his final hideout. Moreover, thousands of terrorists have been captured or killed by Pakistani agencies in the last decade, but top five terrorists apprehended in Pakistan need particular mention. Khalid Sheikh Mohammad, the reported mastermind of 9/11, was nabbed on March 1, 2003, by Pakistani intelligence from Rawalpindi. The US had offered a \$25 million reward leading to his arrest or death. He is currently detained in Guantanamo Bay. Abu Faraj al-Libi, believed to be number three in the then Al-Qaeda's hierarchy, was arrested on May 2, 2005, in Mardan. He is now a detainee at Guantanamo. Both Khalid Sheikh and Abu Faraj provided important leads that led to the pinpointing of Osama at the Abbottabad compound. Another Guantanamo inmate; Abu Zubadeh was captured on March 28, 2002, in Faisalabad. As reported in a 2002 US legal opinion, he is alleged to have 'managed a network of training camps' and 'been involved in every major terrorist operation carried out by Al-Qaeda.' Ramzi bin al-Shibh was captured on September 11, 2002, in Karachi and was one of the five 'most wanted terrorists' by Washington. As the head of the 9/11 hijackers cell in Germany, he set up a financial network to siphon funds to militants in America, including Marwan al-Shehhi, who crashed United Airlines Flight 175 into the World Trade Centre. Finally, Umer Patek, arrested in Abbottabad on March 29, 2011, was the Indonesian terrorist mastermind, who played a key role in the 2002 Bali bombings forming a crucial link in coordinating Al-Qaeda cells in Southeast Asia. However, the United States did what it assumed fit for its national interests, ignoring Pakistan's sovereignty, although it was not at war with the latter.

After the Abbottabad operation, US-Pakistan relationships rotated to 180 degrees. Immediately after the raid, Pakistani Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani warned the United States that his government would not tolerate any similar incursion in the future.⁷⁰⁵ He spoke in the parliament, "Pakistan reserves the right to retaliate with full force." He also said, "No one should underestimate the resolve and capability of our nation and armed forces to defend our sacred homeland."⁷⁰⁶ Moreover, President of Pakistan Asif Ali Zardari visited Russia and PM Yousuf Raza Gilani went to China to broaden the limits of its relationships with neighboring countries including China. Consequently, the United States thought that it might be hazardous for the US part to

⁷⁰⁵ Nial Green, "Pakistan's President Zardari visits Moscow", *World Socialist Website*, 19 May, 2011 (see: <https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2011/05/zard-m19.html>, retrieved on 22/12/2013.)

⁷⁰⁶ *ibid.*

let Pakistan shift its direction toward Russia. That’s why, after Abbotabad, the United States tried to put the tense situation back on track. However, General Jehangir Karamat, ex-Army Chief of Pakistan and ambassador to the US assessed that after the incidents of 2011, US-Pakistan relations were at its worst because the relations between the Pentagon and the Pakistan Army were unstable.⁷⁰⁷ According to Shehzad H. Qazi, the reasons behind US unstable diplomacy are two: the policy of centering attention on security concerns instead of a broad partnership which includes trade and cultural linkages; and clashing security interests.

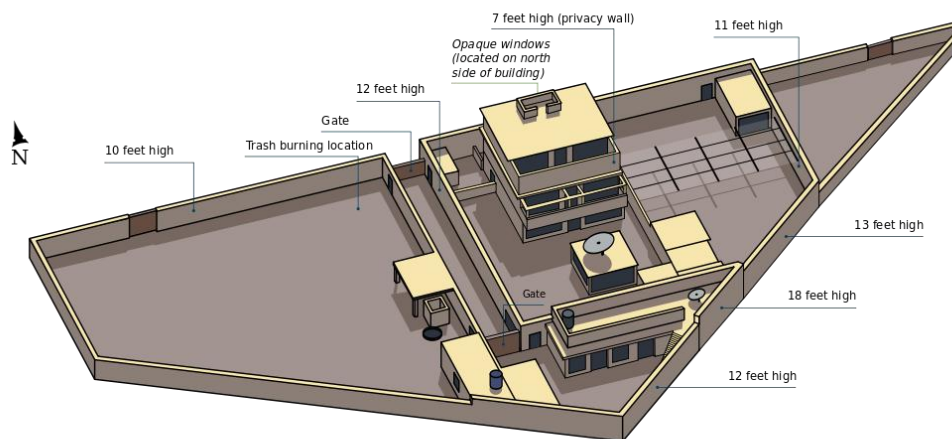


Diagram of Osama bin Laden’s hideout at Abbottabad, Pakistan

2.3 Nuclear security

In the recent years, another concern which has become a deciding factor in the US-Pakistan relations is Pakistan’s Nuclear Security issue. It became obvious when US President Obama spoke at an international nuclear security meeting in Washington in 2010, “The single biggest threat to US security, both short term, medium term, and long term, would be the possibility of a terrorist organization obtaining a nuclear weapon”⁷⁰⁸. He also said, “Al-Qaeda is trying to secure a nuclear weapon— a weapon of mass destruction that they have no compunction in using.” The US think-tanks are concerned about the ability of Pakistan to secure its nuclear weapon or fissile materials from falling in the hands of a jihadist organization like Al Qaeda, Haqqani Network or Lashkar-e-Taiba. Pakistan is the only Muslim-majority country, out of the 50 or so in the world, to have successfully developed nuclear weapons. According to

⁷⁰⁷ Shehzad H. Qazi, *op.cit*, p.72.

⁷⁰⁸ <http://www.nti.org/gsn/article/the-pentagons-secret-plans-to-secure-pakistans-nuclear-arsenal/>, retrieved on 22/12/2013.)

the observation of US officials, Pakistan's central government has serious trouble controlling the many corners of its territory. US officials believe that Pakistan's security services are infiltrated by an unknown number of jihadist sympathizers; a number of jihadist organizations are headquartered there and have relations with the government. The discovery of Laden's hideout within several miles of Abbottabad has proved their concern. According to Graham Allison, an expert on nuclear weapons who directs the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard, 'There are three threats' for the United States. He says:

The first is "a terrorist theft of a nuclear weapon, which they take to Mumbai or New York for a nuclear 9/11. The second is a transfer of a nuclear weapon to a state like Iran. The third is a takeover of nuclear weapons by a militant group during a period of instability or splintering of the state."⁷⁰⁹

However, Pakistani officials said that their weapons are 'de-mated' which means that the warheads are kept separate from their fissile cores and their delivery systems. This makes stealing, or launching, a complete nuclear weapon far more difficult. But this statement could not satisfy the US concerns for several reasons. According to US observations Pakistan moves warheads around in unmarked vans with low security profiles down busy roads to hide weapons from the prying satellite eyes of the United States. They argued that this is a sign that Pakistanis see the jihadists as less threatening than Washington.

However, like much of the world, Army Chief of Pakistan General Ashfaq Kayani was also anxious about the security of Pakistan's nuclear weapons. Therefore, shortly after the US raid in Abbottabad and the killing of Osama Bin Laden, General Ashfaq Kayani spoke with retired Lieutenant General Kidwai, in charge of the Strategic Plans Divisions of Pakistan. Mr. Kidwai commands Pakistan's security apparatus which deals with Pakistan's nuclear arsenal.⁷¹⁰ In fact, he had to pass a very hectic time after the killing of Osama Bin Laden in Abbottabad. He had to face two challenging issues which were countering each other. Firstly, he had to ensure his American funders that the Pakistani Army had no prior knowledge of Osama's hideout adjacent to Pakistan's preeminent military academy because the United States provide more than \$2 billion in annual subsidies to the Pakistani military. Secondly, he had to pacify the uproar within his ranks at the violation of Pakistan's sovereignty by the United States' army. The continuous criticisms of the United States over Pakistan's ability of securing nuclear safety and Abbottabad operation alarmed the Pakistani security officials that the United States could launch another raid to grab or dismantle Pakistani nuclear

⁷⁰⁹ *ibid.*

⁷¹⁰ *ibid.*

arsenal. Hence, after the Abbottabad operation of the US, Kayani wanted to know what additional steps Kidwai was taking to prevent an American raid on their nuclear arsenal. Kidwai promised to redouble efforts to keep his country's weapons far from the long arms of the Americans.⁷¹¹

Along with the military safeguarding steps Pakistan also moved politically to convince the United States that its nuclear weapons are completely secured. In a part of convincing Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaj Sharif paid an official visit to Washington from October 20 to 23, 2015 at the invitation of US President Barak Obama.⁷¹² At the end of the discussion during the visit, the two leaders signed a joint statement in which both the leaders expressed their desire to expand the bilateral relationship in areas outside the traditional security realm in recognition of the multifaceted issues facing both countries, including: trade and investment; education, science and technology; clean, efficient and affordable energy; efforts to counter climate change; economic growth; regional integration; rule of law; people-to-people and cultural ties; and support for democratic principles.⁷¹³ With this statement US President Obama reaffirmed US support for the Afghanistan-Pakistan Transit Trade Agreement, the Central Asia-South Asia Electricity Transmission and Trade Project (CASA-1000) electricity corridor, the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) natural gas pipeline project, and other measures to enhance regional economic connectivity and growth. In that joint statement both the leaders agreed on the continuing threat of nuclear terrorism. The United States and Pakistan committed to work together to make the Nuclear Security Summit hosted by President Obama in 2016 a success. President Obama welcomed Pakistan's constructive engagement with the Nuclear Security Summit process and its cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency and other international forums.⁷¹⁴

2.4 Funding on F-16 aircraft sale issue:

Another recent US step which has further strained US-Pakistan relation is the denial of giving aid to Pakistan under the Foreign Military Financing (FMF) program due to the opposition of US lawmakers. On May 3, 2016 the US State Department said in a press briefing that Pakistan will not receive a loan under the FMF program to finance

⁷¹¹ This means the Pakistani secret service had a prior knowledge that Pentagon might have a secret plan to Secure Pakistan's Nuclear Arsenal.

⁷¹² <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/10/22/2015-joint-statement-president-barack-obama-and-prime-minister-nawaz>, retrieved on 22/12/2013.

⁷¹³ *ibid.*

⁷¹⁴ *ibid.*

the purchase of eight US-made F-16 Block-52 fighters.⁷¹⁵ US State Department spokesman John Kirby said:

While Congress has approved the sale, key members have made clear that they object to using FMF to support it. Given Congressional objections, we have told the Pakistanis that they should put forward national funds for that purpose.⁷¹⁶

However, earlier this year, in February the US State Department approved the possible sale of the eight F-16 fighter jets for \$700 million to Pakistan and the deal between the two countries was that Pakistan will have to pay around \$270 million. The rest of the money was supposed to make available in the United States through its FMF subsidy. However, the Congressional objections will make US government unable to aid Pakistan, which means Pakistan will have to pay the \$700 million bill for the weapons deal all by itself. The reason behind opposing the sale is that the key law makers of US Congress feared that the F-16s will not be used to battle militants within Pakistan but rather be deployed to deter India. In March 2016, in a statement to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Bob Corker, Representative of Tennessee and Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee said:

I continue to oppose any taxpayer dollars being used at this time to support this sale given that Pakistan is providing safe haven to terrorist groups and refusing to target the Haqqani network, which attacks US troops and threatens the future of Afghanistan.⁷¹⁷

However, it is worth mentioning here that at present Pakistan operates 70 F-16 fighter jets. The United States delivered 40 of them to Pakistan's Air Force (PAF) in the eighties for the first time while the latter was an ally against the USSR occupation in Afghanistan. However, another deal of additional 28 F-16 jets was cancelled in 1990 due to the Pressler Amendment in 1985. This time, the significance of Pakistan in the war in Afghanistan felt less important to the USA because the USSR had already reached to the point of departure from Afghanistan. As a result, the United States withdrew the endorsement once given to Pakistan and gave more attention to the nuclear nonproliferation issue. After 9/11 attack on the Twin Towers, the United States again felt Pakistan's importance in curbing Muslim militants, and therefore, again uphold the frozen endorsements to it. Therefore, in 2006, the United States signed a contract with Pakistan over the purchase of 18 new F-16C/D block

⁷¹⁵ *The Reuter*, May 4, 2016.

⁷¹⁶ *ibid.*

⁷¹⁷ Franz-Stefan Gady, 'US Won't Subsidize Pakistan's Purchase of F-16 Fighter Jets', *The Diplomat*, May 4, 2016.

50/52 aircraft with an option for another 18 more. The first three F-16C/Ds were delivered in June 2010 with the rest inducted into the PAF by the end of 2012. That same year, the United States delivered 14 used F-16s to the PAF.

Since the United States has decided to pull back from Afghanistan, the geo-strategic importance of Pakistan has already lost its merit to the USA. Rather, the importance of India has been increased due to its lucrative economy and military strength. To the USA, India is supposed to be a counterweight to rising China. Therefore, the United States again cancelled the promised deal with Pakistan to aid in purchasing eight F-16 jets for the same continuing policy of the past and that is 'engagement with Pakistan but preferential treatment in India to curb Chinese influence'.

As soon as the United States moved back to its earlier policy and started to give India preferential treatment, Pakistan also gave a clear indication to move to China or Russia. This becomes evident when Sartaj Aziz, a foreign affairs adviser to Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Shari, while making a statement during a debate in the Pakistani Parliament on the F-16 sale, said "If funding is arranged, Pakistan will get the F-16. Otherwise, we will opt for jets from some other place."⁷¹⁸ An official of Pakistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs also said that Pakistan is now considering other options including Chinese-made Chengdu J-10 lightweight and J-20 stealth fighter aircraft as well as Russian Sukhoi Su-35S multirole fighter jets.⁷¹⁹

Sartaj Aziz also remarked that the US-Pakistan relation was moving toward upward trajectory in the past three months. However, this relationship has witnessed a downward slide, as soon as the US Congress took the decision of blocking partial funding for 8 F-16 aircraft through the use of FMF.

2.5 US-Pakistan bilateral interest in Afghanistan:

Although Pakistan is an US partner in taming global terrorism, both the countries have different regional goals. Pakistani officials thought that US forces would depart Afghanistan, before it is stabilized. Therefore, they continued support for the Taliban and Haqqani network so that they would have the best chance to counter Indian regional influence. Pakistani military continues to seek to undermine Indian regional influence through terrorist proxies operating in both Afghanistan and India. Therefore, despite US pressure to crack down the terror groups, Pakistan's last few years' policies toward the Afghan Taliban and terrorist groups like the Haqqani network and

⁷¹⁸ *The Financial Times*, May 14, 2016.

⁷¹⁹ *India TV News*, May 13, 2016.

(see: <http://www.indiatvnews.com/news/world-indian-lobby-trying-to-block-f-16s-sale-to-pakistan-sartaj-aziz-328851>, retrieved on 26/12/2013.)

the Lashkar-e-Tayyiba (LeT) remained unchanged. However, Pakistan's military and intelligence leaders took a short-term tactical action against those terrorist groups deemed to be a threat to the state. But they have continued supporting others that are aligned with Pakistan's goal of curbing Indian regional influence. The United States realized Pakistan's double standard policy, but it is in a fix to take firm actions against Pakistan because moving relations forward or backward to a country that is both hurting and helping in the fight against global terrorism has proven challenging. To the United States, cutting off relations with Pakistan altogether is a risky option. Therefore, the Obama Administration has recently exercised its national security waiver authority to get out of counterterrorism conditions on military aid to Pakistan. The Obama administration wants to continue engagement with Pakistan so that it can open its access for tracking global terrorists that are being sheltered on Pakistani territory. It wants to support Pakistani civil society to pursue a moderate, democratic country so that it may maintain a degree of leverage with the military leadership to ensure that Pakistan's nuclear weapons remain safe and secure and out of the hands of extremists such as Haqqani Network, or Taliban or LeT. However, the future of US-Pakistan tie will depend on how helpful Pakistan is in supporting the US objective of stabilizing Afghanistan and bridling in terrorist groups on Pakistani territory.

India has a vision to build economic and political links with Afghanistan after US withdrawal for two reasons: preventing the re-establishment of terrorist asylums in Afghanistan and to gain trade and energy access to Central Asia. Therefore, India has committed to \$2 billion in aid to Afghanistan and also moving forward with major economic investments. Therefore,

Afghan President Hamid Karzai and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh completed a Strategic Partnership Agreement in 2011 that included Indian training of Afghan security forces. Pakistani military became suspicious that with this tie India might use its embassy and consulates in Afghanistan to recruit insurgents to fight in Pakistan's Baluchistan province. However, the United States believes that India is contributing positively to Afghanistan's economic and democratic development and, therefore, and it wants India remain engaged in Afghanistan. The United States has realized Pakistani intention and, therefore, when US-Afghanistan withdrawal negotiations were on, both parties agreed to allow a robust number of US and NATO forces in Afghanistan even after its official withdrawal of forces. The task of NATO troops will likely be training and advising the Afghan National Security Forces, whereas the American troops will also be conducting counterterrorism operations if needed.

2.6 Torkham border issue

Another burning issue which has seriously strained US-Pakistan relations recently is Torkham border issue which has been emerging from the event of ‘The 2011 NATO attack in Pakistan (also known as the Salala incident, Salala attack or 26/11 attacks).⁷²⁰ An early Saturday morning on September 26, 2011 two NATO Apache helicopters along with an AC-130 gunship and two F-15E Eagle fighter jets entered the Pakistani border area of Salalah in the Baizai subdivision of Mohmand Agency on the Pak-Afghan border and opened fire at two border patrol check-posts and killed at least 24 security personnel and injured 12 soldiers.⁷²¹ The incident took place in a village of Salala, which is an area bordering the Kunar province of Afghanistan. This attack resulted in a deterioration of relations between Pakistan and the United States. The Pakistani public all over the country reacted with protests and the government also took measures adversely affecting the US exit strategy from Afghanistan, including the evacuation of Shamsi Airfield and closure of the NATO supply line. The blockade lasted more than six months. The United States tried hard to tame Pakistan to re-open the NATO supply route, but the latter stood adamantly by the decision. After a series of diplomatic negotiations, finally on 3 July 2012, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton officially apologized for the losses suffered by the Pakistani military. Subsequently, Pakistan restored the NATO supply routes.⁷²²

The NATO attack on Pakistani check-posts and killing of Pakistani soldiers have had serious impact of US-Pakistan relation in the near past. Immediately after the attack Pakistani media remarked that the attack would likely worsen US-Pakistan relations, already at one of their lowest points in history, following a tumultuous year that saw the bin Laden raid, the jailing of a CIA contractor, and US accusations that Pakistan backed a militant attack on the US Embassy in Kabul.

“This is an attack on Pakistan’s territorial sovereignty”, said Masood Kasur, the governor of Pakistan’s northwestern Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa province.⁷²³ He also said, “Such cross-border attacks cannot be tolerated any more. The government will take up this matter at the highest level and it will be investigated.”⁷²⁴

The interesting thing is that the incident comes a day after Chief of Army Staff General Ashfaq Pervez Kayani met the Commander of Coalition Forces in Afghanistan General Allen Jones to discuss measures of enhancing border control on

⁷²⁰ *The Newsweek Pakistan*, November 27, 2011.

⁷²¹ *The Reuters*, November 26, 2011.

⁷²² *CNN Wire Staff*, July 4, 2012, retrieved 4 July 2012.

⁷²³ *The Reuters*, November 26, 2011.

⁷²⁴ *ibid.*

both sides. Due to public pressure and military resentment Pakistani government had to take tight action against US policy despite the risk of US antagonism. However, Pakistani Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani said that the supplies were blocked without any pressure and will be restored with consensus. The United States, therefore, revised the situation and offered Pakistan to accept either of the following two: accepting threat or cooperation in return of reopening NATO supply route.

Since the beginning of 2012, various political parties along with the military command of the Pakistan army, met and held discussions on restoring NATO supplies. Diplomats from United States also tried to reduce the friction.

NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen urged Pakistan to reopen NATO ground supply routes to Afghanistan. However, Rasmussen also said that Pakistan had not been invited to the crucial 25th NATO summit to be held in May in Chicago. Simultaneously, US Senator John Kerry, a leading proponent of US aid for Pakistan, said that Pakistan needs to be more cooperative, in order to eliminate Taliban sanctuaries of the country. Therefore, top Pakistani leaders decided to meet on May 15, 2012 in order to discuss ending a blockade of foreign military supply routes into Afghanistan and repairing US relations, signaling a rapprochement ahead of a NATO summit.

Concurrently, on May 15 NATO declared that it would invite President Zardari to the alliance's summit in Chicago, after the country's foreign minister proposed reopening its Afghan border to NATO military supplies. Thus we saw a sudden shift in the events. President Zardari accepted the invitation and decided to attend the summit.

However, US-led NATO's soft attitude toward Pakistan and US domestic political maneuver on the issue of giving aid to Pakistan gave confused message to the latter. on May 18, US lawmakers in the House of Representatives debating the National Defense Authorization Act, voted 412-1 for an amendment that could block up to \$650 million in proposed payments to Pakistan unless Islamabad lets coalition forces resume shipment of war supplies across its territory.

On the same day, four containers laden with supplies for the US Embassy in Kabul crossed into Afghanistan from Pakistan via Torkham border post. A local official while confirming supplies to the US Embassy via Torkham said he could not say when the cargo had been transported. A senior official, who was dealing with the matter, explained this entrance of supply this way: "Pakistan government has never put restriction on the transportation of supplies for the diplomatic missions, including the American Embassy in Kabul, ban on the transportation of NATO supplies is still

intact.”⁷²⁵ All these symptoms proved that both the parties were deceived in their dealing which was an outcome of mutual distrust.

However, President Zardari arrived in Washington and attended the NATO summit in Chicago, a day after the voting of the US House of Representatives on Pakistan issue. But both the countries were unable to strike a conclusive deal on the restoration of NATO supplies as the summit ended.

The failure to conclude on a mutual understanding on the issue of the blockade of NATO supplies, the United States gave a fresh warning to Pakistan. On May 23 a Senate panel approved a foreign aid budget for next year that slashes US assistance to Islamabad by more than half and threatens further reductions if it fails to open supply routes to NATO forces in Afghanistan. Sen Patrick Leahy, a Democrat and the chairman of the subcommittee, and the panel’s top Republican, Sen Lindsey Graham, said money for Pakistan was cut 58 percent as lawmakers questioned Islamabad’s commitment to the fight against terrorism. Moreover, the Senate Appropriations Committee, on May 24, voted to cut aid to Pakistan by a symbolic \$33 million – \$1 million for each year of jail time handed to Shakil Afridi, a Pakistani doctor who allegedly assisted the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in finding Osama bin Laden.⁷²⁶

However, the United States agreed to reimburse \$1.18 billion or almost 75 percent of the claims Pakistan has submitted for the expenses incurred in the fight against militants along the Afghan border.⁷²⁷ The approval showed that despite increased tensions, the US financial assistance to Pakistan has continued, although it is becoming increasingly difficult to get congressional support for helping Pakistan.

As the Pakistani blockade continued, US Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta, on June 7, 2012 said that the United States was running out of patience with Pakistan over safe havens of insurgents who attack US troops across the border in Afghanistan. Panetta spoke after talks with Afghan Defense Minister Abdul Rahim Wardak on the latest leg of an Asian tour that has taken him to India, but not Islamabad in a sign of how dire US-Pakistan relations are.

On June 8, 2012 US Assistant Defense Secretary Peter Lavoy arrived in Islamabad, in a fresh attempt to bring an end to a six-month blockade of NATO supplies, crossing into Afghanistan. However, on June 11, the United States withdrew negotiators from Pakistan after talks failed to produce a deal on reopening vital NATO supply routes

⁷²⁵ *The Dawn*, July 4, 2012 (see: *DAWN.Com*, ‘Time Line’, July 4, 2012, retrieved on 22/12/2013.)

⁷²⁶ *ibid.*

⁷²⁷ *ibid.*

into Afghanistan. Sherry Rehman, Pakistan's ambassador to the United States, still sounded optimistic and said that the return of an American negotiating team from Islamabad, where it worked with Pakistani counterparts on the revival of the NATO supply routes, does not represent an institutional US pullout.⁷²⁸ Moreover, Panetta ruled out an apology over an air strike last year that killed 24 Pakistani soldiers and badly set back efforts to improve US-Pakistani ties, saying it was 'time to move on.' General John Allen, the top commander of American and NATO forces in Afghanistan, visited Pakistan on Wednesday, amidst heightened tensions between the two countries. The agenda of the talks remained to restore NATO supply routes and cross-border attacks launched on Pakistani soil from Afghanistan.

Pakistan, on July 3, agreed to reopen key supply routes into Afghanistan, ending a bitter stand-off after US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said she was sorry for the loss of life in a botched air raid. Moreover, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton met with her Pakistani counterpart Hina Rabbani Khar in Tokyo and succeeded to make a deal. After the meeting Hillary said on July 8 that the United States and Pakistan were putting past tensions behind them to focus on the future.⁷²⁹ It was the first meeting between Clinton and Khar since the two countries last week struck a deal to re-open supply routes, closed for seven months following a US attack in which 24 Pakistani soldiers died. Simultaneously, a US official confirmed that as part of the deal Washington will release about \$1.1 billion to the Pakistani military from a US 'coalition support fund' designed to reimburse Pakistan for the cost of counter-insurgency operations.

President Barack Obama, on July 17, 2012 named Richard G Olson to be the US ambassadors to Pakistan, tasking him with shaping highly sensitive relationships after US troops pull out. The US commander in Afghanistan, General John Allen visited GHQ to hold talks in Pakistan on August 2 for the first time since Islamabad ended a seven-month blockade of NATO supplies destined for the 10-year war effort. Moreover, Pakistan received \$1.1 billion dollars from the United States for its fight against militants, the first installment of its kind since December 2010 on the same day. The agenda of the meeting was focused on improving security along the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Pakistan's Ambassador to the United States Sherry Rehman met with Congressman Dan Burton on August 3, a Republican from Indiana, and discussed ways to enhance Pakistan-US relationship. Therefore, the United States and Pakistan reached an

⁷²⁸ *ibid.*

⁷²⁹ *ibid.*

understanding on joint operations against the Haqqani network on August 5, 2012. According to *the Dawn's* report, the issue of cross-border attacks, by the Haqqani network in Afghanistan and by TTP in Pakistan, was discussed in a series of meetings between senior US and Pakistani officials during the week. However a joint decision could not be agreed upon.

The US State Department confirmed on August 23 that an American diplomat had a meeting with Pakistani officials at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Islamabad as Pakistan lodged its first formal protest with the United States over drone strikes.

2.7 Pakistan's desire of the NSG membership and the US attitude

In 2005 the United States signed a nuclear deal with India, which ended three decades of international sanctions against New Delhi and made India the only non-NPT country that is allowed to have nuclear trade with the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) along with its nuclear weapons program. Since then Pakistan also has been demanding a similar agreement with the United States. However, the United States had no positive response to Pakistan's demand rather it termed the Indian agreement an exceptional case. Therefore, as a counterbalance, Pakistan signed a nuclear deal with China in which Beijing agreed to sell two nuclear reactors to Islamabad. Other members of the NSG blamed China and argued that this was a violation of NSG guidelines. However, China explains that it is actually signed under an earlier agreement with Pakistan. From then, despite pressure from the major powers, Pakistan has been repeatedly blocked consensus in the Conference on Disarmament (CD) to start negotiations on the Fissile Material Control Treaty (FMCT) as it has got support from China. Not only that, Pakistan began accelerating production of fissile materials because it believes that the India-US nuclear deal will allow India ramp up its nuclear program by conserving its domestic fissile material exclusively for that use. US-India nuclear deal lets Pakistan lie close to China.

After US-India nuclear deal, India started pursuing membership in the Nuclear Suppliers' Group, which it had been cherished for a long time and the United States continued supporting its application. To ensure parity, Pakistan also expressed the same desire which was not able to gain US support. In May 2016, Pakistan submitted its membership application in Vienna so that it could be considered with India's application at the forthcoming special session. However, neither India nor Pakistan will be likely to join the NSG in the near future as New Delhi failed to win over China while Islamabad failed to persuade Washington to back its bid. China's demand was to follow a non-discriminatory criterion for offering NSG membership to other

nations: all interested states should be asked to sign the NPT first because exempting anyone, according to China, would weaken the entire non-proliferation regime. On the other hand, the United States wanted to exempt India signing NPT. China argues that if the United States and other powers insist on exempting India from this requirement, they should do the same for Pakistan, as ‘not doing so’ will accelerate a dangerous nuclear race in South Asia.⁷³⁰

However, the 48-nation NSG held a special meeting in Vienna, Austria, on Thursday, June 9, 2016 to consider applications from the two South Asian nations, India and Pakistan, both of whom possess atomic weapons and have not signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). In the previous week of the special meeting, Pakistan sent letters to US officials and lawmakers, urging them to support its bid for joining the exclusive club that controls access to sensitive nuclear technology. On Thursday afternoon, when it became obvious that China will not allow India to join the NSG, Mark Toner, a spokesman for the US State Department, urged Pakistan to present its application before the entire group instead of seeking individual endorsements for joining the NSG.⁷³¹ “That’s a collective decision reached by the members of the group,” said the spokesman, when he was asked why the United States was not backing Pakistan’s application.⁷³² He also said, “India is also pursuing membership in the Nuclear Suppliers Group, but certainly, if Pakistan wants to pursue that, that’s something for all the members of the Nuclear Suppliers Group to consider.”

Thus, the United States played a different role on the question of the demand of the NSG membership toward India and Pakistan. In a briefing after the meeting, US spokesman Mark Toner explained US role as follows:

Our bilateral relations with India and Pakistan are separate and stand on their own merits, and so it’s not prudent for us to view our security cooperation in the region in kind of a zero-sum game, or zero-sum terms.⁷³³

A journalist asked Mr. Toner whether US position on this issue may further strain already tense relations between India and Pakistan. In reply, he urged Pakistan to stop terrorists from using its soil to conduct operations inside India.

This means the Obama administration is continuing the policy of the Bush administration because it believes that both India and the United States have a shared interest in China’s rise in Asia. Obama administration also saw India as a counterweight against a rising China and wanted to boost New Delhi’s economic and

⁷³⁰ *The Dawn*, June 11, 2016 (see: <http://www.dawn.com/news/1264165>, retrieved on 12/10/2014)

⁷³¹ *ibid.*

⁷³² *ibid.*

⁷³³ *ibid.*

military capabilities in order to counterbalance Beijing. Therefore, Obama administration is determined to improve relations with India, and to accomplish that it is willing to change the rules and norms of the nuclear nonproliferation that Washington worked for decades to establish. However, Pakistan is also strategically important for the United States as its support is a key to stability in Afghanistan. But, unlike India, Pakistan does not share common strategic interests with Washington; rather, both sides often have contradictory policy objectives vis-à-vis Kabul.

Why the United States and other world powers are keen to support waiver for India is not hard to realize. It is India's promising economy which holds their attention. India's emerging economy played a significant role in offering the nuclear deal. For the same reason, Russia, France, Germany, Britain, and Italy were enthusiastic to lift sanctions against India to access New Delhi's lucrative nuclear market. These first world countries proposed the idea to the United States in the 1990s, but the Clinton administration was firmly on its nonproliferation agenda, therefore, rejected the idea. However, Bush Administration was more open to action. The major supplier countries supported the Indian waiver at the NSG along with the United States and India. Even countries like Canada and Australia with strong nonproliferation policies, were convinced on the issue because they were keen to ensure their share of the Indian nuclear market.

On the other hand, in the case of Pakistan, there are no such economic incentives. To United States and its allies Pakistan is a burden, which continues to rely on 'commercial loans, concessionary donor loans and aid.' Pakistan's poor economic performance, widespread corruption, and weak political institutions hardly make it a promising market for nuclear commerce. Therefore, it failed to persuade Washington to back its bid.

2.8 US Drone Activities in Pakistan-Afghan borders:

Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs) are referred to as drones. Recently, the use of these vehicles in Pakistani regions bordering Afghanistan by the United States to strike militants has become a question of debate. It has also become a threat to the territorial sovereignty of Pakistan. According to CFR⁷³⁴ presently the United States reportedly operates at least two separate drone programs in the Afghanistan-Pakistan area. One is run by the US military, which runs support and surveillance missions in Afghanistan. The other is thought to be run by the CIA, which operates under a veil of

⁷³⁴ Council on Foreign Relations.

secrecy in the tribal areas of Pakistan.⁷³⁵ This is not only criticized in Pakistan, the scholars outside Pakistan have also started questioning on the legitimacy of using drones in the zones that are not declared as ‘war area’ because drone attacks are causing collateral damage in the targeted areas. Therefore, scholars are of the view that targeting terror suspects with UAVs in official combat areas is deemed legal, but the use of the technology outside a declared zone of combat is a matter of concern.

Recently a US drone attack killed Mullah Akhbar Mansoor, leader of the Afghan Taliban on 21 May, 2016 at Quetta of Baluchistan, Pakistan just over the border with Afghanistan, which US officials said was authorized by President Barack Obama.⁷³⁶

Pakistan accused the United States of violating its sovereignty with the drone strike. However, the United States did not bother what Pakistan said rather it argued for the legitimacy of the action. US Secretary of State John Kerry said that the Taliban chief posed a ‘continuing imminent threat’ to US personnel in Afghanistan and to Afghans, and was a threat to peace. He said, “This action sends a clear message to the world that we will continue to stand with our Afghan partners as they work to build a more stable, united, secure and prosperous Afghanistan.”⁷³⁷

However, Pakistan did not take the action easily. While visiting London, Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif told the reporters, ‘This is a violation of Pakistan’s sovereignty’⁷³⁸ because the United States did not inform him beforehand. On the contrary, US Secretary of State John Kerry said that he notified Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif by telephone of a US drone strike while visiting Myanmar.⁷³⁹ Therefore, it is still a matter of controversy whether the USA ignored the sovereignty of Pakistan.

In the recent years, Pakistan has continued to officially objecting to all US airstrikes on its territory, although State Department cables leaked by the website Wiki Leaks support claims by US officials that Islamabad secretly gives its consent. Pakistan also released an official statement after a day of the strike and that confirmed the US only informed the Pakistani prime minister and the army chief after the strike had taken place. However, the statement also mentioned that the drone attack was a violation of its sovereignty, which is an issue that has been raised by the United States in the past.

⁷³⁵ Greg Bruno, ‘U.S. Drone Activities in Pakistan’, (published in CFR website, on July 19, 2009, retrieved on 12/10/2014.)

(see: <http://www.cfr.org/pakistan/us-drone-activities-pakistan/p22659>, retrieved on 12/10/2014.)

⁷³⁶ *The Aljazeera*, May 23, 2016 (see: <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/05/pakistan-drone-strike-violated-sovereignty-160522204312754.html>, retrieved on 12/10/2014.)

⁷³⁷ *ibid.*

⁷³⁸ *ibid.*

⁷³⁹ *The Dawn*, 22 May, 2016.

However, Mansoor's death came such a moment⁷⁴⁰ when diplomats from Pakistan, Afghanistan, US and China held the latest round of talks in Islamabad about a flagging effort to draw the Taliban into peace negotiations. Therefore, experts are of the view that the killing of the Taliban leader is likely to have major ramifications both for efforts to kick-start peace talks and for the often stormy relationship between the US and Pakistan.⁷⁴¹

3. US- Bangladesh relations

Bangladesh-US relations had a flinty start during the emergence of Bangladesh in 1971 with the result of diplomatic victory of Indo-Soviet alliance over Sino-American nexus. Therefore, the initial US-Bangladesh bi-lateral relation was confined with only humanitarian concerns. However, the post 9/11 global and regional realities have set the stage for wider engagement. Due to its geo-strategic position, Bangladesh has caught sight of the sole superpower because it is the corridor of connecting South and South-east Asia with the access to the Indian Ocean through the Bay of Bengal. The recent economic development and successful completion of MDG program as well as a firm stand against all kinds of terrorist activities have reformulated the western concern about Bangladesh. Bangladesh is no longer a 'basket case' in the eye of the United States rather the newer outlook of the west embraces Bangladesh's rising significantly and in some cases it considers the later as political, economic and strategic partner. On February 10, 2016 Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs of the State Department of the USA published a text on its website in which it explains the dynamics of the present US-Bangladesh relations:

The United States and Bangladesh share a vision for an inclusive, secure, and prosperous future. Our annual US-Bangladesh Partnership Dialogue helps advance shared bilateral, regional, and global objectives and gives strategic direction to ongoing and future cooperative activities. The fourth U.S.-Bangladesh Partnership Dialogue meeting, held in Dhaka on April 30-May 1, 2015, covered a wide variety of topics: democracy and governance, trade and investment, and security cooperation. The delegations worked to deepen cooperation on bilateral, regional and international priorities, including sustainable development, counterterrorism, migration, and climate change. The fifth annual meeting will take place in Washington, DC, in 2016.⁷⁴²

This means the status of Bangladesh in the eye of the USA has been changed from a 'dependent country' to a 'partner country' and this change is occurring during the last two decades as the statement says, 'Bangladesh's economy has grown at 6 percent

⁷⁴⁰ The conference was held on May 20, 2016 at Islamabad.

⁷⁴¹ *The Guardian*, 22 May, 2016.

⁷⁴² 'U.S. Relations With Bangladesh', Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs: Fact Sheet, February 10, 2016 [see: <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3452.htm>, retrieved on 12/10/2014.]

annually for more than two decades... The United States stands shoulder-to-shoulder with Bangladesh in our effort to defeat extremism.⁷⁴³

In fact, the direction of the security perception of the United States after 9/11 paved the way of igniting the options for Bangladesh to bring about its priority and regenerate its geo-strategic significance to the outer world. Therefore, the Geo-economic interest of US with Bangladesh shifted to Geo-strategic significance in the initial years of the Global War on Terror (GWOT). However, in the latter years the relation entered the spectrum of both geo-strategic and geo-economic significance.

It has been mentioned earlier that the incidents of 9/11 attack on the heart of the USA shook the entire world and emerged new priorities in its security options. For some reason, South Asia became the epicenter of the Global War on Terror led by the United States. The National Security policy that was adopted by the Bush administration in the immediate aftermath of the incident was directed toward the options of military operations against targeted threats. President Bush declared, “Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists”.⁷⁴⁴ Thereafter, the United States focused its attention on the religious extremism of the Al Qaeda network, Taliban-ruled Afghanistan and alleged sheltering country Pakistan, which brought the Global War on Terror to the doorstep of South Asia. Therefore, there was no room left for the enunciation of neutrality.

The prime interest of the United States was to ensure that Bangladesh does not fall as a victim of extremism. The reasons which led the Bush administration concerned that Bangladesh might have the possibility of becoming a base for militants are: Bangladesh is a Muslim majority country, proximity of Pakistan and North-east India, the robust trade in illegal weapons around the southeastern part of Cox’s Bazaar etc.⁷⁴⁵

Not only had that the United States imposed rigid migration policy on Bangladeshi nationals and regulations in sending money through indirect channels. The inclusion of Bangladesh in the list of terrorist prone countries raised lots of anxiety here because the migrant workers were the second major source of remittances of the country.

As we’ve mentioned in earlier chapters that the United States wants to strengthen its presence in the Asia-Pacific region, it needs the cooperation of Bangladesh. According to the ‘Vision and Strategy’ statement of US Marine Corps

⁷⁴³ *ibid.*

⁷⁴⁴ US President George W. *Bush*, in an address to a joint session of Congress on September 20, 2001 said this. [see: <http://edition.cnn.com/2001/US/09/20/gen.bush.transcript/>; retrieved in September 21, 2001.]

⁷⁴⁵ *ibid.*

unveiled in 2008, Indian Ocean and its adjacent waters will be a central theater of future conflict and cooperation.⁷⁴⁶ US President Barak Obama also said,

We'll be strengthening our presence in the Asia Pacific, and budget reductions will not come at the expense of this critical region....Our relationships with Asian allies and key partners are critical to the future stability and growth of the region.⁷⁴⁷

However, the US policy in Bangladesh is not static and goes through changes. It changes in keeping the US national interests in mind and by adapting to its needs. During the rule of the Caretaker Government (2007-2008), US policy toward Bangladesh was 3Rs, namely 'Reform, Register (voter) and Resign'. However, in 2008 when a new government was established in Bangladesh, the US policy was changed to 3Ds. The former US ambassador to Bangladesh James Moriarty said in 2008 that US policy in Bangladesh revolves around three intertwined 'D's, namely democracy, development and denial of space for terrorism.⁷⁴⁸ Bangladesh has also the interest to the United States for the role it plays in the larger geopolitical dynamics of the South Asian subcontinent. Let us discuss the 3Ds first.

3.1 Democracy

The United States is always vocal for establishing democracy in Bangladesh. Why does it become restless for democracy, whereas it welcomed the non-democratic government of Bangladesh after the assassination of Bangabandhu, the father of the nation, in 1975? Why did it cooperate with the military government of CMLA⁷⁴⁹ Zia, CMLA Ershad even the General Moin Uddin backed caretaker government during 2007-2008? Harun ur Rashid, former ambassador of Bangladesh explains the answer. According to him democracy is a prerequisite for the sustainable US trade in Bangladesh. He said,

If Bangladesh remains a stable country, it provides a good environment for the US firms to establish business ventures here because a democratic government is accountable and transparent in its decisions and where the rule of law prevails.⁷⁵⁰

He also thinks a democratic government continues economic reforms to alleviate poverty, unemployment, primary health care, education and so on. At present,

⁷⁴⁶ [See: http://www.onr.navy.mil/~media/Files/About-ONR/usmc_vision_strategy_2025_0809.ashx, retrieved on 12/10/2014.]

⁷⁴⁷ *ibid.*

⁷⁴⁸ Monzima Haque and Aynul Islam, 'Bangladesh-United States Relations in the Post-September 11 Era: Foundations for a New Framework', *Social Science Review*, University of Dhaka, Volume 31, Issue 1, 2014.

⁷⁴⁹ CMLA-Chief Martial Law Administrator.

⁷⁵⁰ Dr Harun ur Rashid, *Bangladesh Foreign Policy: Realities, Priorities and Challenges* (Dhaka: Academic Press and Publishers Library, 2005), p.284.

economic reform means de-regulation of markets in the country which allows multinational companies to do business and exploit natural resources available in the country. The US economic growth relies on exports of goods and service industry to other countries. Therefore, they want lowest tariff and non-tariff barriers for their goods. A democratic government is always negotiable and provides law and order situation which ensures the security and safety of foreign investment. However, a non-democratic government is also negotiable through underhand dealing but can't ensure the security and safety of foreign investment. Moreover, a non-democratic government can't ensure long-lasting deal as it lacks peoples' support. Therefore, during the military government of CMLA⁷⁵¹ Zia, CMLA Ershad the United States extended cooperative hands in the hope of underhand dealing of negotiation, but due to the anxiety of people's upheaval those governments could not make a deal in line with the US desires. Hence, economic growth of Bangladesh and the US-Bangladesh trade also did not expand what has sprung within the last two democratic decades.

Secondly, the world economy has a dependent nature. Since the United States is the sole super power and its trade has been spread to every nook and corner of the world, any tension or conflict in any areas of the world affects directly or indirectly on US economy. Therefore, it seeks political stability in those countries. For an example, the United States imports huge amounts of garment products from Bangladesh with comparatively low rates. If the political situation in Bangladesh becomes hostile, Bangladesh will not be able to provide the needed supply of garment products, therefore, the United States will have to buy those products from other countries with comparatively higher price and for this reason the balance of trade in the world economy will be changed to some extent.

The United States cries for democracy in Bangladesh for other reasons also. Since 2001 the wholesale logic of the war on terror has pushed US foreign policy toward many dubious judgments.⁷⁵² In Bangladesh the Bush administration wanted to follow its longstanding policy (from 1971) of supporting Pro-Pakistan political bodies in power than pro-Indian political party. Therefore, it sided with a center-right party that seemed modern, pro-West, and pro-investment though its main agenda was to prevent Bangladesh becoming an Islamist terrorist breeding space. However, its mechanism did not become fruitful and its support to the center-right party helped to escalate Islamist extremism in Bangladesh. To counter the threat which has been postured under rightist democratic government, the United States chucked out the democratic

⁷⁵¹ CMLA-Chief Martial Law Administrator.

⁷⁵² Jalal Alamgir, 'Lessons in Democracy in Bangladesh', *The Nation*, March 16, 2009.

principles altogether and supported an authoritarian takeover. The US policy makers thought that the authoritative government will eliminate extremists.⁷⁵³ However, it found that the authoritarian method could not bring the extremism to an end rather it helped them for the sake of their own existence. The United States had applied the similar method in Algeria in 1991, in Turkey in 1996, in Palestine in 2006 and interfered whenever an Islamist party threatened to win elections instead of allowing the local democratic process to choose winners and losers.⁷⁵⁴ However, we have seen these interventions cascaded into a decade-long civil war in Algeria, dissolution of the Islamist government and the party in Turkey at gunpoint, and stifling sanctions and state-sponsored brutality in Palestine. The authoritarian government could not defeat Islamist extremism.

Again in Bangladesh, when the center-right parties boycott the election on 5th January 2014, the United States took the previous course of policy of questioning the legitimacy of the election. It overlooked the 93 days violent actions of 21-party alliance led by Begum Khaleda Zia in the name of safeguarding democracy.⁷⁵⁵ Even after the election, the United States continued to express its discomfort outspokenly. On 6 January, 2014 the US State Department published a press release in its website where it says,

The United States is disappointed by the recent Parliamentary elections in Bangladesh. With more than half of the seats uncontested and most of the remainder offering only token opposition, the results of the just-concluded elections do not appear to credibly express the will of the Bangladeshi people.⁷⁵⁶

However, the United States did not discard the desire that it is promised to the people of Bangladesh to continue its engagement in the development program. The statement also includes:

While it remains to be seen what form the new government will take, United States commitment to supporting the people of Bangladesh remains undiminished. To that end, we encourage the Government of Bangladesh and opposition parties to engage in immediate dialogue to find a way to hold as soon as possible elections that are free, fair, peaceful, and credible, reflecting the will of the Bangladeshi people.⁷⁵⁷

⁷⁵³ *ibid.*

⁷⁵⁴ *ibid.*

⁷⁵⁵ *The Hindu*, November 21, 2013.

⁷⁵⁶ The Press release is signed by Marie Harf, Deputy Department Spokesperson, U.S. State Department on January 6, 2014. [see: <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2014/01/219331.htm>, retrieved on 12/10/2014.]

⁷⁵⁷ *ibid.*

The important thing in the statement is that the United States expressed its dissatisfaction about the election, but did not withdraw support for the forthcoming government. Rather it urged for dialogue between the government and the opposition and another free, fair election. This means the United States wants to ensure a democratic environment so that the extremism might not rise to pose threat to the US interests. In other words, the United States shifted its previous policy toward Bangladesh.

However, it also proves that the United States wants to see pro-Pakistani center-right parties in power. But the violent political nature of that alliance has muted the supporting voice of the USA. This is evident in the voice of the US statement while it says,

We also call strongly on the opposition to use such space peacefully and responsibly, and for all sides to eschew violence, which is not part of democratic practice and must stop immediately.⁷⁵⁸

The newly elected Sheikh Hasina government gained the US and Western support because they have been able to prove their firm desire of giving no space to extremists.

On November 20, 2013 the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific of US Congress held a hearing on Bangladesh entitled ‘Bangladesh in Turmoil: A Nation on the Brink?’⁷⁵⁹ A number of scholars attended from outside for hearing, including Prof. Ali Riaz from Illinois State University, Director of Government Relations of Hindu American Foundation (HAF) Mr. Jay Kansara, Bangladesh Ambassador in Washington DC Md. Zia Uddin also had a detailed discussion with the Chairman of Asia Subcommittee Mr. Matt Salmon. The focus of all the speakers was on Bangladesh Democracy, its economic success, its progress in the MDGs and its continued readiness to uphold the democratic situation in the country. There was a consensus among the participants in the subcommittee hearing that Bangladesh is developing, promoting its entrepreneurship; it has an important future in promoting and preserving democracy, rule of law and constitution.

3.2 Development

The United States wants to engage itself with the development activities of Bangladesh. It wants to invest here, to ensure high returns of its capital. The United States noticed that Bangladesh has a large number of unemployed people that means ‘cheap labor is available’ here which is a potential for its economy. According to Dr.

⁷⁵⁸ *ibid.*

⁷⁵⁹ *ibid.*

Harun ur Rashid, the United States wants economic reforms in Bangladesh and talk about the integration into global mainstream for the sake of its own expansion of trade. He explains the reasons plainly. He says, with the economic growth, social development will occur in Bangladesh. If the people are prosperous, they have surplus income and buy luxury goods. Therefore, the manufacturing countries, including the United States will get economic benefits from the prosperity of middle-class.⁷⁶⁰ The United States might be noted that the major political parties of Bangladesh have recently adopted broad economic agenda into their manifesto. Therefore, achieving greater openness is now a bi-partisan policy.⁷⁶¹ If Bangladesh can make reforms in its economic policy and institutional level, there will be a greater chance for Bangladesh to exploit emerging growth opportunities in the global economy. By developing bi-lateral relationship, the United States wants to get the benefits from rising Bangladesh. According to the Fact Sheet of US State Department's Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs, the United States is Bangladesh's largest export market. In 2014 the United States exported approximately \$1.1 billion in US goods to Bangladesh and imported approximately \$5.3 billion worth of goods from Bangladesh. Both Bangladesh and the United States have signed a bilateral investment treaty, as well as a bilateral treaty for the avoidance of double taxation.⁷⁶² In 2014, US direct investment in Bangladesh was \$465 million, an increase of 12.6 percent from 2013. A second annual Trade and Investment Cooperation Forum Agreement (TICFA) meeting between the two countries held in Washington on November 23, 2015. In this meeting the United States expressed its desires to extend greater cooperation, particularly in areas of developing infrastructure and energy resources.

However, the United States has suspended the country's Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) trade benefits to Bangladesh in June 2013 in the name of promoting 'Worker rights and worker safety'. GSP is a trade scheme under which the US allows import of more than 5,000 goods from 122 least developed and developing countries with lower or zero-duty benefit. The US introduced the GSP in 1976 under the US Trade Act of 1974. In 2012, the total value of US imports from Bangladesh under GSP was \$34.7 million. However, the suspension was imposed upon all beneficiary countries.

At the time of the suspension, the United States provided the Bangladesh government with an Action Plan to address worker rights and safety issues as a basis for

⁷⁶⁰ Dr Harun ur Rashid, *op.cit.*, p. 285.

⁷⁶¹ *ibid.*

⁷⁶² see: <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3452.htm>, retrieved on 12/10/2014.

considering the reinstatement of GSP trade benefits. However, the experts are of the view that the suspension was not for the sake of workers' safety; it was a weapon of political pressure on ruling government so that it might negotiate with the US-supported opposition. The then government successfully overcomes the pressure as the US government confessed:

Since that time Bangladesh has made important progress in meeting some of the plan's objectives— especially in inspections, safety and security, and the United States continues to work with the Bangladesh government to ensure further progress on workers' rights.⁷⁶³

However, US President Barack Obama signed the Trade Preferences Extension Act on June 29, 2015 authorizing the generalized system of preferences (GSP) through 2017 which will make trade benefits retroactive to July 31, 2013. Under this act 122 nations will get the benefit of GSP but Bangladesh is excluded in the list. Bangladesh is still negotiating with the United States to regain the GSP facility. However, the suspension of GSP facility did not able to make any disaster for its economy. The economic strength of present Bangladesh might be addressed by the US policy makers. The symptom is revealed in the desire of the US authority to work shoulder to shoulder with Bangladesh. Therefore, Bangladesh has gained the prestige of being a 'special partner' of the United States in the region.

3.3 Denial of terrorism

The present government of Bangladesh has declared its desire to give no space to the extremists in the country during its first term that started in 2009 which is recognition of US policy taken after the incident of 9/11. It has already proved its sincerity in the past years and recently it has again expressed its firm stand. On August 29, 2016 US Secretary of State John Kerry visited Bangladesh and met Sheikh Hasina, the Prime Minister of Bangladesh at Dhaka when the two leaders agreed with fight against terrorism.⁷⁶⁴ Not only that the officials of the United States and Bangladesh have met together to discuss on 'Terrorist issue' four times from 2012 and the fifth time dialogue will be held on October 2, 2016 in Dhaka. At present Dhaka and Washington have three structured forum for dialogue: US-Bangladesh Dialogue on Security Issues, Bangladesh-US Partnership Dialogue and US-Bangladesh Trade and Investment Cooperation Forum Agreement (TICFA).

⁷⁶³ *ibid.*

⁷⁶⁴ *ibid.*

In the recent years, Bangladesh has been hit by some sophisticated terrorist attacks targeting foreigners, secular bloggers and other activists, as well as members of religious minorities. *The New York Times* expressed the incidents as follows:

On Friday (May 13, 2006-writer) a doctor in western Bangladesh was hacked to death. Last weekend, it was a Buddhist monk, in the southeastern part of the country. The week before, it was a Sufi Muslim leader, up north. Less than two weeks earlier, it was an L.G.B.T. activist. Just days before that, an English professor.

According to the report of *The New York Times* there have been at least 25 violent, sometimes public, killings of religious minorities, secularists and free-speech advocates in Bangladesh since February 2015. Of these attacks, more than 20 have been claimed by the Islamic State, about half a dozen by Al Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent and one each of the indigenous Bangladeshi extremist groups Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen Bangladesh and Ansar al-Islam.

The regional and terrorism analysts think that it is a worrying development in a Muslim country known for combining devotion with tolerance. They argued that the development of extremism in Bangladesh lies on the distrust between the two major political alliances in the country. For an example, a former CIA analyst Lisa Curtis, who is a senior analyst at the Heritage Foundation in Washington said,

Unless there is political dialogue between the government and the opposition, it's going to make it nearly impossible to develop a national consensus against extremism, which is really what is threatening the country.⁷⁶⁵

The US and western analysts frequently blame that the present government of Bangladesh has its head in the sand. In his article 'The Real Source of Terror in Bangladesh' William B Milam, a senior policy scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington and a former US ambassador to Bangladesh and Pakistan mentioned, "Responding to this wave of attacks as though it were principally a security issue, rather than a governance problem, would only make matters worse." According to him, a zero-sum mentality has been the rule of Bangladeshi politics since the end of the military dictatorship in 1991 and it has been deepened in the following years. He thinks that the recent string of vicious killings in Bangladesh is less a terrorism issue than a governance issue.⁷⁶⁶

However, John Kerry did not agree with their concern. While answering such questions to the VOA reporters, he said that the government of Bangladesh and the

⁷⁶⁵ Report of VOA

[see: <http://www.voanews.com/a/terrorism-tops-kerry-agenda-in-bangladesh/3484576.html>, retrieved on 17/11/2014]

⁷⁶⁶ William B Milam, 'The Real Source of Terror in Bangladesh', *The New York Times*, 19 May, 2016.

officials he met have agreed to his concern that the extremists in Iraq and Syria are in contact with some operatives in Bangladesh. He said, therefore, “I do not believe that the government of Bangladesh has its head in the sand.”⁷⁶⁷ Pointing to the recent terrorist attack in a café at Gulshan in Dhaka city, which left 20 hostages dead, 17 of them foreigners, he said, “The siege was clearly designed to divide Bangladesh.” This means that the United States is presently convinced by the promise and actions of Bangladesh government. John Kerry is convinced that the goal of the two countries on the issue of ‘terrorism’ is same when he said, “Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina expressed a ‘very clear’ desire to cooperate with the U.S. ‘very, very closely’ on fighting terrorism.”⁷⁶⁸ William B Milam also echoed the present US government’s perceptions about Bangladesh. He said,

According to the Department of State, the US recognizes that Bangladesh has been playing a vital role in ensuring security and stability regionally and globally. It has also recognized the strategic importance of Bangladesh, and considered Dhaka as an important partner of the US in dealing with many traditional and non-traditional security threats.⁷⁶⁹

So, it is clear that the different US lobbyists have different perceptions about Bangladesh. Some are the pro-Pakistani lobbyists, and therefore, wants to see the pro-rightist parties in power. They believe the terrorism in Bangladesh might be crushed by brute force as we have seen in the killing of Shaikh Abdur Rahman, a leader of JMB during Khaleda Zia-government. However, others of the view that only a stable, democratic government can uproot the terrorists from its soil. As they have seen that the present Awami League government is dedicated to uproot the terrorists and also successful in their venture, they are viable to meet US security interests in the region. According to highly-placed sources, the US has planned for an extended engagement with Asian countries, including Bangladesh, for global security against terrorism and secured navigation to protect the world trade process. US Secretary of State John Kerry’s recent comments are the proof of them.

4. US-approaches toward other countries in South Asia

It seems the countries of South Asia other than India, Pakistan and Bangladesh remain peripheral position in the US policy table. However, the assault in 9/11 has restructured US security thinking and therefore, its focus point is not stagnant now, it is moving its searchlight round the clock around the world. Now US main agenda is to

⁷⁶⁷ *ibid.*

⁷⁶⁸ *ibid.*

⁷⁶⁹ William B Milam, *op.cit.*

clear the bushes that are hospitable for breeding terrorists. In this point of view, no country in the world is peripheral in US policy options as such any point can be a center within a sound globular. Therefore, the United States is giving more attention to other countries of South Asia, namely, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Nepal and Bhutan also. Let us take a ‘bird’s eye’ look over it.

4.1 US-Sri Lanka relations after 9/11

The United States-Sri Lanka relations have been changing. This change has been obvious after the election in 2015 in Sri Lanka but US policy shifting started after Kerry-Lugar report on Sri Lanka was released in December 2009. The US policy makers started to revise its policy toward Sri Lanka when the report prepared by a by-partisan committee led by Senator John F. Kerry mentioned:

US policymakers have tended to underestimate Sri Lanka’s geostrategic importance for American interests. Sri Lanka is located at the nexus of crucial maritime trading routes in the Indian Ocean connecting Europe and the Middle East to China and the rest of Asia. The United States, India, and China all share an interest in deterring terrorist activity and curbing piracy that could disrupt maritime trade.⁷⁷⁰

The report suggested enhancing US-Sri Lanka relations for the following reasons:

American interests in the region include securing energy resources from the Persian Gulf and maintaining the free flow of trade in the Indian Ocean. These interests are also important to one of America’s strategic partners, Japan, who is almost totally dependent on energy supplies transiting the Indian Ocean. The three major threats in the Indian Ocean come from terrorism, interstate conflict, and piracy.⁷⁷¹

However, while the report was prepared, the relation between the USA and Sri Lanka was not good. It is worth mentioning here that the Sri Lankan Minister of Science and Technology Prof. Tissa Vitharana told the ‘Kerry-Lugar fact finding US Senate mission’ that visited Sri Lanka in November 2009, “We have the United States to thank for pushing us closer to China.” In fact, the Rajapaksa government was not pleased with the US policy of pressuring Sri Lanka on human rights issue. Thereafter, the relation started to get upswing when the Presidential election was held in Sri Lanka in January 2015.

The newly elected President Maithripala Sirisena vowed for restoring parliamentary democracy, and therefore, amended the constitution. The 19th amendment of the Sri Lankan constitution limits the power of the Presidency by two terms, cut short the ability of the President to dissolve parliament. It also revives constitutional council

⁷⁷⁰ See: *The Asian Tribune*, Vol.12, No. 1629.

⁷⁷¹ The United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee report on Sri Lanka released on December 07, 2009.

and establishes independent commissions to oversee the judiciary and police. Under this constitutional process a parliamentary election was held in Sri Lanka in August 2015. In the election the UNP (United National Party) led by Ranil Wickremesinghe and the Sri Lankan Freedom Party (SLFP) led by President Sirisena defeated the United People's Freedom Alliance (UPFA) led by former President Rajapaksa. UNP and SLFP formed a unity government and signed an agreement to work together to draft a new constitution safeguarding the rights of all ethnic groups. The United States has welcomed Sri Lanka's return to parliamentary democracy. Before the parliamentary election, US Secretary of State John Kerry visited Colombo in May 2015. It was the first visit by a US Secretary of State to Sri Lanka after General Colin Powell in 2004, marking a milestone in shifting US policy toward Sri Lanka.

The US-Sri Lanka relation started to warm as soon as Maithripala Sirisena was elected as a President because he abandoned pro-Chinese foreign policy of former President Rajapaksa. Shortly after his election, he pledged to put ties with India, China, Japan, and Pakistan on equal footing. One UNP official declared: "We will have a balanced approach between India and China, unlike the current regime (Rajapaksa regime-writer), which was antagonizing India almost by its closeness to China."⁷⁷²

According to Lisa Curtis, the Senior Research Fellow of Asian Studies Center, the Rajapaksa regime had relied heavily on China for investment and military equipment and became Sri Lanka's biggest donor, provided fighter jets, weapons, and radars to the Sri Lankan military, invested in a major \$1.4 billion Port City Project in Colombo, and pledged to invest \$1 billion to develop the port at Hambantota.⁷⁷³ She also remarked that Sri Lanka's willingness to allow Chinese submarines to dock at Colombo's port twice in late 2014 alarmed Indian officials, who are wary of China's increasing influence in its backyard. India fears that Chinese investment in South Asian ports not only serves Chinese commercial interests, but also facilitates Chinese military goals. However, the present Sirisena Government put on hold the massive Chinese Port City project, saying it would review the terms of the contract and evaluate how to make the project more transparent. Both India and the United States welcomed the policy shifts of Sri Lankan government.

⁷⁷² Lisa Curtis, 'Sri Lanka's Democratic Transition: A New Era for the U.S.-Sri Lanka Relationship', a paper presented before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific of the US congress.

[see:<http://www.heritage.org/research/testimony/sri-lankas-democratic-transition-a-new-era-for-the-ussri-lanka-relationship>, retrieved on 12/10/2014.]

⁷⁷³ *ibid.*

According to US State Department's bulletin, during his May 2015 visit to Sri Lanka, Secretary Kerry announced \$40 million in US assistance to support Sri Lanka in implementing comprehensive reforms in areas including reconciliation, livelihoods, democratic governance, rule of law, public finance management, trade policy and facilitation, alternative dispute resolution, intellectual property rights protection, and ports and tourism management. US-Sri Lanka trade followed an upward trajectory after this visit. US goods exports in 2015 were \$372 million, up 4.7 percent from the previous year.⁷⁷⁴ US exports consisted primarily of industrial machinery, medical instruments, aircraft parts, lentils, paper, specialized fabrics and textiles for use in the garment industry, fruits, and pharmaceuticals. Sri Lanka is currently the 115th largest export market for US goods. It seems, under the present government, US investment is going to be replaced by Chinese efforts. However, corresponding US imports from Sri Lanka were \$2.88 billion, up 7.8 percent. The United States wants a trade agreement with Sri Lanka. The next round of US-Sri Lanka Trade and Investment Framework Agreement talks will be held in April 2016 in Washington, DC.

Due to China rise, Sri Lanka occupies an important geo-strategic position in the Indian Ocean. Therefore, the United States wants Sri Lanka within its maritime security bondage. The United States called Sri Lanka for partnership dialogue. Sri Lankan government also responded positively. In February 2016 Sri Lankan Foreign Minister Mangala Samaraweera visited Washington to inaugurate the first 'US-Sri Lanka Partnership Dialogue.' The Joint Statement released on February 29, 2016, noted Sri Lanka's 'pivotal geo-strategic location within the Indian Ocean Region' and called for strengthening maritime security cooperation.⁷⁷⁵

During the civil war in Sri Lanka, the United States imposed an arms embargo over Sri Lanka by amending its state regulations. In 2008, the State Department amended the International Traffic in Arms Regulations (ITAR) to deny licenses for transferring defense equipment to Sri Lanka. However, as the civil war ended and Sri Lanka co-sponsored a UN Human Rights Council Resolution and acknowledged that the war crimes were committed by both the government and LTTE insurgents, which the Rajapaksa denied to recognize, the US State Department's Directorate of Defense Trade Controls (DDTC) announced on May 4, 2016 that licensing restrictions on defense exports to Sri Lanka had been lifted and that it will now review license applications on a case-by-case basis. It is a major shift of US policy toward Sri Lanka.

⁷⁷⁴ US Department of State Bulletin, [see: <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5249.htm>, retrieved on 12/10/2014.]

⁷⁷⁵ *ibid.*

However, Sri Lanka may not ignore Chinese influence completely over it because Sri Lanka has \$8 billion in debt to China. Therefore, Sri Lankan Prime Minister Wickremesinghe has recently visited China seeking a swap of the \$8 billion debt in exchange for Chinese equity stakes in Sri Lankan public-sector utilities and infrastructure projects.⁷⁷⁶

4.2 US- Nepal relations: present trends

Nepal is one of the poorest countries in the world and is prone to natural disasters. Recently it has faced an intolerable natural disaster. Following the April 25, 2015 earthquake in Nepal, the United States committed to aiding in Nepal's recovery and reconstruction. It pledged approximately \$130 million to Nepal during the International Reconstruction Conference in Kathmandu on June 25, 2015.

The United States wants to see a democratic Nepal. It has welcomed Nepal's new constitution. On May 10, 2016 the Harvard Alumni Group of Nepal hosted its monthly meeting in Kathmandu where US ambassador to Nepal Alaina B. Teplitz attended and joined a talk on US-Nepal relations with a special focus on strengthening democratic governance and economic ties between the two countries. In that talk Alaina B. Teplitz said the US would like to see Nepal a stable and prosperous country. She said, "Nepal's constitution is a milestone and it's a living document that should be taken to the people for broader engagement." She also indicated that the lack of proper knowledge of the constitutional provisions has also created doubt. She also stressed the need for dialogue and assured US readiness to promote it. Ambassador Teplitz expressed the United States' commitment to supporting Nepal in implementing the constitution and in helping conduct local elections with due processes. She also said that the recent trade preferences opened up opportunities for Nepali businesses to take advantage of the opportunity to expand their transactions in the United States. Of the 66 items included in the list, Nepal has comparative advantage in some of the areas. Ambassador Teplitz discussed with the group to foster greater regional economic ties and ways for Nepal to tap into huge markets on both sides of its border: India and China. She stressed the need for Nepal to work on enhancing its ease of doing business image, globally.

The United States and Nepal have already signed a trade and investment framework agreement. Principal US exports to Nepal include agricultural products, aircraft parts, optic and medical instruments and machinery. US imports from Nepal include carpets,

⁷⁷⁶ Lisa Curtis, *op.cit.*

apparel and jewelry. Nepal is one of the largest contributors of troops to international peacekeeping missions.

4.3 US- Maldives relations

Maldives is a country of islands located in the Indian Ocean. It's a small country but has a fast growing economy, which offers lucrative market for US exports and investment in aviation, energy and tourism. Maldives main economy is tourism. According to the World Bank database, approximately 3,15,000 people visited Maldives in 1995 and the figure rose up to 12,05,000 in 2014.⁷⁷⁷ According to US State department's report, approximately 5000 Americans visit the Maldives annually.⁷⁷⁸ However, Maldives' significance is not for its economic potentials, it's important to the United States for its geo-strategic location.

If the United States is able to build a permanent military base in Maldivian territory, it will give the United States a leading advantage in the Indian Ocean. Then the United States will gain a bargaining opportunity from both China and India. At present, a temporary trade and investment framework agreement (SOFA⁷⁷⁹) is signed between the USA and Maldives and held its first meeting on October 2014, providing a forum to examine ways to enhance bilateral trade and investment.

It is assumed that the United States' interest in the Maldives is mainly twofold: promoting trade and enhancing security engagement. To materialize the first intension the US Embassy for the Maldives works closely with the US Trade and Development Agency (USTDA) and the office of the US Trade Representative (USTR) to foster economic exchange between the two countries. US embassy also helps US firms with marketing their products in the Maldives. To foster a sustainable trade the United States also remained vocal for a democratic government since 2006. Therefore, the US embassy in Sri Lanka, which is also responsible for managing diplomatic affairs of the Maldives, has been regularly engaged with all political parties to encourage constructive dialogue as Maldives moved toward its inaugural multi-party election in October 2008.

After the election, Mohammad Nashid, a charismatic leader, was elected. The United States continuously gave pressure on the Nashid government to sign a SOFA agreement. However, as we've discussed in an earlier chapter, Nashid did not agree to this deal and he was killing time since he was unable to reject US proposal in the context of post-Nine Eleven war on terror situation. The United States did not please

⁷⁷⁷ See: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/ST.INT.ARVL>, retrieved on 12/10/2014.

⁷⁷⁸ See: <https://maldives.usvpp.gov/usaid.html>, retrieved on 19/10/2014.

⁷⁷⁹ Status of Forces Agreement.

with the government headed by Mohammad Nashid, therefore, took a hand in the domestic politics. Gradually, the relation between the Nashid-government and the Maldivian army became complex on the questions of reformation and at one point a military coup overthrew Nashid on February 7, 2012. The Obama administration remained silent about the coup. Later, the Obama administration gave support to the illegal and non-democratic government in return of the SOFA agreement. Though the United States repeatedly says that it has no desire to build a permanent base in Maldives, the agreement indicates the otherwise. In the SOFA agreement there is a clause which says:

The Republic of the Maldives authorizes United States forces to exercise all rights and authorities with 'Agreed Facilities and Areas' that are necessary for their use, operation, defence or control, including the right to undertake new construction works and make alterations and improvements.⁷⁸⁰

The policy experts are of the view that the combination of US military bases in Diego Garcia and in Maldives will be a 'tectonic shift' in the geopolitics of the Indian Ocean region.

Diego Garcia is an island which is a part of British-controlled Chagos Islands, located at the center of the Indian Ocean. The United States started to use the island for military purposes after an Anglo-American deal signed in 1966. Recently, it has been reported that the US Government has agreed with the UK to extend their agreement on the use of the Chagos Islands for another 20 years. In 1966 the UK and US signed the 'exchange of notes' which was to last 50 years, at which point the agreement could be extended. If no action is taken by the end of 2016, it will automatically be extended for a further 20 years.

The United States' one of the strongest maritime military bases lies in the island Diego Garcia from which the United States launched three major wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. To respond to any future threats to US oil supply, President Carter and Reagan developed a 'Rapid Deployment Force' at bases in the region including Diego Garcia. Later 'Rapid Deployment Force' transformed in to US Central Command (CENTCOM) and the island became a launch pad for bombers and pre-positioned weaponry. In fact, the base was one of the first major steps by the United States to deploy its military power to defend US and global oil supply.

Bases in Diego Garcia and SOFA agreement between the United States and Maldives have given the sole super power a greater foot-hold in the South Asian Region because a base in the Maldives, where the southernmost island - Addu Atoll - is only

⁷⁸⁰ See: <https://maldives.usvpp.gov/usaid.html>, retrieved on 19/10/2014.

just over 435 miles from Diego Garcia, would be an ideal combination of US security planning in the Indian Ocean.

4.4 Present US- Bhutan relations

Bhutan, the daughter of the Himalayas, has no diplomatic relation with the United States. It is so isolated country that before 2007 it has no experience of conducting its own foreign policy. India took care of its foreign policy under a friendship agreement between the two countries. Only two countries have embassies in Bhutan's capital- Bangladesh and India. According to *the New York Times*, at present, the United States has no real dispute or grievance with Bhutan.⁷⁸¹

Bhutan has a long-running border dispute with China. China claims roughly 10 percent of Bhutanese territory as its own, and the Chinese government is eager to include Thimphu in its sphere of influence. However, Bhutan has kept its distance. Therefore, some American analysts speculate that the United States should seize the opportunity to formalize relations with the kingdom, a newly consolidated democracy. But Bhutan did not feel the necessity of diplomatic relations with the United States.

In 2011, Jigmi Yoser Thinley, Bhutan's then-Prime Minister, told Bhutanese News Agency: "...there was a time when diplomatic relations signified one's position vis-à-vis conflicting powers, choosing sides. It's no longer the case."⁷⁸² In January 2016, U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry met with Tshering Tobgay, Bhutan's prime minister, at a regional summit in Ahmedabad, India. It was the first-ever meeting between US top diplomat and a Bhutanese leader. However, US Assistant Secretary of State for South and Central Asia Nisha Desai Biswal said, "The talks were apparently warm and productive, but establishing diplomatic relationship was not a subject of the conversation."⁷⁸³ It is assumed that the United States also is satisfied with the status quo.

Analysis:

The US president Bill Clinton re-defined US role toward world affairs and dropped the policy of policing. Clinton said that his aim was to expand democracy and human rights on the basis of market economy. To explain Clinton's policy, his national security adviser Antony Lake urged the people of the United States to accept Clinton's initiative as a 'sustainable commitment for national freedom rather than a democratic

⁷⁸¹ *The Atlantic* [see: <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/>, retrieved on 22/10/2014.]

⁷⁸² *ibid.*

⁷⁸³ *ibid.*

crusade.⁷⁸⁴ He also mentioned that the United States might not impose democracy over any country; instead it might become silent about those authoritarian governments, which tend to become liberal in governance.⁷⁸⁵ The liberal Clinton Doctrine became the concern of the ‘warmongering lobbyist groups’ of the United States. They repeatedly criticized Clinton’s policy and predict that this liberal policy will give the ‘rogue states’ and the terrorist groups time to consolidate power. 9/11 events let them prove their prediction. Therefore, we see the drastic shifts in the foreign policy of the successive Bush administration.

The United States is a capitalist country. Its survival depends on the continuous investment of capital and its return with a profit, which is further dependent on sustainable environment of market economy. Democracy is the pre-requisite of sustainable environment. Therefore, the United States is vocal for democracy. If democracy prevails, the expansion of investment will be easier because a democratic government is generally negotiable. In a democratic environment, the ideologically rivals will have less opportunity to defeat the United States because the latter has unparalleled militarily capability of guarding its market. Hence, the easy way to destroy the supremacy of the United States is to create an environment where democracy does not work well. It can be possible through the expansion of terrorism. Therefore, finding no other way to stop US capitalism, Al Qaeda took the way of exporting terrorism all over the world to destroy the congenial atmosphere of investment. The Twin Tower attack was the outcome of this thinking. Therefore, we see the immediate aftermath of the 9/11 attack, major share markets of the world started to fall down; huge number of business institutions were locked down and lost their capital. To hold the US economy from downfall, the US government promptly took the recovery program and congress passed it unanimously. The US policy makers also realized the point, and therefore, the United States identified its number one agenda for its national security and that was to start the Global War on Terror (GWOT). Under this methodology, the security dimensions of the United States shifted to a new course, and therefore, South Asia got special attention which had been always peripheral in the US policy.

It is assumed in the United States that South Asia might be the breeding place of Islamic militants because the major countries of South Asia namely, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan have a huge Muslim population. In Afghanistan the

⁷⁸⁴ Anthony Lake, ‘The Logic of a US Strategy of Enlargement’, *International Herald Tribune*, 24 September, 1993.

⁷⁸⁵ *ibid.*

Taliban government was extremely conservative and ideologically rival to the US capitalism. Though Pakistan was US ally, it had been burdened with numerous militant groups. In Bangladesh, there are reportedly some militant groups that maintain links with international terrorist networks. And what is about India? India is the largest democratic country having a long tradition of practicing democratic values. Therefore, policy makers of the United States prescribed different bilateral policies toward different countries of South Asia. With the new shifts in US diplomacy, Pakistan have been used as US Frontline state to fight against global terrorism. Thereafter, it has lost its bargaining opportunity after the withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan in 2014. The present US-Pakistan relations are going on a downward trajectory. On the other hand, India became a special partner as a counterweight of China and US-India relations are going on an upward trajectory. Even, the potential of US military base in Maldives is generally welcomed by Indian scholars as it assumes that the US military presence in the region will be benevolent to India's advantage. Their obsession is about China's potential naval presence in the Indian Ocean. In Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Maldives US main aim is to sign an agreement of SOFA, so that it can control Indian Ocean and defend US and global oil supply. Therefore, the importance of these three countries is increasing in US policy table. However, the position of Bhutan in US policy planning remains peripheral.

Conclusions

In the above, we have discussed in the responses of the United States toward some issues that are created aftermath of 9/11 events in South Asia. By contrasting the US attitudes toward India and Pakistan, it is assumed that the United States is increasingly tilting toward India and discarding Pakistan. This tendency started with the collapse of the USSR with a short break during the invasion in Afghanistan after the 9/11 attacks. The collapse of the USSR let the United States become free from the compulsion of supporting even an authoritarian government to ensure 'balance of power' and check Soviet influence over them. Therefore, it has dropped its long decade of 'balance of power' between India and Pakistan policy. As a result, the Clinton and the successive bush administration started to give less importance to Pakistan and Pakistani dictator Pervez Musharraf lost his bargaining power than its counterpart India and compelled to overthrow its friendship with the Taliban government. Though the United States took Pakistan as a 'Frontline state' to curb Islamic militancy during its first phase of the Global War on Terror, it continued to discard as soon as the Afghanistan mission came to an end. The responses of the United States to Pakistan's desire of the NSG

membership, refusal of funding on F-16 aircraft sale etc. proves that it has lost its bargaining opportunity like the decades of the eighties. On the other hand, the US-India relations are soaring up in the context of the rising China. The recent tendency of the United States shows that it wants India's pivotal role in South Asia and the policy toward other countries of this area is the outcome of its 'balancing acts.'

Chapter-06

Conclusions

The primary goal of the presented thesis has been to answer if there is any change occurred in the pattern of the US diplomacy in South Asia after 9/11. To get the answer, at first we've explored the diplomatic history of the United States from the emergence up to the Second World War and the historical analyses of the US-South Asia relations up to 9/11 to identify patterns. Chapter two and three deal with this, from which we get an outline of the pattern in the US diplomacy. It is shown that the diplomatic relations between the United States and the countries of South Asia started after the Second World War, when the countries got rid of the British colonial rule. However, initially the United States followed the British look. Until 1991 (except in 1971) South Asia got a peripheral position in the US policy planning. This is evident in the structure of the US State Department. Until 1991, the State Department, oriented toward Europe, resisted the creation of a separate bureau for the region and, instead, included South Asia with the Near East. As a result, relations with India, Pakistan or Bangladesh were handled by a deputy assistant secretary, four levels removed from the secretary of state.⁷⁸⁶ The reason, may be, lies in the historical disconnection. South Asia is such a place from which few US citizens originate. Therefore, like the Spanish-Americans, British-Americans, Scottish-Americans, German-Americans or Afro-Americans, there was no significant vote-bank or the strong lobby-group of South Asian race in the United States. Moreover, it is a region that has attracted little US overseas investment and is associated with countless impenetrable problems. Myron Weiner⁷⁸⁷ lucidly explained why Americans give South Asia such low priority. According to him, unlike the Middle East, Indonesia or Nigeria, [South Asia] has no resources to the American economy. Unlike Latin America it is not a region with substantial American private investment. Moreover, its geo-political position raises no fundamental problems for American security. Again, unlike China, [India, Pakistan or Bangladesh] have no deep cultural or historic ties with the United States, and unlike the countries of Western Europe, and Greece, no significant portion of the American population originates from this region. In short, none of the elements exist to attract the daily concerns of the President, Congress or the media of the United States. The only US concern about South Asia during the

⁷⁸⁶ A new bureau was established for South Asia in the State Department of the United States in 1992 with just 29 officers in Washington.

⁷⁸⁷ Myron Weiner was an American political scientist and renowned scholar on South Asia. He is also a CRS researcher.

Cold War period was to prevent India from becoming another communist China and prevent Pakistan from becoming nuclear weapon country. According to the most existent literature, to the United States, India is the only potential regional actor to counterweigh China because of its size, huge population, long lasting democracy as well as natural resources. That's why; the United States always gives India a preferential treatment. However, from the very beginning of the emergence, Pakistan went under the US umbrella to gain military parity with India.⁷⁸⁸ But the United States finds no potential in Pakistan due to its extreme poverty, low literacy and scarcity of natural resources, religious extremists and lack of democracy. Therefore, the United States always used Pakistan as a balancing liver. Sometimes, it is used to reopen China, or it becomes a Frontline state against the Soviets or the Taliban. All other countries of South Asia were too insignificant in the US eyes to mention. This is the general pattern of the US diplomacy toward South Asia.

The pattern of the US diplomacy toward South Asia is still continuing, even after the 9/11 attacks, although it has taken some modifications. Like the eighties (during the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan), the United States has used Pakistan as a Frontline state against the Islamic militants after 9/11; and for this, the United States withdrew sanctions from Pakistan, which was imposed up on it during the Clinton administration for the cause of nuclear test in 1998. Again, it discarded Pakistan when it decided to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan in 2014. Since the Afghan war is ended, the United States needs not to use Pakistani territories or ports. Therefore, Pakistan has lost its bargaining opportunity like the moment of the Soviet retreat from Afghanistan. Even, the United States did not recognize Pakistan's application for NSG membership, although it spoke for India; whereas, both the countries are non-signatory of NPT. US-Pakistan deteriorated relations derived from the distrust. The United States alleged that the Pakistani military bureaucracy and intelligence agencies played a dual role during the GOAT. They used the US aid for the Haqqani Network so that they could take over India over the US drawn down of troops. In chapter three, we've shown how the US-Pakistan fruitful relations turned to a negative course. Again, in chapter five, we've discussed on the issues that culminated US-Pakistan honeymoon relations after 9/11.

⁷⁸⁸ After the nuclear explosion of India on May, 1974, the Pakistan President Zulfikur Ali Bhutto declared, 'Pakistanis would eat grass if necessary to match the India's nuclear capability. [see: P. I. Cheema, 'Pakistan's Quest for Nuclear Technology, *The Australian Outlook*, Issue 34, August 1980, pp.188-90]. Again, on May 12, 1998 the day after India's first test, Pakistan's Foreign Minister Gouhar Ayub Khan said in an interview, "Pakistan is prepared to match India, we have the capability....We in Pakistan will maintain a balance with India in all fields...we are in a headlong arms race on the subcontinent."

When Mark Toner, the US spokesman, was asked whether US position on the NSG issue may further strain already tense relations between India and Pakistan. In reply, he clearly urged Pakistan to stop terrorists from using its soil to conduct operations inside India.⁷⁸⁹ Moreover, he said:

Our bilateral relations with India and Pakistan are separate and stand on their own merits, and so it's not prudent for us to view our security cooperation in the region in kind of a zero-sum game, or zero-sum terms.⁷⁹⁰

The continuous US drone attacks in the Pakistan border are also adding fuel to fire. In London, Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif told the press that these attacks are the violation of Pakistan's sovereignty.⁷⁹¹ On the other hand, the US Secretary of State John Kerry said, "This action sends a clear message to the world that we will continue to stand with our Afghan partners as they work to build a more stable, united, secure and prosperous Afghanistan."⁷⁹² The recent developments in the US-Pakistan relations support our second assumption.

The distrust between the United States and Pakistan has roots in the history. As we've seen, the US perception about South Asia derived from the British look after the Second World War. Although the US has developed a distinct outlook, the effect of the British outlook might not be ignored. The British colonial power grabbed the Indian sub-continent by uprooting the Muslim rule in the eighteenth century and continued to rule for the next 190 years. During this period, they considered the Muslim community as their main challenger. The British rage fell upon the Muslim community after the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857. In 1947, the British left India as a result of 'Quit India' movement, in which the role of Bengali Muslims was quite prominent. After the partition of the Indian sub-continent, Pakistan emerged with a vow to become a patron of Islam. Pakistan is considered as the legacy of Indian Muslims. So, historically, Britain is more sympathetic to India than Pakistan. 'Religion' plays a catalytic role here that has shaped the characteristics, British-South Asia relations since 1757 (after the battle of Plassey). The US President Harry S. Truman and the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill stood on the stage of Fulton where Churchill argues for an even closer 'special relationship' between the United States and Great Britain—the great powers of the 'English-speaking world'—in organizing

⁷⁸⁹ *The Dawn*, June 11, 2016 (see: <http://www.dawn.com/news/1264165>).

⁷⁹⁰ *ibid.*

⁷⁹¹ *The Aljazeera*, May 23, 2016 (see: <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/05/pakistan-drone-strike-violated-sovereignty-160522204312754.html>).

⁷⁹² *ibid.*

and policing the postwar world.⁷⁹³ Churchill's address—From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent—was warmly welcomed by President Truman and his officials and Churchill's 'iron curtain' phrase immediately entered the official vocabulary of the Cold War. Churchill asked for the unity of English speaking people, which means, he urged for a cultural unity and promised to help the United States. That means, Britain has long been the king of the world and from now onwards it wants to become 'king maker.' Therefore, the British perception might penetrate to the US policy formulations. In chapter three, we've discussed how 'religion', as a catalyst, works as a back burner in the policy formulation. It is historically proved that Zionism and Christianity together with fight Islam. However, most IR scholars, after the treaty of Westphalia, ignored the importance of 'religion' in analyzing international disputes. However, some modern IR scholars [suppose, Nukhet A. Sandal, Patrick James]⁷⁹⁴ think that the 'religion' has been a perceived catalyst. In the literature review, we have discussed on Huntington's book *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order*, in which he discussed on the future clash among the seven civilizations, namely: Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-orthodox, Latin American and African civilizations. He merged the British and the American culture in 'Western Culture'. So, the different attitude toward India and Pakistan might have derived from the distinct outlook of the Western world toward 'Islam' and 'Hinduism.' That's why we've seen, the United States has kept closer relation with Pakistan in times of necessity (during Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, during the seventies to open China or after 9/11 to fight the Islamic militants). As soon as the necessity has ended, it has discarded Pakistan by placing some allegations. On the other hand, US policy toward India has been always 'realistic'. The United States always wants 'India' as a partner; however, it wants Pakistan as a balancing liver. In the chapter three, it is shown that the dominant Jews lobbyist in the US State department always pursued the US policy makers to follow this policy.

However, despite Bangladesh being a Muslim majority country, the United States has a different policy toward Bangladesh. Here, 'religion' as a catalyst is not dominant due to its political structure and 'Bengali culture'. The United States considers Bangladesh as a 'Moderate Muslim' country. Bangladesh has already signed the CTBT and declared not to give space to any terrorist. Moreover, the maritime

⁷⁹³ See: <http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/churchill-delivers-iron-curtain-speech>, retrieved on 13/02/2015.

⁷⁹⁴ Nukhet A. Sandal and Patrick James, 'Religion and International Relations Theory: Towards a Mutual Understanding,' *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 17, No. 1, March 2011, pp.1-25.

competition among the United States, China and India in the Indian Ocean arises a bargaining opportunity for Bangladesh since the strategic importance of the Bay of Bengal is increasing day by day. The successful completion of MDG program, advancement of SDG program has proved Bangladesh's potential strength. In chapter five, it is shown how Bangladesh has faced the Western challenges in the case of GSP withdrawal, WB's fund withdrawal in the Padma Bridge project, the trial of war criminal in ICT court. Therefore, the United States has compelled to address the following statement:

....Since that time Bangladesh has made important progress in meeting some of the plan's objectives – especially in inspections, safety and security, and the United States continues to work with the Bangladesh government to ensure further progress on workers' rights.⁷⁹⁵

The Secretary of State of Obama administration John Kerry is also convinced that the goal of the two countries on the issue of 'terrorism' is same when he said, "Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina expressed a 'very clear' desire to cooperate with the US 'very, very closely' on fighting terrorism."⁷⁹⁶

The US diplomat William B Milam also echoed the Obama administration's perceptions about Bangladesh. He said,

According to the Department of State, the US recognizes that Bangladesh has been playing a vital role in ensuring security and stability regionally and globally. It has also recognized the strategic importance of Bangladesh and considered Dhaka as an important partner of the US in dealing with many traditional and non-traditional security threats.⁷⁹⁷

Therefore, the recent tendency of the United States supports the third assumption, which includes, "Due to US newer naval strategic policy toward the Asia-Pacific region, Bangladesh's geo-strategic importance is increasing significantly."

Our first assumption is: "As the United States perceives India as a counterweight to China, it will continue to aspire for a long term political and security partnership, expand trade and economic relations with India." That the United States is giving India more preference becomes clear when the US president Obama shifts the date of his 'State of the Union Address' to join the occasion of India's 66th Republic Day as a Chief Guest.⁷⁹⁸

The United States has never had trade deficits with China. However, in 2014 China surpassed the position of the United States in the World Economy and grabbed the

⁷⁹⁵ see: <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3452.htm>, retrieved in 12/02/2015.

⁷⁹⁶ William B Milam, 'The Real Source of Terror in Bangladesh', *The New York Times*, 19 May, 2016.

⁷⁹⁷ *ibid.*

⁷⁹⁸ This is the first event in the US history when an US President shifts the date of his 'State of the Union Address' for the sake of the friendship with any country.

world's first position. Now, the United States has a trade deficit of \$ 347 billion dollars with China (2016).⁷⁹⁹ So, it is desperately trying to reduce the gap which has placed 'a bargaining opportunity' before India like the Cold War period. So, the US-India relations are going to the upward trajectory and it will continue to do since the US administration has been actively supporting India's efforts to NSG despite India is a non-signatory of NPT.

Chapter two and three show that from the beginning up to 9/11, the US diplomacy toward South Asia fluctuated randomly in response to the different issues. The chapter three shows that the United States attention to this region during the Cold War period was dependent on other major power's engagement in the region. As long as a major power tends to act in the region, the United States also pose active role. For an example: when India and China locked in a war in 1962, the USSR played a role of a mediator. The United States quickly extended assistance toward India and sent C-130 Hercules planes ignoring Pakistan's protest. Thereafter, it becomes indifferent to the South Asian affairs since the Soviets posed no more agenda. Again, in 1965, when India and Pakistan engaged in a war, the United States suspended its aid assistance to both countries and took a role of a mediator to take over the USSR. Again, in 1971, when three countries: Bangladesh, India and Pakistan engaged in a war, the United States remained indifferent until the USSR took an active role. When the USSR started to give active support to the Indian stand for the liberation of Bangladesh from September, the United States also became active in favor of Pakistan. So, we see, the US policy in South Asia developed in line with the Soviet movement. It was totally dependent on the 'cold war' aspect before 1991. This interdependent role of the two superpowers gave India and Pakistan a bargaining opportunity. India took the full benefit of the opportunity and collected aid assistance from both the superpowers, which used it to successfully to put forward to its national development. However, Pakistan also got US aid, but due to its political structure, it did not succeed to put forward its national development except gaining some military achievement. In spite of Pakistan's connectivity with the United States from the very beginning, the former could not gain parity with India for other reasons also. Chapter three shows, despite all international developments, Moscow's support for India remained stagnant, but America has lost sight of long term regional objectives because they are always reacting to unexpected events and sudden developments. Suppose, in 1965, when the

⁷⁹⁹ See: <https://www.thebalance.com/u-s-china-trade-deficit-causes-effects-and-solutions-3306277>.

United States suspended its assistance in both India and Pakistan, the latter lagged behind in competition because the Soviet support for India was not withdrawn.

To find out the patterns of change in the US diplomacy, we've discussed the diplomatic maneuvering of the contemporary three US governments: Clinton, Bush Junior and the Obama administration. President Clinton's doctrine has been discussed in chapter two and the policies of the Bush Jr. and Obama administrations have been examined in chapter four. Chapter two argues that the US policy during the Bush (senior) and the Clinton administration were different in the tactics of implementations, however, it continued to follow the same pattern. Bush started to enhance good relations to India; however, Clinton visited India to continue his predecessor's policy.

When Bill Clinton declared:

“...The question we must ask is, what are the consequences to our security of letting conflicts fester and spread? We cannot, indeed, we should not, do everything or be everywhere. But where our values and our interests are at stake, and where we can make a difference, we must be prepared to do so”⁸⁰⁰

—he actually echoed the President George H.W. Bush's official announcement. President Bush said that the new direction of US defense planning was to prepare for regional contingencies in the face of 'serious threats to important US interests wholly unrelated to the earlier patterns of US-Soviet relationship.'⁸⁰¹

Finally, it is to be noted that the US presidents have little scope to significantly change US foreign policy or not.⁸⁰² Every president has to deal with the constant demands of domestic politics, earlier protected interests of lobby-groups, or entrenched structural interests of the United States. What they can do, is to change the policy of implementation. Therefore, we see during the three US administrations (Clinton, Bush Jr., and Obama administration), the United States followed almost the same policies that has been evolved after the Second World War.

⁸⁰⁰ Alexandra Homolar, 'Rebels without a conscience: The evolution of rogue states narrative in US security policy', *European Journal of International Relations*, April 17, 2010, p. 705

⁸⁰¹ *ibid*

⁸⁰² See: Joseph Frankel, *National Interest*, (Pall Mall Press, London, 1970)

Appendix-01

Constitution of the United States

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Article I

Section 1.

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 2.

The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

{Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons.¹} The actual Enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Section 3.

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each state, {chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.²}

{Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies³}.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

Section 4.

The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall {be on the first Monday in December,⁴} unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 5.

Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section 6.

The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time: and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

Section 7.

All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other Bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Section 8.

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post offices and post roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;
To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;
To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;
To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; — And
To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Section 9.

The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

{No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.⁵}

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one state, be obliged to enter, clear or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

Section 10.

No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No state shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws: and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

Article II

Section 1.

The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years^{6}, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

{The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like

manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each state having one vote; A quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.⁷}

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty five years, and been fourteen Years a resident within the United States.

{In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.⁸}

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: — "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section 2.

The President shall be commander in chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Section 3.

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Section 4.

The President, Vice President and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

Article III

Section 1.

The judicial power of the United States, shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Section 2.

The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; — to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; — to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; — to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; — to controversies between two or more states; — {between a state and citizens of another state⁹}; — between citizens of different states; — between citizens of

the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section 3.

Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attained.

Article IV

Section 1.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Section 2.

The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

{No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.¹⁰}

Section 3.

New states may be admitted by the Congress into this union; but no new states shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

Section 4.

The United States shall guarantee to every state in this union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

Article V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

Article VI

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

Article VII

The ratification of the conventions of nine states, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the states present the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our Names,
G. Washington — Presdt. and deputy from Virginia

New Hampshire	John Langdon Nicholas Gilman
Massachusetts	Nathaniel Gorham Rufus King
Connecticut	Wm: Saml. Johnson Roger Sherman
New York	Alexander Hamilton
New Jersey	Wil: Livingston David Brearley Wm. Paterson Jona: Dayton
Pennsylvania	B Franklin Thomas Mifflin Robt Morris Geo. Clymer Thos. FitzSimons Jared Ingersoll James Wilson Gouv Morris
Delaware	Geo: Read Gunning Bedford jun John Dickinson Richard Bassett Jaco: Broom
Maryland	James McHenry Dan of St. Thos. Jenifer Danl Carroll
Virginia	John Blair-- James Madison Jr.
North Carolina	Wm. Blount Richd. Dobbs Spaight Hu Williamson
South Carolina	J. Rutledge Charles Cotesworth Pinckney Charles Pinckney Pierce Butler
Georgia	William Few Abr Baldwin

[Source: <http://www.ushistory.org/documents/constitution.htm>, retrieved: May 17, 2013]

Appendix 02

List of the US presidents' and their tenure

Position	President:	years of term	Duration
45 th	Donald J. Trump	2017-	
44 th	Barack Obama	2013-2017	8 Years
		2009-2013	
43 th	George W. Bush	2005-2009	8 Years
		2001-2005	
42 th	William J. Clinton	1997-2001	8 Years
		1993-1997	
41 th	George Bush	1989-1993	4 Years
40 th	Ronald Reagan	1985-1989	8 Years
		1981-1985	
39 th	Jimmy Carter	1977-1981	4 Years
38 th	Gerald R. Ford	1974-1977	4 Years
37 th	Richard M. Nixon	1973-1974	8 Years
		1969-1973	
36 th	Lyndon B. Johnson	1965-1969	8 Years
		1964-1965	
35 th	John F. Kennedy	1961-1963	4 Years
34 th	Dwight D. Eisenhower	1957-1961	8 Years
		1953-1957	
33 th	Harry S Truman	1949-1953	8 Years
		1945-1949	
32 th	Franklin D. Roosevelt	1945	12 years
		1941-1945	
		1937-1941	
		1933-1937	
31 th	Herbert Hoover	1929-1933	4 Years
30 th	Calvin Coolidge	1925-1929	8 Years
		1923-1925	
29 th	Warren G. Harding	1921-1923	4 Years
28 th	Woodrow Wilson	1917-1921	8 Years
		1913-1917	
27 th	William Howard Taft	1909-1913	4 Years
26 th	Theodore Roosevelt	1905-1909	8 Years
		1901-1905	
25 th	William McKinley	1897-1901	4 Years
24 th	Grover Cleveland	1893-1897	4 Years
23 th	Benjamin Harrison	1889-1893	4 Years
22 th	Grover Cleveland	1885-1889	4 Years
21 th	Chester A. Arthur	1881-1885	4 Years
20 th	James A. Garfield	1881	1 Years
19 th	Rutherford B. Hayes	1877-1881	4 Years
18 th	Ulysses S. Grant	1873-1877	8 Years
		1869-1873	
17 th	Andrew Johnson	1865-1869	4 Years
16 th	Abraham Lincoln	1861-1865	4 Years
15 th	James Buchanan	1857-1861	4 Years
14 th	Franklin Pierce	1853-1857	4 Years
13 th	Millard Fillmore	1850-1853	4 Years
12 th	Zachary Taylor	1849-1850	1 Years
11 th	James K. Polk	1845-1849	4 Years
10 th	John Tyler	1841-1845	4 Years

09 th	William Henry Harrison	1841	1 Years
08 th	Martin Van Buren	1837-1841	4 Years
07 th	Andrew Jackson	1833-1837	8 Years
		1829-1833	
06 th	John Quincy Adams	1825-1829	4 Years
05 th	James Monroe	1821-1825	8 Years
		1817-1821	
04 th	James Madison	1813-1817	8 Years
		1809-1813	
03 th	Thomas Jefferson	1805-1809	8 Years
		1801-1805	
02 th	John Adams	1797-1801	4 Years
01 th	George Washington	1793-1797	8 Years
		1789-1793	

Appendix 03

WILLIAM J. CLINTON
XLII President of the United States: 1993-2001



Address Before a Joint Session of Congress on Administration Goals *February 17, 1993*

Ref: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=47232>, retrieved on July 05, 2013

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the House and the Senate, distinguished Americans here as visitors in this Chamber, as am I. It is nice to have a fresh excuse for giving a long speech. *[Laughter]*

When Presidents speak to Congress and the Nation from this podium, typically they comment on the full range in challenges and opportunities that face the United States. But this is not an ordinary time, and for all the many tasks that require our attention, I believe tonight one calls on us to focus, to unite, and to act. And that is our economy. For more than anything else, our task tonight as Americans is to make our economy thrive again.

Let me begin by saying that it has been too long, at least three decades, since a President has come and challenged Americans to join him on a great national journey, not merely to consume the bounty of today but to invest for a much greater one tomorrow.

Like individuals, nations must ultimately decide how they wish to conduct themselves, how they wish to be thought of by those with whom they live, and later, how they wish to be judged by history. Like every individual man and woman, nations must decide whether they are prepared to rise to the occasions history presents them.

We have always been a people of youthful energy and daring spirit. And at this historic moment, as communism has fallen, as freedom is spreading around the world, as a global economy is taking shape before our eyes, Americans have called for change. And now it is up to those of us in this room to deliver for them.

Our Nation needs a new direction. Tonight I present to you a comprehensive plan to set our Nation on that new course. I believe we will find our new direction in the basic old values that brought us here over the last two centuries: a commitment to opportunity, to individual responsibility, to community, to work, to family, and to faith. We must now break the habits of both political parties and say there can be no more something for nothing and admit frankly that we are all in this together.

The conditions which brought us as a nation to this point are well-known: two decades of low productivity, growth, and stagnant wages; persistent unemployment and underemployment; years of huge Government deficits and declining investment in our future; exploding health care costs and lack of coverage for millions of Americans; legions of poor children; education and job training opportunities inadequate to the demands of this tough, global economy. For too long we have drifted without a strong sense of purpose or responsibility or community.

And our political system so often has seemed paralyzed by special interest groups, by partisan bickering, and by the sheer complexity of our problems. I believe we can do better because we remain the greatest nation on Earth, the world's strongest economy, the world's only military superpower. If we have the vision, the will, and the heart to make the changes we must, we can still enter the 21st century with possibilities our parents could not even have imagined and enter it having secured the American dream for ourselves and for future generations.

I well remember 12 years ago President Reagan stood at this very podium and told you and the American people that if our national debt were stacked in thousand-dollar bills, the stack would reach 67 miles into space. Well, today that stack would reach 267 miles. I tell you this not to assign blame for this problem. There is plenty of blame to go around in both branches of the Government and both parties. The time has come for the blame to end. I did not seek this office to place blame. I come here tonight to accept responsibility, and I want you to accept responsibility with me. And if we do right by this country, I do not care who gets the credit for it.

The plan I offer you has four fundamental components. First, it shifts our emphasis in public and private spending from consumption to investment, initially by jumpstarting the economy in the short term and investing in our people, their jobs, and their incomes over the long run. Second, it changes the rhetoric of the past into the actions of the present by honoring work and families in every part of our public decision-making. Third, it substantially reduces the Federal deficit honestly and credibly by using in the beginning the most conservative estimates of Government revenues, not, as the executive branch has done so often in the past, using the most

optimistic ones. And finally, it seeks to earn the trust of the American people by paying for these plans first with cuts in Government waste and efficiency; second, with cuts, not gimmicks, in Government spending; and by fairness, for a change, in the way additional burdens are borne.

Tonight I want to talk with you about what Government can do because I believe Government must do more. But let me say first that the real engine of economic growth in this country is the private sector, and second, that each of us must be an engine of growth and change. The truth is that as Government creates more opportunity in this new and different time, we must also demand more responsibility in turn.

Our immediate priority must be to create jobs, create jobs now. Some people say, "Well, we're in a recovery, and we don't have to do that." Well, we all hope we're in a recovery, but we're sure not creating new jobs. And there's no recovery worth its salt that doesn't put the American people back to work.

To create jobs and guarantee a strong recovery, I call on Congress to enact an immediate package of jobs investments of over \$30 billion to put people to work now, to create a half a million jobs: jobs to rebuild our highways and airports, to renovate housing, to bring new life to rural communities, and spread hope and opportunity among our Nation's youth. Especially I want to emphasize, after the events of last year in Los Angeles and the countless stories of despair in our cities and in our poor rural communities, this proposal will create almost 700,000 new summer jobs for displaced, unemployed young people alone this summer. And tonight I invite America's business leaders to join us in this effort so that together we can provide over one million summer jobs in cities and poor rural areas for our young people.

Second, our plan looks beyond today's business cycle because our aspirations extend into the next century. The heart of this plan deals with the long term. It is an investment program designed to increase public and private investment in areas critical to our economic future. And it has a deficit reduction program that will increase the savings available for the private sector to invest, will lower interest rates, will decrease the percentage of the Federal budget claimed by interest payments, and decrease the risk of financial market disruptions that could adversely affect our economy.

Over the long run, all this will bring us a higher rate of economic growth, improved productivity, more high-quality jobs, and an improved economic competitive position in the world. In order to accomplish both increased investment and deficit reduction, something no American Government has ever been called upon to do at the same time before, spending must be cut and taxes must be raised.

The spending cuts I recommend were carefully thought through in a way to minimize any adverse economic impact, to capture the peace dividend for investment purposes, and to switch the balance in the budget from consumption to more investment. The tax increases and the spending cuts were both designed to assure that the cost of this historic program to face and deal with our problems will be borne by those who could readily afford it the most. Our plan is designed, furthermore, and perhaps in some ways most importantly, to improve the health of American business through lower interest rates, more incentives to invest, and better trained workers.

Because small business has created such a high percentage of all the new jobs in our Nation over the last 10 or 15 years, our plan includes the boldest targeted incentives for small business in history. We propose a permanent investment tax credit for the smallest firms in this country, with revenues of under \$5 million. That's about 90 percent of the firms in America, employing about 40 percent of the work force but creating a big majority of the net new jobs for more than a decade. And we propose new rewards for entrepreneurs who take new risks. We propose to give small business access to all the new technologies of our time. And we propose to attack this credit crunch which has denied small business the credit they need to flourish and prosper.

With a new network of community development banks and \$1 billion to make the dream of enterprise zones real, we propose to bring new hope and new jobs to storefronts and factories from south Boston to south Texas to south central Los Angeles. This plan invests in our roads, our bridges, our transit systems, in high-speed railways and high-tech information systems. And it provides the most ambitious environmental cleanup in partnership with State and local government of our time, to put people to work and to preserve the environment for our future.

Standing as we are on the edge of a new century, we know that economic growth depends as never before on opening up new markets overseas and expanding the volume of world trade. And so, we will insist on fair trade rules in international markets as a part of a national economic strategy to expand trade, including the successful completion of the latest round of world trade talks and the successful completion of a North American Free Trade Agreement with appropriate safeguards for our workers and for the environment.

At the same time—and I say this to you in both parties and across America tonight, all the people who are listening—it is not enough to pass a budget or even to have a trade agreement. This world is changing so fast that we must have aggressive, targeted attempts to create the high-wage jobs of the future. That's what all our competitors are doing. We must give special attention to those critical industries that are going to explode in the 21st century but that are in trouble in America today, like aerospace. We must provide special assistance to areas and to workers displaced by cuts in the defense budget and by other unavoidable economic dislocations.

And again I will say we must do this together. I pledge to you that I will do my best to see that business and labor and Government work together for a change.

But all of our efforts to strengthen the economy will fail—let me say this again; I feel so strongly about this—all of our efforts to strengthen the economy will fail unless we also take this year, not next year, not 5 years from now but this year, bold steps to reform our health care system.

In 1992, we spent 14 percent of our income on health care, more than 30 percent more than any other country in the world, and yet we were the only advanced nation that did not provide a basic package of health care benefits to all of its citizens. Unless we change the present pattern, 50 percent of the growth in the deficit between now and the year 2000 will be in health care costs. By the year 2000 almost 20 percent of our income will be in health care. Our families will never be secure, our businesses will never be strong, and our Government will never again be fully solvent until we tackle the health care crisis. We must do it this year.

The combination of the rising cost of care and the lack of care and the fear of losing care are endangering the security and the very lives of millions of our people. And they are weakening our economy every day. Reducing health care costs can liberate literally hundreds of billions of dollars for new investment in growth and jobs. Bringing health costs in line with inflation would do more for the private sector in this country than any tax cut we could give and any spending program we could promote. Reforming health care over the long run is critically essential to reducing not only our deficit but to expanding investment in America.

Later this spring, after the First Lady and the many good people who are helping her all across the country complete their work, I will deliver to Congress a comprehensive plan for health care reform that finally will bring costs under control and provide security to all of our families, so that no one will be denied the coverage they need but so that our economic future will not be compromised either. We'll have to root out fraud and overcharges and make sure that paperwork no longer chokes your doctor. We'll have to maintain the highest American standards and the right to choose in a system that is the world's finest for all those who can access it. But first we must make choices. We must choose to give the American people the quality they demand and deserve with a system that will not bankrupt the country or further drive more Americans into agony.

Let me further say that I want to work with all of you on this. I realize this is a complicated issue. But we must address it. And I believe if there is any chance that Republicans and Democrats who disagree on taxes and spending or anything else could agree on one thing, surely we can all look at these numbers and go home and tell our people the truth. We cannot continue these spending patterns in public or private dollars for health care for less and less and less every year. We can do better. And I will work to do better.

Perhaps the most fundamental change the new direction I propose offers is its focus on the future and its investment which I seek in our children. Each day we delay really making a commitment to our children carries a dear cost. Half of the 2-year-olds in this country today don't receive the immunizations they need against deadly diseases. Our plan will provide them for every eligible child. And we know now that we will save \$10 later for every \$1 we spend by eliminating preventable childhood diseases. That's a good investment no matter how you measure it.

I recommend that the women, infants, and children's nutrition program be expanded so that every expectant mother who needs the help gets it. We all know that Head Start, a program that prepares children for school, is a success story. We all know that it saves money. But today it just reaches barely over one-third of all the eligible children. Under this plan, every eligible child will be able to get a head start. This is not just the right thing to do; it is the smart thing to do. For every dollar we invest today, we'll save \$3 tomorrow. We have to start thinking about tomorrow. I've heard that somewhere before. *[Laughter]*

We have to ask more in our schools of our students, our teachers, our principals, our parents. Yes, we must give them the resources they need to meet high standards, but we must also use the authority and the influence and the funding of the Education Department to promote strategies that really work in learning. Money alone is not enough. We have to do what really works to increase learning in our schools.

We have to recognize that all of our high school graduates need some further education in order to be competitive in this global economy. So we have to establish a partnership between businesses and education and the Government for apprenticeship programs in every State in this country to give our people the skills they need. Lifelong learning must benefit not just young high school graduates but workers, too, throughout their career. The average 18-year-old today will change jobs seven times in a lifetime. We have done a lot in this country on worker training in the last few years, but the system is too fractured. We must develop a unified, simplified, sensible, streamlined worker-training program so that workers receive the training they need regardless of why they lost their jobs or whether they simply need to learn something new to keep them. We have got to do better on this.

And finally, I propose a program that got a great response from the American people all across this country last year: a program of national service to make college loans available to all Americans and to challenge them at the same time to give something back to their country as teachers or police officers or community service workers; to give them the option to pay the loans back, but at tax time so they can't beat the bill, but to encourage them instead to pay it back by making their country stronger and making their country better and giving us the benefit of their knowledge.

A generation ago when President Kennedy proposed and the United States Congress embraced the Peace Corps, it defined the character of a whole generation of Americans committed to serving people around the world. In this national service program, we will provide more than twice as many slots for people before they go to college to be in national service than ever served in the Peace Corps. This program could do for this generation of Members of Congress what the land grant college act did and what the GI bill did for former Congressmen. In the future, historians who got their education through the national service loan will look back on you and thank you for giving America a new lease on life, if you meet this challenge.

If we believe in jobs and we believe in learning, we must believe in rewarding work. If we believe in restoring the values that make America special, we must believe that there is dignity in all work, and there must be dignity for all workers. To those who care for our sick, who tend our children, who do our most difficult and tiring jobs, the new direction I propose will make this solemn, simple commitment: By expanding the refundable earned-income tax credit, we will make history. We will reward the work of millions of working poor Americans by realizing the principle that if you work 40 hours a week and you've got a child in the house, you will no longer be in poverty.

Later this year, we will offer a plan to end welfare as we know it. I have worked on this issue for the better part of a decade. And I know from personal conversations with many people that no one, no one wants to change the welfare system as badly as those who are trapped in it. I want to offer the people on welfare the education, the training, the child care, the health care they need to get back on their feet, but say after 2 years they must get back to work, too, in private business if possible, in public service if necessary. We have to end welfare as a way of life and make it a path to independence and dignity.

Our next great goal should be to strengthen our families. I compliment the Congress for passing the Family and Medical Leave Act as a good first step, but it is time to do more. This plan will give this country the toughest child support enforcement system it has ever had. It is time to demand that people take responsibility for the children they bring in this world.

And I ask you to help to protect our families against the violent crime which terrorizes our people and which tears our communities apart. We must pass a tough crime bill. I support not only the bill which didn't quite make it to the President's desk last year but also an initiative to put 100,000 more police officers on the street, to provide boot camps for first-time nonviolent offenders for more space for the hardened criminals in jail. And I support an initiative to do what we can to keep guns out of the hands of criminals. Let me say this. I will make you this bargain: If you will pass the Brady bill, I'll sure sign it.

Let me say now, we should move to the harder parts.

I think it is clear to every American, including every Member of Congress of both parties, that the confidence of the people who pay our bills in our institutions in Washington is not high. We must restore it. We must begin again to make Government work for ordinary taxpayers, not simply for organized interest groups. And that beginning must start with real political reform. I am asking the United States Congress to pass a real campaign finance reform bill this year. I ask you to increase the participation of the American people by passing the motor voter bill promptly. I ask you to deal with the undue influence of special interests by passing a bill to end the tax deduction for lobbying and to act quickly to require all the people who lobby you to register as lobbyists by passing the lobbying registration bill.

Believe me, they were cheering that last section at home. I believe lobby reform and campaign finance reform are a sure path to increased popularity for Republicans and Democrats alike because it says to the voters back home, "This is your House. This is your Senate. We're your hired hands, and every penny we draw is your money."

Next, to revolutionize Government we have to ensure that we live within our means, and that should start at the top and with the White House. In the last few days I have announced a cut in the White House staff of 25 percent, saving approximately \$10 million. I have ordered administrative cuts in budgets of agencies and departments. I have cut the Federal bureaucracy, or will over the next 4 years, by approximately 100,000 positions, for a combined savings of \$9 billion. It is time for Government to demonstrate, in the condition we're in, that we can be as frugal as any household in America.

And that's why I also want to congratulate the Congress. I noticed the announcement of the leadership today that Congress is taking similar steps to cut its costs. I think that is important. I think it will send a very clear signal to the American people.

But if we really want to cut spending, we're going to have to do more, and some of it will be difficult. Tonight I call for an across-the-board freeze in Federal Government salaries for one year. And thereafter, during this 4-year period, I recommend that salaries rise at one point lower than the cost of living allowance normally involved in Federal pay increases.

Next, I recommend that we make 150 specific budget cuts, as you know, and that all those who say we should cut more be as specific as I have been.

Finally, let me say to my friends on both sides of the aisle, it is not enough simply to cut Government; we have to rethink the whole way it works. When I became President I was amazed at just the way the White House

worked, in ways that added lots of money to what taxpayers had to pay, outmoded ways that didn't take maximum advantage of technology and didn't do things that any business would have done years ago to save taxpayers' money.

So I want to bring a new spirit of innovation into every Government Department. I want to push education reform, as I said, not just to spend more money but to really improve learning. Some things work, and some things don't. We ought to be subsidizing the things that work and discouraging the things that don't. I'd like to use that Superfund to clean up pollution for a change and not just pay lawyers.

In the aftermath of all the difficulties with the savings and loans, we must use Federal bank regulators to protect the security and safety of our financial institutions, but they should not be used to continue the credit crunch and to stop people from making sensible loans.

I'd like for us to not only have welfare reform but to reexamine the whole focus of all of our programs that help people, to shift them from entitlement programs to empowerment programs. In the end we want people not to need us anymore. I think that's important.

But in the end we have to get back to the deficit. For years there's been a lot of talk about it but very few credible efforts to deal with it. And now I understand why, having dealt with the real numbers for 4 weeks. But I believe this plan does; it tackles the budget deficit seriously and over the long term. It puts in place one of the biggest deficit reductions and one of the biggest changes in Federal priorities, from consumption to investment, in the history of this country at the same time over the next 4 years.

Let me say to all the people watching us tonight who will ask me these questions beginning tomorrow as I go around the country and who've asked it in the past: We're not cutting the deficit just because experts say it's the thing to do or because it has some intrinsic merit. We have to cut the deficit because the more we spend paying off the debt, the less tax dollars we have to invest in jobs and education and the future of this country. And the more money we take out of the pool of available savings, the harder it is for people in the private sector to borrow money at affordable interest rates for a college loan for their children, for a home mortgage, or to start a new business.

That's why we've got to reduce the debt, because it is crowding out other activities that we ought to be engaged in and that the American people ought to be engaged in. We cut the deficit so that our children will be able to buy a home, so that our companies can invest in the future and in retraining their workers, so that our Government can make the kinds of investments we need to be a stronger and smarter and safer nation.

If we don't act now, you and I might not even recognize this Government 10 years from now. If we just stay with the same trends of the last 4 years, by the end of the decade the deficit will be \$635 billion a year, almost 80 percent of our gross domestic product. And paying interest on that debt will be the costliest Government program of all. We'll still be the world's largest debtor. And when Members of Congress come here, they'll be devoting over 20 cents on the dollar to interest payments, more than half of the budget to health care and to other entitlements. And you'll come here and deliberate and argue over 6 or 7 cents on the dollar, no matter what America's problems are. We will not be able to have the independence we need to chart the future that we must. And we'll be terribly dependent on foreign funds for a large portion of our investment.

This budget plan, by contrast, will by 1997 cut \$140 billion in that year alone from the deficit, a real spending cut, a real revenue increase, a real deficit reduction, using the independent numbers of the Congressional Budget Office. *[Laughter]* Well, you can laugh, my fellow Republicans, but I'll point out that the Congressional Budget Office was normally more conservative in what was going to happen and closer to right than previous Presidents have been.

I did this so that we could argue about priorities with the same set of numbers. I did this so that no one could say I was estimating my way out of this difficulty. I did this because if we can agree together on the most prudent revenues we're likely to get if the recovery stays and we do right things economically, then it will turn out better for the American people than we say. In the last 12 years, because there were differences over the revenue estimates, you and I know that both parties were given greater elbow room for irresponsibility. This is tightening the rein on the Democrats as well as the Republicans. Let's at least argue about the same set of numbers so the American people will think we're shooting straight with them.

As I said earlier, my recommendation makes more than 150 difficult reductions to cut the Federal spending by a total of \$246 billion. We are eliminating programs that are no longer needed, such as nuclear power research and development. We're slashing subsidies and canceling wasteful projects. But many of these programs were justified in their time, and a lot of them are difficult for me to recommend reductions in, some really tough ones for me personally. I recommend that we reduce interest subsidies to the Rural Electric Administration. That's a difficult thing for me to recommend. But I think that I cannot exempt the things that exist in my State or in my experience, if I ask you to deal with things that are difficult for you to deal with. We're going to have to have no sacred cows except the fundamental abiding interest of the American people.

I have to say that we all know our Government has been just great at building programs. The time has come to show the American people that we can limit them too; that we can not only start things, that we can actually stop things.

About the defense budget, I raise a hope and a caution. As we restructure our military forces to meet the new threats of the post-cold-war world, it is true that we can responsibly reduce our defense budget. And we may all doubt what that range of reductions is, but let me say that as long as I am President, I will do everything I can to make sure that the men and women who serve under the American flag will remain the best trained, the best prepared, the best equipped fighting force in the world. And every one of you should make that solemn pledge. We still have responsibilities around the world. We are the world's only superpower. This is still a dangerous and uncertain time, and we owe it to the people in uniform to make sure that we adequately provide for the national defense and for their interests and needs. Backed by an effective national defense and a stronger economy, our Nation will be prepared to lead a world challenged as it is everywhere by ethnic conflict, by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, by the global democratic revolution, and by challenges to the health of our global environment.

I know this economic plan is ambitious, but I honestly believe it is necessary for the continued greatness of the United States. And I think it is paid for fairly, first by cutting Government, then by asking the most of those who benefited the most in the past, and by asking more Americans to contribute today so that all of us can prosper tomorrow.

For the wealthiest, those earning more than \$180,000 per year, I ask you all who are listening tonight to support a raise in the top rate for Federal income taxes from 31 to 36 percent. We recommend a 10 percent surtax on incomes over \$250,000 a year, and we recommend closing some loopholes that let some people get away without paying any tax at all.

For businesses with taxable incomes in excess of \$10 million, we recommend a raise in the corporate tax rate, also to 36 percent, as well as a cut in the deduction for business entertainment expenses. Our plan seeks to attack tax subsidies that actually reward companies more for shutting their operations down here and moving them overseas than for staying here and reinvesting in America. I say that as someone who believes that American companies should be free to invest around the world and as a former Governor who actively sought investment of foreign companies in my State. But the Tax Code should not express a preference to American companies for moving somewhere else, and it does in particular cases today.

We will seek to ensure that, through effective tax enforcement, foreign corporations who do make money in America simply pay the same taxes that American companies make on the same income.

To middle class Americans who have paid a great deal for the last 12 years and from whom I ask a contribution tonight, I will say again as I did on Monday night: You're not going alone any more, you're certainly not going first, and you're not going to pay more for less as you have too often in the past. I want to emphasize the facts about this plan: 98.8 percent of America's families will have no increase in their income tax rates, only 1.2 percent at the top.

Let me be clear: There will also be no new cuts in benefits for Medicare. As we move toward the 4th year, with the explosion in health care costs, as I said, projected to account for 50 percent of the growth of the deficit between now and the year 2000, there must be planned cuts in payments to providers, to doctors, to hospitals, to labs, as a way of controlling health care costs. But I see these only as a stopgap until we can reform the entire health care system. If you'll help me do that, we can be fair to the providers and to the consumers of health care. Let me repeat this, because I know it matters to a lot of you on both sides of the aisle. This plan does not make a recommendation for new cuts in Medicare benefits for any beneficiary.

Secondly, the only change we are making in Social Security is one that has already been publicized. The plan does ask older Americans with higher incomes, who do not rely solely on Social Security to get by, to contribute more. This plan will not affect the 80 percent of Social Security recipients who do not pay taxes on Social Security now. Those who do not pay tax on Social Security now will not be affected by this plan.

Our plan does include a broad-based tax on energy, and I want to tell you why I selected this and why I think it's a good idea. I recommend that we adopt a Btu tax on the heat content of energy as the best way to provide us with revenue to lower the deficit because it also combats pollution, promotes energy efficiency, promotes the independence, economically, of this country as well as helping to reduce the debt, and because it does not discriminate against any area. Unlike a carbon tax, that's not too hard on the coal States; unlike a gas tax, that's not too tough on people who drive a long way to work; unlike an ad valorem tax, it doesn't increase just when the price of an energy source goes up. And it is environmentally responsible. It will help us in the future as well as in the present with the deficit.

Taken together, these measures will cost an American family with an income of about \$40,000 a year less than \$17 a month. It will cost American families with incomes under \$30,000 nothing because of other programs we propose, principally those raising the earned-income tax credit.

Because of our publicly stated determination to reduce the deficit, if we do these things, we will see the continuation of what's happened just since the election. Just since the election, since the Secretary of the Treasury, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, and others who have begun to speak out publicly in favor of a tough deficit reduction plan, interest rates have continued to fall long-term. That means that for the middle class who will pay something more each month, if they had any credit needs or demands,

their increased energy costs will be more than offset by lower interest costs for mortgages, consumer loans, credit cards. This can be a wise investment for them and their country now.

I would also point out what the American people already know, and that is, because we're a big, vast country where we drive long distances, we have maintained far lower burdens on energy than any other advanced country. We will still have far lower burdens on energy than any other advanced country. And these will be spread fairly, with real attempts to make sure that no cost is imposed on families with incomes under \$30,000 and that the costs are very modest until you get into the higher income groups where the income taxes trigger in. Now, I ask all of you to consider this: Whatever you think of the tax program, whatever you think of the spending cuts, consider the cost of not changing. Remember the numbers that you all know. If we just keep on doing what we're doing, by the end of the decade we'll have a \$650-billion-a-year deficit. If we just keep on doing what we're doing, by the end of the decade 20 percent of our national income will go to health care every year, twice as much as any other country on the face of the globe. If we just keep on doing what we're doing, over 20 cents on the dollar will have to go to service the debt.

Unless we have the courage now to start building our future and stop borrowing from it, we're condemning ourselves to years of stagnation interrupted by occasional recessions, to slow growth in jobs, to no more growth in income, to more debt, to more disappointment. Worse, unless we change, unless we increase investment and reduce the debt to raise productivity so that we can generate both jobs and incomes, we will be condemning our children and our children's children to a lesser life than we enjoyed. Once Americans looked forward to doubling their living standards every 25 years. At present productivity rates, it will take 100 years to double living standards, until our grandchildren's grandchildren are born. I say that is too long to wait.

Tonight the American people know we have to change. But they're also likely to ask me tomorrow and all of you for the weeks and months ahead whether we have the fortitude to make the changes happen in the right way. They know that as soon as I leave this Chamber and you go home, various interest groups will be out in force lobbying against this or that piece of this plan, and that the forces of conventional wisdom will offer a thousand reasons why we well ought to do this but we just can't do it.

Our people will be watching and wondering, not to see whether you disagree with me on a particular issue but just to see whether this is going to be business as usual or a real new day, whether we're all going to conduct ourselves as if we know we're working for them. We must scale the walls of the people's scepticisms, not with our words but with our deeds. After so many years of gridlock and indecision, after so many hopeful beginnings and so few promising results, the American people are going to be harsh in their judgments of all of us if we fail to seize this moment.

This economic plan can't please everybody. If the package is picked apart, there will be something that will anger each of us, won't please anybody. But if it is taken as a whole, it will help all of us. So I ask you all to begin by resisting the temptation to focus only on a particular spending cut you don't like or some particular investment that wasn't made. And nobody likes the tax increases, but let's just face facts. For 20 years, through administrations of both parties, incomes have stalled and debt has exploded and productivity has not grown as it should. We cannot deny the reality of our condition. We have got to play the hand we were dealt and play it as best we can.

My fellow Americans, the test of this plan cannot be "what is in it for me." It has got to be "what is in it for us." If we work hard and if we work together, if we rededicate ourselves to creating jobs, to rewarding work, to strengthening our families, to reinventing our Government, we can lift our country's fortunes again.

Tonight I ask everyone in this Chamber and every American to look simply into your heart, to spark your own hopes, to fire your own imagination. There is so much good, so much possibility, so much excitement in this country now that if we act boldly and honestly, as leaders should, our legacy will be one of prosperity and progress. This must be America's new direction. Let us summon the courage to seize it.

Thank you. God bless America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:10 p.m. in the House Chamber of the Capitol.

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Appendix 04

GEORGE W. BUSH

XLIII President of the United States: 2001-2009



President Delivers State of the Union Address

The President's State of the Union Address
The United States Capitol
Washington, D.C.
9:15 P.M. EST

Address Before a Joint Session of Congress on Administration Goals

January 29, 2002

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THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Mr. Speaker, Vice President Cheney, members of Congress, distinguished guests, fellow citizens: As we gather tonight, our nation is at war, our economy is in recession, and the civilized world faces unprecedented dangers. Yet the state of our Union has never been stronger. (Applause.)

We last met in an hour of shock and suffering. In four short months, our nation has comforted the victims, begun to rebuild New York and the Pentagon, rallied a great coalition, captured, arrested, and rid the world of thousands of terrorists, destroyed Afghanistan's terrorist training camps, saved a people from starvation, and freed a country from brutal oppression. (Applause.)

The American flag flies again over our embassy in Kabul. Terrorists who once occupied Afghanistan now occupy cells at Guantanamo Bay. (Applause.) And terrorist leaders who urged followers to sacrifice their lives are running for their own. (Applause.)

America and Afghanistan are now allies against terror. We'll be partners in rebuilding that country. And this evening we welcome the distinguished interim leader of a liberated Afghanistan: Chairman Hamid Karzai. (Applause.)

The last time we met in this chamber, the mothers and daughters of Afghanistan were captives in their own homes, forbidden from working or going to school. Today women are free, and are part of Afghanistan's new government. And we welcome the new Minister of Women's Affairs, Doctor Sima Samar. (Applause.)

Our progress is a tribute to the spirit of the Afghan people, to the resolve of our coalition, and to the might of the United States military. (Applause.) When I called our troops into action, I did so with complete confidence in their courage and skill. And tonight, thanks to them, we are winning the war on terror. (Applause.) The man and women of our Armed Forces have delivered a message now clear to every enemy of the United States: Even 7,000 miles away, across oceans and continents, on mountaintops and in caves -- you will not escape the justice of this nation. (Applause.)

For many Americans, these four months have brought sorrow, and pain that will never completely go away.

Every day a retired firefighter returns to Ground Zero, to feel closer to his two sons who died there. At a memorial in New York, a little boy left his football with a note for his lost father: Dear Daddy, please take this to heaven. I don't want to play football until I can play with you again some day.

Last month, at the grave of her husband, Michael, a CIA officer and Marine who died in Mazur-e-Sharif, Shannon Spann said these words of farewell: "Semper Fi, my love." Shannon is with us tonight. (Applause.)

Shannon, I assure you and all who have lost a loved one that our cause is just, and our country will never forget the debt we owe Michael and all who gave their lives for freedom.

Our cause is just, and it continues. Our discoveries in Afghanistan confirmed our worst fears, and showed us the true scope of the task ahead. We have seen the depth of our enemies' hatred in videos, where they laugh about the loss of innocent life. And the depth of their hatred is equaled by the madness of the destruction they design. We have found diagrams of American nuclear power plants and public water facilities, detailed instructions for making chemical weapons, surveillance maps of American cities, and thorough descriptions of landmarks in America and throughout the world.

What we have found in Afghanistan confirms that, far from ending there, our war against terror is only beginning. Most of the 19 men who hijacked planes on September the 11th were trained in Afghanistan's camps, and so were tens of thousands of others. Thousands of dangerous killers, schooled in the methods of

murder, often supported by outlaw regimes, are now spread throughout the world like ticking time bombs, set to go off without warning.

Thanks to the work of our law enforcement officials and coalition partners, hundreds of terrorists have been arrested. Yet, tens of thousands of trained terrorists are still at large. These enemies view the entire world as a battlefield, and we must pursue them wherever they are. (Applause.) So long as training camps operate, so long as nations harbor terrorists, freedom is at risk. And America and our allies must not, and will not, allow it. (Applause.)

Our nation will continue to be steadfast and patient and persistent in the pursuit of two great objectives. First, we will shut down terrorist camps, disrupt terrorist plans, and bring terrorists to justice. And, second, we must prevent the terrorists and regimes who seek chemical, biological or nuclear weapons from threatening the United States and the world. (Applause.)

Our military has put the terror training camps of Afghanistan out of business, yet camps still exist in at least a dozen countries. A terrorist underworld -- including groups like Hamas, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad, Jaish-i-Mohammed -- operates in remote jungles and deserts, and hides in the centers of large cities.

While the most visible military action is in Afghanistan, America is acting elsewhere. We now have troops in the Philippines, helping to train that country's armed forces to go after terrorist cells that have executed an American, and still hold hostages. Our soldiers, working with the Bosnian government, seized terrorists who were plotting to bomb our embassy. Our Navy is patrolling the coast of Africa to block the shipment of weapons and the establishment of terrorist camps in Somalia.

My hope is that all nations will heed our call, and eliminate the terrorist parasites who threaten their countries and our own. Many nations are acting forcefully. Pakistan is now cracking down on terror, and I admire the strong leadership of President Musharraf. (Applause.)

But some governments will be timid in the face of terror. And make no mistake about it: If they do not act, America will. (Applause.)

Our second goal is to prevent regimes that sponsor terror from threatening America or our friends and allies with weapons of mass destruction. Some of these regimes have been pretty quiet since September the 11th. But we know their true nature. North Korea is a regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction, while starving its citizens.

Iran aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian people's hope for freedom.

Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax, and nerve gas, and nuclear weapons for over a decade. This is a regime that has already used poison gas to murder thousands of its own citizens -- leaving the bodies of mothers huddled over their dead children. This is a regime that agreed to international inspections -- then kicked out the inspectors. This is a regime that has something to hide from the civilized world.

States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world.

By seeking weapons of mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger. They could provide these arms to terrorists, giving them the means to match their hatred. They could attack our allies or attempt to blackmail the United States. In any of these cases, the price of indifference would be catastrophic.

We will work closely with our coalition to deny terrorists and their state sponsors the materials, technology, and expertise to make and deliver weapons of mass destruction. We will develop and deploy effective missile defenses to protect America and our allies from sudden attack. (Applause.) And all nations should know: America will do what is necessary to ensure our nation's security.

We'll be deliberate, yet time is not on our side. I will not wait on events, while dangers gather. I will not stand by, as peril draws closer and closer. The United States of America will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons. (Applause.)

Our war on terror is well begun, but it is only begun. This campaign may not be finished on our watch -- yet it must be and it will be waged on our watch.

We can't stop short. If we stop now -- leaving terror camps intact and terror states unchecked -- our sense of security would be false and temporary. History has called America and our allies to action, and it is both our responsibility and our privilege to fight freedom's fight. (Applause.)

Our first priority must always be the security of our nation, and that will be reflected in the budget I send to Congress. My budget supports three great goals for America: We will win this war; we'll protect our homeland; and we will revive our economy.

September the 11th brought out the best in America, and the best in this Congress. And I join the American people in applauding your unity and resolve. (Applause.) Now Americans deserve to have this same spirit directed toward addressing problems here at home. I'm a proud member of my party -- yet as we act to win the war, protect our people, and create jobs in America, we must act, first and foremost, not as Republicans, not as Democrats, but as Americans. (Applause.)

It costs a lot to fight this war. We have spent more than a billion dollars a month -- over \$30 million a day -- and we must be prepared for future operations. Afghanistan proved that expensive precision weapons defeat the enemy and spare innocent lives, and we need more of them. We need to replace aging aircraft and make our military more agile, to put our troops anywhere in the world quickly and safely. Our men and women in uniform deserve the best weapons, the best equipment, the best training -- and they also deserve another pay raise. (Applause.)

My budget includes the largest increase in defense spending in two decades -- because while the price of freedom and security is high, it is never too high. Whatever it costs to defend our country, we will pay. (Applause.)

The next priority of my budget is to do everything possible to protect our citizens and strengthen our nation against the ongoing threat of another attack. Time and distance from the events of September the 11th will not make us safer unless we act on its lessons. America is no longer protected by vast oceans. We are protected from attack only by vigorous action abroad, and increased vigilance at home.

My budget nearly doubles funding for a sustained strategy of homeland security, focused on four key areas: bioterrorism, emergency response, airport and border security, and improved intelligence. We will develop vaccines to fight anthrax and other deadly diseases. We'll increase funding to help states and communities train and equip our heroic police and firefighters. (Applause.) We will improve intelligence collection and sharing, expand patrols at our borders, strengthen the security of air travel, and use technology to track the arrivals and departures of visitors to the United States. (Applause.)

Homeland security will make America not only stronger, but, in many ways, better. Knowledge gained from bioterrorism research will improve public health. Stronger police and fire departments will mean safer neighborhoods. Stricter border enforcement will help combat illegal drugs. (Applause.) And as government works to better secure our homeland, America will continue to depend on the eyes and ears of alert citizens.

A few days before Christmas, an airline flight attendant spotted a passenger lighting a match. The crew and passengers quickly subdued the man, who had been trained by al Qaeda and was armed with explosives. The people on that plane were alert and, as a result, likely saved nearly 200 lives. And tonight we welcome and thank flight attendants Hermis Moutardier and Christina Jones. (Applause.)

Once we have funded our national security and our homeland security, the final great priority of my budget is economic security for the American people. (Applause.) To achieve these great national objectives -- to win the war, protect the homeland, and revitalize our economy -- our budget will run a deficit that will be small and short-term, so long as Congress restrains spending and acts in a fiscally responsible manner. (Applause.) We have clear priorities and we must act at home with the same purpose and resolve we have shown overseas: We'll prevail in the war, and we will defeat this recession. (Applause.)

Americans who have lost their jobs need our help and I support extending unemployment benefits and direct assistance for health care coverage. (Applause.) Yet, American workers want more than unemployment checks -- they want a steady paycheck. (Applause.) When America works, America prospers, so my economic security plan can be summed up in one word: jobs. (Applause.)

Good jobs begin with good schools, and here we've made a fine start. (Applause.) Republicans and Democrats worked together to achieve historic education reform so that no child is left behind. I was proud to work with members of both parties: Chairman John Boehner and Congressman George Miller. (Applause.) Senator Judd Gregg. (Applause.) And I was so proud of our work, I even had nice things to say about my friend, Ted Kennedy. (Laughter and applause.) I know the folks at the Crawford coffee shop couldn't believe I'd say such a thing -- (laughter) -- but our work on this bill shows what is possible if we set aside posturing and focus on results. (Applause.)

There is more to do. We need to prepare our children to read and succeed in school with improved Head Start and early childhood development programs. (Applause.) We must upgrade our teacher colleges and teacher training and launch a major recruiting drive with a great goal for America: a quality teacher in every classroom. (Applause.)

Good jobs also depend on reliable and affordable energy. This Congress must act to encourage conservation, promote technology, build infrastructure, and it must act to increase energy production at home so America is less dependent on foreign oil. (Applause.)

Good jobs depend on expanded trade. Selling into new markets creates new jobs, so I ask Congress to finally approve trade promotion authority. (Applause.) On these two key issues, trade and energy, the House of Representatives has acted to create jobs, and I urge the Senate to pass this legislation. (Applause.)

Good jobs depend on sound tax policy. (Applause.) Last year, some in this hall thought my tax relief plan was too small; some thought it was too big. (Applause.) But when the checks arrived in the mail, most Americans thought tax relief was just about right. (Applause.) Congress listened to the people and responded by reducing tax rates, doubling the child credit, and ending the death tax. For the sake of long-term growth and to help Americans plan for the future, let's make these tax cuts permanent. (Applause.)

The way out of this recession, the way to create jobs, is to grow the economy by encouraging investment in factories and equipment, and by speeding up tax relief so people have more money to spend. For the sake of American workers, let's pass a stimulus package. (Applause.)

Good jobs must be the aim of welfare reform. As we reauthorize these important reforms, we must always remember the goal is to reduce dependency on government and offer every American the dignity of a job. (Applause.)

Americans know economic security can vanish in an instant without health security. I ask Congress to join me this year to enact a patients' bill of rights -- (applause) -- to give uninsured workers credits to help buy health coverage -- (applause) -- to approve an historic increase in the spending for veterans' health -- (applause) -- and to give seniors a sound and modern Medicare system that includes coverage for prescription drugs. (Applause.)

A good job should lead to security in retirement. I ask Congress to enact new safeguards for 401K and pension plans. (Applause.) Employees who have worked hard and saved all their lives should not have to risk losing everything if their company fails. (Applause.) Through stricter accounting standards and tougher disclosure requirements, corporate America must be made more accountable to employees and shareholders and held to the highest standards of conduct. (Applause.)

Retirement security also depends upon keeping the commitments of Social Security, and we will. We must make Social Security financially stable and allow personal retirement accounts for younger workers who choose them. (Applause.)

Members, you and I will work together in the months ahead on other issues: productive farm policy -- (applause) -- a cleaner environment -- (applause) -- broader home ownership, especially among minorities -- (applause) -- and ways to encourage the good work of charities and faith-based groups. (Applause.) I ask you to join me on these important domestic issues in the same spirit of cooperation we've applied to our war against terrorism. (Applause.)

During these last few months, I've been humbled and privileged to see the true character of this country in a time of testing. Our enemies believed America was weak and materialistic, that we would splinter in fear and selfishness. They were as wrong as they are evil. (Applause.)

The American people have responded magnificently, with courage and compassion, strength and resolve. As I have met the heroes, hugged the families, and looked into the tired faces of rescuers, I have stood in awe of the American people.

And I hope you will join me -- I hope you will join me in expressing thanks to one American for the strength and calm and comfort she brings to our nation in crisis, our First Lady, Laura Bush. (Applause.)

None of us would ever wish the evil that was done on September the 11th. Yet after America was attacked, it was as if our entire country looked into a mirror and saw our better selves. We were reminded that we are citizens, with obligations to each other, to our country, and to history. We began to think less of the goods we can accumulate, and more about the good we can do.

For too long our culture has said, "If it feels good, do it." Now America is embracing a new ethic and a new creed: "Let's roll." (Applause.) In the sacrifice of soldiers, the fierce brotherhood of firefighters, and the bravery and generosity of ordinary citizens, we have glimpsed what a new culture of responsibility could look like. We want to be a nation that serves goals larger than self. We've been offered a unique opportunity, and we must not let this moment pass. (Applause.)

My call tonight is for every American to commit at least two years -- 4,000 hours over the rest of your lifetime -- to the service of your neighbors and your nation. (Applause.) Many are already serving, and I thank you. If you aren't sure how to help, I've got a good place to start. To sustain and extend the best that has emerged in America, I invite you to join the new USA Freedom Corps. The Freedom Corps will focus on three areas of need: responding in case of crisis at home; rebuilding our communities; and extending American compassion throughout the world.

One purpose of the USA Freedom Corps will be homeland security. America needs retired doctors and nurses who can be mobilized in major emergencies; volunteers to help police and fire departments; transportation and utility workers well-trained in spotting danger.

Our country also needs citizens working to rebuild our communities. We need mentors to love children, especially children whose parents are in prison. And we need more talented teachers in troubled schools. USA Freedom Corps will expand and improve the good efforts of AmeriCorps and Senior Corps to recruit more than 200,000 new volunteers.

And America needs citizens to extend the compassion of our country to every part of the world. So we will renew the promise of the Peace Corps, double its volunteers over the next five years -- (applause) -- and ask it to join a new effort to encourage development and education and opportunity in the Islamic world. (Applause.)

This time of adversity offers a unique moment of opportunity -- a moment we must seize to change our culture.

Through the gathering momentum of millions of acts of service and decency and kindness, I know we can overcome evil with greater good. (Applause.) And we have a great opportunity during this time of war to lead the world toward the values that will bring lasting peace.

All fathers and mothers, in all societies, want their children to be educated, and live free from poverty and violence. No people on Earth yearn to be oppressed, or aspire to servitude, or eagerly await the midnight knock of the secret police.

If anyone doubts this, let them look to Afghanistan, where the Islamic "street" greeted the fall of tyranny with song and celebration. Let the skeptics look to Islam's own rich history, with its centuries of learning, and tolerance and progress. America will lead by defending liberty and justice because they are right and true and unchanging for all people everywhere. (Applause.)

No nation owns these aspirations, and no nation is exempt from them. We have no intention of imposing our culture. But America will always stand firm for the non-negotiable demands of human dignity: the rule of law; limits on the power of the state; respect for women; private property; free speech; equal justice; and religious tolerance. (Applause.)

America will take the side of brave men and women who advocate these values around the world, including the Islamic world, because we have a greater objective than eliminating threats and containing resentment. We seek a just and peaceful world beyond the war on terror.

In this moment of opportunity, a common danger is erasing old rivalries. America is working with Russia and China and India, in ways we have never before, to achieve peace and prosperity. In every region, free markets and free trade and free societies are proving their power to lift lives. Together with friends and allies from Europe to Asia, and Africa to Latin America, we will demonstrate that the forces of terror cannot stop the momentum of freedom. (Applause.)

The last time I spoke here, I expressed the hope that life would return to normal. In some ways, it has. In others, it never will. Those of us who have lived through these challenging times have been changed by them.

We've come to know truths that we will never question: evil is real, and it must be opposed. (Applause.)

Beyond all differences of race or creed, we are one country, mourning together and facing danger together. Deep in the American character, there is honor, and it is stronger than cynicism. And many have discovered again that even in tragedy -- especially in tragedy -- God is near. (Applause.)

In a single instant, we realized that this will be a decisive decade in the history of liberty, that we've been called to a unique role in human events. Rarely has the world faced a choice more clear or consequential.

Our enemies send other people's children on missions of suicide and murder. They embrace tyranny and death as a cause and a creed. We stand for a different choice, made long ago, on the day of our founding. We affirm it again today. We choose freedom and the dignity of every life. (Applause.)

Steadfast in our purpose, we now press on. We have known freedom's price. We have shown freedom's power.

And in this great conflict, my fellow Americans, we will see freedom's victory.

Thank you all. May God bless. (Applause.)

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:10 p.m. in the House Chamber of the Capitol. In his remarks, he referred to Major League Baseball Hall of Fame member Yogi Berra.

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Appendix 05

BARACK OBAMA

XLIV President of the United States: 2009-2017



President Delivers State of the Union Address

The President's State of the Union Address

The United States Capitol

Washington, D.C.

9:15 P.M. EST

Address Before a Joint Session of Congress on Administration Goals

February 24, 2009

Ref: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=85753>

Madam Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of Congress, the First Lady of the United States--she's around here somewhere: I have come here tonight not only to address the distinguished men and women in this great Chamber, but to speak frankly and directly to the men and women who sent us here.

I know that for many Americans watching right now, the state of our economy is a concern that rises above all others, and rightly so. If you haven't been personally affected by this recession, you probably know someone who has: a friend, a neighbor, a member of your family. You don't need to hear another list of statistics to know that our economy is in crisis, because you live it every day. It's the worry you wake up with and the source of sleepless nights. It's the job you thought you'd retire from but now have lost, the business you built your dreams upon that's now hanging by a thread, the college acceptance letter your child had to put back in the envelope. The impact of this recession is real, and it is everywhere.

But while our economy may be weakened and our confidence shaken, though we are living through difficult and uncertain times, tonight I want every American to know this: We will rebuild, we will recover, and the United States of America will emerge stronger than before.

The weight of this crisis will not determine the destiny of this Nation. The answers to our problems don't lie beyond our reach. They exist in our laboratories and our universities, in our fields and our factories, in the imaginations of our entrepreneurs and the pride of the hardest working people on Earth. Those qualities that have made America the greatest force of progress and prosperity in human history, we still possess in ample measure. What is required now is for this country to pull together, confront boldly the challenges we face, and take responsibility for our future once more.

Now, if we're honest with ourselves, we'll admit that for too long, we have not always met these responsibilities as a Government or as a people. I say this not to lay blame or to look backwards, but because it is only by understanding how we arrived at this moment that we'll be able to lift ourselves out of this predicament.

The fact is, our economy did not fall into decline overnight, nor did all of our problems begin when the housing market collapsed or the stock market sank. We have known for decades that our survival depends on finding new sources of energy, yet we import more oil today than ever before. The cost of health care eats up more and more of our savings each year, yet we keep delaying reform. Our children will compete for jobs in a global economy that too many of our schools do not prepare them for. And though all these challenges went unsolved, we still managed to spend more money and pile up more debt, both as individuals and through our Government, than ever before.

In other words, we have lived through an era where too often short-term gains were prized over long-term prosperity, where we failed to look beyond the next payment, the next quarter, or the next election. A surplus became an excuse to transfer wealth to the wealthy instead of an opportunity to invest in our future. Regulations were gutted for the sake of a quick profit at the expense of a healthy market. People bought homes they knew they couldn't afford from banks and lenders who pushed those bad loans anyway. And all the while, critical debates and difficult decisions were put off for some other time, on some other day. Well, that day of reckoning has arrived, and the time to take charge of our future is here.

Now is the time to act boldly and wisely to not only revive this economy, but to build a new foundation for lasting prosperity. Now is the time to jump-start job creation, restart lending, and invest in areas like energy, health care, and education that will grow our economy, even as we make hard choices to bring our deficit down. That is what my economic agenda is designed to do, and that is what I'd like to talk to you about tonight. It's an agenda that begins with jobs.

As soon as I took office, I asked this Congress to send me a recovery plan by President's Day that would put people back to work and put money in their pockets, not because I believe in bigger Government--I don't--not

because I'm not mindful of the massive debt we've inherited--I am. I called for action because the failure to do so would have cost more jobs and caused more hardship. In fact, a failure to act would have worsened our long-term deficit by assuring weak economic growth for years. And that's why I pushed for quick action. And tonight I am grateful that this Congress delivered and pleased to say that the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act is now law.

Over the next 2 years, this plan will save or create 3.5 million jobs. More than 90 percent of these jobs will be in the private sector: jobs rebuilding our roads and bridges, constructing wind turbines and solar panels, laying broadband and expanding mass transit.

Because of this plan, there are teachers who can now keep their jobs and educate our kids, health care professionals can continue caring for our sick. There are 57 police officers who are still on the streets of Minneapolis tonight because this plan prevented the layoffs their department was about to make. Because of this plan, 95 percent of working households in America will receive a tax cut; a tax cut that you will see in your paychecks beginning on April 1st. Because of this plan, families who are struggling to pay tuition costs will receive a \$2,500 tax credit for all 4 years of college, and Americans who have lost their jobs in this recession will be able to receive extended unemployment benefits and continued health care coverage to help them weather this storm.

Now, I know there are some in this Chamber and watching at home who are skeptical of whether this plan will work, and I understand that skepticism. Here in Washington, we've all seen how quickly good intentions can turn into broken promises and wasteful spending. And with a plan of this scale comes enormous responsibility to get it right.

And that's why I've asked Vice President Biden to lead a tough, unprecedented oversight effort; because nobody messes with Joe. I--am I right? They don't mess with him. I have told each of my Cabinet, as well as mayors and Governors across the country, that they will be held accountable by me and the American people for every dollar they spend. I've appointed a proven and aggressive Inspector General to ferret out any and all cases of waste and fraud. And we have created a new web site called recovery.gov, so that every American can find out how and where their money is being spent.

So the recovery plan we passed is the first step in getting our economy back on track. But it is just the first step. Because even if we manage this plan flawlessly, there will be no real recovery unless we clean up the credit crisis that has severely weakened our financial system.

I want to speak plainly and candidly about this issue tonight, because every American should know that it directly affects you and your family's well-being. You should also know that the money you've deposited in banks across the country is safe, your insurance is secure, you can rely on the continued operation of our financial system. That's not the source of concern. The concern is that if we do not restart lending in this country, our recovery will be choked off before it even begins.

You see, the flow of credit is the lifeblood of our economy. The ability to get a loan is how you finance the purchase of everything from a home to a car to a college education, how stores stock their shelves, farms buy equipment, and businesses make payroll.

But credit has stopped flowing the way it should. Too many bad loans from the housing crisis have made their way onto the books of too many banks. And with so much debt and so little confidence, these banks are now fearful of lending out any more money to households, to businesses, or even to each other. And when there is no lending, families can't afford to buy homes or cars, so businesses are forced to make layoffs. Our economy suffers even more, and credit dries up even further. That is why this administration is moving swiftly and aggressively to break this destructive cycle, to restore confidence, and restart lending. And we will do so in several ways.

First, we are creating a new lending fund that represents the largest effort ever to help provide auto loans, college loans, and small-business loans to the consumers and entrepreneurs who keep this economy running.

Second, we have launched a housing plan that will help responsible families facing the threat of foreclosure lower their monthly payments and refinance their mortgages. It's a plan that won't help speculators or that neighbor down the street who bought a house he could never hope to afford, but it will help millions of Americans who are struggling with declining home values; Americans who will now be able to take advantage of the lower interest rates that this plan has already helped to bring about. In fact, the average family who refinances today can save nearly \$2,000 per year on their mortgage.

Third, we will act with the full force of the Federal Government to ensure that the major banks that Americans depend on have enough confidence and enough money to lend even in more difficult times. And when we learn that a major bank has serious problems, we will hold accountable those responsible, force the necessary adjustments, provide the support to clean up their balance sheets, and assure the continuity of a strong, viable institution that can serve our people and our economy.

Now, I understand that on any given day, Wall Street may be more comforted by an approach that gives bank bailouts with no strings attached and that holds nobody accountable for their reckless decisions. But such an

approach won't solve the problem, and our goal is to quicken the day when we restart lending to the American people and American business and end this crisis once and for all.

And I intend to hold these banks fully accountable for the assistance they receive, and this time, they will have to clearly demonstrate how taxpayer dollars result in more lending for the American taxpayer. This time, CEOs won't be able to use taxpayer money to pad their paychecks or buy fancy drapes or disappear on a private jet. Those days are over.

Still, this plan will require significant resources from the Federal Government--and, yes, probably more than we've already set aside. But while the cost of action will be great, I can assure you that the cost of inaction will be far greater, for it could result in an economy that sputters along for not months or years, but perhaps a decade. That would be worse for our deficit, worse for business, worse for you, and worse for the next generation. And I refuse to let that happen.

Now, I understand that when the last administration asked this Congress to provide assistance for struggling banks, Democrats and Republicans alike were infuriated by the mismanagement and the results that followed. So were the American taxpayers; so was I. So I know how unpopular it is to be seen as helping banks right now, especially when everyone is suffering in part from their bad decisions. I promise you, I get it.

But I also know that in a time of crisis, we cannot afford to govern out of anger or yield to the politics of the moment. My job--our job is to solve the problem. Our job is to govern with a sense of responsibility. I will not send--I will not spend a single penny for the purpose of rewarding a single Wall Street executive, but I will do whatever it takes to help the small business that can't pay its workers or the family that has saved and still can't get a mortgage. That's what this is about. It's not about helping banks; it's about helping people. *[Applause]*

It's not about helping banks; it's about helping people. Because when credit is available again, that young family can finally buy a new home. And then some company will hire workers to build it. And then those workers will have money to spend. And if they can get a loan too, maybe they'll finally buy that car or open their own business. Investors will return to the market, and American families will see their retirement secured once more. Slowly but surely, confidence will return and our economy will recover.

So I ask this Congress to join me in doing whatever proves necessary, because we cannot consign our Nation to an open-ended recession. And to ensure that a crisis of this magnitude never happens again, I ask Congress to move quickly on legislation that will finally reform our outdated regulatory system. It is time to put in place tough, new, commonsense rules of the road so that our financial market rewards drive and innovation, and punishes shortcuts and abuse.

The recovery plan and the financial stability plan are the immediate steps we're taking to revive our economy in the short term. But the only way to fully restore America's economic strength is to make the long-term investments that will lead to new jobs, new industries, and a renewed ability to compete with the rest of the world. The only way this century will be another American century is if we confront at last the price of our dependence on oil and the high cost of health care, the schools that aren't preparing our children and the mountain of debt they stand to inherit. That is our responsibility.

In the next few days, I will submit a budget to Congress. So often, we've come to view these documents as simply numbers on a page or a laundry list of programs. I see this document differently. I see it as a vision for America, as a blueprint for our future.

My budget does not attempt to solve every problem or address every issue. It reflects the stark reality of what we've inherited, a trillion-dollar deficit, a financial crisis, and a costly recession. Given these realities, everyone in this Chamber, Democrats and Republicans, will have to sacrifice some worthy priorities for which there are no dollars. And that includes me. But that does not mean we can afford to ignore our long-term challenges. I reject the view that says our problems will simply take care of themselves, that says Government has no role in laying the foundation for our common prosperity.

For history tells a different story. History reminds us that at every moment of economic upheaval and transformation, this Nation has responded with bold action and big ideas. In the midst of Civil War, we laid railroad tracks from one coast to another that spurred commerce and industry. From the turmoil of the Industrial Revolution came a system of public high schools that prepared our citizens for a new age. In the wake of war and depression, the GI bill sent a generation to college and created the largest middle class in history. And a twilight struggle for freedom led to a nation of highways, an American on the Moon, and an explosion of technology that still shapes our world. In each case, Government didn't supplant private enterprise; it catalyzed private enterprise. It created the conditions for thousands of entrepreneurs and new businesses to adapt and to thrive.

We are a nation that has seen promise amid peril and claimed opportunity from ordeal. Now we must be that nation again, and that is why, even as it cuts back on programs we don't need, the budget I submit will invest in the three areas that are absolutely critical to our economic future: energy, health care, and education.

It begins with energy. We know the country that harnesses the power of clean, renewable energy will lead the 21st century. And yet, it is China that has launched the largest effort in history to make their economy energy efficient. We invented solar technology, but we've fallen behind countries like Germany and Japan in producing

it. New plug-in hybrids roll off our assembly lines, but they will run on batteries made in Korea. Well, I do not accept a future where the jobs and industries of tomorrow take root beyond our borders, and I know you don't either. It is time for America to lead again.

Thanks to our recovery plan, we will double this Nation's supply of renewable energy in the next 3 years. We've also made the largest investment in basic research funding in American history, an investment that will spur not only new discoveries in energy but breakthroughs in medicine and science and technology.

We will soon lay down thousands of miles of power lines that can carry new energy to cities and towns across this country. And we will put Americans to work making our homes and buildings more efficient so that we can save billions of dollars on our energy bills.

But to truly transform our economy, to protect our security, and save our planet from the ravages of climate change, we need to ultimately make clean, renewable energy the profitable kind of energy. So I ask this Congress to send me legislation that places a market-based cap on carbon pollution and drives the production of more renewable energy in America. That's what we need. And to support that innovation, we will invest \$15 billion a year to develop technologies like wind power and solar power, advanced biofuels, clean coal, and more efficient cars and trucks built right here in America.

Speaking of our auto industry, everyone recognizes that years of bad decisionmaking and a global recession have pushed our automakers to the brink. We should not, and will not, protect them from their own bad practices. But we are committed to the goal of a retooled, reimagined auto industry that can compete and win. Millions of jobs depend on it; scores of communities depend on it. And I believe the Nation that invented the automobile cannot walk away from it.

Now, none of this will come without cost, nor will it be easy. But this is America. We don't do what's easy. We do what's necessary to move this country forward.

And for that same reason, we must also address the crushing cost of health care. This is a cost that now causes a bankruptcy in America every 30 seconds. By the end of the year, it could cause 1.5 million Americans to lose their homes. In the last 8 years, premiums have grown four times faster than wages. And in each of these years, 1 million more Americans have lost their health insurance. It is one of the major reasons why small businesses close their doors and corporations ship jobs overseas. And it's one of the largest and fastest growing parts of our budget. Given these facts, we can no longer afford to put health care reform on hold. We can't afford to do it. It's time.

Already, we've done more to advance the cause of health care reform in the last 30 days than we've done in the last decade. When it was days old, this Congress passed a law to provide and protect health insurance for 11 million American children whose parents work full time. Our recovery plan will invest in electronic health records, a new technology that will reduce errors, bring down costs, ensure privacy, and save lives. It will launch a new effort to conquer a disease that has touched the life of nearly every American, including me, by seeking a cure for cancer in our time. And it makes the largest investment ever in preventive care, because that's one of the best ways to keep our people healthy and our costs under control.

This budget builds on these reforms. It includes a historic commitment to comprehensive health care reform, a down payment on the principle that we must have quality, affordable health care for every American. It's a commitment that's paid for in part by efficiencies in our system that are long overdue. And it's a step we must take if we hope to bring down our deficit in the years to come.

Now, there will be many different opinions and ideas about how to achieve reform, and that's why I'm bringing together businesses and workers, doctors and health care providers, Democrats and Republicans to begin work on this issue next week.

I suffer no illusions that this will be an easy process. Once again, it will be hard. But I also know that nearly a century after Teddy Roosevelt first called for reform, the cost of our health care has weighed down our economy and our conscience long enough. So let there be no doubt: Health care reform cannot wait, it must not wait, and it will not wait another year.

The third challenge we must address is the urgent need to expand the promise of education in America. In a global economy where the most valuable skill you can sell is your knowledge, a good education is no longer just a pathway to opportunity, it is a prerequisite. Right now, three-quarters of the fastest growing occupations require more than a high school diploma. And yet, just over half of our citizens have that level of education. We have one of the highest high school dropout rates of any industrialized nation, and half of the students who begin college never finish.

This is a prescription for economic decline, because we know the countries that out-teach us today will outcompete us tomorrow. That is why it will be the goal of this administration to ensure that every child has access to a complete and competitive education, from the day they are born to the day they begin a career. That is a promise we have to make to the children of America.

Already, we've made historic investment in education through the economic recovery plan. We've dramatically expanded early childhood education and will continue to improve its quality, because we know that the most formative learning comes in those first years of life. We've made college affordable for nearly 7 million more

students--7 million. And we have provided the resources necessary to prevent painful cuts and teacher layoffs that would set back our children's progress.

But we know that our schools don't just need more resources, they need more reform. And that is why this budget creates new teachers--new incentives for teacher performance, pathways for advancement, and rewards for success. We'll invest in innovative programs that are already helping schools meet high standards and close achievement gaps, and we will expand our commitment to charter schools.

It is our responsibility as lawmakers and as educators to make this system work. But it is the responsibility of every citizen to participate in it. So tonight I ask every American to commit to at least 1 year or more of higher education or career training. This can be community college or a 4-year school, vocational training or an apprenticeship. But whatever the training may be, every American will need to get more than a high school diploma.

And dropping out of high school is no longer an option. It's not just quitting on yourself, it's quitting on your country, and this country needs and values the talents of every American. That's why we will support--we will provide the support necessary for all young Americans to complete college and meet a new goal. By 2020, America will once again have the highest proportion of college graduates in the world. That is a goal we can meet. That's a goal we can meet.

Now, I know that the price of tuition is higher than ever, which is why if you are willing to volunteer in your neighborhood or give back to your community or serve your country, we will make sure that you can afford a higher education. And to encourage a renewed spirit of national service for this and future generations, I ask Congress to send me the bipartisan legislation that bears the name of Senator Orrin Hatch, as well as an American who has never stopped asking what he can do for his country, Senator Edward Kennedy.

These education policies will open the doors of opportunity for our children, but it is up to us to ensure they walk through them. In the end, there is no program or policy that can substitute for a parent, for a mother or father who will attend those parent-teacher conferences or help with homework or turn off the TV, put away the video games, read to their child. I speak to you not just as a President, but as a father, when I say that responsibility for our children's education must begin at home. That is not a Democratic issue or a Republican issue; that's an American issue.

There is, of course, another responsibility we have to our children. And that's the responsibility to ensure that we do not pass on to them a debt they cannot pay. That is critical. *[Applause]* I agree, absolutely. See, I know we can get some consensus in here. *[Laughter]* With the deficit we inherited, the cost of the crisis we face, and the long-term challenges we must meet, it has never been more important to ensure that as our economy recovers, we do what it takes to bring this deficit down. That is critical.

Now, I'm proud that we passed a recovery plan free of earmarks, and I want to pass a budget next year that ensures that each dollar we spend reflects only our most important national priorities.

And yesterday I held a fiscal summit where I pledged to cut the deficit in half by the end of my first term in office. My administration has also begun to go line by line through the Federal budget in order to eliminate wasteful and ineffective programs. As you can imagine, this is a process that will take some time. But we have already identified \$2 trillion in savings over the next decade.

In this budget, we will end education programs that don't work and end direct payments to large agribusiness that don't need them. We'll eliminate the no-bid contracts that have wasted billions in Iraq and reform our defense budget so that we're not paying for cold war-era weapons systems we don't use. We will root out the waste and fraud and abuse in our Medicare program that doesn't make our seniors any healthier. We will restore a sense of fairness and balance to our Tax Code by finally ending the tax breaks for corporations that ship our jobs overseas.

In order to save our children from a future of debt, we will also end the tax breaks for the wealthiest 2 percent of Americans. Now, let me be clear--let me be absolutely clear, because I know you'll end up hearing some of the same claims that rolling back these tax breaks means a massive tax increase on the American people: If your family earns less than \$250,000 a year, a quarter million dollars a year, you will not see your taxes increased a single dime. I repeat: Not one single dime. In fact--not a dime--in fact, the recovery plan provides a tax cut--that's right, a tax cut--for 95 percent of working families. And by the way, these checks are on the way.

Now, to preserve our long-term fiscal health, we must also address the growing costs in Medicare and Social Security. Comprehensive health care reform is the best way to strengthen Medicare for years to come. And we must also begin a conversation on how to do the same for Social Security, while creating tax-free universal savings accounts for all Americans.

Finally, because we're also suffering from a deficit of trust, I am committed to restoring a sense of honesty and accountability to our budget. That is why this budget looks ahead 10 years and accounts for spending that was left out under the old rules. And for the first time, that includes the full cost of fighting in Iraq and Afghanistan. For 7 years, we have been a nation at war. No longer will we hide its price.

Along with our outstanding national security team, I'm now carefully reviewing our policies in both wars, and I will soon announce a way forward in Iraq that leaves Iraq to its people and responsibly ends this war.

And with our friends and allies, we will forge a new and comprehensive strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan to defeat Al Qaida and combat extremism, because I will not allow terrorists to plot against the American people from safe havens halfway around the world. We will not allow it.

As we meet here tonight, our men and women in uniform stand watch abroad and more are readying to deploy. To each and every one of them and to the families who bear the quiet burden of their absence, Americans are united in sending one message: We honor your service; we are inspired by your sacrifice; and you have our unyielding support.

To relieve the strain on our forces, my budget increases the number of our soldiers and marines. And to keep our sacred trust with those who serve, we will raise their pay and give our veterans the expanded health care and benefits that they have earned.

To overcome extremism, we must also be vigilant in upholding the values our troops defend, because there is no force in the world more powerful than the example of America. And that is why I have ordered the closing of the detention center at Guantanamo Bay and will seek swift and certain justice for captured terrorists. Because living our values doesn't make us weaker, it makes us safer and it makes us stronger. And that is why I can stand here tonight and say without exception or equivocation that the United States of America does not torture. We can make that commitment here tonight.

In words and deeds, we are showing the world that a new era of engagement has begun. For we know that America cannot meet the threats of this century alone, but the world cannot meet them without America. We cannot shun the negotiating table, nor ignore the foes or forces that could do us harm. We are instead called to move forward with the sense of confidence and candor that serious times demand.

To seek progress toward a secure and lasting peace between Israel and her neighbors, we have appointed an envoy to sustain our effort. To meet the challenges of the 21st century--from terrorism to nuclear proliferation, from pandemic disease to cyber threats to crushing poverty--we will strengthen old alliances, forge new ones, and use all elements of our national power.

And to respond to an economic crisis that is global in scope, we are working with the nations of the G-20 to restore confidence in our financial system, avoid the possibility of escalating protectionism, and spur demand for American goods in markets across the globe. For the world depends on us having a strong economy, just as our economy depends on the strength of the world's.

As we stand at this crossroads of history, the eyes of all people in all nations are once again upon us, watching to see what we do with this moment, waiting for us to lead. Those of us gathered here tonight have been called to govern in extraordinary times. It is a tremendous burden, but also a great privilege, one that has been entrusted to few generations of Americans. For in our hands lies the ability to shape our world for good or for ill.

I know that it's easy to lose sight of this truth, to become cynical and doubtful, consumed with the petty and the trivial. But in my life, I have also learned that hope is found in unlikely places, that inspiration often comes not from those with the most power or celebrity, but from the dreams and aspirations of ordinary Americans who are anything but ordinary.

I think of Leonard Abess, a bank president from Miami who reportedly cashed out of his company, took a \$60 million bonus, and gave it out to all 399 people who worked for him, plus another 72 who used to work for him. He didn't tell anyone, but when the local newspaper found out, he simply said, "I knew some of these people since I was 7 years old. It didn't feel right getting the money myself."

I think about Greensburg, Kansas, a town that was completely destroyed by a tornado, but is being rebuilt by its residents as a global example of how clean energy can power an entire community, how it can bring jobs and businesses to a place where piles of bricks and rubble once lay. "The tragedy was terrible," said one of the men who helped them rebuild. "But the folks here know that it also provided an incredible opportunity."

I think about Ty'Sheoma Bethea, the young girl from that school I visited in Dillon, South Carolina, a place where the ceilings leak, the paint peels off the walls, and they have to stop teaching six times a day because the train barrels by their classroom. She had been told that her school is hopeless, but the other day after class she went to the public library and typed up a letter to the people sitting in this Chamber. She even asked her principal for the money to buy a stamp. The letter asks us for help and says: "We are just students trying to become lawyers, doctors, Congressmen like yourself, and one day President, so we can make a change to not just the State of South Carolina, but also the world. We are not quitters." That's what she said: "We are not quitters."

These words and these stories tell us something about the spirit of the people who sent us here. They tell us that even in the most trying times, amid the most difficult circumstances, there is a generosity, a resilience, a decency, and a determination that perseveres, a willingness to take responsibility for our future and for posterity. Their resolve must be our inspiration. Their concerns must be our cause. And we must show them and all our people that we are equal to the task before us.

I know--look, I know that we haven't agreed on every issue thus far. [Laughter] There are surely times in the future where we will part ways. But I also know that every American who is sitting here tonight loves this

country and wants it to succeed. I know that. That must be the starting point for every debate we have in the coming months and where we return after those debates are done. That is the foundation on which the American people expect us to build common ground.

And if we do, if we come together and lift this Nation from the depths of this crisis, if we put our people back to work and restart the engine of our prosperity, if we confront without fear the challenges of our time and summon that enduring spirit of an America that does not quit, then someday years from now our children can tell their children that this was the time when we performed, in the words that are carved into this very Chamber, "something worthy to be remembered."

Thank you. God bless you, and may God bless the United States of America. Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 9:16 p.m. in the House Chamber of the U.S. Capitol. In his remarks, he referred to Interior Department Inspector General Earl E. Devaney, Chair, Recovery Accountability and Transparency Board; and U.S. Special Envoy for Middle East Peace George J. Mitchell. The Office of the Press Secretary also released a Spanish language transcript of these remarks.

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