

Candidates must complete this page and then give this cover and their final version of the extended essay to their supervisor.

Candidate session number

Candidate name

School number

School name

Examination session (May or November)

May

Year

2013

Diploma Programme subject in which this extended essay is registered: History HL

(For an extended essay in the area of languages, state the language and whether it is group 1 or group 2.)

Title of the extended essay: What role did America's policy of
containment play in South Asia from 1947 to 1990?

Candidate's declaration

This declaration must be signed by the candidate; otherwise a grade may not be issued.

The extended essay I am submitting is my own work (apart from guidance allowed by the International Baccalaureate).

I have acknowledged each use of the words, graphics or ideas of another person, whether written, oral or visual.

I am aware that the word limit for all extended essays is 4000 words and that examiners are not required to read beyond this limit.

This is the final version of my extended essay.

Candidate's signature:

Date:

Supervisor's report and declaration

The supervisor must complete this report, sign the declaration and then give the final version of the extended essay, with this cover attached, to the Diploma Programme coordinator.

Name of supervisor (CAPITAL letters)

Please comment, as appropriate, on the candidate's performance, the context in which the candidate undertook the research for the extended essay, any difficulties encountered and how these were overcome (see page 13 of the extended essay guide). The concluding interview (viva voce) may provide useful information. These comments can help the examiner award a level for criterion K (holistic judgment). Do not comment on any adverse personal circumstances that may have affected the candidate. If the amount of time spent with the candidate was zero, you must explain this, in particular how it was then possible to authenticate the essay as the candidate's own work. You may attach an additional sheet if there is insufficient space here.

This declaration must be signed by the supervisor; otherwise a grade may not be issued.

I have read the final version of the extended essay that will be submitted to the examiner.

To the best of my knowledge, the extended essay is the authentic work of the candidate.

I spent hours with the candidate discussing the progress of the extended essay.

Supervisor's signature:

Date:

Assessment form (for examiner use only)

| Criteria | Achievement level | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------|----------------------|---------|----------------------|--|
| | Examiner 1 | maximum | Examiner 2 | maximum | Examiner 3 | |
| A research question | <input type="text" value="1"/> | 2 | <input type="text"/> | 2 | <input type="text"/> | |
| B introduction | <input type="text" value="0"/> | 2 | <input type="text"/> | 2 | <input type="text"/> | |
| C investigation | <input type="text" value="2"/> | 4 | <input type="text"/> | 4 | <input type="text"/> | |
| D knowledge and understanding | <input type="text" value="1"/> | 4 | <input type="text"/> | 4 | <input type="text"/> | |
| E reasoned argument | <input type="text" value="1"/> | 4 | <input type="text"/> | 4 | <input type="text"/> | |
| F analysis and evaluation | <input type="text" value="0"/> | 4 | <input type="text"/> | 4 | <input type="text"/> | |
| G use of subject language | <input type="text" value="2"/> | 4 | <input type="text"/> | 4 | <input type="text"/> | |
| H conclusion | <input type="text" value="0"/> | 2 | <input type="text"/> | 2 | <input type="text"/> | |
| I formal presentation | <input type="text" value="1"/> | 4 | <input type="text"/> | 4 | <input type="text"/> | |
| J abstract | <input type="text" value="0"/> | 2 | <input type="text"/> | 2 | <input type="text"/> | |
| K holistic judgment | <input type="text" value="1"/> | 4 | <input type="text"/> | 4 | <input type="text"/> | |
| Total out of 36 | <input type="text" value="9"/> | | <input type="text"/> | | <input type="text"/> | |

IB History Essay

Supervisor:

1st November 2012

Extended Essay

What role did America's policy of containment play in South Asia from 1947 to 1990?

Candidate No.

Word Count: 3, 650

Abstract

This extended essay examines at length the role of the United States in relation to its policy of the Containment of Communism in South Asia from 1947 to 1990. I opted for internet in respect of the primary sources while writing the essay. As a secondary source, I chose quotations from a publication titled 'US Relations with South Asia and Pakistan-India Interaction'.

Another secondary source that I used was an official interview with the author of this book, Afrasiab, who is currently serving as Pakistan's High Commissioner in Bangladesh. I included another secondary source which was an interview with a Pakistani diplomat who was posted to Moscow. I also consulted some other publications, newspapers and relevant articles in various journals besides an interview conducted with Mr. Ahmer Atozai, a diplomat who has done a posting in the Pakistan Embassy in Moscow.

The essay concludes with the fact that America succeeded in assuring that South Asia does not become the foothold of the communist. However, South Asia did witness the results of the policies of the main actors – The United States and the Soviet Union. The Soviet ally, India broke up Pakistan which was the ally of the US. India and Bangladesh are two nations which were grateful to Moscow for its assistance in 1971. This gratitude gradually changed with the dismemberment of the Soviet Union and America becoming the sole super power after the demise of the USSR. Today, America has gained an edge over the Soviet Union by befriending India and Bangladesh.

Word count: 253

Acknowledgements

I thank my supervisor _____ – International Baccalaureate History Teacher for his assistance in writing this essay. I would also like to express my appreciation to the High Commissioner of Pakistan in Bangladesh for permitting me to quote from his book on US relations with South Asia.

In the same vein, I convey my deep appreciation to the Librarian at the _____ for letting me consult various books and publications which facilitated the finalization of this essay.

CONTENTS

| | | |
|-------|---------------------------------|----|
| I. | Title page | 1 |
| II. | Abstract | 2 |
| III. | Acknowledgements | 3 |
| IV. | Content page | 4 |
| V. | Introduction | 5 |
| VI. | Background | 6 |
| VII. | Creation of Pakistan | 7 |
| VIII. | Kashmir Issue (1948) | 9 |
| IX. | Communist Parties in South Asia | 11 |
| X. | Nuclear issue | 12 |
| XI. | Pakistan India war 1971 | 13 |
| XII. | Afghanistan War (1979-1989) | 15 |
| XIII. | Analysis | 16 |
| XIV. | Conclusion | 21 |
| XV. | Work Cited | 22 |

Introduction

This essay examines the American policy of Containment in South Asia from 1947 to 1990. The study of the historical background to the relationship between Pakistan, India and the United States would be relevant to the essay, which I seriously undertook.

The essay also focuses on the regional conflicts that took place in South Asia in which the US got involved. Nuclear tests carried out by India and then by Pakistan had an impact not only on the South Asian politics but also on international politics affecting the world.

The essay attempts to delve on references to policy parameters followed by the United States, Soviet Union, China, Pakistan and India during the Cold War. Also there will be a focus on the Communist parties in South Asia.

I believe that the subject chosen for the essay is important as South Asia constitutes an important region of the world; whatever happens here has its repercussions on world affairs.

Background

Any conflict between Pakistan and India during the Cold War was a setback to the American policy of Containment. The United States needed India and Pakistan to help it in containing the communist progression around the world, especially by the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The United States heavily banked upon support from Pakistan in combating the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan which began in 1979 till its withdrawal in 1989.

During World War II, the US and the Soviet Union helped each other in combating the Nazi Germany and the Axis i.e. Italy and Japan. They were able to put aside their differences for the time being, but the relationship took a turn towards confrontation after 1945. The two did not find a way out to cooperate in dealing with the problems they faced after the World War.

The Soviet ideology of communism conflicted with the American system of capitalism. The Americans were always apprehensive of the communist ideology and felt that it could take over the world to the detriment the democratic values of the free world and the capitalist system of economy.

Importantly, under the communist policy, there was a one-party system and no free enterprise. In fact, "Communism, in theory, is an attempt to rebuild society on other basis such as monopolization of private property, equality among all citizens and abolition of classes."¹ Essentially, Communism has roots in the thought process of Karl Marx, subsequently implemented by leaders such as Lenin and Stalin.

¹ "About Communism Communist Ideologies." *ThinkQuest*. Oracle Foundation, n.d. Web. 29 Oct. 2012. <<http://library.thinkquest.org/07aug/00858/en/ideologies.html>>.

It would also be relevant to note that Soviet Union was never comfortable with the US policies. "After the war ended, these grievances ripened into an overwhelming sense of mutual distrust and enmity. Postwar Soviet expansionism in Eastern Europe fueled many Americans' fears of a Russian plan to control the world."² Basically, in the American perception, Soviet Union was bent upon asserting itself in world affairs.

Importantly, Containment was a defensive strategy formulated by a veteran American diplomat George Kennan. In 1946, in his famous 'Long Telegram' Kennan (1904-2005) explained this policy. The Soviet Union, he wrote, was "a political force committed fanatically to the belief that with the U.S. there can be no permanent *modus vivendi* [agreement between parties that disagree]".³ As a result, he underlined that America's only choice was the "long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies."⁴ The main reason for adopting such a policy was to protect those free nations who were "resisting attempted subjugation".⁵

Creation of Pakistan

Creation of Pakistan and India in 1947 was an important event in world history. The partition of the subcontinent had its repercussions on world affairs. Understandably, the United States

² "Cold War." *History.com*. A&E Television Networks, n.d. Web. 29 Oct. 2012. <<http://www.history.com/topics/cold-war>>.

³ "Cold War." *History.com*. A&E Television Networks, n.d. Web. 29 Oct. 2012. <<http://www.history.com/topics/cold-war>>.

⁴ "Cold War." *History.com*. A&E Television Networks, n.d. Web. 29 Oct. 2012. <<http://www.history.com/topics/cold-war>>.

⁵ "Cold War." *History.com*. A&E Television Networks, n.d. Web. 29 Oct. 2012. <<http://www.history.com/topics/cold-war>>.

could not remain unconcerned with such a momentous development. While the US developed great relations with new India, it would be important that the US, according to American scholars, was the very “first nation to recognize Pakistan.”⁶ In fact, the United States was “the only country to have a representative when the flag of Pakistan was first waved as an independent nation.”⁷

President Truman also sent a message of felicitations to the father of the nation of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. The message dated 14 August 1947, underscored: “On this auspicious day which marks the emergence among the family of nations of the new Dominion of Pakistan, I extend, on behalf of the American people, sincere best wishes to you, to Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan and the people of Pakistan.”⁸

The question is why the US decided to take quick action in terms of reaching out to the new country, Pakistan. The answer is simple. Pakistan in 1947 was the largest Islamic country in the world. It was strategically located: China and Afghanistan as its neighbours to the North, India in the East and Iran to its West. Importantly, Soviet Union was only around 15 miles away from Pakistan through the Wakhan Corridor in Afghanistan. More importantly, the people of the new country would be, in the American estimate, highly intelligent and industrious.

It would be important to note that from 1947 to 1971, what is Bangladesh today was part of Pakistan. The East Pakistanis were the citizens of Pakistan. Their Father of the Nation was

⁶ Afrasiab. *US Relations with South Asia (since Christopher Columbus) and Pakistan-India Interaction, 1492-2002*. S.I.: S.n., 2002. Print.

⁷ Afrasiab. *US Relations with South Asia (since Christopher Columbus) and Pakistan-India Interaction, 1492-2002*. S.I.: S.n., 2002. Print. (Afrasiab 36)

⁸ Afrasiab. *US Relations with South Asia (since Christopher Columbus) and Pakistan-India Interaction, 1492-2002*. S.I.: S.n., 2002. Print. (Afrasiab 37)

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah; their national poet was Allama Iqbal; their federal capital, Islamabad, and their national anthem was the national anthem of Pakistan. Sheikh Hasina, Prime Minister of Bangladesh, was a Pakistan national; so was her father Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who in his youth, used to raise slogans for Pakistan and later served as a Minister in the provincial government of East Pakistan.

Importantly, the political party, Muslim League, which spearheaded the movement for Pakistan, was established in Dhaka. A. K. (Abul Kasem) Fazlul Haque, also called Sher-e-Bangal (Tiger of Bengal), was from Bengal. He presented the Resolution for the creation of Pakistan at the session of the Muslim League in Lahore in 1940.

Kashmir issue

As characterized by the then President Bill Clinton as 'nuclear flashpoint,' the issue of Jammu and Kashmir has bedeviled the relations between Pakistan and India since 1947.⁹ The issue has its origins in the subjugation by India of the people of Kashmir and denying them the right to self determination.

During the interview Mr. Afrasiab remarked to me, "According to the broad principles of independence devised by the British in 1947, the more than five hundred princely states of British India were given the choice to either join the newly created state of India or Pakistan."¹⁰ In this regard, he added that "the will of the people of that princely state was to be respected along with the principle of contiguity (whether the state geographically adjoined India or

⁹ "Kashmir Information Network (KIN): A Paradise Turned into Hell." *Kashmir Information Network (KIN): A Paradise Turned into Hell*. N.p., n.d. Web. 29 Oct. 2012. <<http://kashmir-information.com/knpandita/article1.html>>.

¹⁰ High Commissioner of Pakistan Afrasiab, Personal Interview, 23 October 2012.

Pakistan).” He opined that the State of Jammu and Kashmir adjoined Pakistan and majority of its people were Muslims who “wanted Kashmir to join Pakistan.”¹¹ However, the Maharaja of Kashmir decided to join India. New Delhi sent in its troops and “annexed Kashmir”¹² which resulted in the Pakistan-India war of 1948.

India took the question of Jammu and Kashmir to the United Nations. The UN decided that a Plebiscite be held in the state allowing the people of Kashmir to decide either to join India or Pakistan. Both Pakistan and India agreed on the principle of Plebiscite. The first Prime Minister of India, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru publicly confirmed on a number of occasions that the Government of India will hold the Plebiscite. In a broadcast to the nation over All India Radio, Prime Minister Nehru categorically stated in the early 1950s, “We are anxious not to finalize anything in a moment of crisis and without the fullest opportunity to be given to the people of Kashmir to have their say. It is for them ultimately to decide.”¹³

Unfortunately, later Mr. Nehru went back on his pledge and the issue of Jammu and Kashmir continues as an unresolved issue between Pakistan and India to this very day. To a question on the Kashmir issue, Mr. Afrasiab had this to say, “More importantly, all along, the United States was closely involved in the efforts to resolve the Kashmir issue. It participated in the debates on Kashmir at the United Nations and supported the UN Resolutions asking for a Plebiscite on Kashmir.”¹⁴

¹¹ High Commissioner of Pakistan Afrasiab, Personal Interview, 23 October 2012.

¹² High Commissioner of Pakistan Afrasiab, Personal Interview, 23 October 2012.

¹³ Afrasiab. *US Relations with South Asia (since Christopher Columbus) and Pakistan-India Interaction, 1492-2002*. S.I.: S.n., 2002. Print (Afrasiab 44)

¹⁴ High Commissioner of Pakistan Afrasiab, Personal Interview, 23 October 2012.

The second Indo-Pakistan war over Kashmir took place in 1965. It was a brutal war that was earlier confined to Kashmir but later on it spread to other parts with the Indian attack on Lahore on 6 September of the year. While the US by and large stood neutral in the conflict, the USSR supported India and China supported Pakistan. The Tashkent Agreement of 1966 resulted in the return to normalcy in the subcontinent.

The fact of the matter is that America looked at Pakistan with positivity due to Islamabad's support to the American policy of Containment against Communism. Pakistan joined the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) in 1954. It also was a member of the US supported alliance Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). In return, America provided considerable assistance to Pakistan.

Interestingly, from the very start, America's relationship with India was not warm and friendly, especially since India joined the Soviet camp and became part of the non-alignment movement. In 1962, a border dispute between China and India took place which concluded with the Chinese victory. All this provided the United States an opportunity to provide India with military equipment.

Communist Parties of South Asia

The Communist Party of India was established on December 26, 1925. "The CPI was born in the new era for mankind which opened up by the October Revolution. The victory of the Russian working class, peasants and other toilers led by the Bolsheviks and guided by Lenin attracted

the militant youth of India as of all lands."¹⁵ India is considered to be the most populous democracy in the world. For such a nation to turn towards communism could have been a huge predicament for America especially when China was already following communism.

The Communist Party was formed in Pakistan after the partition of 1947. It had its branches in both West and East Pakistan. During the Pakistan-India war of 1971, communists in Dhaka organized and supported riots carried out by the students which spread political awareness for independence. However, the Communist party in Bangladesh has remained diminutive in Bangladesh and has never emerged as an important political force in the country.¹⁶

Needless to stress that while the US does not take kindly to presence of Communist entities in Bangladesh, both Russia and China seem to interact with them with relative ease.

Nuclear issue

The drop of the nuclear bombs by the United States on Japan in 1945 led to the end of World War II. The USSR tested its nuclear weapon later on in Kazakhstan.¹⁷ The basis behind the arms race was that the country that formed more nuclear and atomic bombs would be considered as the overpowering one.¹⁸

The arms race between America and the USSR also led to other countries following suit.

¹⁵ "Brief History of CPI - CPI." *Brief History of CPI - CPI*. N.p., n.d. Web. 29 Oct. 2012. <<https://sites.google.com/a/communistparty.in/cpi/brief-history-of-cpi>>.

¹⁶ "BANGLAPEDIA: Communist Party of Bangladesh." *BANGLAPEDIA: Communist Party of Bangladesh*. N.p., n.d. Web. 29 Oct. 2012. <http://www.banglapedia.org/HT/C_0318.HTM>.

¹⁷ "The Cold War." - *Nuclear Arms Race*. N.p., n.d. Web. 29 Oct. 2012. <<http://www.atomcentral.com/the-cold-war.aspx>>.

¹⁸ "The Nuclear Arms Race." *The Nuclear Arms Race*. N.p., n.d. Web. 29 Oct. 2012. <http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/nuclear_arms_race.htm>.

When China conducted its nuclear test in 1964, Indian Prime Minister Shastri pledged in a radio broadcast that India will not follow suit. However, under Ms Indira Gandhi, India violated the pledge and conducted a nuclear explosion in 1974. More than 20 years later, in May 1988 India again conducted nuclear tests without provocation. This constrained Pakistan to respond in kind when it conducted its nuclear tests in the same month. Immediately after its nuclear tests, India started to provoke Pakistan by emphasizing that Islamabad should realize the change in the ground situation and act accordingly.

Pakistan India War 1971

No doubt, 1971 is a watershed in South Asia. The year is as important as 1857 (War of Independence) and 1947 when British India was divided into Pakistan and India.

There are a number of factors that resulted in the events that led to 1971. Mr. Afrasiab said, "One is the Language controversy, which is referred to by many as one which affected the feelings of the people of East Pakistan."¹⁹ After the creation of Pakistan, many in East Pakistan demanded that Bangla language be made the language of the eastern wing of Pakistan. Muhammad Ali Jinnah was of the view that Urdu is a language which is understood in both wings of the country. As such, it should be the national language of both parts of Pakistan.

Another important reason for the disenchantment in East Pakistan which led to 1971, was the result of the 1970 general elections in Pakistan. Overall, Sheikh Mujib won more seats; yet President Yahya Khan did not transfer the power to Awami League. All this resulted in a serious

¹⁹ High Commissioner of Pakistan Afrasiab, Personal Interview, 23 October 2012.

law and order situation in East Pakistan forcing General Yahya Khan to take military action in East Pakistan in March 1971.

Meanwhile, India helped, armed and trained people for military struggle against Pakistan. Importantly, Pakistan had facilitated rapprochement between the United States and the People's Republic of China by arranging the famous secret visit of National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger to Beijing from Islamabad in July 1971.²⁰ This was not to the liking of the Soviet Union. This facilitated the signing of the Treaty of Cooperation between India and the Soviet Union in August 1971 to the detriment of Pakistan. Earlier, as mentioned previously in this paper, Pakistan had joined SEATO and CENTO which was not liked by the Soviet Union.

Bangladesh gained its independence in 1971. Mr. Afrasiab expressed the view that "The widespread resentment in East Pakistan against West Pakistan provided the opportunity to India to establish its supremacy in South Asia."²¹

While interviewing Mr. Atozai, he stated that "the general perception in Bangladesh in 1971 was that the Soviet Union was helping India in the cause of independence of Bangladesh and the US was opposed to it since Washington was supporting Pakistan."²² Paradoxically, while communist Soviet Union was supporting Bangladesh, communist China was supporting Pakistan. This resulted in the establishment of an interesting cobweb of diplomatic complexity.

The Soviet Union believed that their support for the Bangladeshis would weaken the position of their rivals – the USA and China. The USSR made it clear to India that any intrusion from the US

²⁰ Ferguson, Niall. "Dr. K's Rx for China." *The Daily Beast*. Newsweek/Daily Beast, 15 May 2011. Web. 29 Oct. 2012. <<http://www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2011/05/15/dr-k-s-rx-for-china.html>>.

²¹ High Commissioner of Pakistan Afrasiab, Personal Interview, 23 October 2012.

²² Pakistani Diplomat Atozai, Personal Interview, 22 October 2012.

would be dealt with the support from the Soviet Union. "This assurance was enshrined in the Indo-Soviet friendship treaty signed in August 1971."²³

The USA supported Pakistan mainly because if India was to win this war, then this would create an expansion in the Soviet influence in South Asia. China's involvement in the war became apparent when the USA requested their support. China accepted to give their help because of their friendship with Pakistan and this would lead to an improvement in their relations with the US.

Afghanistan War (1979-1989)

In December 1979, Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. The invasion which was not really unexpected, took the world by surprise. Analysts have expressed the view that the invasion was a move forward by the Soviet Union to gain access to the warm waters (Arabian Sea). The general apprehension was that Pakistan would be the next target.

Jimmy Carter, who was in the last leg of the Presidency in the United States strongly condemned the Soviet invasion. Another development which took place which had important repercussions for the world was the Islamic revolution in Iran in the same month. "The new American President Ronald Regan embarked upon the policy not only to contain the Soviet Union but to bleed that country."²⁴ Pakistan, as in the past, took a conscious decision to side with the free world and facilitated the United States in the effort towards the withdrawal of the

²³ Shrivastava, Sanskar. "The World Reporter: News Opinion and Analysis." *1971 India Pakistan War: Role of Russia, China, America and Britain*. N.p., n.d. Web. 31 Oct. 2012.
<<http://www.theworldreporter.com/2011/10/1971-india-pakistan-war-role-of-russia.html>>.

²⁴ High Commissioner of Pakistan Afrasiab, Personal Interview, 23 October 2012

Soviet Union from Afghanistan. India, on the other hand, was not critical of Moscow on Afghanistan.

For ten long years, the war continued in Afghanistan; and Moscow kept bleeding. Not only Islamabad extended an all out support to the US, it also provided refuge to around five million Afghan refugees on its soil who had been uprooted from their country.

Understandably, the long war in Afghanistan had a tremendous strain on the Soviet morale and the country's economy. Some opine that all this also led to the dismemberment of the Soviet Union.

Analysis

The US policy of containment in South Asia has had its successes and failures. So far as Pakistan is concerned, the country was dismembered in 1971. The strength of the largest Islamic country in the world which was described in the 1960s as "the most allied ally of the United States,"²⁵ stood diminished. On the other hand, India, the ally of the USSR, emerged victorious. The victory proved a morale booster for New Delhi; India gained confidence and came out as a regional power. In response to a question by Peter Jennings to President Bill Clinton in New Delhi in 2000, as to why was the US not stressing the importance of the UN Resolutions on the issue of Jammu and Kashmir, Clinton just gave a brief response. He said that this has been the case "due to 1971."²⁶

²⁵ High Commissioner of Pakistan Afrasiab, Personal Interview, 23 October 2012.

²⁶ The interview was conducted live from Maurya Sheraton Hotel in the Indian capital.

More importantly, India felt guilty. After all, it had dismembered a sovereign and independent country, Pakistan, which has been an active member of the world comity, Islamic states and the United Nations.

There is another side to the coin as well that should not be overlooked. No doubt, the 1971 surrender was a humiliating defeat for Pakistan. Yet, it brought an acknowledgment in Islamabad of the state failure. Importantly, with the separation of East Pakistan, Pakistan became relatively easy to manage since all the other provinces of the country i.e, Sindh, NWFP (today Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), Punjab and Balochistan, were located adjacent to each other in a way as one integral whole. Pakistan's economy performed exceedingly well.

Significantly, India gave a reason to Pakistan to emphasize in its thought process of never allowing 1971 to be repeated ever again. The events relating to 1971 followed by the nuclear test by India in 1974, was perhaps the single most important factor that spearheaded Pakistan's nuclear program which culminated in five nuclear tests conducted by Islamabad in May 1998. Pakistan continues to be an international player. Immediately after the East Pakistan tragedy, the Islamic Summit took place in Lahore during which the entire Muslim world expressed solidarity with Pakistan. In his remarks during the Summit, King Faisal of Saudi Arabia declared Pakistan as the "fortress of Islam."²⁷

Later, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan mentioned earlier further highlighted the importance of Pakistan. Above all, the struggle for the right to self determination continues unabated in the

²⁷ High Commissioner of Pakistan Afrasiab, Personal Interview, 23 October 2012.

Indian held Kashmir where the hearts of the Kashmiri people beat together with the hearts of the people of Pakistan.

As far as Bangladesh is concerned, its emergence on the world map as an independent country gave confidence to many in former East Pakistan. The people of Bangladesh got full employment opportunities. They got control of the economy, defense and foreign policies of their country. Paradoxically, there also came a strong realization that before 1971, they were part of Pakistan. After 1971, they suddenly realized their heavy dependence on India.

India on its part, lost interest in Bangladesh after 1971. Former Foreign Secretary of Bangladesh Hemayetuddin has expressed the view, "I am not sure if the Indians ever considered seriously how to engage Bangladesh to their advantage. At times I was inclined to think that some in the Center (New Delhi) regarded Bangladesh as an extension of the state of West Bengal."²⁸ The views of the Indian military analysts about Bangladesh, would also be relevant. In an article carried by Indian Defence Review last year, Major General Sheru Thapliyal, opines:

- Although creation of Bangladesh was hailed as a defining moment in the history of the subcontinent..., it is turning out to be a strategic nightmare now. By creating Bangladesh, we have made an implacable enemy of Pakistan for whom Balkanisation of India by whatever means has become an article of faith.
- With Bangladesh as its Eastern Wing, Pakistan was always unbalanced. With its severance, Pakistan is now a viable and cohesive entity with its Armed Forces much

²⁸ Book entitled, 'A Neighbourly Affair- Assignment India' by Hemayetuddin. Published by The University Press Limited, Red Crescent House, 61 Motijheel C/A P. O. Box 2611, Dhaka in 2009; Page

more capable of not only defending her territory but carrying the war into India as per its doctrine of 'Offensive Defence'.

- Bangladesh in the meantime has reached the other extreme. Not only its history has been falsified to eliminate Indian Army's role in the creation of Bangladesh, it is firmly in the Pakistani camp – lock, stock and barrel.
- In future, Bangladesh may well claim North East to be an integral part of Bangladesh.²⁹

It would also be important to note that in July 2011, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh declared an off the record interview, "At least 25 percent" of Bangladeshis are "very anti-Indian."³⁰

The people of Bangladesh have their apprehensions towards the United States. Many consider the US as an ally of India. According to well known Bangladeshi analyst Syed Badrul Ahsan, the US embassy in Dhaka, "knew from July 1974 onward that some junior Bangladesh army officers were conspiring"³¹ against Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The officers maintained contact with mid-level embassy officials, "who certainly did not promise any assistance to the conspirators."³² At the same time, they "did not discourage the officers."³³

²⁹ Thapliyal, Maj Gen Sheru. "Indian Defence Review." *Indian Defence Review*. N.p., 1 Jan. 1986. Web. 31 Oct. 2012. <<http://www.indiandefencereview.com/news/creation-of-bangladesh-shining-moment-or-strategic-blunder/>>.

³⁰ "Prime Minister's Comment on Bangladesh Raises Eyebrows." *The Hindu*. N.p., n.d. Web. 31 Oct. 2012. <<http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/article2148355.ece>>.

³¹ Ahsan, Syed Badrul. "Milam ... and the Dangers around Us." *Milam ... and the Dangers around Us*. N.p., 23 Aug. 2012. Web. 31 Oct. 2012. <<http://www.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=246650>>.

³² Ahsan, Syed Badrul. "Milam ... and the Dangers around Us." *Milam ... and the Dangers around Us*. N.p., 23 Aug. 2012. Web. 31 Oct. 2012. <<http://www.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=246650>>.

³³ Ahsan, Syed Badrul. "Milam ... and the Dangers around Us." *Milam ... and the Dangers around Us*. N.p., 23 Aug. 2012. Web. 31 Oct. 2012. <<http://www.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=246650>>.

While Russian influence in Bangladesh today seems to be negligible, China is emerging as an important player in the economic development of this country. Interestingly, Pakistan, after helping the United States against the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan, has again emerged as the frontline state supporting the US in the war against terror.

Conclusion

Through its policy of containment, the United States has succeeded in ensuring that South Asia does not become the foothold of the communists. However, the Subcontinent did witness the results of the policies of the main actors – The United States and the Soviet Union. The Soviet ally, India broke up Pakistan which was the ally of the US. India and Bangladesh are two nations which were grateful to Moscow for its assistance in 1971. This gratitude gradually changed with the dismemberment of the Soviet Union and America becoming the sole super power after the demise of the USSR. Today, America has gained an edge over the Soviet Union by befriending India and Bangladesh. Interestingly, China continues to remain a friend of Pakistan and helping partner of Bangladesh.

Works Cited

- Afrasiab. *US Relations with South Asia [since Christopher Columbus] and Pakistan-India Interaction [1492-2002]*. Islamabad: Wordmate , 2002.
- Bhavan, Ajoy. *Communist Party of India (CPI) Official Website*. n.d.
- History Learning Site Russian Invasion of Afghanistan*. 2000-2012.
- History.com*. 1996-2012.
- Kuran, Peter. *AtomCentral. com* . 1982.
- Milinic, Jelena. *The World Reporter* . 2010.
- Oracle ThinkQuest. n.d. 29 march 2011.
- Timeline: Soviet war in Afghanistan* . 9th February 2009.
- Trueman, Chris. *historylearningsite.co.uk/nuclear_arms_race*. 2000.
- U.S Department of State Office of the History* . 3 December 2010.
- Article titled, 'Creation of Bangladesh: Shining Moment or Strategic Blunder' by Indian army officer Maj Gen Sheru Thapliyal, in Issue: Net Edition of 7 September 2011 in Indian Defence Review.
- Book entitled, 'A Neighbourly Affair: Assignment India' by Hemayetuddin. Published by The University Press Limited, Red Crescent House, 61 Motijheel C/A P. O. Box 2611, Dhaka in 2009; Page
- The Hindu, 1 July 2011
- Article titled 'Milam ... and the dangers around us' by Syed Badru Ahsan in The Daily Star of 23 August 2012.
- The Daily Beast*. Newsweek/Daily Beast, 15 May 2011
- High Commissioner of Pakistan Afrasiab, Personal Interview, 23 October 2012.
- BANGLAPEDIA: Communist Party of Bangladesh*
- Kashmir Information Network (KIN): A Paradise Turned into Hell*.
- Pakistani Diplomat Atozai, Personal Interview, 22 October 2012.
- Ahsan, Syed Badrul, The Daily Star, 23 August 2012
- Prime Minister's comment, The Hindu,