

Index

- Aaron, David, 179
Abdulla, refugee commissioner, 190
Abdul Rahman, Akhtar, 184–85, 189,
196, 266–67, 271, 274
Abu Zubaydah, 304
Accountability Commission, 242–43,
259
Afghanistan, 1, 101–5, 159–97
Amin government, 183–84,
353nn55–56
Balochi rebellion, 168–69, 170,
174–76
British influence, 160, 164
civil war, 226–28, 238–41
cold-war intelligence activities,
170, 178–80
constitution of 1964, 170–71
coup d'état of 1973, 167
Daoud government, 167–76
Durand Line, 160–61, 175
foreign aid, 164, 167–68, 175–76
foreign volunteer mujahideen,
191–93
Iranian aid, 175
Islamist parties, 103–5, 170–73,
177, 190, 200
Karmal government, 184, 353n55
Khudai Khidmatgaar, 160–61
Najibullah government, 195–96,
226–27
negotiated settlement of war, 193–
95
nineteenth century wars, 160
outreach to U.S. and Arab states,
175–76
Pakistani objectives, 173–77, 184–
87, 192–93, 200, 213–15, 222–23,
226–28, 262–63
Pashtun tribal areas, 46–47, 103,
159–62, 167, 175–76
proxy war against Pakistan, 174–76
refugees in Pakistan, 152–53, 173,
188–90, 194–95
road building, 164
Soviet influence, 103, 162–65, 167–
68, 170, 172, 175, 177
Soviet invasion and war, 36, 101,
140, 157, 166, 172–73, 183–97,
266–68, 353n55
Soviet withdrawal, 213, 274, 293
Taraki government, 176–79,
183–84

- training camps, 141–42, 152–53, 181, 185–90, 299
- Unocal pipeline, 240–41
- U.S. ambassador assassination, 177
- U.S. neglect during 1950s, 162–65
- U.S. support against Soviet Union, 170, 172–73, 177–94
- See also mujahideen; Pashtuns; Taliban; war on terrorism
- agricultural production, 11, 119
- Ahmad, Khurshid, 138, 146, 281
- Ahmad, Mirza Ghulam, 20, 106
- Ahmadi sect, 20–21, 106–7
- Ahmad Khan, Sir Syed, 93
- Ahmed, Imtiaz, 207, 223
- Ahsan, Admiral S. M., 69–70
- Akbar Ali, 132
- Akbar Khan, 29
- Akbar Khan, Muhammad, 60, 91
- Akhund, Iqbal, 210
- All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, 334n57
- Al Qaeda, 1, 2, 257, 297
- arrests, 304–6, 309, 329
- intelligence about, 261
- September 11, 2001 attacks, 301–2
- U.S. missile attacks of, 299–300, 306–7
- West African embassy attacks, 299–300
- Amanullah, King of Afghanistan, 170
- Amanullah Khan, 290
- Amar Sonar Bangla (My Golden Bengal), 69
- Amin, Hafizullah, 183–84, 353n55
- Amin ul-Haq, 132
- Amnesty International, 290–91
- Ansari, Maulana Zafar Ahmed, 25
- Ansari, Ziaul Islam, 192–93
- anti-Americanism, 34, 150
- attacks on U.S. buildings and citizens, 182–83, 209, 299, 307–8
- during elections of 1990, 220
- Gulf War, 222–23
- during Kashmir war of 1965, 47, 49
- opposition to war on terrorism, 302
- over nuclear weapons sanctions, 284
- Salman Rushdie fatwa, 209
- U.S. views of, 275, 323
- See also jihad culture
- Arab Muslim Brotherhood. See Muslim Brotherhood
- Arif, Khalid Mahmud, 103–4, 122, 126, 132–33, 175, 177, 214–15
- Armitage, Richard, 215, 306
- army. See military services
- Asghar Khan, 89–90
- Asian Development Bank, 247
- Awami League (AL), 51
- disqualification from National Assembly, 77
- elections of 1970, 58–60, 63–64, 338n19
- role in Bangladesh independence, 68–86
- secular vision of Pakistan, 66–67
- support of India, 341n76
- Ayub Khan, Gohar (son), 246
- Ayub Khan (father), 23, 148, 254, 324
- barring of Awami League, 63
- Bengal policies, 62
- educational reforms, 149
- foreign policies, 34–36, 39, 44–50
- Islamic ideology, 38–43, 50
- Kashmir war of 1965, 47–50, 264
- martial law, 314
- political role, 36–50
- resignation, 50, 53, 80

- suppression of dissent, 43–44, 52–53
- U.S. policies, 34–36, 39
- visit to Washington, 33
- Azhar, Maulana Masood, 300–301, 303, 306
- Azia, K. K., 149
- Aziz, Shaukat, 260, 321
- Aziz Khan, 252
- Azzam, Abdullah, 191–92

- Babar, Nasirullah, 240
- Babri mosque destruction, 226, 292
- Bacha-e-Saqqao, 170
- Al-Badr militia, 79–80
- Baghdad Pact, 34
- Baker, James A., 294–95
- Balochistan, 19, 101, 315
 - Afghan refugees, 185, 189–90
 - Afghan support, 168–70, 174–76
 - economic status, 153
 - insurgency, 101–4, 168–70, 174–76
 - irredentist claims, 161
 - Pashtun homelands, 160–62, 167
 - provincial government, 102–3
 - regional power-sharing arrangement, 168–69
 - repression of nationalist tribes, 167
 - smuggling, 194–95
- bandar bat term, 60
- Bangladesh, 150, 264–65, 316–17
 - Amar Sonar Bangla (My Golden Bengal), 69
 - civil war, 3, 67–86, 341n76
 - independence, 3–4, 66, 86
 - recognition by Pakistan, 100–101, 107, 343n42
 - See also civil war; East Pakistan
- Beg, Mirza Aslam, 199–201, 275–76, 279
 - during B. Bhutto administration, 203–4, 206, 213, 217, 219–20
 - elections of 1990, 219–20
 - Gulf War, 280–81, 287
 - nuclear weapons program, 282–83
 - replacement, 223–24
 - during Sharif administration, 222
- Behr, Edward, 126
- Bengal province. See East Pakistan
- Bhutto, Benazir, 142
 - Afghanistan policies, 213–15, 238–42
 - confrontations with Sharif, 204–6, 210
 - election of 1988, 201–4, 275
 - election of 1990, 219–21
 - election of 1993, 228–29
 - election of 2002, 320
 - Islamist opposition, 204–10, 276–79
 - Karachi uprisings, 231–34
 - Kashmir insurgency, 234–37, 276–79, 297–98
 - military opposition, 210–12, 236, 237
 - Murtaza Bhutto, 231–32
 - nuclear weapons program, 215–17, 246–47
 - persecution by Sharif, 223–25, 243
 - prime minister, 1988–1990, 204–19
 - prime minister, 1993–1996, 228–42, 297–98
 - Punjab border monitoring, 272
 - rapprochement with India, 210–13, 277
 - reform policies, 208, 229–30
 - removal from office, 1990, 217–19, 279
 - removal from office, 1996, 232, 241–42
 - return from exile, 194
 - Social Action Program, 229–30
 - as symbol of democracy, 210–12
 - Taliban, 238–42

- U.S. sanctions, 230–31
- Bhutto, Murtaza, 142, 231–32, 241
- Bhutto, Nusrat, 142, 207, 221
- Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali, 58, 66–68, 92–126
 - Afghanistan policies, 103–5, 174, 175
 - Ahmadi sect, 106–7
 - appointment of Zia ul-Haq, 91, 111–13
 - assumption of presidency, 90–92, 342n15
 - Awami League negotiations, 66–67
 - Balochistan uprising, 101–4, 174
 - civil society, 96, 109
 - civil war, 76
 - constitution of 1973, 105–6
 - economic achievements, 119
 - election of 1970, 50, 51
 - election of 1977, 113–22, 129
 - expansion of intelligence forces, 109–11
 - expansion of military, 93–95, 115, 264–65
 - fears of secessions, 99–104
 - Hamoodur Rehman Commission Report, 94–95
 - India policies, 93–94
 - Indira Gandhi meeting, 98–99
 - martial law, 96–97, 102–6, 113–14, 129
 - nationalization of industry, 105, 117–18
 - national security goals, 93–95
 - nuclear weapons development, 106, 264–65
 - overthrow by Zia ul-Haq, 91, 111, 114–15, 123–24, 126, 129, 255
 - Pakistan National Alliance negotiations, 121–26
 - political coalition, 95–96
 - post-election demonstrations, 121–23
 - power-sharing arrangements, 168–69
 - power struggle against Mujib, 67–68
 - recognition of Bangladesh, 100–101, 107, 343n42
 - reforms, 327
 - regional revolts, 168–69
 - secular views, 58, 92–96, 121–23
 - Sharia law, 121–23
 - Simla compromise over Kashmir, 98–99
 - Sindh background, 66
 - social-sector goals, 93–94
 - tilt towards religious conservatives, 106–9, 113–14, 121–23
 - travel, 125
 - trial and execution, 91, 111, 114–15, 137–38
- bin al-Shibh, Ramzi, 306
- bin Laden, Osama, 191–92, 240, 253
 - attempts to arrest, 309
 - fatwa against U.S., 306
 - U.S attacks on Al Qaeda camps, 299–300
- bin Qasim, Muhammad, 150
- bin Sayeed, Khalid, 8
- Blood, Archer, 81–82
- Bosnian Muslims, 292
- Bourke-White, Margaret, 30–31
- Brezhnev, Leonid, 183
- British India
 - in Afghanistan, 160, 164
 - defense strategy, 165
 - Durand Line, 160–61, 175
 - encouragement of sectarianism, 20
 - independence of princely states, 27
 - intelligence services, 20, 333nn 39–40

- Muslim status, 4, 26
- two-nation theory, 4
- Brown, Hank, 230–31
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew, 186–87
- Bureau of National Reconstruction, 40, 46
- Burleigh, Peter, 293
- Burns, John F., 235–36
- Bush (George H. W.) administration, 215–17, 221–22
 - aid to Pakistan, 262
 - Gulf War, 222–26, 280–81, 287
 - nuclear weapons sanctions, 282–86
- Bush (George W.) administration, 255–56
 - Kashmir policies, 302–3
 - “state-sponsored terrorism” designation, 294–97
 - views of Musharraf, 309
- Byroade, Henry, 121
- Callard, Keith, 18–19
- Carter (Jimmy) administration, 128–29, 177–83, 186–88, 353n56
- Central Intelligence Agency. *See* U.S. government
- Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), 34, 176
- Chechnya, 235
- China
 - alliances with Pakistan, 44–45, 51, 97, 115
 - Kargil crisis, 251
 - military aid to Pakistan, 105, 115
 - Nixon’s opening of, 52, 81–83
 - Sino-India border war of 1962, 45
 - support of Afghan mujahideen, 179–80
 - Xinjiang province Muslims, 171
- Choudhury, G. W., 66–67
- CIA. *See* U.S. government
- civilian leaders. *See* Bhutto, Benazir; Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali; Sharif, Nawaz
- civil services
 - Bengali members, 61–62
 - British participation, 26
 - partition terms, 26
 - power, 25–26, 36
- civil society, under Z. Bhutto, 96, 109
- civil war, 67–86, 264–65
 - boycotts and civil disobedience, 68–70
 - civilian casualties, 73
 - defeat of Pakistan, 87–90
 - India’s role, 72, 78–80, 82–87, 89, 341n76
 - Islamist participants, 78–80, 316
 - media coverage, 88–89
 - Mukti Bahini, 72–73, 77, 80
 - prisoners of war, 87, 99
 - razakaar (volunteer) force, 79–80
 - religious propaganda, 75–77
 - U.S. support of Pakistan, 80–86
 - Yahya Khan’s role, 67–71
- Clinton (Bill) administration, 252–53
 - Pakistan’s tests of nuclear weapons, 246–47
 - U.S. attacks on Al Qaeda camps, 299–300
 - U.S. sanctions on Pakistan, 230–31, 246–47
- Cohen, Stephen, 142, 153, 332–33n31, 365n5
- Coll, Steve, 189, 223–24, 227, 238–39
- Communist party activity, 32
- Congress Party, 265–66
- Constituent Assembly, 7–8, 16–17, 19–20, 25
 - See also* National Assembly
 - constitution of 1956, 13, 25, 314
 - constitution of 1962, 43–44, 314
 - constitution of 1971, 78, 314

- constitution of 1973, 105–6, 314
 - amendment on parliamentary parties, 244
 - amendments by Zia ul-Haq, 137, 142–43, 154, 199, 258
 - amendments on presidential powers, 243, 258, 318
 - extraconstitutional “Troika” arrangement, 257–58
 - National Security Council, 259
 - succession to presidency provisions, 199
- Dacca Betar Kendra, 69
- Daoud, Sardar Muhammad, 103, 161, 165
 - coup d’état of 1973, 167–68
 - foreign policies, 175–76
 - overthrow, 176
 - proxy war against Pakistan, 168–70, 174–76
- Daughter of the East (B. Bhutto), 209
- Dawn* newspaper, 14
- Deobandi school, 151, 202, 292, 293
- Dewal Sharif, Pir Sahib, 44
- Dostum, Abdul Rashid, 226–28
- Dubs, Adolph, 177
- Dulles, John Foster, 33, 44–45
- Durand, Sir Mortimer, 160
- Durand Line, 160–61, 175
- Durrani, Asad, 219, 279, 359n108
- East Pakistan
 - Awami League connections, 51, 58–60, 63–64, 66
 - boycotts and civil disobedience, 68–69
 - coup d’état of 1958, 37–38
 - economic status, 61, 65
 - elections of 1970, 58–60, 63–64, 338n19
 - Kashmir wars, 47
 - language factors, 17–19
 - name change to Bangladesh, 66
 - partition, 6–7, 10
 - role in Pakistani governance, 19, 51, 61–63
 - secular political goals, 19, 62–67
 - See also Bangladesh; civil war
 - economic status, 313, 324–29
 - Afghan refugees, 152–53, 173, 192–93
 - under Ayub Khan, 39
 - debt forgiveness, 188, 262, 328
 - drug trafficking, 173, 195
 - of East Pakistan, 61, 65
 - employment in Gulf states, 152–53
 - foreign exchange, 61
 - international sanctions, 246–48
 - nationalization of industry, 105, 117–18, 119
 - oil prices, 106
 - partition and independence, 11–12
 - reform policies of B. Bhutto, 229–30
 - smuggling, 194–95
 - terrorism sanctions, 295–97
 - trade with India, 245–46
 - U.S. aid, 33, 35, 45–46, 97, 105, 152–53, 231, 262
 - U.S. sanctions, 230–31, 261–62
 - Western donors, 15–16, 152–53
- Edhi, Abdul Sattar, 237
- educational system, 2–3, 313, 329
 - Islamization under Zia ul-Haq, 149–52
 - madrassas degrees, 152
 - standardization under Ayub Khan, 39–40
 - university system, 151–52
- Egypt, 18
- Eisenhower (Dwight)
 - administration, 33, 44–50

- elections
 Constituent Assembly, of 1945–1946, 7–8
 divided Muslim and non-Muslim electorates, 140
 national, of 1965, 44, 336–37n111
 national, of 1970, 57–66, 101, 338n19
 national, of 1977, 113–22
 national, of 1985, 155
 national, of 1988, 201–4
 national, of 1990, 219–21, 279
 national, of 1993, 228–29
 national, of 1997, 243
 national, of 2002, 1–2, 259–60, 319, 326–27
 political party registrations, 140
 postponement by Zia ul-Haq, 123–24, 126–28, 140
 provincial, of 1951, 13–14
 provincial, of 1977, 113–22
 referendum of 1984, 154–55
 referendum of 2002 for 5-year term, 259–60
 special elections of 1971, 77–78
 See also voting rights
- Export-Import Bank, 295
- external relations. See foreign policies
- Al-Faran, 236
- Farland, Joseph, 60, 83
- Farman Ali Khan, Rao, 73, 77–78, 99, 127–28, 340n55
- Fazlul Haq, A. K. M., 63
- Federal Advisory Council, 143
- Federal Investigation Agency (FIA), 110
- Federal Security Force (FSF), 110–11
- Feisal bin Abdel Aziz, King of Saudi Arabia, 107
- Feldman, Herbert, 53, 106–7
- F-16 fighter aircraft, 230–31
- Ford (Gerald) administration, 207
- foreign policies
 Afghanistan objectives, 173–77, 184–87, 192–97, 200, 213–15, 222–23, 242
 alliances with China, 44–45, 51, 97, 115, 179–80
 alliances with U.S., 30–36, 44–50, 52, 88, 115, 152–53, 162–63, 172–73, 186–90, 199–200, 261–63
 anti-Soviet jihads, 162–66, 172–74, 180–81, 183–97
 Ayub Khan’s goals, 44–50
 containment of communism, 32–36, 39, 44–45
 control of terrorist groups, 297–309
 Gulf War, 225–26, 280–81, 287
 Liaquat Ali Khan’s objectives, 31–36
 Musharraf’s “enlightened moderation” rhetoric, 2, 309, 320–29
 towards Palestine, 31
 Pashtun homeland demands, 160–62
 proxy war against Afghanistan, 174–76
 recognition of Bangladesh, 100–101, 107
 recognition of Taliban, 242
 South Asian ties, 270
 “state-sponsored terrorism” warnings, 226, 230, 286, 293–97
 war on terrorism, 1, 36, 261–63, 301–9, 312
 See also Afghanistan; India-Pakistan rivalry
- Fox, Roy, 60
- Franks, Tommy, 256–57, 302
- freedom fighters vs. terrorists, 2

- Friday Times* newspaper, 241, 293
- future options
- aid requirements, 324–29
 - civil society, 326–27
 - secularization, 312–13, 326–28
 - U.S. Defense Department options, 323–24
- Gandhi, Indira, 86, 266, 270, 272
- Gandhi, Mohandas, 4, 26
- Gandhi, Rajiv, 210–13, 270, 277–78
- Gates, Robert, 178–83, 186
- Gauhar, Altaf, 40–41
- generals. See military services
- Ghaffar Khan, Abdul, 160–62, 168
- Ghafoor Ahmad, 125
- Ghulam Muhammad, 18, 36, 92
- Gorbachev, Mikhail, 193
- Gorchakov, Alexander, 160
- Gul, Hamid, 202–4, 210, 213–15, 219, 229, 277, 287, 365n20
- Gul, Intiaz, 240
- Gul, Must, 298
- Gulf War, 222–26, 280–81
- anti-Americanism, 222–23
 - Pakistan’s participation, 287
- Gul Hassan Khan, 74, 89–90, 342n15
- role under Z. Bhutto, 90–91, 96–97
 - surrender in Dhaka, 96
 - views of Zia ul-Haq, 111
- Haass, Richard N., 255–56
- Haig, Alexander M., Jr., 188
- Hamid, Shahid, 32
- Hamid Khan, 90
- Hamoodur Rehman Commission Report, 94–95
- Harakat-e-Jihad-e-Islami, 292
- Harkat-ul-Ansar, 236, 300, 307
- Harkat-ul-Mujahideen, 236, 300, 306, 307
- Harrison, Selig, 170, 353n55
- Hasan, Khalid, 101
- Hasan, Mubashir, 111
- Hassan, Javed, 268–69
- Al Haz Amin al-Husseini, 19
- Hekmatyar, Gulbuddin
- civil war role, 226–27, 238
 - Hizbe Islami group, 173–74, 190
 - Pakistan’s support, 103, 172–75, 195, 213–14, 238, 273
- Al-Hilal magazine, 307
- Hindu Pandit community of Kashmir, 368n70
- historical background, 2–51
- British period, 4–11
 - creation of central government ideology, 14–20
 - development of religious nationalist ideology, 15–18
 - “The Islamic Republic of Pakistan” name, 25, 43
 - “Islamistan” vision, 18
 - Mughal period, 4
 - national language, 15, 17–18, 19
 - Objectives Resolution of 1949, 16–17
 - partition and independence, 10–16, 13, 26–27
 - population shifts, 10–11, 13
- Hizbe-e-Islami party, 103–4, 173–74, 177, 190, 226–27
- Hizb-e-jihad, 207
- Hizbul Mujahideen, 287, 289–90
- Horelick, Arnold, 179
- Hosain, Kamal, 75
- Howard, John, 285–86
- Hudood Ordinance, 144–45, 350n54
- Hughes, Karen, 255–56
- Hussain, Abida, 224
- Hussain, Altaf, 233–34
- Hussain, Mushahid, 283
- Hussain Ahmed, Qazi, 145, 201–2, 207–8, 249, 280, 298

- Hussein, Saddam, 280–81
al-Husseini, Al-Haj Amin, 191
- Ibrahim, Dawood, 292
- IJI. See Islami Jamhoori Ittehad
- Imtiaz, I. A., 145
- India, 1, 5–6, 265, 316–17, 323
Afghanistan policies, 266
Bombay Stock Exchange attack, 1993, 287
Congress Party, 265–66
constitution, 13
destruction of Babri mosque at Ayodhya, 226, 292
diplomatic relations with Pakistan, 266, 305
friendship treaty with Soviet Union, 83–84
Indian Airlines hijacking, 301
internal insurgencies, 270–72
ISI presence, 267–73, 365n30
Karachi violence, 234
Kashmir policies, 290–91
nuclear weapons tests, 246
Operation Brasstacks, 283
Pakistani military views of, 267–70
Parliament attack, 303
release of jihadis, 301
Sikh insurgencies, 270–72
Sino-India border war of 1962, 45
trade with Pakistan, 245–46
See also India-Pakistan rivalry
- India: A Study in Profile (Hassan), 268–69
- Indian National Congress, 4, 7–8, 10, 27, 160–61
- India-Pakistan rivalry, 14–16, 26–29, 149–50, 319
Afghan separatist activities, 159–62, 167
Bengali independence, 67, 72, 78–80, 82–86, 82–87, 89, 341n76
- Kargil crisis, 249–54, 299–300
nuclear weapons testing, 246–47
Pakistan's characterization of India, 41–42, 86, 267–70
partition, 10–11, 13, 26–30, 150
peace talks of Musharraf, 308–9
peace talks of Nawaz Sharif, 248–49, 251, 263–64, 363n205
rapprochement under B. Bhutto, 210–13, 277
repression of dissent, 43–44, 52–53
Sikh insurgencies, 270–72
Simla compromise, 98–99
threats of war in 2001–2002, 303–5
U.S. role, 44–45, 80–86, 98
war of 1965, 165, 264
war of 1971, 165
under Z. Bhutto, 93–94
under Zia ul-Haq, 265–68
See also Kashmir
- Information Ministry, 55
- Intelligence Bureau (IB), 30, 223, 336–37n111
infiltration of political parties, 55
role in civil war, 77
role in elections, 57–59
Z. Bhutto's support for, 109–10
- intelligence services, 3, 29–30
under Britain, 20–21, 333nn39–40
expansion under Z. Bhutto, 93–95, 109–11
Islamist connections, 3, 68, 77, 172–73
- International Islamic University, 191
- International Monetary Fund, 247, 286, 295
- Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), 30
Afghanistan objectives, 172–75, 180–83, 213–15, 222–23, 226–28, 263–64
Afghanistan operations, 103–4, 141–42, 170, 172–75, 177, 184–97

- Afghan mujahideen recruitment
and training, 141–42, 185–92,
242
- CIA collaboration, 178–83, 187–90,
195–97, 270–71, 286–87
- civil war role, 77
- covert Kashmiri insurgencies,
212–13, 222–23, 226, 234–37,
242, 245, 261, 270, 272–80, 287–
308
- election interference under Zia ul-
Haq, 113–33
- election manipulation in 1988,
201–4, 328
- election manipulation in 1990,
219–21, 248, 279, 328
- election manipulation in 1997, 328
- election manipulation in 2002,
259–60
- Gulf War, 280–81
- impression of invisibility, 229
- India operations, 267–73, 365n30
- interference with B. Bhutto’s
governance, 204–19
- Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI), 201–
2, 229, 276, 279, 280
- Islamist connections, 141–42, 206–
9, 292
- Kabul operations, 170
- Pakistan National Alliance
connections, 124–25
- political interference, 55, 91, 113–
33, 204–19
- role in Zia ul-Haq’s government,
141–42
- “state-sponsored terrorism”
designations, 226, 230, 286, 293–
97
- Taliban connections, 239–42, 253
- Z. Bhutto’s support for, 109–10
- See also jihad culture
- Iqbal, Muhammad, 5
- Iran
aid to Afghanistan, 175
- Balochi rebellion, 102, 168–69
- nuclear weapons, 261
- revolution, 177–80
- Savak activities in Kabul, 170
- Shiite radicalism, 141, 144
- Iraq
Balochi rebellion, 102, 169
- Gulf War, 222–23, 225–26, 280–81,
287
- invasion of Kuwait, 217–18
- Ishaq Khan, Ghulam, 199–200, 275
- during B. Bhutto administration,
203–4, 206, 217
- efforts against Nawaz Sharif, 225
- resignation, 228
- during Sharif administration, 222,
223, 228
- Islamic conference, Karachi, 1949,
18–19
- “The Islamic Republic of Pakistan”
name, 25, 43
- Islamic summit, Lahore, 106, 107
- Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI), 201–4,
228
- Afghanistan policies, 214
- election of 1990, 219–21, 280
- funding sources, 209–10
- ISI involvement, 229
- Nawaz coalition, 279
- opposition to B. Bhutto, 206–10,
212, 218, 276
- Islami Jamiat-e-Talaba, 24, 79–80, 96
- “Islamistan” vision, 18
- Islamist ideology, 1–3, 18–26, 315–23
- Afghanistan objectives, 173–77,
184–87, 192–93, 200, 213–15,
262–63
- Afghan jihad, 191–93
- anti-Ahmadi sect activities, 20–21,
106–7

- Ayub Khan's views, 38–43, 50
 Bangladesh, 88, 100–101
 civil war, 78–80, 82–86, 99
 clerics' roles in the state, 147–52
 constitution of 1973, 105–6
 desire for Taliban-type regime, 245
 education, 40, 149–50
 election of 1977, 117–18
 election of 1984, 154–55
 election of 1988, 202–4
 election of 2002, 320–21, 326–27
 Gulf War, 280–81
 "ideological frontier" role, 51–52
 intelligence service manipulation, 68
 Jinnah's secular intentions, 12–13
 Liaquat's goals, 31, 34
 Maududi's views, 21–26, 41
 in military under Yahya Khan, 55–58
 in military under Z. Bhutto, 99–100
 minimized by civil-military government, 37
 Ministry of Religious Affairs, 107
 Musharraf's "enlightened moderation," 2, 309, 320–29
 nuclear weapons testing, 246–47, 262
 opposition to B. Bhutto, 206–10, 237–38, 276–79
 opposition to Z. Bhutto, 92–97, 100–101, 106–9, 113–14, 137–38, 343n42
 opposition to peace with India, 249
 political party emergence, 20, 43–44, 147–48
 public opinion, 311, 326–27
 Salman Rushdie fatwa, 208–9
 Sharia law, 121–23, 127, 155–56, 237–38, 245
 Shiite-Sunni sectarian conflicts, 141, 144
 status of women, 44, 144–45, 202, 207–8, 225
 Suhrawardy's views, 39
 Z. Bhutto's tilt towards religious conservatives, 106–9, 113–14
 Zakat collections, 140–41
 Zia ul-Haq encouragement, 131–40, 143–48, 156–57, 349n51
 See also anti-Americanism; jihad culture; Kashmir
 Ittehad-e-Islami, 190
 Jahan Dad Khan, 112–13, 126–27
 Jaish-e-Muhammad, 301–3, 306
 Jalal, Ayesha, 5–6, 9, 14–15
 Jamaat-e-Islami, 21–26
 Afghanistan objectives, 171–72, 214
 campaign against B. Bhutto, 240–41
 Charar Sharif shrine siege, 298
 civil war, 77, 79–80
 election of 1970, 64
 election of 1984, 155
 election of 1988, 201–4
 election of 1990, 220
 election of 2002, 259–60
 funding, 171
 Hizbul Mujahideen, 287, 289–90
 Islami Jamhoori Ittehad membership, 207
 Karachi strike, 241
 Kashmir jihad, 234, 273, 287, 289–90, 298
 media and propaganda work, 58
 opposition to Ayub Khan's government, 43–44
 opposition to peace with India, 249
 opposition to Z. Bhutto, 96–97, 137–39

- political influence, 77, 112, 152
- recognition of Bangladesh, 100–101
- spin-off parties, 58
- student organization IJT, 24
- support for Zia ul-Haq, 123–24, 136–40, 196, 346n106
- Tarjuman-al-Quran* journal, 281
- U.S. embassy burning, 182–83
- women’s status, 145
- Jamaat-ul-Ansar, 307
- Jamali, Zafarullah, 260
- Jamiat-e-Ahl-e-Hadith, 207
- Jamiat-e-Islami Afghanistan, 103–4, 171–74, 177, 190, 227
- Jamiat-e-Mashaikh, 207
- Jamiat-e-Ulema Islam, 20, 64, 217
 - Deobandi participation, 151, 202
 - election of 2002, 259–60
 - Islami Jamhoori Ittehad membership, 207
 - provincial coalitions, 102–3
 - Taliban origins, 239–40
- Jamiat Ulema Hind, 7–8
- Jamiat Ulema Pakistan (JUP), 58, 64, 77
- Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), 273, 287
- Jammu province, 1, 27–30, 319, 368n70
 - All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, 334n57
 - ISI-planned insurgencies, 212–13, 222–23
 - map, xii
 - Simla compromise, 98–99
 - See also Kashmir
- Janata Party, 265–66
- Jang* newspaper, 303
- Jatoi, Ghulam Mustafa, 202–3, 219
- jihād culture, 3, 20, 29–30, 261–309
 - Al-Hilal magazine, 307
 - anti-Soviet jihads, 166, 172–74, 180–97
 - arrests of militants, 303–9
 - assassination plots against Musharraf, 306–8
 - attack on Bombay Stock Exchange, 287
 - attack on Parliament, 303
 - attack on U.S. Consulate in Karachi, 307–8
 - attacks on Srinigar legislature, 302–3
 - under B. Bhutto, 276–79, 297–98
 - connections with Al Qaeda, 306
 - Daniel Pearl murder, 301, 307
 - ethnic cleansing, 368n70
 - following September 11, 2001 attacks, 301–9
 - foreign fighters, 191–93, 288–89, 321
 - international sanctions, 246–48, 286, 295–97
 - ISI-supported insurgencies, 212–13, 222–23, 226, 234–37, 242, 245, 261
 - Kashmir insurgencies, 245, 272–80, 287–308
 - Kashmir wars, 29–30, 47, 48–49
 - leadership lifestyles, 307
 - Musharraf’s failure to control, 297–309
 - recruitment and training of fighters, 277–78, 287, 292, 299
 - under Sharif, 279–300
 - suicide attacks, 291, 299
 - support of Sikh insurgencies, 270–71
 - training camps, 277–78, 299
 - under Zia ul-Haq, 272–76
 - See also Kashmir; mujahideen; terrorist groups

- Jilani Khan, Ghulam
 appointment of Zia ul-Haq, 111–12
 backing of Z. Bhutto, 91, 114, 125–26
 role in 1977 elections, 116–17
 role under Zia ul-Haq, 168–69
- Jinnah, Fatima, 44, 336–37n111
- Jinnah, Muhammad Ali, 4–13, 22, 26–27, 93, 95, 249
 Bourke-White interview, 30–31
 death, 13
 focus on religious unity, 5–10, 108
- Junejo, Mohammed Khan, 155, 194, 195, 196, 218
- Karachi uprisings, 231–34, 241, 272
- Karamat, Jehangir, 236, 245, 247–48, 281
- Karmal, Babrak, 184, 353n55
- Karul Fikr, 171
- Kashmir, 1–2, 25–31, 301, 319, 334n57, 368n70
 All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, 334n57
 Ayub Khan's policies, 45–46, 264
 bus service, 249, 308
 covert ISI-supported insurgencies, 212–13, 222–23, 226, 234–37, 242, 245, 261, 270, 272–80, 287–308
 election of 1987, 273–74
 escalation of insurgency in 2001–2002, 303–5
 following September 11, 2001 attacks, 301–9
 Harkat-ul-Ansar hostage crisis, 236
 Hindu Pandit community expulsions, 368n70
 map, xii
 post-9/11 status, 261
 Simla compromise, 98–99
- Srinigar legislature attacks, 302–3
- UN peacekeeping forces, 29
- U.S. relationship, 34
- use of “irregular forces,” 46–47
- war of 1965, 47–50, 264
- war of 1971, 165
- Zia ul-Haq's policies, 272–76
 See also India-Pakistan rivalry; jihad culture
- Kennedy, Charles, 146
- Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, 306
- Khalil, Maulana Fazlur Rehman, 236, 240, 306–7
- Khaliq-uz-zaman, Chaudhry, 17–18
- Khalis, Yunus, 190
- Khan, A. Q., 261, 283–84, 309, 367n54
- Khan Sahib, Dr., 162
- Khomeini, Ayatollah, 144
- Khudai Khidmatgaar, 160–61
- Kidwai, Hamid Asghar, 248
- Kissinger, Henry, 81, 84–85
- Kuwait invasion, 217–18, 280
- Kux, Dennis, 182, 230, 282–83, 287, 297
- Ladakh region, 29
- Lamb, Christina, 204
- LaPorte, Robert, Jr., 237–38
- Lashkar-e-Taiba, 299, 303, 306
- legal system, 2–3
 judicial powers, 240–41, 244–45
 law enforcement, 308
 Sharia law, 121–23, 127, 155–56, 237–38, 245
 Supreme Court, 244–45
- Leghari, Farooq, 229, 233, 241–44
- Liaquat Ali Khan, 16–17
 assassination, 33, 36
 foreign policy objectives, 31–36
 views of Maulana Maududi, 23
 1950 visit to Washington, 32–33

- Libya, 261
literacy rate, 313
- Mahmood, Mufti, 121
Maiwandi, Spozhmai, 239
Majlis-e-Ahrar, 20
Majlis-e-Shura, 143
Maktab al-Khidmat, 191–92
Mamdot, Iftikhar, 23
Maniruzzaman, Talukder, 68–69
map, xii
Markaz Al-Dawa wal-Irshad, 299
Markazi Jamiat Ulema Islam, 58
Massoud, Ahmed Shah, 172, 174, 226–28, 238–41, 242
Matinuddin, Kamal, 240
Maududi, Maulana Sayyid Abul Ala, 150
 election of 1965, 44
 endorsement of Zia ul-Haq, 139
 influence in Islamization process, 21–26, 41, 122, 171–74
 written works, 112, 171
 See also Jamaat-e-Islami
- media
 Afghanistan-Soviet war coverage, 192
 civil war coverage, 88–89
 Dacca Radio, 69
 journalist strike, 58
 nuclear program coverage, 217
 propaganda role, 40, 55
 reforms, 53, 208, 321
 under Z. Bhutto, 113, 137–38
- Military Intelligence Directorate (MI), 229
military services, 25–36, 45–46, 332–33n31
 Army Chief role, 257–58
 ballistic missile program, 256–57
 Balochistan uprising, 168–70, 174–76
 Bengali members, 61–62
 British participation, 26, 33
 Chinese aid, 105, 115
 civil war with East Pakistan, 67–92
 constitutional role, 78
 expansion under Z. Bhutto, 93–95, 115
 F-16 fighter aircraft, 230–31
 foreign fighters, 191–93, 288–89, 321
 Hamoodur Rehman Commission Report, 94–95
 “ideological frontier” role, 51–52
 impression of invisibility, 229
 India-Pakistan rivalry, 14–15, 82–86, 93–95, 267–73
 intelligence branch, 110
 irregular forces, 46–47, 101, 110–11, 172
 Islamist connections, 3, 55–60, 78–80, 99–100, 238, 260
 Islamization under Zia ul-Haq, 112–13, 127–28, 146–48, 151, 156
 Kargil action, 249–54, 299–300
 martial law under Ayub Khan, 36–43, 314
 martial law under Musharraf, 262–64
 martial law under Yahya Khan, 50–86, 338n19
 martial law under Z. Bhutto, 96–97, 102–4
 martial law under Zia ul-Haq, 112, 136–37
 National Defense and Security Council, 242, 248
 National Security Council, 247–48, 259
 opposition to peace with India, 249
 ouster of Sharif, 247–48

- ouster of Yahya Khan, 89–91
- ousters of B. Bhutto, 217–19, 237–38
- overthrow and execution of Z. Bhutto, 113–15
- political role, 53–55, 78, 311–29
- prestige, 87
- public opinion, 200, 217
- relationships with Pentagon
 - officials, 231, 256–57, 302, 323
- strategic defense plans, 165–67
- U.S. military aid, 97, 104–5, 115, 152–53, 163, 172–73, 187–90, 199–200, 286–87, 309, 365n5
- Zarb-e-Momin exercises, 217
- See also Afghanistan; Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI); jihad culture; nuclear weapons program
- Mindanao, Philippines, 235
- Ministry of Information, 40
- Ministry of Religious Affairs, 107, 114
- Mirza, Iskander, 23, 36, 37–38
- Moro Islamic Liberation Front, 191
- Motamar al-Alam al-Islami (Muslim World Congress), 18, 191
- Mountbatten, Louis, 28
- Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD), 153–54
- Mughal period, 4
- Muhajir Qaumi Movement (MQM), 233–34, 241
- Muhammad Ali, Chaudhry, 25
- Muhammad Nadir Khan, King of Afghanistan, 170
- mujahideen
 - in Afghanistan, 174, 179–80, 195, 213–15, 226–28
 - foreign volunteers, 191–93
 - “freedom fighter” label, 193
 - funding, 141–42, 152–53, 178–79, 181, 186–93
 - ISI support, 141–42, 185–92, 213–15
 - Maktab al-Khidmat, 191–92
 - recruitment and training, 141–42, 181, 185–92, 194–95, 235–36, 242
 - terrorism, 235–36
 - See also Afghanistan; jihad culture
- Mujibur Rahman, Sheikh, 51, 60, 66
- Agartala conspiracy case, 63–64
- Bangladesh presidency, 100, 107
- role in independence, 66–86, 341n76
- struggle with Z. Bhutto, 67–68
- See also Bangladesh
- Mukti Bahini, 72–73, 77, 80
- Musharraf, Pervez, 2
 - Afghanistan objectives, 262–63
 - appointment by Sharif, 248–49
 - arrests of Al Qaeda members, 304–6, 309, 324, 329
 - assassination plots, 306, 307–8, 321, 326
 - attempted coup d’état by Sharif, 182
 - coup d’état against Sharif, 253–56, 300
 - crackdowns on militants, 303–9
 - “enlightened moderation” rhetoric, 2, 309, 320–29
 - India policies, 303–5, 308–9
 - Kargil crisis, 251–52, 299–300
 - Kashmir policies, 261, 300–309
 - National Security Council, 259
 - near-war with India, 303–5
 - nuclear weapons goals, 261
 - political goals, 261–63
 - post-9/11 alliance with U.S., 261–63, 303–9, 312, 320–29
 - presidential powers, 259–60, 318
 - pro-Western stance, 281
 - 2002 referendum, 259–60
 - support of Taliban, 261, 302–3

- treaties with U.S., 36
- U.S. military connections, 256–57
- Muslim Brotherhood, 19, 21
 - model for other Islamist groups, 171–72
 - in Pakistan, 24, 191
- Muslim League. *See* Pakistan Muslim League (PML)
- Muslim United Front (MUF), 273–74
- Muslim World Congress, 18
- Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA), 259–60, 320–21, 326–27

- Nadir Khan, Muhammad, 170
- Najibullah, Mohammad, 195–96, 213, 226–27
- names of Pakistan, 25, 43
- Nasarullah Khan, Nawabzada, 124–25
- Nasir, Javed, 238, 291–93, 295–97, 368n73
- Nasr, Vali, 21
- National Accountability Bureau, 242–43, 259
- National Assembly, 25
 - Awami League’s disqualification, 77–78
 - elections of 1970, 57–66, 338n19
 - elections of 1977, 113–22
 - Yahya Khan’s postponement, 67–69
- National Awami Party (NAP), 64, 101–4, 113, 168–69
- National Defense and Security Council, 242, 248
- National Democratic Institute (NDI), 221
- National Democratic Party (NDP), 113
- National Security Council, 55, 242, 259
- Nawaz, Asif, 224–26, 228, 281, 295–96

- Nazimuddin, Khwaja, 6–7
- Nehru, Jawaharlal, 4, 27–29, 47
- Newsom, David, 179
- Niazi, A. A. K., 73, 76–77, 79–80
- Niazi, Maulana Abdul Sattar Khan, 9, 209
- Niazi, Maulana Kausar, 107, 121, 208–10
- Nixon (Richard) administration, 52
 - policies towards Z. Bhutto’s government, 98, 104–5
 - support of Pakistan in civil war, 80–86
 - trip to China, 81–83
- Nizam-e-Islam Party, 77
- Nizam-e-Mustafa Group, 207
- Nizam-e-Mustafa system, 121–23, 127
- Noor, Masood Nabi, 120
- Noorani, Zaim, 194
- Nordlinger, Eric, 129
- Northern Alliance, 242
- Northern Areas, map, xii
- North Korea, 261
- North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), 1–2, 101, 315
 - Afghan refugees, 185, 189–90
 - coalition government, 102–3
 - economic status, 153
 - elections of 1951, 13
 - elections of 1977, 120
 - Malakand revolt, 237–38
 - Pashtun homeland demands, 160–62, 167
 - revolt against central government, 168–69
 - smuggling, 194–95
- nuclear weapons program, 1, 261–65, 329
 - development, 106, 108, 264–65
 - in India, 107
 - technology sales, 261, 283–84, 367n54

- testing phase, 222, 246–47
 U.S. sanctions, 173, 180, 188, 200, 215–17, 221–22, 224, 230–31, 281–87, 309, 367n46
 NWFP. *See* North-West Frontier Province
- Oakley, Robert, 203–4, 215, 219, 284
 Objectives Resolution of 1949, 16–17
 official names of Pakistan, 25, 43
 Omar, Mullah, 240
 Operation Searchlight, 71
 See also civil war
 Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC), 19, 107–8
- Pakistan Democratic Party, 77
 Pakistan International Airlines hijacking, 142
 Pakistan Muslim League (PML), 4–14, 21, 23
 civil war, 77
 elections of 1945–1946, 7–9
 elections of 1970, 55, 59–60, 64
 elections of 1993, 228–29
 elections of 2002, 259–60, 320–21
 Junejo presidency, 156
 Karachi strike, 241
 membership in Islami Jamhoori Ittehad, 207
 National Assembly seats, 77
 National Defense and Security Council, 242
 Pashtun support, 160–61
 under Yahya Khan, 57–58
 Pakistan National Alliance (PNA)
 elections of 1977, 117–21
 intelligence services connections, 124–25
 Islamic views, 121–23, 127
 role in Zia ul-Haq’s government, 138
- Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), 51, 58–60, 92–93, 106
 anti-Americanism, 67
 Bhutto family leadership, 142, 210
 civil war, 76
 elections of 1970, 64, 338n19
 elections of 1977, 117–22
 elections of 1985, 155
 elections of 1988, 201–4
 elections of 1990, 219–21
 elections of 1993, 228–29
 elections of 2002, 320–21
 India policies, 210–11
 National Assembly seats, 78
 persecution by Sharif, 223–24, 245
 response to Bhutto’s execution, 139
 secular views, 92–93
 Sindh power-sharing, 233–34
 suppression by Zia ul-Haq, 139, 144
 See also Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali
- Pakistan Railways, 205
 Pandit, Vijay Lakshmi, 26–27
 partition, 26–30, 150
 Jammu and Kashmir, 27–30
 population shifts, 10–11, 13
 princely states, 27–28
 See also East Pakistan; Punjab province
- Pashtuns, 19, 33
 Afghanistan’s claim on tribal areas, 46–47, 103, 159–62, 167, 175–76
 Durand Line, 160–61, 175
 Muslim League, 160–62
 National Awami Party (NAP), 168–69
 Pashtunistan vision, 161–62, 174–76
 regional power-sharing arrangement, 168–69

- reign in Afghanistan, 170
- support of Daoud, 168
- support of Indian National Congress, 160–61
- Pearl, Daniel, 301, 307
- Pentagon, September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, 1, 301–3
- People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), 167–68, 170
- Amin government, 183–84, 353n56
- Taraki government, 176–79, 183–84, 353n56
- Perry, William, 231
- Platt, Nicholas, 293–95
- PML. See Pakistan Muslim League
- political parties
 - banning, by Yahya Khan, 102
 - Islamist party emergence, 20, 43–44, 147–48
 - opposition under Bhutto, 113–14
 - populist, 51
 - role in intelligence services, 77
 - special elections of 1971, 77–78
 - suppression under Zia ul-Haq, 128, 139–40, 144, 155
 - under Yahya Khan, 54–55, 57–61
 - See also names of specific parties
- Pressler Amendment, 282, 367n46
- public opinion
 - of Afghan war, 194–95
 - of Gulf War, 280–81
 - of Islamization, 311, 326–27
 - of military, 200, 217
 - of nuclear weapons testing, 246–47
 - of peace with India, 249, 363n205
 - suppression of, 43–44
 - of war on terrorism, 302
- Punjab province, 315
 - Afghanistan policies, 214
 - economic status, 153
 - elections of 1946, 8–9
 - elections of 1951, 13
 - Gurdaspur district, 28
 - partition, 6–7, 10–11, 28
 - Sharif’s governance, 182, 203–6, 354n80
- Qadir, Shukat, 250–51
- Qayyum, Abdul, 137–38
- Qayyum, Sardar Abdul, 212
- Qazi, Javed Ashraf, 229, 236–37, 359n108
- Quaid-i-Azam. See Jinnah, Muhammad Ali
- Qureshi, Moin, 228
- Qureshi, Rashid, 254, 301
- Rabbani, Burhanuddin, 103, 171–75, 227, 273
- Rabita al-Alam-al-Islami, 171, 191
- racial and ethnic conflicts, 315
 - Bengalis, 62, 65
 - Shiites, 141, 144
 - Sikh insurgencies, 270–72
 - Sunnis/Deobandis, 141, 144, 151, 292, 293
 - See also civil war; India-Pakistan rivalry; jihad culture
- Radcliffe, Sir Cyril, 28
- Radford, Arthur W., 33
- Radio Pakistan Dacca, 69
- Rahim Khan, 89–90, 342n15
- Rahman, Fazlur, 57
- Raja, Khadim Hussain, 71
- Ramay, Hanif, 134
- Rashid, Ahmed, 239–40
- Rashid, Shaikh, 278
- Raza, Rafi, 169
- Reagan (Ronald) administration, 187–88, 216, 281–83
- “Republic of Pakistan” name, 43
- Rice, Condoleezza, 309

- Riedel, Bruce, 246, 252–53
- Rizvi, Hasan-Askari, 257–58, 263–64
- Roedad Khan, 53–54, 127, 219
- Rogers, William P., 82, 98
- Rohingya Muslim Liberation Front, 191
- Rushdie, Salman, 208–9
- Russia's Afghanistan wars, 160
See also Soviet Union
- Saeed, Hafiz Muhammad, 303, 306
- Salik, Siddiq, 71–72, 339n33
- Sami ul-Haq, Maulana, 217
- Satanic Verses (Rushdie), 208–9
- Saudi Arabia
Afghan mujahideen funding, 141–42, 152–53, 178–79, 181, 186–90
foreign mujahideen funding, 191
Islamic conference, 18
Islamist group funding, 171
military aid, 186
Pakistani workers, 152–53, 188
- Sayyaf, Abdur Rab Rasool, 190
- security services. See intelligence services
- September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, 1, 301–3, 306
- Sethi, Najam, 241
- Shah, Sajjad Ali, 244–45
- Shaikh, Omar Saeed, 301
- Al-Shams militia, 79–80
- Sharia law, 127, 155–56
in Afghanistan, 170–71
Malakand revolt, 237–38
Sharif's call for, 245
Z. Bhutto's call for, 121–23
- Sharif, Nawaz
Afghanistan policies, 226–28
appeals to Clinton administration, 252–53
appointment by Zia ul-Haq, 182, 203, 354n80
- appointment of Pervez Musharraf, 248–49
- confrontations with B. Bhutto, 204–6, 210, 225
- coup d'état, 253–56, 300
- elections of 1988, 203
- elections of 1990, 219–21
- elections of 2002, 320
- Gulf War, 225–26, 280–81, 287
- India policies, 222, 245–46, 248–49, 251, 363n205
- international sanctions, 246–48, 295–97
- ISI appointments, 223–24
- Kargil crisis, 249–54, 299–300
- Kashmir policies, 226, 277–80, 289–90, 298–300
- nuclear weapons policies, 222, 224
- persecution of Bhutto and PPP, 223–24
- prime minister, 1990–1993, 221–29, 279–97
- prime minister, 1997–1999, 243–54, 298–300
- probusiness policies, 222
- reforms, 327
- relations with Islamists, 225–28
- removal from office, 1993, 228, 297
- removal from office, 1999, 247–55, 300
- role of Islamist groups, 280–81
- Sharia law, 245
- Supreme Court appointments, 244–45
- terrorism sanctions, 295–97
- U.S. relations, 224–25, 246–47, 252–53
- Shastri, Lal Bahadur, 50
- Shaukat-e-Islam Day, 59
- Sheheryar Khan, 224, 296
- Shekhar, Chandra, 222

- Sher Ali Khan, 53–56, 58, 64, 87, 137, 201
- Shiites, 141, 144
- Siddiqi, A. R., 55–56
- Siddiqi, Aslam, 163, 166–67
- Siddiqui, Tafazzul Hussain, 124
- Siegel, Mark, 220
- Sikh insurgencies in Indian Punjab, 270–72
- Simla Agreement, 98–99
- Sindh province, 19, 315
 economic status, 153
 partition, 11
 protests against Zia ul-Haq, 153–54
- Singh, Maharajah Hari, 27–29, 334n57
- Singh, Tavleen, 274
- Singh, V. P., 278
- Sino-India border war of 1962, 45
- Sirohey, Admiral, 210
- Slocombe, Walter, 179
- South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), 210–11, 249, 308
- Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), 34
- Soviet Union
 aid to Afghanistan, 164, 167–68
 Central Asian Muslims, 171–72
 characterized as enemy, 150
 cold war proxy wars, 193
 influence in Afghanistan, 103, 162–65, 167–68, 170, 172, 175, 177–80
 invasion of Afghanistan, 36, 101, 140, 157, 166, 183–97, 266–68, 353n55
 negotiated settlement of Afghan war, 193–97
 perceived threat to Pakistan, 162–65
 withdrawal from Afghanistan, 213, 274, 293
- Stephens, Ian, 134–36, 162
- Suhrawardy, Huseyn Shaheed, 39, 51, 63
- Suleri, Z. A., 88
- Sunnis, 141, 144, 151, 292, 293
- Syed, Anwar, 113–14
- Symon, Sir Alexander, 37–38
- Tableeghi Jamaat, 151, 292, 368n73
- Talbot, Ian, 259–60
- Taliban, 1–2, 159, 227
 consolidation of rule, 245
 fighters in Pakistan, 306, 308–9
 hosting of Al Qaeda, 240
 Kashmir jihad, 299
 origins, 238–42
 Pakistani connections, 242, 253, 261, 299
- Taliban (Rashid), 239–40
- Tanai, Shahnawaz, 226
- Taraki, Nur Muhammad, 176, 178–79, 183–84, 353n56
- Tariq bin Ziyad, 29
- Tarjuman-al-Quran* journal, 281
- Tehreek-e-Nifaz-i-Shariat-i-Mohammadi (TNSM), 237–38
- terrorist groups, 301
 Al-Zufikar, 231–32
 foreign volunteer mujahideen, 191–93, 288–89, 321
 freedom fighter designation, 2
 Harakat-e-Jihad-e-Islami, 292
 Harkat-ul-Ansar, 300, 307
 Harkat-ul-Mujahideen, 300, 306, 307
 Hizbul Mujahideen, 287. 289–90
 international sanctions, 295–97
 Jaish-e-Muhammad, 301, 302–3, 306
 Jamaat-ul-Ansar, 307

- Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), 287
- in Kashmir, 226, 236–37, 245, 272–80, 287–308, 321
- Lashkar-e-Taiba, 299, 303, 306
- official promises of state control, 297–309
- Pakistan International Airlines hijacking, 142
- Pakistanis fighting abroad, 235
- September 11, 2001, attacks, 1, 301–3, 306
- severance pay, 306
- Shiite-Sunni conflict, 141
- training sanctuaries, 235–36
- warnings about “state-sponsorship,” 226, 230, 293–97
- 1993 World Trade Center attack, 230–31
- See also Al Qaeda; Jamaat-e-Islami; war on terrorism
- Tikka Khan, 71–76, 96–97
- Toynbee, Arnold, 160
- “Troika” arrangement, 257–58
- Truman (Harry) administration, 32–33
- Tufail Muhammad, Mian, 139
- Turkish Art of Love, 68
- Turner, Stansfield, 181
- Umer, Ghulam, 55, 59–60
- United Coalition Party, 77–78
- United Nations
- Afghan peace plan, 226
 - Afghan refugees, 189–90
 - Kashmir activities, 29, 49
 - Pakistani peacekeepers, 231, 287
- Urdu Digest, 171
- Urdu language, 15
- U.S. government
- Afghanistan aid, 172–73, 178–93
 - Afghanistan policies, 162–67
 - attack on U.S. Consulate in Karachi, 307–8
 - attack on U.S. Information Service building in Islamabad, 209
 - attacks on Al Qaeda camps, 1998, 299–300, 306–7
 - attacks on Americans in 1995 and 1997, 299
 - burning of U.S. embassy in Islamabad, 182–83
 - China opening, 52, 81–83
 - CIA activities in Afghanistan, 170, 178–79, 192, 270–71
 - CIA activities in Pakistan, 178–83, 187–90, 195–97, 286–87
 - cold war proxy wars, 193
 - cold war relationship with Pakistan, 16, 25, 30–36, 44–50, 52, 88, 115, 152–53, 162–63, 172–73, 186–90
 - death of Zia ul-Haq, 196–97
 - economic aid, 33, 35, 45–46, 97, 105, 152–53, 231, 262, 324–29
 - future options, 312–13, 323–29
 - Gulf War, 222–26, 280–81, 287
 - human rights concerns, 128–29, 188, 200, 240
 - Kargil crisis, 251
 - Kashmir crisis of 2002, 305
 - military assistance to India, 45, 115
 - military assistance to Pakistan, 97, 104–5, 115, 152–53, 163, 173, 177–83, 187–90, 199–200, 262, 286–87, 309, 324–29, 365n5
 - military bases options, 97–98
 - mujahideen training in Pakistan, 141–42, 152–53, 181, 185–90
 - nuclear weapons concerns, 173, 180, 188, 200, 215–17, 221–22, 230–31, 309
 - Pentagon relationships with Pakistani military, 231, 256–57, 302, 323

- post-9/11 alliance with Pakistan, 261–63, 301–9
- Pressler Amendment, 282, 367n46
- sanctions against Pakistan, 230–31, 246–47, 261–62, 282–86
- “state-sponsored terrorism”
 - declarations, 226, 230, 286, 293–96
- support against Bangladesh, 80–86, 88
- Unocal pipeline plans, 240–41
- views of Islamist anti-Westernism, 275, 323
- views of Musharraf, 309
- See also Afghanistan; anti-Americanism; war on terrorism
- USAID funding, 221–22

- Vajpayee, Atal Bihari
 - meetings with Sharif, 249, 251, 363n205
 - meeting with Musharraf, 308–9
 - meeting with Zia ul-Haq, 265–66
 - response to Kashmir terrorism, 303
- Vance, Cyrus, 353n56
- Van Hollen, Christopher, 85
- voting rights
 - 1945–1946 Constituent Assembly elections, 7
 - 1988 disenfranchisement, 201
 - Muslim and non-Muslim electorates, 140
 - universal franchise, 10, 51–52

- Waheed, Abdul, 228, 230, 281
- Wahhabi groups, 293, 299
- Wali Khan, Abdul, 101–4, 168, 169
- war on terrorism, 1, 36, 261, 301–9, 312
 - See also jihad culture
- Webster, William, 216

- Weinbaum, Marvin, 119, 121, 142, 153
- women
 - in Afghanistan, 172
 - elections of 1970, 64
 - head coverings, 225
 - as heads of state, 44, 202, 207–8, 336–37n111
 - Hudood Ordinance, 144–45, 350n54
 - Olympic coverage, 225
 - participation in public life, 321
 - repression under Zia ul-Haq, 144–45
 - See also Bhutto, Benazir
- World Bank, 247, 286, 295
- World Trade Center
 - 1993 attack, 230–31
 - September 11, 2001, attacks, 1, 301–3, 306

- Yahya Khan, Agha Muhammad, 50, 51–58, 148, 254
 - civil war, 67–86
 - constitution, 78
 - elections of 1970, 57–66, 99, 338n19
 - intelligence services, 55
 - Islamic ideology, 55–58
 - Kashmir war of 1971, 165, 265
 - personal lifestyle, 75
 - political party ban, 102
 - political role of military, 53–55
 - political vision, 53, 65, 75
 - postponement of National Assembly, 67–69
 - relationship with Nixon, 80–86
 - removal from power, 86, 89–92, 342n15
 - U.S. contact with China, 81–83
- Yaqub Khan, Sahibzada, 69–70, 203–4, 214
- Yousaf, Mohammad, 184–85

- Yusuf, Ramzi, 230–31, 235
- Zafarulla Khan, Sir Muhammad, 20–21, 33
- Zaheer, Hassan, 83
- Zahir Shah, King of Afghanistan, 161, 167, 170–71, 174–75
- Zakat collections, 140–41
- Zardari, Asif Ali, 218, 232, 241, 243, 298
- Al-Zawahiri, Ayman, 309
- Ziauddin, 254
- Zia ul-Haq, Muhammad, 131–57, 254, 324
- Afghanistan war, 140, 152–53, 157, 175–97, 266
- army chief of staff position, 91, 111–13
- Balochistan operation, 169–70
- clerics' roles in the state, 147–52
- constitutional powers, 137, 142–43, 154, 199
- death, 131, 156, 196, 274
- dissolution of Parliament in 1988, 196
- domestic unrest, 153–54
- educational reforms, 149–52
- election of 1984, 154–55
- election of 1985, 155, 194
- election postponements, 123–24, 126–28, 140, 180
- Federal Advisory Council, 143
- intelligence services connections, 141–42
- Islamic background, 112–13, 127, 132–33
- Islamization policies, 2–3, 57, 112–13, 131–37, 143–56, 191–93, 196, 349n51
- Junejo's role, 155–56
- Kashmir policies, 272–76
- martial law, 136
- overthrow of Z. Bhutto, 91, 111, 114–15, 122–24, 126, 129
- political party suppression, 128, 139–40, 144, 155
- political vision, 131–32, 134–35
- public opinion against Afghan war, 194–95
- relations with India, 265–76
- religious courts, 146–49
- religious party connections, 123–24, 136–40, 346n106
- settlement of Afghan war, 195–96
- Shiite-Sunni sectarian conflicts, 141, 144
- Tableeghi Jamaat, 151
- trial and execution of Bhutto, 91, 111, 114–15, 137–38, 180
- U.S. policies, 35–36, 180–90
- visa policies for Muslims, 139
- Zakat collections, 140–41
- Zinni, Anthony, 256–57
- Ziring, Lawrence, 147, 205–6
- Al-Zulfikar, 142, 231–32

