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Journal homepage: [www.publishing.globalcsrc.org/reads](http://www.publishing.globalcsrc.org/reads)**An Analysis of Pak-US Relations after Pentagon 2011 Attacks**<sup>1</sup> Ghulam Muhammad Nagra, <sup>2</sup> Ghulam Mustafa, <sup>3</sup> Muhammad Imran<sup>1</sup> PhD Scholar (Political Science) Department of Political Science & International Relations, Government College University Faisalabad.<sup>2</sup> Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science & International Relations, Government College University Faisalabad.<sup>3</sup> Visiting Lecturer, Department of Political Science & International Relations, Government College University Faisalabad.

ARTICLE DETAILS	ABSTRACT
<p><b>History</b>  Revised format: 30 June 2019  Available Online: 31 July 2019</p> <hr/> <p><b>Keywords</b>  Pakistan, USA, Foreign Policy, Front Line State</p> <hr/> <p><b>JEL Classification:</b>  N10, N15, E62, E69</p>	<p>Islamabad's relations with the Washington have had a chequered history. Socio-economic, political differences and national interests exacerbated by diplomatic ineptitude, as well as the obstacles inherent in relations between a developing country and a superpower, have all united to make it so, while strategic compulsions and geo-political relations on both sides have forced to bring the two countries closer. This should be emphasized that the chequered history of Pak-US relations, the shifting emphasis and the changing proclivities of the US administration and public, the nature and the constraints of the US commitment to Pakistan's security, all make it absolutely imperative for Pakistan to take every step with the utmost care. Pakistan should realize that Washington policy on security issues could probably rebound to Islamabad's benefit currently, but definitely not on all times in the future, as there are difficult options ahead for both Islamabad and Washington on basic strategic interests. However 9/11 incident and war on terror took back the warmth relationship of 1950s decades. Again Pakistan is playing the role of front line state to eradicate the menace of terrorism from the world and restore peace and stability in the region with the collaboration of USA and its allied forces, even Pakistan is enjoying the status of non-NATO ally.</p>

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Corresponding author's email address: [ghulammustafa@gcuf.edu.pk](mailto:ghulammustafa@gcuf.edu.pk)**Recommended citation:** Nagra, G. M., Mustafa, G. and Imran, M. (2019). An Analysis of Pak-US Relations after Pentagon 2011 Attacks. *Review of Economics and Development Studies*, 5 (3), 563-570**DOI:** 10.26710/reads.v5i3.734**1. Historical Background of Pak-US Relations**

USA was least interested in South Asian affairs till World War 2. After World War 2 it started to enhance its influence in the region. The only motive behind this was to make a wall against Communist bloc. At that time South Asian region is influenced much by America, Russia and China (Alamgir, 2011).

USA remained adamant towards sub-continent till 1949 when communist reign established in China. Now USA feared that others Asians countries might not come under Communism. To counter China and contain communism USA turned its eyes towards India. For USA it was India who could balance China in Asia due to its size and

estimated potential. Keeping in view this invitation was extended to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to make an official visit to the United States. At first United States completely ignored Pakistan and no similar invitation was extended to Liaquat Ali Khan. It was only after Russia had invited the Pakistani Prime Minister that the United States extended the same courtesy to him.

Liaquat Ali Khan's visit in May 1950 provided an opportunity to explain the objectives and motives of the newly born state to the leaders and people of the world's most powerful state. Contrary to Nehru's policy he said that the motive behind his visit was to assist America to discover Pakistan (Burk, 1973).

To modernize armed forces and infrastructure development Pakistan needed financial support which forced it to develop its relationship with United States. However it is not known when Pakistan asked for military aid from the United States (Muqem, 1963).

He demanded Arms for the Pakistani forces to make the entire world safe and fight against Communism. Although Liaquat Ali Khan made Pakistan more close to America ideologically but India was still America's number one choice in America (Burke, 1973).

Actually Pakistan has no historic and traditional basis of its foreign policy. An important aspect of Pakistan's foreign policy is that its attitude towards others nations is determined by its relation with India. Pakistan adopted pro-west policy due to various reasons including: fear of insecurity against India, elite class belonging to feudal and military classes had western orientation and political instability in Pakistan. Keeping in view all these aspects Pakistan entered into alliance policy with United States. First agreement in this regard took place in 1954 which is known as mutual defense assistance agreement. Later In the same year both the countries signed south East Asia treaty organization and in 1955 Baghdad pact later known as CENTO cemented both the countries in cordial relationship. Pakistan got economic and military aid from US government after signing of these alliances. Pakistan's relationship with United States in 50 decades illustrated: American guidance and interference in Pakistan's internal affairs, to use Pakistan as a market for its own finished goods, keep influence in the region and running of its industries. Moreover United States wanted to maneuver Pakistan's strategic location for the attainment of its objectives in the region. These were to keep check on Communist states of China and Soviet Union as well as safeguarding its oil interests in the Persian Gulf. Repercussions of Pakistan's policy of alignment were heinous: public turned against this policy, Pakistan's relations with Muslim countries affected like Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia and Egypt and it also antagonized the two Communist giants-China and the Soviet union. Moreover questions were raised against sovereignty and freedom of Pakistan. Kashmir issue was also influenced under these circumstances.

## **2. Relationship During Ayub Era**

Till 1958 Pakistan had realized that it had lost much due to its policy military alliance. Now Pakistan contrary to its policy of alignments moved towards policy of partial alignment and cultivated friendship with China. Also Kennedy's ambition of making India to be a free and thriving leader of Asia made Pakistan suspicions against US. Pakistan opposed US aid to India in Sino-Indian war of 1962. According to Pakistan India would use this aid to fulfil its "long cherished dream of Asian leadership". This would also disturb balance of power in south Asia and ultimately this aid would be used against Pakistan (Arif, 1984).

When Ayub Khan assumed power as President "Pakistan had become America's most allied ally in Asia" (Khan, 1967).

The relations between the two countries cemented into strong bond during the second term of President Eisenhower. Moreover President Ayub Khan was in a position to develop strong relations with the United States. "The US surveillance flights over the Soviet Union from Peshawar (Bada Ber) airport are a case in point (Marchchi, 1975).

What change occurred during President Ayub regime was not to break away from the alliance but at the same time to maintain a balance of cordiality with the other big powers. Formation of Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD) on 22 July 1964 at Istanbul was also the aftermath of its policy of partial alignment. Indo-Pak war of 1965 forced Ayub Khan to resist its policy towards United States (Arif, 1984).

Pakistan was not happy with the United States over its attitude on Pak-India war of 1965 despite being an ally, "Those (nations) who do not pass (the) test of friendship must forever be regarded by the present and future generations of Pakistanis as hypocrites and time-servers for whom a nation like Pakistan can have no use. We also must warn the perfidious in our midst because we know there are some who are trying to keep us under the spell of various delusions" (Dawn, 1965).

### **3. Relations During 1970s**

At this stage President Johnson of America imposed ban on all aid to Pakistan and India and assumed neutral stand. All this created an anti-west furor in Pakistan and demanded for a withdrawal from the alliance. In 1969 Nixon became the president of US who had soft corner for Pakistan. Ban on Pakistani aid was lifted but 1971 Indo-Pak war changed the scenario in the region and US officially cancelled its aid to Pakistan. US government pretended to adopt neutral policy during 1971 Indo-Pak war. But the presence of seventh fleet in the Bay of Bengal diverted the Indian ships away from Pakistani troops and exerted psychological pressure on India. In 1971 Bhutto threatened if US did not provide arms aid Pakistan would start quest for nuclear. This threat proved fruitful and US resumed arms supply to Pakistan (Arif, 1984).

Prime Minister Bhutto's government faced a challenge in May, 1974 when India made an underground nuclear explosion at Pokhran. To counter India's nuclear capabilities Pakistan started to seek a nuclear weapons program. That was an alarming situation for the US administration (Dasgupta, 2004).

From 1976 Pakistan decided to make progress in nuclear program and entered in deal with France on nuclear reprocessing Plant. US made all its efforts to halt Pakistan nuclear program and threatened to stop aid and supply of A-7 bombers to Pakistan. When Pakistan remained adamant President Carter, the next American president cancelled all aid to Pakistan (Arif, 1984). Sanctions were imposed on Pakistan during administration of President Ford and later Jimmy Carter (Dasgupta, 2004).

Pakistan threatened to withdraw from CENTO and developed cordial relationship with Soviet Union. Thus this period showed erosion in Pakistan's tie-up with the US.

### **4. Relationship during Soviet invasion of Afghanistan**

Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 endangered the strategic interests of the US in the region and President Carter lifted ban on aid to Pakistan. US declared Pakistan a front line state to check Soviet expansion in the region (Arif, 1984).

US president Jimmy Carter approved a broader covert action program on December 29, 1979 in which CIA was asked to provide military weapons and ammunition for the Afghan Mujahideen (Kissinger, 1979).

In January 1980 President Carter approved a package of \$ 400 million in military and economic sectors for Pakistan. However President Zia rejected this offer calling it "peanuts". He demanded \$ 2 billion aid to rebuild the Pakistan armed forces. When Reagan became the President of USA Pak-US relationship went back to fifties. President Reagan adopting the policy of "deterrence" restored all aid to Pakistan. Pakistan was provided with F-16 aircrafts, superior variety of tanks, anti-tank weaponry, armored helicopters and advanced radar systems (Arif, 1984).

During Afghan war Pakistan acted as reliable ally for US and Washington helped Pakistan also in the nuclear field. Islamabad gained different aid packages from the US administration in different fields (Jalil, 2017).

All this showed US, s self-interest and it was motivated by its own strategic compulsions and global perceptions of international policies. Its foremost motive was to establish its own superiority in south west Asia through Pakistan as Pakistan was the back-door to the gulf and by its standing in the Islamic conference could influence the Muslim World (Arif, 1984).

### **5. A New Phase of Relationship after Geneva Accords 1988**

After Geneva Accord of 1988 Pakistan and USA had not cordial relations. In south Asia India was number one choice of America to safeguard its interests in the region. After Afghan war USA imposed sanctions on Pakistan

under Symington, Pressler and Glenn amendments. USA was also unhappy with Pakistan due to dictatorship and absence of democracy. Pakistan was under a severe kind of economic crisis and World Bank had warned that Pakistan was in extreme vulnerability. Extremism in Pakistan had flourished due to: low literacy rate, high rate of debt and the bad economic condition (Akhtar, 2012).

Pakistanis felt betrayed and isolated by their “old friend” and “ally” when sanctions were imposed on Pakistan by US. After Soviet Union expulsion from Afghanistan US had a tilt towards India and the Pakistanis at that time deemed the Pressler Amendment specifically imposed on Pakistan and the sanctions were unjustified (Kroastodt, 2004).

## **6. Incident of 9/11 and Pak-US Relationship**

During President General Pervaiz Musharraf’s period “Pakistan was moving closer to a “failed state” case and its nuclear and missile programs were a constant concern for policy makers in Washington. “9/11 changed the nature of US-Pakistan relations once again the US President George Bush asked the world to make a clear choice to side with the US with the slogan you are either with us or against us” (Mustafa, 2016).

Indo-US strategic relationship worried Pakistan after the collapse of the Soviet Union which increased steadily despite India’s nuclear explosions in 1998 and especially in the aftermath of 9/11. This relationship raised many questions in the mind of policy makers in Islamabad and there was a feeling how to combat with the external security environment. The new US Security Strategy Paper of September 2002 also showed a strategy shift in US foreign and security policy. Islamabad expressed its reservations and emphasized on international community to adopt a cautious policy regarding: post 9/11, the policy about arch rivals Pakistan and India, the parameters dividing South Asia and the presence of external military forces not only in the Indian Ocean also in Central Asia. “The Indo-US agreement to jointly patrol the Indian Ocean from the Red Sea to the Malacca Straits reflects the redefinition of India’s strategic milieu to effectively include the whole of Asia. Drawing the Central and West Asian regions more directly into the South Asian strategic milieu have been the various schemes/proposals for oil and gas pipelines. And now there is India’s direct military presence in Central Asia with the setting up of an air base in Tajikistan at Farkhor” (Scot, 2008).

After 9/11 US adopted such security policy towards India that made Pakistan suspicious against United States. Indo-US military cooperation worried Pakistan that it would disturb balance of power in South Asia and it would tilt towards India. US approval of Israel’s arms deal with India also roused to many questions in the mind of Pakistan (Nayak, 2005).

US always gives much importance to Pakistan in South Asia due to its strategic location. After 9/11 war on terrorism brought both the countries close to each other ever before in the past. In Pak-US relationship many ups and down occurred. Pakistan decided to side US in war against terrorism despite public agitation against this decision. Pakistan’s geostrategic location makes it more important to USA. After 9/11 US Interests towards South Asia of wide range. These were: to combat terrorism threat, restore peace in Afghanistan, to check the nuclear weapons proliferation, stability in South Asia by normalizing the relations between India and Pakistan and to promote democratization and human rights (Akhtar, 2012).

Washington’s policy interests towards Islamabad included a wide range of issues like: religious extremism, counterterrorism and missile proliferation. Apart from this other US interests in South Asia encompassed democratization, regional stability, economic reforms, fundamental rights and endeavors to counter narcotics trafficking. These were affected by several key developments in recent years including the September 2001 terrorist attacks against the United States, democracy-related sanctions, a continuing bilateral nuclear standoff and Pakistan-India conflict over Kashmir (Aamir, 2004).

War on terrorism proved catastrophic for Pakistan yet Pakistan is continuing to fight against this war with US military and economic help. Pak-US relationship was good till 2011 despite American demand of “do more”. After 2011 certain incidents occurred which put cracks in the relationship of two countries like: killing of Osama in Abbottabad, Salala Check post incident, Raymond Devis and the vacation of Shamsi air base by USA. Although such incidents have proved fatal for the good relationship but both the countries are seemed to be committed enough to root out terrorism from the region by collaborating with each other.

USA was well aware of the fact that Taliban were not responsible of 9 /11 incident. It was their decision to provide asylum to Osama bin laden who have started jihad against America forced USA under NATO forces to launch attack against Afghanistan. Again Pakistan's same status of 1979 of "front line state" was emerged due to its geo strategic importance. USA needed air space basis and logistic support to which more suitable country was Pakistan. At this juncture Pakistan's economy was not stable and it needed help to make it better. Various channels were utilized to make Pakistan ally in this war on terror. Despite public pressure of not joining this war president Pervez Musharraf in his address to nation on September 19, 2001 expressed various concerns like: Pakistan's security and stability, nuclear and missile program, Kashmir issue and revival of economy are vital for national interests, while President Bush used harsh words and threatened Pakistan "Are you with us or join the terrorist?". When Pakistan joined the allied forces all sanction imposed on Pakistan were lifted under Brown back ii. Although Pakistan was provided with million dollars lieu of its services rendered against war on terror but also paid heavily in shape of massacre of innocent citizens due to suicide attacks, rising of questions about its sovereignty and downfall several institutions (Akhtar, 2012).

Before 9/11 USA completely ignored Pakistan and preferred India in Asia but after the occurrence of 9/11 incident Pakistan has become staunch ally of allied forces against war on terror (Jabeen et al., 2010).

### **7. Pakistan Strategic Supports to USA Its Impacts on Pakistan Economy**

Islamabad became a reliable ally for US in the war on terror after 9/11 terrorists attack on US. Islamabad banned many groups like Lashkar-e-Jhangvi and Lashkar-e-Taiba involved in terrorism and even used power against them due to their anti-state activities. In Pakistan Al Qaeda-related arrests were made which included Khalid Mohammad, Abu Zubaydah and Ramzi bin al-Shibh (Joseph, 2004).

Pakistan provided all kind of logistic support to allied forces. Pakistan handed over Jacobabad, Shamsi, Dalbandin, and Pasni military basis under US control. Also Pakistan deployed 35000 troops on border line and captured 420 terrorists belonging to Taliban and Al-Qaida. Technical and human intelligence assistance services were also given to coalition forces. USA responded immediately and provided \$ 1 billion in shape of grant, wrote off \$ 1 billion debt and gave \$ 1.2 billion for arms. To strengthen Pakistan military force \$ 3 billion in economic aid and military training was given by USA. But the repercussions of war were horrible as many soldiers and innocent citizens were killed. Suicide attacks and bomb blasts took place on daily basis. About 200,000 soldiers were deployed at frontline and 90,000 were taking part in fighting (Fair, 2004).

Since 2001 in war against terrorism Pakistan had to face heavy economic loss resulting in \$ 68 billion. "According to statics record till April 2011, the country suffered 8,141 incidents of terrorism-many more have occurred since then. In return, the country has received only \$ 15 billion to \$ 17 billion in assistance, at an average of some \$ 374 million a year."

The whole country was engulfed with the incidents of terrorism from North and South Waziristan, to settle areas of KPK and Capital. Public opinion turned against United States. Since 2002 US aid to Pakistan was \$ 8.5 billion while economic loss was \$ 43 billion. For USA peace and stability in South Asia region is very important. In South Asia war on terror brought both the countries close to each other for restoration of peace and stability. Both India and Pakistan possess nuclear weapons with ballistic missile system in South Asia. After 9/11 United States deems it necessary to bring these countries close without any confrontation which is necessary for the stability and security of South Asia. Therefore with the collaboration of Pakistan USA is making all its efforts to restore peace in Afghanistan. As South Asian states are also very significant from manpower and economic point of view. United States also wants to get maximum benefits from this aspect as well (Akhtar, 2012).

Indian officials expressed deep concerns over United States growing relationship with Pakistan and providing billion dollar aid in certain sectors. After 9/11 US policy towards Pakistan was as it existed during cold war. US lifted all sanctions imposed on Pakistan and provided billion dollar aid to Pakistan for its economic revival aid to combat war against terrorism (Riaz, 2011).

Pakistan gained much importance in world politics due to its geo-strategic location. Any country while making its relations with other in the region can't underestimate Pakistan due to its importance in the comity of South Asian states. China, Iran, Afghanistan and India are its neighbors (Amedeo, n.d).

Pakistan's geo-strategic importance is explicated from the fact that even India relies on Pakistan for energy route. All the regional states rich in natural resources like China, India, Russia and CARS are neighboring states of Pakistan (Malik, 2012).

After 9/11 Afghanistan became the central point of regional as well as world politics. It has become center of opium production and terrorism. United States is quite aware of the fact that restoration of peace in Afghanistan is possible only with the help of Pakistan. Pakistan has already played an effective role in the expulsion of Soviet forces from Afghanistan and conclusion of Geneva Accord of 1988. With Pakistan support Taliban government was abolished in Afghanistan and Pakistan is providing all kind of assistance to USA in washing out terrorism in Afghanistan. NATO forces could reach to Afghanistan through, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Iran but the easiest route belongs to Pakistan. USA gives much importance to India in South Asia to counter China. China, on the other hand, gives same status to Pakistan. China for its trade route to Middle East and Central Asian states also attaches much importance to Pakistan. Chinese interest in Gwadar Port is also due this factor. Pakistan's easy access to Central Asia and Middle Eastern states and nuclear capability enhances its geo-strategic importance (Akhtar, 2012).

### **8. Trust Deficit in Pak-US Relationship**

Between Pakistan and United States there is found a long history of trust deficit. Strategic partnership is visible between the two after 9/11 but killing of Osama bin Laden on 2nd May, 2011 in Abbottabad created mistrust between the two. Pakistan's relations with neighbor countries also led to distrust between United States and Pakistan.

US relationship with China is not friendly. It dislikes Pakistan's relationship with China. Also Washington has cordial relationship with Kabul and New Delhi to whom Pakistan is not friendly. Other cause of distrust is the clash of interests between the two in the region. Civil nuclear deal between India and USA is disliked by Pakistan. Gawadar Port project is against American interest. USA opposed Iran, Pakistan and India gas pipe line project. However Pakistan concluded an agreement with Iran on gas pipe line despite USA opposition (Islam, 2011).

Nuclear issue also put hurdles in good relationship between US and Pakistan. Pakistan's quest in nuclear program has always been remained very important in Pak-US relationship. United States fully opposed it when Pakistan started this program. US pressurized Pakistan not to make atomic explosion when India made atomic explosion in May 1998. Pakistan while keeping aside global and US pressure made nuclear explosion on May 28, 1998. After nuclear explosion American President imposed sanctions on Pakistan. However US lifted all these sanctions after the incident of 9/11. Both the countries were however under US pressure to sign CTBT and NPT. In 2002 Pakistan has to face severe criticism of transferring Uranium to North Korea. In 2003 allegations were leveled against Pakistan to provide nuclear assistance to Iran and Libya. A Scandal came out in 2004 in which Dr. A.Q. Khan was alleged to be involved in nuclear proliferation activities to North Korea, Iran, and Libya. All these events made US more suspicions about Pakistan's nuclear program. USA sought Chinese offer of building nuclear reactors in Pakistan with reservations and asked china for international justification (Akhtar, 2012).

Drone attacks by USA are also one of the main causes of bad relationship between Islamabad and Washington. These attacks have caused massacre of innocent people and many Pakistanis take these attacks as violation of their country's sovereignty when this matter was highlighted on global level and world public opinion, opposition and civil society in Pakistan turned against USA; a clearance was given by united states that an understanding regarding drone attacks had been taken place between President Musharraf and US officials in 2008 (Husain 2007).

Islamic identity in Pakistan has always been the cause of weary in the US circles. That issue was boiled within Pakistan during Zia era however it proved fruitful for American interest at that time. Nevertheless Washington attached religious extremism in Pakistan with the spread of terrorism around the world. Americans sought Talibanization in Pakistan in that context (Zehra, 2004).

### **9. Conclusion**

The study of Pak-US relations shows that the relations between two countries were determined by the changing international situation and their domestic compulsions USA strived for its national interest in accordance with its global strategy whereas Pakistan made efforts for its national interests in the context of regional perspective.

The main concern in Pakistan's policy towards US was "security against India and support of the Kashmir issue," whereas the US was interested in to check soviet expansion in Asia and to expand its influence in west Asia, the Persian Gulf, the Indian ocean and getting base facilities for spy purpose. It also wanted markets to dump its surplus food, outmoded equipment and to feed its arms industries and Pakistan fulfilled also this purpose to some extent.

"Another factor which dominated their relations was the India and which was used as an instrument of political influence and power. The US increased or decreased it to show its approval or disapproval over a certain policy adopted by Pakistan. Pakistan opportunity gained from this alliance but had to pay heavily as it relations with the Muslim countries particularly Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Afghanistan became tense. It also antagonized the Soviet Union, for it made Pakistan an American stooge in Asia. Therefore, after 1962 Pakistan adopted the small power strategy of balancing the interests of the superpowers by moving towards a policy of partial alignment. By 1978 it had freed itself of the shackle of the US alliance and was able to exert- itself. It also succeeded in forcing the United States of America to reconcile itself to a nuclear Pakistan rather the US found Pakistan a hard bargainer because of the help that it was getting grown Saudi Arabia and its wish to improve relations with the Soviet Union. But again in 1980s Pakistan seems to be going back to relationship the existed with the US in the 1950s, again trying to check the alleged soviet ambitions of moving into the Persian gulf, and Pakistan demanding aid on the pretext of threat to its "security" from India and Afghanistan" (Arif, 1984).

### 9. Options to Improve Relationship

By taking various steps the relations between Islamabad and Washington could be improved. People are very important in developing cordial and durable relationship. Pakistanis have faced many hardships in shape of suicide attacks and drone attacks in their war against terror. Anti-American sentiments were created among Pakistani masses due to this. To bring people of both the countries close to each other the need of the hour is to washout distrust and misunderstandings found between the two countries. Both the countries must enter into long term strategic partnership. United States should make efforts to improve Pakistan's health and educational system, creating employment and development of economy. US must take more steps to make infrastructure better in Pakistan. All debt due on Pakistan should be right off. Both the countries should make endeavors in establish modern educational institutions. To eliminate extremism dialogue process must be opted. United States should cooperate with Pakistan in curbing drug trafficking from Pakistani society. To combat with terrorists and militants US should provide modern weapon to Pakistan. All efforts should make to enhance people to people contacts. For this purpose US should lift Visa restrictions imposed after 9/11. US-India nuclear deal disturbed balance of power in south Asia. US should also make such deals with Pakistan. A policy leading to disturb balance of power in south Asia must be avoided by United States.

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