

## Dynamics of USA-Pakistan Relations in the Post 9/11 Period: Hurdles and Future Prospects

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### Abstract

*Pakistan-USA relations hold greater importance. Since independence of Pakistan, USA and Pakistan have been cooperating with each other not only in the economic field but also politically, socially and diplomatically. USA has always assisted Pakistan in all these fields and has been one of the key allies in providing funds and support. There have been times of mistrust and suspicions as well but while analyzing the overall scenario one can clearly assess that Pakistan's relationship with USA has been one of the significant features of Pakistan's foreign policy. This study assesses the importance of this relationship and the hurdles which obstruct cooperation and progress in the Pakistan-USA relationship. Furthermore the dynamics of their relationship after 9/11 with prospects of good will and cooperation in future also form part of this study.*

**Key words:** USA –Pakistan relations, terrorism, 9/11, Interests, Islamic militancy

### 1. Introduction

A democratic and stable Pakistan is vital to US interests. After 9/11 two states came closer to each other because of both countries joined efforts against war on terrorism. Pakistan has been praised for its cooperation to counter terrorism although Pakistan is burning in fire of domestic terrorism. Since history there are many ups and downs in Pakistan-USA relations, but Pakistan joined hands with US in terrorism war despite of severe public protest in Pakistan against this decision. Strategically no country can deny importance of geographical location of Pakistan. At 9/11 event Pakistan was far from US allies but US desperately needed Pakistan support because without Pakistan's support terrorism war in Afghanistan was not possible. US concern in Pakistan is to stabilize Afghanistan, to counter terrorism whether it is domestic or international, to prevent the nuclear weapons proliferation, democratization and Human rights protection, to create the stability in SouthAsia by normalizing the relations between Pakistan and India. Since September 2001, Pakistan is fighting with USA on terrorism war with economic and military support of US. But this time aid caused a loss to Pakistan instead of gain unlike Pakistan involvement to contain Soviet in 1979. Relations between the two countries were going smoothly till 2011 although constant demand of Washington to do more. But rifts in relations occurred in 2011 because of Raymond Devis event, Osama killing in Abbotabad, NATO attack on Salala checkpost and at last the vacation of Shamsi airbase by USA. Although many cracks in relations, both the countries cannot isolate because of war on terrorism cannot be possible without their mutual cooperation and this war will join two countries together.

### 2. History of Pakistan –USA relations

In order to proceed with US diplomacy after 9/11 there is need to go into the depth of ups and downs of past sixty years in US-PK relations. After Pakistan creation in 1947, its security and economic concern diverted Pakistan to US block. To contain the Soviet expansionism in south Asia and to counter China influence US needed a friend in this region in 1950's. To provide security to new born country Pakistan get the membership of SEATO and CENTO in September 1954, and September 1955 respectively. A mutual aid treaty was also signed between the two countries in May 1954. Through these treaties Pakistan foreign policy got its opening features at international level although these treaties imposed domestic constraints on Pakistan. At that time Pakistan interest was in security and US thought that Pakistan is beneficial to it because of its geostrategic location. There was threat of expansion of communist in Middle East and Southeast Asia.

On the Northern side, Pakistan could hamper the Soviet involvement in Middle East region and on Western side Pakistan could provide protection from soviet communism to Southeast Asia. Pakistan was most Allied Ally for US against the Soviet expansionism in 1950s.<sup>i</sup> US choose Pakistan in the region because India's choice of non-alignment. Pakistan also got advantages from USA-Pakistan ties. Pakistan got military assistance of \$1.2 billion to \$ 1.5 billion from US<sup>ii</sup>. While in other form of agriculture commodity, technical assistance, economic development grants from 1947 to 30<sup>th</sup> June 1965 was nearly \$ 3 billion dollars.<sup>iii</sup>

On one side, USA got economic loss in cold war of 1950s by providing all types of aid to Pakistan but Pakistan also suffered due to joining US sponsored alliances. In August 1953, a joint communique was issued by Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan that an impartial plebiscite should be settled regarding Kashmir issue and Plebiscite Administrator would be appointed by end of April 1954<sup>iv</sup>. Nehru in December 1953 warned the Pakistan that if any military aid had come to Pakistan through alliances then joint communiqué of 1953 would not be implemented<sup>v</sup>. In May 1955 Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan met again but Pakistan was failed to agree India on plebiscite.

In 1955 Soviet Union joined hands with India on Kashmir issue and Prime Minister of soviet Nikita Khrushchev vetoed every UNO resolution that was opposed by India. The Arab world also refused his support over Kashmir issue because of Pakistan grooming ties with western powers. What the US achieved by close ties with Pakistan according to some observers was exerting the moderating influence through Pakistan over anti-western and extreme nationalist states<sup>vi</sup>.

In 1960s Pakistan-USA relations took a new turn because of October 1962 border war between India and China. Pakistan sided with China and US supported India with full military equipment. The relations deteriorated between two countries in 1960s and in September 1964 senator Humphery declared that USA must realize the importance of India in Asian coalition of power in fighting against communism in South East Asia.<sup>vii</sup> During 1965 war between India and Pakistan the USA remained very careful and when Pakistan asked for military assistance then US secretary of state Dean Rust refused bluntly<sup>viii</sup>. During war President Ayub Khan requested President Johnson for permanent ceasefire between India and Pakistan and ceasefire was at last brought under United Nations Security council Resolution on 25<sup>th</sup> September 1965. The relations took a positive turn when Pakistan helped US in opening Embassy in Beijing in 1970-71. In 1971 war, USA supported India against Pakistan and used India against China. At last Pakistan cut her SEATO and CENTO membership in 1972 and 1979 respectively. The relationship was strained between the two countries when US Embassy and several information centers were burnt in bomb blasts. In 1979 Carter administration imposed sanctions on Pakistan because of Pakistan Nuclear Program development. Carter administration was against Bhutto government because of his initiating Nuclear Program in Pakistan.

It was said that there was also USA role behind military takeover and Bhutto was overthrown in July 1977<sup>ix</sup>. After soviet invasion in July 1979, USA turned her attention to Pakistan because of its geostrategic position. Pakistan was only way for USA to contain Soviet involvement in Afghanistan and that's why Zia military rule stayed in Pakistan for eleven years. Pakistan became a partner of USA in proxy war of USA against Afghanistan<sup>x</sup>. In 1981 congress authorized \$ 3 billion aid to Pakistan for five years including forty F-16 aircrafts and pledged to provide \$ 4 billion further assistance in next five years but Pakistan would be a channel for providing aid to Mujahedeen fighting against Soviet Union. A new group emerged with the name of Taliban in Afghanistan against Soviet Union. Pakistan's ISI and CIA of USA provided military training to Taliban who were the religious extremist and USA also provided military equipment for their training.

In 1989 when Soviet Union left Afghanistan then US interest was lost in Pakistan. During these ten years, Pakistan took full advantage of the situation in form of aid and military assistance and Pakistan was also exempted from Symington and Glenn amendments for six years. On 1st October 1990 by Pressler amendment economic aid and military assistance was stopped to Pakistan because of Pakistan having nuclear explosive devices. This was only Soviet war in Afghanistan which brought the countries together. By May 1998 nuclear explosives, Glenn and Symington amendments were again imposed on Pakistan and all economic and military assistance was stopped by USA. Glenn amendment authorized sanctions on non-nuclear states that denote nuclear explosions and Symington amendment prohibited any type of assistance that could deliver or receive nuclear weapons. American stress was to sign Pakistan CTBT. Then 12<sup>th</sup> October 1999 military coup in Pakistan invited sanctions on Pakistan by USA.

Under the Section 508 of Foreign Assistance Act, USA prohibited all types of military and economic assistance to Pakistan<sup>xi</sup>. This deteriorated the Pakistan institutional structure, huge debt was accumulated and radicals Islamists number was enhanced<sup>xii</sup>. After Soviet Union left Afghanistan, Taliban recognized its government and Pakistan was one among the three countries that recognized the Taliban government.

### **3. Pakistan –USA relations after 9/11**

When 9/11 2001 event took place then USA was more near to India in South Asia and Pakistan was under sanctions in the form of Pressler amendment, Glenn and Symington amendments, and democracy sanctions. At that time, Pakistan was in worst economic crisis and according to world Bank Pakistan was in extreme vulnerability. The rise in debt, poor economic and literacy rate resulted in Islamic extremists in Pakistan<sup>xiii</sup>.

US took less time to blame Taliban for 11 September 2001 attack and demanded Taliban to hand over Osama Bin Ladin but Taliban refused. Osama Bin Ladin joined Taliban network after Soviet left Afghanistan in 1996 and was worse opponent of USA. During the Gulf war, he started Jihad against Saudi Arabia and USA supporters. Osama was expelled from Sudan because of USA's pressure from where he went to Afghanistan and established close relations with Taliban. When Taliban refused to hand over Osama Bin Laden then USA planned for attack on Afghanistan for which coalition of forces was required and within twenty four hours passed the UN resolution for use of force against Afghanistan and first time in the NATO history, Article 5 was invoked. USA needed much support of Pakistan than other neighboring countries, because Afghanistan is landlocked country and for attack, USA needed airspace, bases and logistic support of neighboring countries. Pakistan geostrategic location was much suitable for US than other neighbors and Pakistan also needed the economic support for its stability.

USA started diplomacy through various officials. First the interaction with Pakistani embassy was made. Then Wendy Chamberlain, US ambassador in Pakistan negotiated with Pakistani government and President Musharraf. After several negotiations between the two government officials and Head of the states, USA demanded logistic and intelligence support and airspace. Pakistan was under the domestic pressure against joining the coalition. On 19<sup>th</sup> September 2001 President Pervez Musharraf addressed the nation and identified four concerns: Pakistan's stability and security from external threat, Kashmir Issue, nuclear and missile assets and revival of economy. By this speech President Pervez Musharraf played the two level games. He prevented USA not to talk about Kashmir issue and Pakistan's nuclear weapons by declaring publicly that these issues were not in negotiation between Pakistan and USA and to gain the support of the people he justified his further actions before public. After one day, President Bush addressed to the joint session of congress and threatened Pakistan "Are you with us or join the terrorist?". By this coercive diplomacy, Pakistan's support was to be ensured. All sanctions on Pakistan were waived by USA under Brownback II. Then USA presented carrots to Pakistan in the form of economic assistance. But this time Pakistan fully involved in the war. This war was totally different from 1950s proxy war and 1979 Soviet war in Afghanistan. With aid coming to Pakistan caused thousands of civilian lives, deterioration of several institutions and even her own sovereignty. This time the expectations of Pakistan were not fulfilled like previous ties between the two countries.

### **4. The nature of relations: Opportunities and Interests**

The relations after 9/11 have been based on the following terms:

#### **4.1. Working together in war against terror**

The Two countries joined hands against terrorism and both the countries neutralized the Al-Qaida and Taliban remnants in the region. Pakistan provided logistic support without any prior agreement between the two countries. Pakistan also provided Pasni, Jacoabad, Shmsi and Dalbandin military bases. Without any initial payment Pakistan provided 100,000 gallons per day. In order to prevent the flee of High value Taliban, Pakistan provided 35000 troops on borderland, captured 420 Al-Qaida and Taliban fugitives. Technical assistance, human intelligence was fully provided to coalition forces through Pakistan. In exchange USA provided in first three years \$ 1.2 billion in arms sale, wrote off \$ 1 billion debt and grant was extended \$ 1 billion more. In economic aid, \$ 3 billion was provided to Pakistan and in order to strengthen the military force of Pakistan, training was provided by USA. Pakistan suffered losses of civilian and soldiers lives. Since September 2001, 21672 civilian and 2795 soldiers lost their lives. In 3486 bomb blasts including 283 suicide attacks, 8671 injured in Pakistan. The soldiers deployed on the border are 90,000 for fighting and 200,000 at frontline<sup>xiv</sup>. Pakistan suffered \$ 68 billion loss since 2001 in war against terrorism<sup>xv</sup>.

"According to statistics record till April 2010, 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<sup>xvi</sup>." Pakistan suffered domestic terrorism first in North and South Waziristan and then settled areas of KPK and Islamabad. The security situation in agencies of FATA is very critical and even settled areas are not safe in Pakistan. This rose resentment against the Government. This whole scenario developed hatred in the people of Pakistan against USA. US assistance to Pakistan since 2002 is \$ 8.5 billion but economic loss to Pakistan was \$ 43 billion<sup>xvii</sup>. The US economy also deteriorated and US debt was more than \$ 14 trillion in 2011 which was more than 100 percent of economic output of that year of USA. The cost of war on terror was \$ 864.82 billion during Bush presidential term since 9/11. While during Obama administration, cost of war in just three years was \$477 billion which was more than half expenditure of Bush time<sup>xviii</sup>.

In short both Pakistan and USA are fighting in war on terror and this main task brought two countries together.

#### **4.2. To enhance the regional stability of South Asian states**

USA is also working with Pakistan to enhance regional peace and stability of South Asian states. South Asia is a populous region with huge weaponry. This is the region of the world with high human and economic resources. The two nuclear powers also exist here that keep highly enmity with each other. USA worked in this region to ensure stability in this region and bring Pakistan and India, Pakistan and Afghanistan close together. After 9/11 USA think that peace in region is essential for completion of his mission in Afghanistan. i.e War on terrorism. To bring stability in South Asia brings two countries together.

#### **4.3. Aid to Pakistan in various fields of life**

Since 9/11 USA not only contributed in military aid for Pakistan but also write off loans of various categories. USA is strengthening Pakistan's democratic structure, its economic, political and social fields. Under USAID program many Pakistanis are getting higher education in USA and returned to Pakistan with assistance program in governance, health and micro finance. Similarly under Fulbright scholarship scheme many Research students of Pakistan are getting PhD degrees in USA. US launched balance of payment program, agriculture, investment and debt rescheduling. For good governance and democracy US is taking much interest in future alliances of the government.

#### **4.4. To remove Mistrust between people of two countries**

There is a need for removing the mistrust between the people of two countries. Pakistanis face the visa restrictions when travel to USA. There is also a lot of hatred for USA in Pakistani society because of losses of their lives during war on terror. Two states are also working to develop the trust between two countries.

#### **4.5. Geo-strategic importance of Pakistan**

In all respects we cannot ignore the geo-strategic importance of Pakistan in developing relations with any country including USA. Pakistan is always remained a part of world politics because of its location. It is surrounded by India, China, Iran, and Afghanistan<sup>xix</sup>. Each of the country is major player in global politics. It is in the center of resource rich states like India, China, CARs and Russia. Even for India it provides route to energy resources<sup>xx</sup>. Afghanistan is now a major part of world politics and important in regional and global politics. It is a land of terrorists, and a major country of opium production. The whole world including the US realizes that the peace in Afghanistan is impossible without Pakistan's cooperation. Since Soviet invasion in Afghanistan in 1979, USA used Pakistan as frontline state and compelled Soviet to leave Afghanistan. Similarly after 9/11, USA toppled Taliban and terrorists with full support of Pakistan. Iran, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan are also neighboring countries but Pakistan provides easiest route to NATO supplies to the forces in Afghanistan. Furthermore Afghanistan is a landlocked country and dependent on Pakistan for trade purposes.

On eastern side India is inhabited with nuclear capability and big market of South Asia. India is also in favor of stable and democratic Pakistan because any extremist government in Pakistan can lead to violence in India. USA also wants stability in Pakistan and hampers India not to take any action against Pakistan because it will affect US interests in Pakistan. China is also the neighbor of Pakistan. USA is preparing India that if USA and China are in rivalry then India would be helpful in South Asia and same is interest of China in Pakistan. In order to get access to Muslim countries of Middle East and Central Asia china looks to Pakistan for its trade development. Gawadar project is a step of china in this regard. Pakistan is also a nuclear power and is a gateway to Central Asia and access to the Middle Eastern countries is through Arabian Sea.

## **5. Hurdles and difficulties in relations**

There are some hurdles in Pakistan USA relations that must be solved for improvement in relations:

### **5.1. Anti –Americanism**

There are sentiments of Anti-Americans in Pakistan because of hostility to policies of USA in Pakistan. This is because of drone attacks of USA in FATA areas. According to one report, 60 % Pakistanis consider USA as enemy of Pakistan<sup>xxi</sup>. Raymond Allen Davis incident flare up the hatred and Pakistani citizens are against the CIA activities in Pakistan. The 26<sup>th</sup> November 2011 Salala incident that killed 24 Pakistani soldiers was strongly protested in Pakistan<sup>xxii</sup>.

### **5.2. Trust Deficit**

The 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2011 incident of Osama Bin Ladin killing in Abbotabad created trust deficit between Pakistan and USA relations once again. But in history there always remain an environment of distrust between the two countries. The relations between Pakistan and its neighboring countries also created distrust in relations. Pakistan is much close in relations to China which has been on not so good terms with USA. Similarly Washington is in friendly terms with Kabul and Delhi but both countries are hostile to Islamabad. Second factor behind distrust is clash of interest between two the countries. The USA-India nuclear deal is against the Pakistan's interest. In the same way China's investment in Pakistan is also not in the US interest. US was always against the Gawadar project of China in Pakistan. Iran-Pakistan-India pipeline project was interrupted by US and in substitute liquefied natural gas was offered but Pakistan refused and both Iran and Pakistan entered in agreement<sup>xxiii</sup>. Pakistan always misperceives the American interactions with Afghanistan and India. Similarly USA also misread the Islamabad interactions with Iran and China. In this whole misunderstanding state actors and non-state actors have equal role. There is also mistrust among the people of Pakistan regarding USA because of US interest based policy for decades. The war on terror can achieve its end if trust deficit is minimized between two countries.

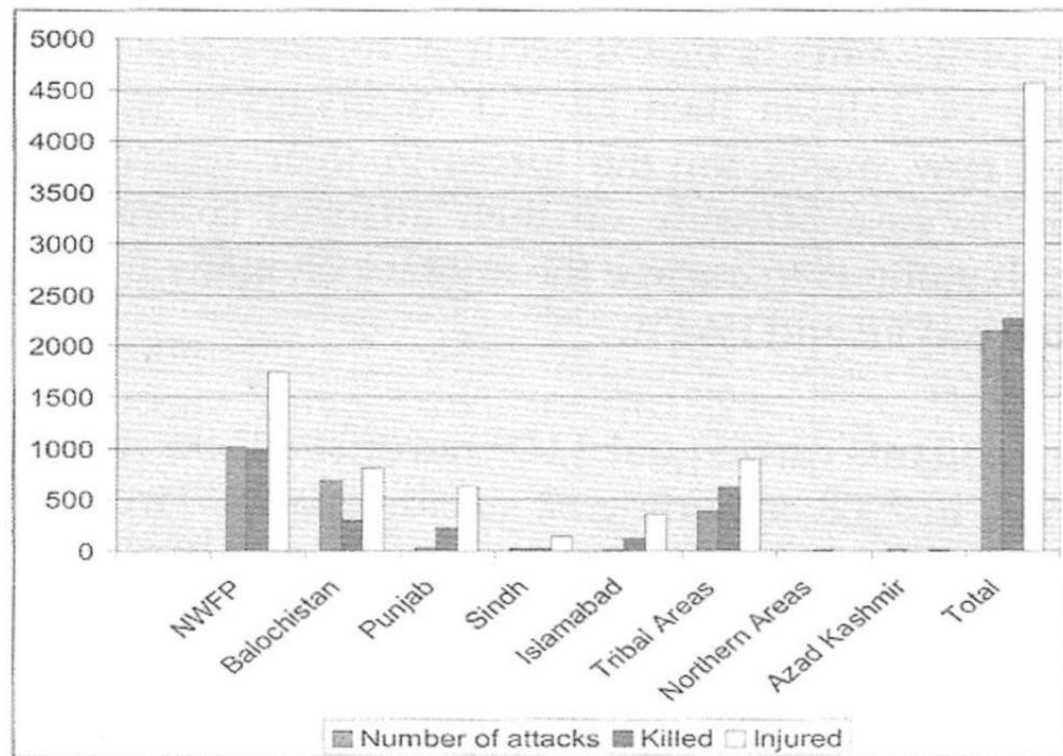
### **5.3. Nuclear Issue**

Nuclear issue between the two countries also exploits the relations between two countries. US was always against nuclear program of Pakistan that was started during Bhutto regime. In May 1998 Nuclear tests of India, Pakistan followed India and on 28<sup>th</sup> May 1998 exploded the Nuclear bombs despite constant pressure by Global world and USA. The US two decades effort of Nuclear Non-proliferation in South Asia rolled backed in 1998. President Clinton imposed non-humanitarian restrictions under Section 102 of the Arms Export Control Act. Although these restrictions were removed on both India and Pakistan in October 2001 after 9/11 event. United States urged several times both the states to join NPT (Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty) and CTBT but no state is signatory of these treaties. In 2002 press report it was alleged that Pakistan is providing Uranium enrichment material and technology to South Korea since 1990s. Pakistan rejected these press reports. If such reports are confirmed then under US laws non-humanitarian aid must be taken from Pakistan. Bush administration determined that sanctions cannot be imposed under these facts. Then in 2003 second press release was issued that Iran and Libya are also benefitting from Pakistan's nuclear program. The matter was investigated and in February 2004 it came before public that Dr. A.Q. Khan was involved in nuclear proliferation to North Korea, Iran and Libya. President Musharraf awarded pardon to A.Q. Khan because of his great contribution to Pakistani Nation. US was assured that government had no knowledge. US turned blind eyes to this issue because of her foreign policy interests in Pakistan. US considered the pardon of A.Q. Khan as Pakistan internal matter.

USA is much concerned about A.Q. Khan proliferation of nuclear weapons. The security of Pakistan nuclear weapons is number one worry for USA and that creates hurdles in their relations. China is planning to build up two nuclear reactors in Pakistan and Washington requested Beijing to justify the plan internationally.

### **5.4. Increasing Islamic Militancy**

Increasing Islamic militancy has remained a great concern and menace for Pakistan since 9/11 that was increased in 2007 to 2008. During this year Pakistan was third number among countries that are suffering from terrorism after Afghanistan and Iraq. In 2008, 59 suicide bombings were reported in Pakistan but in comparison with 2002 only two suicide bombings were reported<sup>xxiv</sup>.

**Chart 1: Terrorist Attacks in Pakistan in 2008**

Source:Pakistan institute for peace studies.<http://www.san.Pips.com>.

In order to reduce the rate of suicide bombings, police force was enhanced with new equipment and attractive salary package was provided for them<sup>xxv</sup>. In 2008 Islamic militancy was enhanced at such level that crossed the tribal areas of Pakistan and entered NWFP and Peshawar. After July 2007 Lal Masjid event and December 2008 Benazir Bhutto assassination intensified the militant activities. The roots of Islamic militancy are going back to 1979 Afghan war. The Jihad concept, religious parties, militant organizations and Madrassas came to forefront. The seeds of Islamic militancy were sowed in Pakistan during Zia time. Madrassas concept was developed more due to Afghan refugees in Pakistan and Arab countries financial aid<sup>xxvi</sup>. These activities are greater threat to Pakistan security and USA has great concern about these activities. Because USA can fulfill her mission in Afghanistan if there is peace in Pakistan. According to world public opinion 2007 report, 67% of the people consider Taliban activities as a threat to Pakistan security while in 2007, ratio was 38%. In NWFP swat area was mostly under the control of Taliban and in 2009 one million people were displaced from swat and living in tents as IDPs. USA blamed Pakistan for not controlling this menace and there are many doubts of US regarding Pakistan connection with Haqqani Network. Increasing Islamic militancy is one of the rift in Pakistan-USA relations.

### 5.9. Ariel Drone attacks

Drone attacks by USA on the Pakistani land is one of the reasons that deteriorated relations between two countries. According to Pakistan media these drones attack violate the Pakistan airspace on daily bases. Since August 2008, in 30 drone attacks, 263 people were killed including the militants<sup>xxvii</sup>. According to US officials there was secret understanding between US officials and President Musharraf of that time in June 2008 to allow US for drone attacks in Pakistan where militants are suspected<sup>xxviii</sup>. Similarly Zardari also enter into same accord but officially both the governments refused any type of accord. Till January 2012, 2692 have been killed in 285 drone attacks according to one report<sup>xxix</sup>. The record of people injured, and killed is given in the chart below.

Year	Incidents	Killed	Injured
2005	1	1	0
2006	0	0	0
2007	1	20	15
2008	19	156	17
2009	46	536	75
2010	90	831	85+
2011	59	548	52
2012	12	87	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>228</b>	<b>2179</b>	<b>250+</b>

(Pakistan>datasheet>Drone attack in Pakistan: 2005-2012)

It is not necessary that only militants are its target. Many civilians are affected by it which fueled anti-American feelings in Pakistanis. But mostly observers believe that Pakistan provide intelligence for these air strikes.

The Government role is also duplicitous. Pakistan publically condemned the drone attacks but permitted to use the Pakistani air bases Jacobabad and Shamsi to operate the drones<sup>xxx</sup>. On 4<sup>th</sup> October 2008 it was reported by Washington post that drone attacks are with permission of Pakistan but that permission was obtained secretly. Later US senator Dianne Feinstein also confirmed in Feb 2009 that for drones attack Pakistani airbases are used for operation which created furor in Pakistani public. First Pakistan denied the fact but in December 2009 Pakistan's defence minister Ahmed Mukhtar admitted this fact.

In 2010 drone attacks number was enhanced. After attack of NATO on Salala checkpost in 26<sup>th</sup> November 2011 the parliament took harsh decision to vacate the Shamsi airbase by USA. The relations between two countries are exploited because of drone attacks that are taking civilian lives as well with militants.

Other factors that cause hurdles in relations are America Anti-Islamic propaganda. US consider Islam as extremist religion but fact is totally different. In war against terrorism, it was proved that some militants were non-Muslims. Many other countries were involved against US in terrorism war. First USA has to create soft corner for true Islam. Among these factors, one factor is that USA always prefers aid to Pakistan instead of trade with Pakistan. In political tactics, aid is a tool to subdue other nation. USA always prefers trade with India in South Asia than Pakistan. USA should change her interest based policy. Since history we know that there were ups and downs in Pakistan-US relations. USA considers and maintains the hegemony of India in South Asia. Her ties with India also create hurdles in relations. Similarly Pakistan's closer relations with China are also a bottleneck in two countries relations.

### Current Situation

The relations between the countries since 9/11 2001 improved but rift in relations was caused in 2011 because of some incidents. On January 27<sup>th</sup> 2011 Raymond Davis, a diplomat<sup>xxx</sup> killed two Pakistanis in an urban area of Pakistan. On 16<sup>th</sup> March 2011 after closed door negotiations, \$ 2.3 million was paid as blood money to victim families and Davis was deported to USA. Although USA denied any kind of paid compensation. On 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2011 at 1am of Pakistan Times, Osama Bin Ladin was killed in Abbottabad (Pakistan) by DEVGRU/SEAL Team 6 of USA special military operations Unit. This event created doubts about Pakistan's involvement in protection of most wanted terrorist. On 22<sup>nd</sup> May 2011 incident of Mehran air base took place. Al-Qaida took the revenge of Osama Bin Laden's death in which four officials were killed and nine were injured<sup>xxxii</sup>. Then on November 26<sup>th</sup> 2011, Salala air base incident took place in which NATO forces opened fire over two Pakistan-Afghanistan checkposts in which twenty four Pakistani soldiers were killed and thirteenth were injured. This incident was severely criticized by Pakistan and Pakistan in response got the Shamsi airbase vacated by the USA and Pakistan got its control.

Pakistan is a major non-NATO ally that cancelled the \$500 million training program because of Osama Bin Ladin raid on Pakistan's territory which was violation of Pakistan sovereignty. In response USA withheld \$300 million dollars assistance to Pakistan.

## **6. How to improve the relations**

There is a need of the time to strengthen relations between the two countries and relations can strengthen on long terms basis if some principles are to be followed.

### **1. To remove the Anti-American sentiments**

We cannot ignore the people's role in development of relations. Because of war on terror much causality of Pakistani civilians and soldiers was caused. With this Pakistan also suffered economically. Many families in Pakistan lost at least one of their near and dear. No one here is secure in Pakistan. All this developed the emotions of hatred for USA in Pakistani people. There is a need of projects that change US perception among Pakistani masses and create trust and remove misunderstanding between people of both the states.

### **2. To improve the infrastructure of Pakistan**

The two countries maintain relations on long terms if both work for improvement of educational system, healthcare, employment opportunities, and development of economy. For proper utilization of US aid Kerry Lugar Bill 2009 was introduced with purpose to enhance the partnership with Pakistani citizens and make sure the proper utilization of US aid.

Both countries are working to change the Madrassas into other forms of institutions that introduce new methods of technology with Islamic education and substitute the Madrassas. USA should write off the Pakistan debt and create historical examples for other states.

### **3. Violent Extremism in Afghanistan and Tribal Areas**

In order to deal with tribal areas terrorists there is a need of dialogue not the force. USA should govern Afghanistan that would not be a threat to Pakistan. The drug infiltration and poppy plantation in Afghanistan is a great problem for Pakistan society. A plan must be implemented to curb the drug trafficking. USA should enhance the military capacity of Pakistan army that would enable to cope up with the extremism inside and outside the country.

### **4. People to people contact and travelling without restrictions**

In order to develop the understanding regarding Americans for Pakistanis, there is a need of projects under which people of one country travel to another country during vacations. The treatment of Pakistanis in America should expose to the people in Pakistan. After October 2005 earth quake in Muzzafarabad and Mansehra, many US servicemen and women saving Pakistanis lives were unable to change the US perception<sup>xxxiii</sup>. With this, USA also spend \$1 billion to earth quake effectives but no affect at all for creating good wishes for Americans among Pakistani citizens. The visa restrictions should be relaxed and people should travel for business and education purposes. If mistrust among people is removed then relations can developed on long terms.

### **5. Indian factor must be ignored.**

Indian factor must be ignored in developing relations between the two. In history when USA imposed restrictions on Pakistan then moved to India in South Asia. Similarly any treaty or agreement between USA-India creates doubts in Pakistan. In March 2006, President Bush made a visit to New Delhi and Islamabad and nuclear treaty was signed between India and Pakistan which was indirect violation of NPT. But for Pakistan just promises were made<sup>xxxiv</sup>. USA should avoid the interest based policy and this can lead to long terms relations between the countries.

Provided the importance of relationship between Pakistan and USA in various fields and the need of changing politico-strategic scenario in the world, one can clearly asses the fact that Pakistan and USA will continue to cooperate in the future as well. There are many issues where the need for cooperation is felt and both cannot do away this significant interaction for development and progress regionally and internationally.



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- <sup>xxx</sup> S M Hali, *The reprehensible drone attacks*, January 25, 2012.
- <sup>xxxi</sup> Ibid
- <sup>xxxii</sup> Press Conference by the President, White House transcript, February 15, 2011.
- <sup>xxxiii</sup> Four killed in attack at Pakistan Naval Station Mehran, Times Of Pakistan, 18<sup>th</sup> April 2012.
- <sup>xxxiv</sup> DR Noor ul Haq, Kerry Lugar Bill, 2009, P.3.