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Analytical View of Pakistan-United States Relations: Past and Present

Shah Hussain [α], Munsif Ali [σ] & Zafar Abbas [ρ]

Abstract- Relations between Pakistan and United States are like the swing of pendulum. Pakistan, from the very first day, is playing catalyst role for the interests of the United States in the region. But the relations between two countries remained difficult and widen the trust deficit with the span of time. Despite aids from the US, Pakistan also suffered irreparable loss for her pleasure and to get financial support from unequal ally. History reveals that United States always used Pakistan for self-purposes. The aim of this paper is to analyze the Pak-US relations in the current scenario.

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I. Introduction

Pakistan- United States relationship has always been on a rocky path and poses a challenge for foreign policy of both the states. Pakistan after creation acted as a key ally in the region during cold war to promote the interests of the United States. The course of relationship, however, remained very arduous. Determining any future course of action between the two, trust deficit is a dominant factor. The tragedy of 9/11 completely altered the level of engagement and nature of relationship (Ahmed & Kharal, 2015). Many nations of the world faced dreadful crisis due to the incident of 9/11 which led to invasion and assaulting of Afghanistan by the United States and its allies and had deteriorated the security climate of South Asian region. The inimical environment created by the US-led Global War on Terror [GWOT] has brought grave consequences and troubles for Pakistan than any other state. Inspite of unfriendly relations, the US succeeded to acquire assistance of Pakistan in GWOT through threats and incentives, simultaneously (Rabbi, 2012). Both the states have emerged from comparatively unassociated to Islamabad as a devoted ally, to Islamabad as a menace for the US, and to Islamabad has been considered a untrustworthy friend since the last 15 years (Rijnbeek, 2016). The United States have always assisted Pakistan in providing funds and support and in return Pakistan has provided her logistic support. There have also been prevailed distrust and uncertainty in the relationship (Akhtar, 2012). The relations also saw hurdles and obstacles in GWOT. Arguably, the Pak-United States relations from the very beginning of GWOT, replete with resentment and confine to the reiteration of the U.S on Pakistan with the insistence to do more to root out the militant groups (Asghar, 2015). It is argued that the nature of relations between two countries remained diverse in democratic and non-democratic regimes in Pakistan. Due to mutual distrust and convergence of India and United States, Pakistan is getting closer to regional powers i.e. China and Russia.

For better understanding, the researchers have divided this paper into three main domains i.e. Areas of cooperation post 9/11, hurdles that affected relations and current scenario. Before proceeding further it is better to have a look on history of relations from Pakistan's inception and the event that led to the establishment of partnership between Pakistan and United States in the Post September 11 scenario.

II. Historical Perspective

In order to understand US diplomacy after 9/11, it is essential to look into the history of seventy years relations of Pakistan and United States. After independence, Pakistan joined US block due to its security and economic fragility (Akhtar, 2012). Pakistan was fully aware of power imbalance in the subcontinent and was desperately looking for ways to neutralize it (Nadim, 2017). Due to India's policy of non-alignment, the United States chose Pakistan in the region amid cold war crisis (Akhtar,2012). Pakistan had become most reliable ally of US in Asia (Kux, 2001, p. 1). While in the beginning United States gave military and economic support to Pakistan (Banerjee &Commuri, 2014).

To ensure security of newly independent state Pakistan went on to acquire membership of SEATO and CENTO in 1954 and 1955, respectively. Both states concluded mutual defence agreement in May 1954. In the same time security was the prime interest of Pakistan and United States considered Pakistan as an advantageous partner because of its geostrategic importance to contain the spread communism in Southeast Asia and Middle East (Akhtar, 2012).Pakistan received $1.2 billion to $1.5 billion military aid from United States of America. While another $3 billion was granted from 1947 to 1965 in form of technical assistance, agricultural commodities and economic development funds (Akhtar, 2012) and in return Pakistan allowed United States to create airbases near Badabher (Rijnbeek, 2016).

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Pak-US relations entered into a new phase in the decade of 1960s because of Sino-Indian war of 1962. United States decided to send aid to India (Rijnbeek, 2016). In the meanwhile the aid of Pakistan was frozen by the US in 1965, 1971 &1975 which made Pakistanis realized that the US is not a trustworthy friend (Javaid, 2014).The fragmented security order between Washington and Islamabad remained for next 15 years (Bashir & Mustafa, 2014). Eventually Pakistan left SEATO and CENTO in 1972 and 1979, respectively (Akhtar, 2012). In reaction to the Pakistan's latent role in nuclear enrichment capability, Carter administration ceased US aid to Pakistan in 1979. However, after USSR incursion of Afghanistan in 1979, US once again considered Pakistan as a major partner to counter USSR expansion (Kronstadt, 2006). The Afghan religious extremists were chosen by the US as their allies to wage proxy war against Soviets. These religious extremists were also trained by Pakistan's Inter-Service Intelligence to lead the proxy war. With the patronage of Pakistan Army and supported by bountiful American military aid, these mujahedeen's declared a holy war against Afghan government and its allied Soviet forces (Ahmed, 2002). Regan's government developed cordial relations with Pakistan and gulf between the two countries was reduced. In 1981 $3.2 billion military and economic aid was authorized to Pakistan for six years, and later on in 1986 $4.2 billion was approved for 1988-93 (Anwar, 2013).

After withdrawal of Soviets from Afghanistan, US began to criticize Pakistan's nuclear program and the then Bush administration ceased aid to Pakistan in 1990s. Economic and military aid and provision of important military equipment were stopped under Pressler amendment (Kronstadt, 2006).After the Soviet withdrawal, despite Islamabad best efforts, Hekmatyar failed to gain control of Kabul (Noor, 2001). Taliban succeeded to get control of 90 percent territory of Afghanistan and defeated their enemy, the Northern Alliance (NA). The Taliban were ethnically Pakhtuns. Pakistan was the main supporter of Taliban regime from 1996 until 9/11. The 9/11 Commission Report, Taliban government received recognition from Islamabad along with significant political and diplomatic assistance. In lieu, she envisaged to use Afghanistan's "Strategic Depth" in any dispute with India arising in the future. *Jihadi* outfits operating in the Pakistan also received Taliban's assistance to spur *jihadi movement* in Indian occupied Kashmir which started in 1989 (Rais, 2001; Shah & Riaz, 2013).India tested nuclear devices after 24 years of abeyance. In reaction Pakistan immediately conducted nuclear tests, inspite of international community particularly U.S. exertion of inhibiting it for doing so. The explosion of such nukes was widely criticized by the world, and U.S efforts of non-proliferation in the South Asian region suffered a major setback (Kronstadt, 2006). A series of sanctions were imposed against Pakistan on 16th June, 1998 by U.S, due to Arms Export Control Act 58 of Glenn Amendment. U.S viewed Indo-Pak race of nuclear arms as a major threat for the peace and security of South Asia (Anwar, 2013).U.S once again imposed sanctions against Pakistan after 12th October 1999 military coup by General Musharraf. U.S ceased all sorts of aid to Pakistan under Foreign Assistance Act (Section 508) (Akhtar, 2012).

a) Establishment of relation after 9/11

The catastrophic event of 9/11 changed the entire scenario of the world politics and brought astronomical effects (Ahmed & Kharral, 2015). The attacks of September 11, 2001 challenged the hauteur of world's single super power whose land was not assaulted before in the history (Javaid, 2011). After 9/11 Pakistan came under the extreme pressure of United States and the world had been changed for both US and Pakistan. The nature of relationship between two countries began to change after this event. The President George Bush put forward a clear option before the world with the proclamation that "you are either with us or against us" (Zehra, 2004; Javaid & Mushtaq, 2014). Pakistan was compelled to join US led GWOT give up its two decade antiquated foreign policy (Shah & Riaz, 2013). After joining GWOT, Pakistan facilitated US with logistic support, intelligence sharing, and approach to its military bases and airspace. Military intelligence of Pakistan assisted in the identification of important targets and Taliban operated outposts including other safe heavens of terrorists in Afghanistan. U.S. military used bases in Pakistan and relied on its logistic help for ground operation against Taliban and other terrorist sanctuaries in eastern and southern parts of Afghanistan (Ahmed, 2001). In exchange Pakistan got extraordinary incentives, including culmination of diplomatic boycott; military and economic assistance over and above writing off debts (Ahmed, 2016). Attacks of September 2001 brought a landmark in the relationship of both countries to such an extent that by 2004 Pakistan was considered as a 'major Non-NATO ally' (Kronstadt, 2007, p. 11). In return Pakistan was given $1.2 billion in initial three years in armaments exports, writing off $ 1 billion debt and was provided $ 1 billion more funds by United States. Pakistan was also provided $ 3 billion economic aid and so as to enhance the professional competence of its armed forces. In aftermath of 9/11, Pakistan had to suffer soldiers and civilian casualties, 2795 soldiers and 21672 have been killed and 8671 suffered injuries in 3486 bomb attacks as well as in 283 suicide blasts. 90,000 military and para-military forces are fighting against terrorists on the border. Since 9/11 Pakistan has lost $ 68 billion in US led war on terror. In accordance with statistics evidence till April 2010, the nation faced 8,141 brutal episodes of

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terrorism-many more have occurred since then (Akhtar, 2012).

President Musharraf in his book while assessing advantages and disadvantages of not joining US led war on terror said that, if Pakistan withstands US in GWOT then it could face harsh and extreme consequences. Due to three reasons, He eventually joined the US war against terrorism. First of all Pakistan was militarily fragile country that it was unable to counter US aggression. Secondly Pakistan's feeble economy could not bear further economic sanctions. Thirdly Pakistani society was divided on the basis of languages, cult and ethnicity (Musharraf, 2006). President Musharraf was of the view that if Pakistan refused to give logistic support then the US could approach India for such assistance which might badly affect Pakistan's stance on Kashmir. Furthermore one of the most serious concerns was safety of Pakistan's nukes. Pakistan was pretty much aware of India's conspiracy regarding its nuclear programme. So it was favourable time for India to acquire the favour of International players in this regard (Musharraf, 2006).

b) Areas of Cooperation

Pakistan has provided logistic help in Operation Enduring Freedom by allowing US to use its airspace and three air bases. President Bush appreciated both the Pakistan's role and said that Musharraf is a brave leader and his nation is a key partner in GWOT (Akram, 2002). Both the states became united against menace of terrorism and made efforts to counterpoise the remains of terrorist groups of Taliban and Al-Qaida. Without any earlier commitment between the two states, Pakistan assisted US in form of logistics help. US was also given access to different military bases such as Shamsi, Pasni, Dalbandin and Jacoabad. Pakistan went on to provide nearly 100,000 gallons per day without any prior amount. Pakistan deployed nearly 35000 troops on frontier for averting the most wanted Taliban leaders from escaping and apprehended 420 Al-Qaida and Taliban absconders. Pakistan fully supported allied forces through technology and brainpower of humans (Akhtar, 2012).

New partnership was secured and strengthened through lifting of sanctions and granting of aid. "Democracy sanctions" were removed by President through Brownback-II amendment. Nuclear sanctions were lifted for the period of five years through Ackerman amendment. Military sales and assistance were restarted through issuance of a waiver by President of US. United States concurred to instantly cancel Pakistan's loan and granted $600 million and $177 million for economic, security and military support respectfully for 2002. It was announced by Bush leadership to provide $3 billion as economic and military aid to Pakistan in 2003 (Sattar, 2010) (Ahmed & kharal,2015).

International community including the United States and coalition forces perceived that without Pakistan's collaboration it would not be possible to bring peace and prosperity back in Afghanistan. Pakistan offers the most convenient way for NATO supplies to pass and reach to the troops fighting in Afghanistan. Moreover Afghanistan relies upon Pakistan for trade due to landlocked country (Akhtar, 2012).

c) To enhance the regional stability of South Asian states

In order to improve the security situation of South Asian countries both Pakistan and United States are working together. South Asia is a densely populated area with massive armaments. This region is full of manpower and financial resources. There are two very hostile atomic powers.US toiled very hard to guarantee stability in the region and get the three states, Pakistan, India, Afghanistan close with each other. After 9/11 US is of the opinion that peace in the region is very crucial for success of his "War on Terror" operation in Afghanistan (Akhtar, 2012). Despite all this, the alliance contained both the bitter and sweet characteristics, swarming with complications. Acute engagement and disengagement has also been seen in the alliance between the two states (Banerjee &Commuri, 2014).

III. Challenges That Struck Relationship

Following are the challenges that have been witnessed in post 9/11 scenario

a) Growing Indo-USA Strategic Partnership

Under the Bush Administration, United States and Indian partnership got better and better (Guihong, 2003). The sanctions were also lifted from India through US new policy towards South Asian region. Moreover, US also acknowledged India's status of nuclear power, negotiation on technology transfers and made a civil nuclear deal with it in 2005 (Evans, 2012) .

The US endeavours for a turmoil free South Asian region is dispirited by the U.S itself because of signing nuclear deal and providing worth US $ 5.5 billion weaponry to India which startled the regional states (Farooq and Rashid,2017). Pakistan was also disturbed due to this nuclear deal between US and India. President Bush used the term of 'Natural Partner' for India and US at the time of signing civil nuclear deal in October, 2008. This contributed much in abating the relations (Ahmad, 2011, p. 223; Ahmed &Kharal,2015). Islamabad showed concern for Indo-US nuclear deal and considered it as a threat for the security situation of Pakistan, and asked Washington for a similar cooperation and offer in order to increase its nuclear capability. But it refused by the US because of Pakistan's doubtful image and history of involvement in proliferating nuclear technology (Ahmad, 2012).

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Differences over nuclear issue continue to hinder US-Pakistan cooperation (Armitage et al, 2010).

b) Pakistan's Tilt towards China

When the Indo-US ties starts to strengthen, it alarms Pakistan's paradigm of security. Pakistan gets closer to China in order to strengthen its position and to tackle such challenges (Banerjee & Commuri, 2014).During Chinese premier visit to Pakistan in April 2005, both the counties signed 22 treaties in order to enhance bilateral collaboration. President Pervaiz Musharraf visited Beijing for five days to discuss different matters such as counterterrorism, technical assistance and trade and with top administration of China in Feb, 2006. Close to Iran's border, government of China helped Pakistan in building a massive and most important Gawadar port. Pakistan abides to see China as an "all-weather friend" and conceivably the worthiest strategic partner (Kronstadt, 2006).Pak-China close partnership was not acceptable by US (Basheer and Mustafa, 2014).

c) Nuclear Proliferation Issue

Evidence started to reveal regarding proliferation of nuclear technology network in Jan, 2004. Father of Pakistan's nuclear bomb, Dr Abdul Qadeer Khan (Fair et al., 2010), was alleged for selling confidential nuclear technology to North Korea, Libya and Iran (Rashid & LaGuardia, 2004). It was told by US Secretary of State Colin Powell to media in Jan, 2004 that US officials have provided proof to Pakistan's government regarding involvement of Pakistan in proliferating confidential nuclear technology (Murphy, 2004; Waheed, 2017).

Disclosure of Pakistan's involvement in proliferation of nuclear weapons further escalated the problems of future relationship between US and Pakistan (Hasan, 2004; Javaid & Mushtaq, 2014). United States has a great fear regarding security of Pakistan nuclear technology. China is also aiming at building two nuclear plants in Pakistan therefore Washington asked Beijing to declare its position internationally (Akhtar, 2012).

d) Anti-American Sentiments

Due to enmity towards policies of US regarding Pakistan, there can be found feelings and sentiments in the people against US which have emerged due to Drone attacks by US in FATA. According to a survey, 60% of Pakistanis consider US as a hostile country. The incident of Raymond Davis further escalated abhorrence and the CIA activities in Pakistan are also opposed by Pakistani citizens (Akhtar, 2012). In the June of 2008, an airstrike by the US army killed 11 para-military soldiers of Pakistan Army Frontier Corps, along with eight Taliban(DAWN, 2012) and episode of Salala check-post on November 26, 2011 in which twenty four Pakistani soldiers were killed, widely opposed in Pakistan (Akhtar, 2012).

e) Osama Bin Laden

Osama bin Laden was assassinated by the US forces in Abbotabad, Pakistan on 2nd May, 2011 which caused an extreme deterioration in relations (Kronstadt, 2012, pp. 8-9). The discovery of America's most wanted foe found in an allied state created an alarming situation for United States. The US started doubting at the intentions of Pakistan in GWOT due to the incident of Bin Laden (Rijnbeek, 2016).

f) F-16 Issue (2016)

Earlier, it was decided that Pakistan will get fighters on discounted rate of $270 million *which* was partially funded by the Foreign Military Financing Programme of the US.A deal of worth $699 *million* was signed for *eight* F-16 fighter jets, but congress didn't permit due to some differences and problems regarding Pakistan's reluctance to eliminate Haqani network safe havens on its territory and security of its nuclear weapons. It was unacceptable to Pakistani leadership who were at the opinion that the deal must be completed without any pre-requisites or any new conditions. It was stated by foreign minister's advisor Sartaj Aziz that if the deal becomes unsuccessful, Pakistan could find any other country for buying jets. Analysts were of the opinion that Pakistan could look up to either China or Russia to fulfill its defence needs (Syed, *2016).*

g) Current Scenario

The trump administration's policy towards Pakistan marks a shift (Chauhdary, 2018). In a groundbreaking speech in August 2017, US President Donald Trump laid out his government's policy for South Asia, authorizing more American troops to Afghanistan and insisting that Pakistan must either "do more" to restrain Islamist militants, or face consequences. Top leadership of Trump administration came to a conclusion that Pakistan is not a trustworthy partner in GWOT but others are at a view that the US must not put the relation in jeopardy by completely cutting off relations with Pakistan. Many initiatives of the Trump administration were intended to force the Pakistani military to make a clear choice between backing the US, which finances much of its military operations, and continuing to provide secret support for the Afghan Taliban and Haqqani network, which is fighting American and Afghan forces in Afghanistan. Trump Government took many initiatives in order to compel Pakistani armed forces to choose an option between supporting the US which provide funds for most of their operations and persisting to dispense assistance for Haqqani network and Taliban which are brawling with the US and Afghan military personnel in Afghanistan.

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In May 2017, President Trump addressed the Arab–Islamic–US summit in Riyadh. One of the key points of Trump's speech that infuriated many Pakistani commentators were his mention of India as one of the countries that had suffered due to terrorism, with no acknowledgement of the Pakistani Army's contribution in fighting jihadist terror. The Nation, mentioned that because of Trump's exclusion of Pakistan's efforts and sacrifices in GWOT, most of Pakistani media groups were feeling mortified and embarrassed as they are only Muslim state with nuclear power. Besides that merely a chance was even refused to prime minister of that country which is supposed to be a Frontline state to even lay down his viewpoint and perspective.

The June 2017 Pentagon report discussed the roleof "elements of Pakistani government" in providing support to the Afghan Taliban and the Haqqani network inside Pakistan's territory and the need to take action against all terrorist groups. The US intelligence community was already convinced of the presence of terror outfits in Pakistani territory and the material support being provided to them by Pakistan's security establishment (Kaura & Era, 2017).

A senior military officer of Pakistan in his interview stated that Pakistan started to discriminate between the militants. First, there was Al-Qaeda which is a threat for both the US and Pakistan. Second, there was Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan which was a threat to Pakistan only and not to the US. Third, there were groups like the Afghan Taliban, the Haqqani Network, and Lashkar-e-Tayyaba which have nothing to do with Pakistan but are only threats for the United States and maybe India (Nadeem, 2017). Trump made frequent tweets in which he vociferated Pakistan's lies and hoodwinks and said that the US aid to Pakistan had not achieved any expected results and was of no use. It was decided by the State department that until Pakistan will not take any strong action against the militant outfits such as Taliban and Haqqani group, the US will suspend its military aid till then.

United States delegates have revived their demands on Pakistan to take strong actions for eradicating Haqqani network that invaded the US troops in Afghanistan, and to pressurize Taliban militants to come to a compromise by peace talks and demand handing over of Dr.ShakilAfridi who helped to find Osama Bin Laden in Abbotabad city and is now jailed (Bengali & Sahisep, 2017).

President Trump victimized Pakistan by making his first tweet in 2018 in which Trump asked Pakistan to give back all the aid received by Pakistan in previous years and alleged Pakistan for giving only hoodwinks and lies. As a result of which Trump government has freeze the security and military aid (Afzal, 2018), which includes $900 million & $255 million in Coalition Support Fund & Foreign Military Financing respectively. Due to which Pakistan Foreign Minister issued the statement that the US is a "friend who always betrays" (Ahmed, 2018).

Pakistan has been jointly nominated by the both UK and US to be placed in Grey List by moving the FATF which was also backed by Germany and France. Pakistan was accused of not taking strong actions against some outfits that are labeled as terrorists under UN Security Council Resolution 1267. Particularly the Falah-i-Insaniyat Foundation and Jamaat-ud-Dawa who were freely operating was more bothering specifically Hafiz Saeed was allowed to perform the functions like fund raising and organizing of rallies freely within the whole country. From 2012 to 2015, Pakistan had also been put on the Grey List for three years (Hussain, 2018). Pakistan is now reshaping and resettling everything out of fear of US using FATF's strategy to safeguard the stake. Both the Falah-i-Insaniyat Foundation and Jamaat-ud-Dawa were put in the state's banned list by the ordinance issued by President of Pakistan Mamnoon Hussain which amended Pakistan's Anti-Terrorism Act of 1997 (Younus, 2018).

Seven Pakistani firms were put in the list of foreign organization accused of involvement in nuclear trade by Trump government which is supposed to be a threat to the US policy interest and national security. Pakistan's objective to be a member of NSG could be weakened due to this step (Iqbal, 2018).

The US Ambassador in India, Kenneth Juster said that Washington was working closely with partners to secure India's membership in the elite club of NSG who can trade fissile materials and nuclear technologies (Express Web Desk | New Delhi |, 2018) the US efforts to include India into NSG while keeping Pakistan out can further jeopardize the nuclear imbalance in South Asia – a fact to which the US media and think tank community remains mostly oblivious (Global Village Space News Desk, 2018).

A diplomatic tension arose following a fatal traffic accident in Islamabad by the United States military attache, Colonel Joseph Emanuel Hall, killing two youngsters on the motorcycle, one of whom died on the spot while the other sustained injuries (Altaf, 2018). Col. Hall was booked in a criminal case. Because of his diplomatic exemption, he was not taken into custody but police is now going to get his driving license cancelled. For putting Colonel name in the exit control list (ECL), The capital police has sent a letter to Interior Ministry. Police has also sent a letter to Federal Investigation Agency for putting the Colonel Joseph's name on the watch list (Chaudhry, 2018).

In the wake of simmering diplomatic tensions the Trump administration has decided to impose new restrictions on Pakistani diplomats in the US limiting their movement to 25 mile radius. In return, Pakistan on the same day also imposed limitations and constraints on the US diplomats' travelling in Pakistan (Janjua & Harris, 2018).

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IV. Conclusion

There have always been situational based relations between the United States and the Pakistan. These situations motivated actions and practices of both states. Both the states cooperated on many occasions for certain interests but this cooperation disturbed many times and relations saw setback due to unexpected incidents. Due to their mutual dissension the desired goals have not been achieved yet in GWOT because the nature of relations remained diverse in democratic and non- democratic regimes in Pakistan. In non-democratic rule, Pakistan served purely in the US perspective. But in democratic governments, fragility in relations has been witnessed due to clash of interests which leads towards a rift in ties. Both the US and the Pakistan preferred their national interests over alliance whenever deemed necessary. Lack of trust always dominated these relations that impeded their efforts in countering terrorism but this trust deficit did not result in complete cut off because both possess vital importance for each other. Because of Global Supremacy of the United States, It would not be in the interest of Pakistan to afford complete disengagement similarly the US can't achieve its desired results in the region especially in Afghanistan without assistance of Pakistan due to its geo-strategic importance. In order to achieve the desired result, it is suitable and appropriate for Pakistan and the US to reformulate their mutual relationship by concentrating in the fields of cooperation and convergence, and collaborate with each other for ensuring greater achievements.

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