

**AN ANALYSIS OF PAK-US RELATIONS DURING PAKISTAN
PEOPLE'S PARTY GOVERNMENT (2008-2013)**

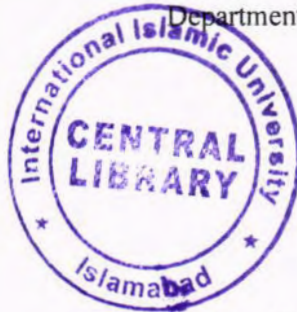


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INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD

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By

Ishfaq Hussain

Registration No. 13-FSS/MSPS/F14

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the MS Degree in Political Science with Specialization in an analysis of Pak-US relations during Pakistan People's Party government (2008-2013) at the Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University Islamabad.

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY ISLAMABAD

2017

Certification

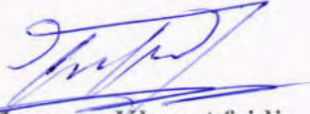
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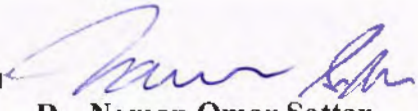
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Dedication

To

My family, especially my mother and father

for

their endless love, support and encouragement.

Table of Contents

Dedication i

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms..... ii

Chapter I 1

1. **Introduction.....1**

1.1 Rationale of the Study2

1.2 Statement of the Problem 3

1.3. Objective(s) of the Study.....3

1.4. Research Questions.....4

1.6 Delimitations of the Study.....4

1.2 Operational Definition of Major Terms.....4

1.3 Literatur Review.....5

1.4. Methodology.....9

1.4.1 Research Design.....9

1.4.2 Case Study.....9

1.4.3 Data collection.....9

1.4.4 Data analysis.....9

1.5 Conceptual framework9

1.6 Plan of thesis11

Chapter II.....12

PAK-US Relations a.Historical Background

2.1 Introduction.....12

2.2 Historical Perspective..... 13

2.3 Visit of Liaquat Ali to the United States..... 14

2.4 Pakistan Support to United States..... 14

2.5 Pak-US Relations and South East Asian Organization..... 15

| | |
|---|-----------|
| 2.6 Pak-US Relations and Central Treaty Organization..... | 16 |
| 2.7 Bilateral Defense Agreement of 1959..... | 16 |
| 2.8 U-2 Incident..... | 17 |
| 2.9 Rethinking about the Alignment Policy..... | 18 |
| 2.10 Cost and benefits of Alignment with the West..... | 19 |
| 2.11 Indo-Pak Wars of 1965 and 1971..... | 20 |
| 2.12 Bilateralism and Nonalignment 1972..... | 21 |
| 2.13 Pakistan-US Relations: Bhutto Era..... | 21 |
| 2.14The Nuclear Issue or Nuclear Technology and Relation with the U.S..... | 23 |
| 2.15 The Defence Pacts..... | 24 |
| 2.16 Internal Unrest and March 1977 Elections..... | 25 |
| 2.17 The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan..... | 26 |
| 2.18 Renewed US interest and the improvement in US-Pakistan Relations..... | 27 |
| 2.17.1 Afghan Jihad..... | 27 |
| 2.18: Pak-US Relations: First Government of Benazir Bhutto (1988-1990)..... | 30 |
| 2.19 Pak-US Relations: Second Government of Benazir Bhutto in 1993..... | 31 |
| 2.20 Nuclear Weapons and Missile Proliferation..... | 31 |
| 2.20 US Aid to Pakistan..... | 33 |
| 2.21 Conclusion..... | 36 |
| Chapter III..... | 38 |

Pakistan-U.S. Relations: Convergences of Interests and pattern of Cooperation

| | |
|---|----|
| 3.1 Introduction..... | 38 |
| 3.2 Post 9/11 Era..... | 40 |
| 3.3 US and Pakistan Counterterrorism Cooperation..... | 43 |
| 3.4 Pak-US Strategic Dialogue..... | 48 |

| | |
|---|-----------|
| 3.5 Peaceful Afghanistan..... | 50 |
| 3.6 Regional Peace Building..... | 51 |
| 3.7 Economic Development of South Asia..... | 52 |
| 3.8 Economic development in Pakistan..... | 53 |
| 3.9 Kerry-Luger Bill..... | 55 |
| 3.9.1 Waiver of Certification Requirements Conditioning U.S. Assistance..... | 58 |
| 3.9.1 Debate in Pakistan Over the Kerry-Luger Bill | 59 |
| 3.10 Assistance to Pakistan's Energy Sector..... | 61 |
| 3.11 US Aid to FATA..... | 63 |
| 3.12 Coalition Support Funds (CSF)..... | 64 |
| 3.13 Security Assistance..... | 66 |
| 3.14 Flooding and Humanitarian Assistance..... | 67 |
| 3.15 Waiver of Certification Requirements Conditioning U.S. Assistance..... | 68 |
| 3.16 Defence Supplies..... | 68 |
| 3.17 Conclusion..... | 69 |
| Chapter IV..... | 71 |
| Pakistan-U.S. Relations: Divergence of interest: Distrust and Difficulties | |
| 4.1 Introduction..... | 71 |
| 4.2 Militancy and Terrorism..... | 72 |
| 4.3 Drone Strikes Pakistan Response | 74 |
| 4.3.1 US Drone strikes on Afghan-Pakistan Border..... | 76 |
| 4.3.2 Drone Strikes on Response Pakistan Government | 78 |
| 4.3.3 US long term and Short term objective..... | 80 |
| 4.3.4 Legality of Drone Strikes and International Law..... | 81 |
| 4.4 Nuclear Issue..... | 82 |
| 4.5 India Policy towards Pakistan..... | 83 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| 4.6 Raymond Davis Issue..... | 83 |
| 4.7 Salala Incident..... | 84 |
| 4.9 North Atlantic Treaty Organization supplied Stop..... | 87 |
| 4.10 Abbottabad Operation..... | 88 |
| 4.11 Shakeel Afridi Case..... | 93 |
| 4.12 Memo Gate Scandal..... | 96 |
| 4.13 Saleem Shahzad Incident US Response | 98 |
| 4.14 Black Water Issue..... | 98 |
| 4.15 Conclusion..... | 101 |
| Chapter V..... | 103 |
| Conclusion | |
| 5.1 Findings..... | 103 |
| 5.2 Recommendations..... | 105 |
| References..... | 108 |

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Ishfaq Hussain

March 2017, Islamabad

List of the Aberrations and Acronyms

| | |
|--------------|--|
| CENTO | Central Treaty Organization |
| CIA | Central Intelligence agency |
| COAS | Chief of Army Staff |
| CSF | Coalition Support Funds |
| ESF | Economic Support Funds |
| FATA | Federally Administered Tribal Areas |
| ISI | Inter-Service Intelligence |
| NATO | North Atlantic Treaty Organization |
| OEF | Operation Enduring Freedom |
| PNA | Pakistan National Alliance |
| PPP | Pakistan People's Party |
| SEATO | South East Asian Organization |
| TTP | Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan |
| USA | United States of America |
| USSR | Union of Soviet Socialist Republics |

Abstract

This research focuses on Pakistan-US relations in Pakistan People Party (PPP) era, 2008–2013. PPP government came into power for the fourth time in 2008. At that time Pakistan was facing several internal and external problems, such as growing militancy, religious extremism, sectarian, ethnic violence, energy crisis, economic stagnation etc. These were massive challenges before the new democratic government, which had come into power after a military rule of nine years. On the external front Pakistan was contributing more profoundly and effectively to the US led war on terror, which was and is highly unpopular in the country. With required political support, Pakistan armed forces launched operations in Swat, and Waziristan in 2009 to eradicate militancy from the homeland. At that time Pakistan needed substantive economic and military aid from its partners particularly US and its other coalition countries. The bilateral relations of Pakistan and America, during the said Pakistan People Party era, saw some dramatic scenes. They became very good friends for quite some time, however, their relations deteriorated on several issues such as Raymond Davis case, Salala incident, Osama Bin Laden etc. Both sides developed several misgivings, suspicions and mistrust towards each other. Sometimes, the nature of Pak-US ties suffered from controversies, which badly affected civil-military relations in Pakistan. The study involved analyzes all those factors and forces that caused fluctuations in the Pak-US ties during the era, particularly the convergences and divergences between Pakistan and US.

1. Introduction:

Pakistan and United States of America (USA) have a history of complex relationship since 1947. Soon after creation of Pakistan, its leadership had a tilt towards the West. Pakistan's first Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan had paid his first visit to the US in 1950. In 1954, and 1955, Pakistan joined US sponsored military alliance, such as SEATO and CENTO, respectively. However, due to US aloofness in 1965 and 1971 wars between India and Pakistan, Islamabad became dissatisfied and it withdrew from these alliances in 1973s. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became President of Pakistan in 20 December 1971. He changed foreign policy toward the US and opened a new chapter of relations between the two states. Their partnership was revived after Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1979. The eras of close cooperation between the US-Pak came to an end after Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. In 1990, US imposed sanctions on Pakistan under Pressler amendment. Some of them were relaxed in mid 1990s under Brown amendment but the US and its allies again imposed sanctions on Pakistan after it conducted nuclear tests in 1998. The military coup in Pakistan in 1999 widened the gulf between the two states.

The tragic incident of 9/11 changed the entire world's political scenario. The US invaded Afghanistan in order to target al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden and its activists. It took a special interest in South Asia, where it strongly needed Pakistan to help fight the war against terror in the region. Pakistan became a 'front line ally' in the US led 'war on terror' in Afghanistan. The US promised aid to Pakistan and persuaded it to take action against the militants in its territory particularly Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). The US also conducted some operations in FATA with or without Pakistan's approval. Meanwhile, the US started a campaign of drone strikes against militants allegedly hiding in FATA. However, the US led war on

terror and Pakistan's support for the coalition partners operating in Afghanistan as well as drone strikes in FATA remained unpopular in the country during Musharaf era.

Pakistan People's Party (PPP) government had come into power after having an understanding between PPP and military establishment in Pakistan. The deal was brokered by the US state department. It was expected that both countries would enjoy cordial relations and cooperate in the war against terrorism PPP era. There has been widespread suspicion and mistrust of each other on both sides. Due to growing activities of private's security contactors, such as black water and Xe etc, as well as incidents such on Raymond Davis, Abbottabad operation and an attack on Salala check post, the ties between two countries also got strained. However, some facets of relationship between two countries are still unknown and there is need to make a comprehensive and in depth analysis of the nature of relationship between two countries. The study is focused on nature of relationship between Pakistan and the US and scope of cooperation between them. It is also studied the impact of different incidents, such as Raymond Davis, Abbottabad operation, Salala incident, and Memogate on their bilateral relations and cooperation between the two countries.

1.1. Rationale of the Study:

The history of Pak-US relations remained fluctuated and reflected a trade like pattern. The PPP era 2008–13 witnessed some important events and developments, such as Pakistan's withdrawal from US led alliances, differences of Pakistan ties with China and controversy over Islamabad's nuclear program in the first PPP government and misunderstandings of war on terror, Salala incident, Raymond Davis case, drone strikes, clandestine operations etc. in the last era. All these events and developments

are very important from Pakistan's foreign policy perspective and need an in-depth analysis.

1.2. Statement of the Problem:

Pak-US relations have historically faced several vicissitudes and the nature of their bilateral relations which frequently reflected a trade-like pattern followed by interest seeking changes in foreign policies adjustments. Pakistan and US witnessed many events in these five years' period. Some events became the cause of diversion and some events the cause of conversion between the two countries which resulted in major incidents, like Raymond Davis case, Abbottabad operation and Salala incident to count some other during PPP government.

The bilateral relations of Pakistan and the US during PPP eras saw some surprising changes. They became very good friends for a period and sometimes, their relations deteriorated abruptly on several issues. Dramatic changes in the bilateral relationship have been frequently seen. However, there is a need to make an assessment of the dynamics and patterns of US-Pak relations during PPP era. The study is investigating the factors and forces that had caused fluctuations in US-Pak ties in PPP era.

1.3. Objectives of the Study:

- To assess the dynamics and patterns of Pak-US relations during the era of PPP 2008–2013.
- To explore the convergence and divergence in national interests of Pakistan and the US.
- To determine the significance of different events occurred in PPP era and their implications for bilateral relations of the two countries.
- To analyze on the issues and events that troubled Pak-US relations.
- To get on over all estimation of Pak-US relations during PPP governments and their implications for both countries.

1.4. Research Questions:

1. What were the dynamics and patterns of Pak-US relations during the era of PPP 2008–2013?
2. How did foreign policy objectives of Pakistan and the US converge or diverge during the PPP governments?
3. What were the major factors and events that affected the US–Pakistan relations during the PPP era (2008–2013)?

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study goes beyond the traditional areas covered by scholars regarding Pak-US relations. The research involved an inclusive and comprehensive approach covering all aspects of relationship between Pakistan and the US during PPP era. This study makes an assessment of some important but yet generally untouched aspects of Pak-US relations particularly those related to some crucial developments and fluctuations in their ties during the PPP era 2008–2013.

1.6. Delimitations of the Study:

The study is a comprehensive analysis of Pak – US relations of PPP era 2008–13. It mainly focuses on the events and developments that took place from 2008–2013.

1.7. Operational Definition of Major Terms:

- **Convergence:** In this research the convergence is used for the mode of relations which bring Pakistan and America close to each other.
- **Divergence:** is used for the difficult situation and the mode of relations between Pakistan and America which pushed both far from each other.

- **Bilateral Relations:** Are used for the relations of two countries with one another. In this research the bilateral relations will be used for Pak-US relations with one another.

2. Literature Review:

Hameed (2013) noted that there were many challenges faced by the Government, such as unemployment, poverty, and inflation. Pakistan needs international support in the shape of financial aid and loans to meet its requirements. Kerry –Luger bill provided aid of \$ 1.5 billion annually in assistance from 2009 to 2014. The U.S congress also set up the Pakistan counterinsurgency fund in 2009. US provided aid for teacher education program, higher education in Pakistan, and energy projects. However, the US had concerns over Pakistan s' alleged support of Haqqani network that worked against American interests in Afghanistan.

Iqbal (2010) highlighted that combating terrorism has become a vital national interest of both countries and proximity of combat operations required close cooperation and coordination between the two states. Despite having a lot of problems domestically, Pakistan joined the war on terror as a fro online ally to restore the confidence of international community.

Epstein and Kronstadt (2013) found that after 9/11, Pakistan became a front line ally in the US war on terror in Afghanistan. Islamabad has been among the leading receivers of US foreign assistance, although aid level had been fluctuating to a great deal over the decades since Pakistan's independence. Pak-US relations had deteriorated in 2011, after the killing of Osama bin Laden, attack into Pakistani territory near Afghanistan and killing of 24 Pakistani soldiers.

Gupta (2013) holds that Pakistan People's Party (PPP) government that came into power in 2008, had faced various challenges such as memo gate, killing of

Osama bin Laden, Salala incident and drone attacks. Besides, the country also faced the continuing internal problems including insurgency of the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan in FATA, sectarian tension, political violence in Karachi and the ongoing disturbance in Baluchistan.

Bashir and Jan (2014) noted that both countries had common interests in a few areas. They agreed on the point that a peaceful Afghanistan was in their common interest and that elimination of extremism can promote regional peace. There were particular areas of interests for both allies like economic development, regional peace and security and stability in Afghanistan.

Haqqani (2013) noted that Pakistan and US had important geopolitical partners in the cold war era. After 9/11, US started targeting Al Qaeda and its affiliated militant groups. US also gave aid to Pakistan to fight terrorism. Pak-US had very close cooperation before killing of Osama bin Laden and Pakistan wanted more aid. However, Pak-US relations suffered heavily due to mistrust between the two countries.

Shah (2015) has examined the significance and legitimacy of U.S. drone strikes in Pakistan. He noted that the US constantly used force against militants in FATA and thus violated Pakistan's territorial sovereignty. The Government of Pakistan officially proclaimed to be an important US ally in its war against global terrorism. However, it clearly and continually condemned U.S drone attacks and termed them as violation of its territorial sovereignty. These drone strikes seriously distorted Pakistan's effort to fight against terrorism.

Ayoub and Ahmed (2013) have noted that drone strikes in FATA were seen negatively by press and public in Pakistan. US claimed to target the high profile militants belonging to al-Qaeda and Haqqani network. However, civilians in large

number also became victims of these strikes that claimed lives of over 2,206 civilians including children and women. No law in the entire world permits to kill innocent people in the name of war. Drone strikes also violated Pakistan's sovereignty.

Khan and Rahman (2014) analyzed the US drone policy towards Pakistan that also caused killing of Civilians. He examined the position of drone attacks in the light of International law. He analyzed the rise of anti-US feelings among the people of Pakistan, as a consequence of drone attacks on Pakistan.

Rahman, Al-Rawashdeh, Irizarry and Minhas (2011) focused on Pakistan –US relations with emphasis on the impact of the fluctuating US aid to Pakistan on their bilateral ties and the war on terror. They also focused on Coalition Support Fund (CSF) and Economic Support Fund (ESF), as well as security, economic, and investment related issues.

Zaidi (2011) noted that after 9/11, the aid to Pakistan was meant to help the US against terrorism. Aid was primarily the objective for military and counterterrorism support. The, U.S government provided military assistance more than that of economic aid to Pakistan.

Mazhar and Goraya (2012) focused on the Pak-US ties in post Osama period. He noted that the Abbottabad Operation had significantly twisted the Global War Design as US had intervened in a state like Pakistan which was helping it in the war on terror. During Abbottabad operation US killed Osama but neglected Pakistan's concern and violated its sovereignty.

Panzer Jr has noted that by August 2011 the Pakistani ISI had provided the CIA with Abu Ahmad al Kuwaiti's cell phone number, last detected in Abbottabad. US intelligence operatives followed positively bin Laden's most trusted messenger to the compound in Abbottabad. By November 2010, the CIA had launched a

concentrated intelligence gathering effort with support from the US department of defense and other agencies to verify bin Laden's presence. He maintained that although the Pakistani establishment did assist with the US before, for the period of and after Neptune Spear, none of the aware of bin Laden's attendance and none of the authorities was involved in the operation that killed Osama bin Laden.

Malik (2013) has analysed the ramifications of the Salala incident particularly for the US Pakistan relations. He also focused on the implications of the incident on Pakistan's decision of boycotting the Bonn Conference as well as the Parliamentary review and public sentiments toward US- Pakistan relations and the public outrage against the US in Pakistan.

Rashid (2011) argued that Pakistan's security forces had killed or imprisoned over 400 al-Qaeda members. Pakistan also lost lives of over 3,000 of its security personal including those of police, and armed force, while fighting various militant groups in the country. He noted that war on terror was a huge challenge both for Pakistan and the west. The killing of Osama bin Laden was a clear message to the world.

Naqvi (2010) found that Pak-US relations had history of distrust from the onset. Pakistan wanted US to become its close friend. But the US was interested in India. They remind close allies during the cold war. But another chapter of cooperation was opened after both became allies in the US led war on terror. It also carried the danger of bringing war against terror into Pakistan territory. Consequently, the extremist groups such as Taliban emerged inside FATA as well as in settled district of KPK.

3. Methodology:

3.1 Research Design

In this study, qualitative research based on historical method and document analysis has been utilized.

3.2 Data Collection

The study mainly relies on the documents either in printed or electronic form. Both secondary and primary sources are used. The Primary sources such as the official documents, press releases, policy statement, and interviews of national leaders of both countries i.e. Pakistan and America are utilized. The secondary sources are included books, research papers, web sources and newspapers, research reports and articles, and scientific commentaries available online or in printed form. The researcher is also consulted websites of television channels and newspapers particularly those of Pakistan and the US. Journals and magazine such as Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, and international journal of Pak-US studies and websites of various think tanks have been used.

3.3 Data Analysis

The study is using comparative data analysis method to scrutinize available primary and secondary sources of credibility. Both inductive and deductive methods and different research techniques, such as descriptive, explanatory and interpretive data analysis are used to analyze the subject matter.

4. Theoretical Framework:

The Neo-Realist theory has been explained by Kenneth Waltz (1979) in his work "Theory of International Politics." Anarchic structure of international system, state's

survival and security, national power or capabilities, concerns for relative gains and national interest etc. are the key concepts of Neorealist thinking. The study will be based on this theory and will explore the relations of Pakistan and America in the given era.

The core concern of neorealism's thinking is state and its survival and security under anarchic world structure. In this research, the Pak-US relations from 2008-13 will be explored via the Neo-Realist theory. The terrorism is a major concern and threat for the US security which Washington wants to eliminate at every cost. Presence of Al-Qaida and Taliban in Afghanistan posed serious threats to the world peace in general and the US security in particular. In order, to root out these threats, the US needed Pakistan's support. On the other hand, Pakistan also needed US for economic and military assistance in the wake of its poor economy and security threats to its security vis-a-vis India. After 9/11, when the US and its allies invaded Afghanistan, the Taliban came to the tribal areas and KP province of Pakistan who were not only a threat to the security of Pakistan but became the reason for playing double role in war against terrorism for Pakistan. Despite the illegal status of drone strikes, Pakistan allowed the US to conduct them against the suspected militants hiding on its soil. Another reason was Pakistan's desire to develop its indigenous drone strike capability. Pakistan received billions of dollars in aid which helped to strengthen its defense capabilities. The convergence of interests in several areas brought both countries closer who became mutual allies due to their political compulsions. However, their interests also diverged in several areas which time and again strained their relations. That's why the Pak-US bilateral relations have been suffered from a zigzag history.

Both Pakistan and US are periodically cordial friends to safeguard their mutual interests. The interest of Pakistan is in becoming the most allied ally of the US for its economic gains and to ensure security against a potential threat from India. Pakistan served US interests by fighting war against terror. Both the US and Pakistan followed realist foreign policy. The foreign policy of US in the post 9/11 era is to eliminate terrorism from the world. For this purpose, Pakistan fight against terrorism in its own land is amount to serve the interests of the United States but despite the Western Powers war Pakistan maintained its strategic importance.

5. Organization of the Study:

This study comprises of the five chapters. The tentative organization of the study is as under:

- **Chapter First:** The first chapter is the introductory part like other MS thesis it comprises the dissertation proposal.
- **Chapter Second:** This chapter is covering the historical background of Pak-US relations from Pakistani perspective to provide a brief historical understanding of Pak-US relations.
- **Chapter Third:** The third chapter is the Main part of the thesis, in which the Convergence of interests and pattern of cooperation between Pakistan and America has been discussed.
- **Chapter Four:** The fourth chapter is mainly consisted of the discussion regarding the divergence of interest: Distrust and difficulties between Pakistan and USA.
- **Chapter Five:** The fifth chapter is last chapter of this study which consists of conclusion, findings and recommendations.

Chapter II

PAK-US Relations: An Historical Background

2.1. Introduction:

Pakistan came into being on August 14, 1947. The new born state faced a lot of problems, among which the most important were survival i.e., the lack of economic resources, and military weapon etc. In a bipolar system, Pakistan decided to join capitalist' bloc which was led by US. In response, the US provided economic and military assistance to Pakistan. The Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan visited Washington in 1950. Pakistan supported America in Korean War and provided air base to the US to use it for clandestine activities against the Soviet Union. Pakistan became the member of SEATO, CENTO, and signed other Bilateral Defense Agreements. These agreements were aimed at to contain Communism and provisions for the mutual defense of the member states in case of attack on the sovereignty of a member were included. In 1961 onward, the US got transformed South Asian policies. However, those policies were in favor of India. In Indo-Pak wars of 1965 and the 1971 US role disappointed Pakistan. Consequently, Pakistan started to revisit the policy of alignment with the west. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto after coming into power reviewed Pakistan's policy towards the US. In early 1970s, Pakistan adopted neutral foreign policy. It separated itself from SEATO in 1972 and from CENTO in 1979. A mob in Islamabad burned down the US Embassy at Islamabad and killed its staff. As a result, Pakistan-US relations deteriorated. After the USSR attack on Afghanistan in 1979 and renewed American interested in Afghanistan brought positive changes in Pakistan relations with US. General Zia ul-Haq supported jihad in Afghanistan against Soviet Union. During Zia period, America provided economic and military assistance. After the Cold war the US imposed Sanctions on Pakistan on account of its atomic

program; and they disconnected the economic as well as military assistance. Pakistan tested its nuclear arsenals on 28 May 1998 and once again the US imposed sanctions on Pakistan. After 9/11 incident, once again Pakistan took a “U” turn in its foreign policy and allied with the US over war against terrorism. Pakistan the largest receivers of US assistance, got maximum economic, military aid during that era. In 2004, the US drone attack started in FATA against terrorists. Which latter on affected the Pak-US relations.

2.2. Historical Perspective:

In 1947, the Indian sub-continent was divided; and Pakistan and India emerged as successors to the British Indian sub-continent. At that time world system was bi- polar i.e. capitalist states led by U.S.A and communist bloc led by USSR. Due to the prevailing international system states were align either to US or USSR. India joined socialist bloc while Pakistan chose the capitalist bloc (Khan, 2011, p. 9).

The new born state faced a lot of problems in terms of survival, economic resources, military equipment, influx of migrants, lack of administrative staff and the basic institutions to run the government and adjustment in a hostile neighborhood. The government had an option to get assistance from the British Commonwealth. This was not possible for it to pay because of its poor financial situation due to the Second World War and its obvious inclination towards India. The Washington supported Pakistan’s army and provided assistance and support to the dictators for their “containment policy” who frequently used Islam for the promotion of their own selfish ends and interests (Sunawar, 2015).

2.3. Visit of Liaquat Ali to the United States (US):

The first Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan got his education from the famous university of England "Oxford". Although he was compassionate towards Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) and clarified its position following neutral foreign policy, and had no preference for alliance with the Super Powers, India rejected alignment with the west. Pakistan preferred the USA over the USSR who a militarily and economically strong at that time. The USSR favored India due to the perceived threat of Islam and Communism to accommodate one another. On U.S invitation, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan visited Washington in 1950. He tried to convince Washington to resolve the Kashmir issue (Lubna Sunawar, 2015). During bipolar system, Pak-US supported international peace as an alternative to communist expansion, while Islamabad was worried regarding its security issues with India. Pakistan signed security agreements with the US through which assurance were given that in case of foreign invasion America will come to its assistance. India was against Pakistan's alliance with the West and they considered American military assistance as a challenge for its security superiority. Both states (Pakistan and America) interests were involved in these agreements and alliance that's why America provided military assistance to Pakistan. The US found a trusted friend in South Asia, suitable for the execution of their policies (Khan, 2011).

2.4. Pakistan's Support to United States:

Pakistan was against the North Korean attack on South Korea and supported the South Korean view in the Korean War. To resolve this issue, Pakistan was in favor of UN Security Council. During the Korean War, public opinion in US was centered more on India's response than on Pakistan's. But the quick and unambiguous

response of the Pakistani administration left a friendly impression on US government. The foreign minister of Pakistan Zafrulla Khan repeated his government stance in General Assembly that Pakistan is sincere to solve the issue by Security Council. Pakistan gives "a courageous response" on the breaking of the United Nations peace agenda (shodhganga, 2002).

On 29 August 1950, Pakistan notified the Security Council that she would not send land troops to support combat in the Korea war. Pakistan give a positive response to the United States regarding the sending of land troops but due to security risks against India Pakistan did not send her troops (shodhganga, 2002).

2.5. Pak-US Relations and South East Asian Organization:

Pakistan became the member of the South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) in May 1954. It is also known as Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement. The aim of this agreement was to restrict Communism. On the other side, the US did not give assurance to Pakistan in case of any attack from abroad as they have hostility with India and the major incentive for the becoming an ally of US was to get guarantee for its security threats particularly from India. After independence, Pakistan does not have the choice to adopt the policy of non-alignment or independent foreign policy. The top leadership of Pakistan was educated in the western countries and so they were inclined to the west. After the alliances with the West (SEATO) and the democratic forces in Pakistan wanted to get train the administrative management (military and civilian) from the Britain. Pakistan political and military leadership thought that a close alliance with the West will strengthen its economic backwardness (Fazal ur Rehman Khan, 2011).

2.6. Pak-US Relations and Central Treaty Organization:

Pakistan became the member of the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) in 1955. It is also known as Baghdad Pact. For the first time, Pakistan got economic and military assistance from the alliance with the West. The government of Pakistan desired good relations, particularly with the Muslim countries and it became a member of CENTO and had good relations with Turkey and Iran. Pakistan's interest was to maintain good relations with the Middle Eastern countries while the US has also had strategic interests in this region. In 1957, the U.S gave assistance for the advancement of basic structure and for the military equipment which included tanks, helicopters, bombers, radars, frigates and a Ghazi torpedo. To develop the basic structure of Nuclear Technology in Pakistan, the US helped in the nuclear research (Fazal ur Rehman Khan, 2011).

2.7. Bilateral Defense Agreement of 1959:

On December 7, 1959, the informed first head of the state Dwight D. Eisenhower of the U.S visited Pakistan and at that time Pakistan was facing a serious military danger from India. Ayub Khan, the president of Pakistan, at that time supported officially western countries especially America (Fazal ur Rehman Khan, 2011, p. 11).

Pakistan signed with the US a bilateral defense agreement in April 1959. The treaty held that the US would take action against the aggressor, in case of an attack on any of the treaty member. Through this treaty, America wanted to secure its own especial state interest which was Containment of Communism (Mussarat Jabeen, 2011).

Pakistan became the member of three treaties because of the antagonism of i.e. India, Afghanistan and the adverse economic position. The primary aim of these treaties was protection against Delhi's threat. (Sunawar, 2015) President Ayub said, "We had to

look for allies to secure our position". The US believed that Pakistan was an obedient friend and would help the U.S to secure their special interest in south Asia. Under bilateral defense agreement, both states cooperated with each other and the US heed under article 1 bilateral defense agreement that the objective of every state would be world peace and the bilateral agreement would provide security to the integrity of the new state i.e. Pakistan. Under this agreement, the US had assured all the member states that it would take action against those who threats the peace and the solidarity of the Middle East and member states. Under article 2, the US provided economic and military aid to Pakistan for her security and economic development and assured that the US would protect Pakistan under agreement from any attack. This treaty also pointed to the previous treaties i.e. SEATO and CENTO. The US did not oblige the terms of the agreement during the 1965 and 1971 Wars as they did not come to Pakistan's assistance under this agreement (Mussarat Jabeen, 2011).

2.8. U-2 Incident:

In 1952, Pakistan provided an air base to the US for the secret intelligence gathering against USSR at Badaber situated in North West Frontier Province now (KP). In 1960, as the USSR shoot the U-2 Spy plane, as a result Pakistan became the front-line enemy of the USSR. The pilots of the aircraft Francis Gray was arrested. The USSR threatened Pakistan with grave consequences and gives a direct message to Pakistan. Ambassadorial relations broke down between the two states. Pakistani government did not authorize the US to use the facility against USSR. The government of Pakistan realized that this could antagonize relationship with China because it could be used against them too. The contract canceled in 1968 after the government of Pakistan denied extending the treaty for further period of ten years. Pakistan sought to solve the Kashmir issue with the help of US. This agreement did not really helped Pakistan.

Those developments severely endangered the security of Pakistan (Mussarat Jabeen, 2011).

2.9. Rethinking about the Alignment Policy:

The John F. Kennedy, the new president of U.S transformed the South Asian old policy. The new policy was tilted toward India. Pakistan was the only country in whole South Asia who formed favorable foreign policies toward the west and signed SEATO and CENTO with the US. Ayub Khan personally said that the U.S was giving assistances to India which was endangering Pakistan's security. He was also of the opinion if India was getting more powerful, than Pakistan would have to search an umbrella of defense and were looking to China who was not likely to refuse. Washington considered Islamabad only a cold war ally. This could be mitigated of the U.S assistance from 1953 to 1961 which was only \$508 million (Sial, 2007).

Pakistan foreign Minister and the U.S Secretary of State met in 1962. The Secretary of State of U.S told Pakistani counterpart that the Kashmir issue was unreasonable and both states on one pretext or the other are advancing their own selfish interest, the US does not want to put at risk the whole South Asian policy just over Kashmir. The US government requested to Pakistan's President to support Delhi against Beijing in the Indo-China war in 1962. Ayub Khan refused their request and decided neutrality (Sial, 2007).

Pakistan demarcated the border with China and further strengthened ties with them by signing security and joint trade treaties. Later, the US adopted a neutral policy over Kashmir issue. They desired that Pakistan would support India against China. The US president realized that India needs more security assistance. The US increased aid to India according to the circumstances. Pak-China closed cooperation with each other

antagonized the US and the response toward Pakistan was strange. The US delayed 4.3 million lend to Pakistan for the construction of the new airport at Decca (East Pakistan). This revealed skepticism of US policy towards Pakistan. Pakistan set up communication with China through international airline. Ayub Khan and his team desired good relations with neighbor countries particularly India, China and with Soviet Union also. In March 1965, Pakistani President visited China and then to Soviet Union in April 1965. After these political developments in South Asia, the U.S halted its defense aid for the five-year plan. During the 1965 Indian-Pakistan war, the US closed its arm's aid for both India and Pakistan (Sial, 2007).

2. 10. Alignment with the West: Cost and Benefits:

Pakistan did not have diplomatic relations with the USSR which was an obstacle to the development of relations with the USSR. This was a serious diplomatic mistake on the part of Islamabad. In the view of the US, Pakistan geo-strategic location was of paramount importance. Moreover, the USSR's behavior was also of peacemaking with Pakistan. But Pakistan antagonized both socialist power the Soviet Union and China (Sunawar, 2015). In 1955, Pakistan joined the western alliance. As a result, Mr. Khrushchev of Soviet Union announced that Kashmir was an inherent part of India. On many occasions, the USSR vetoed resolutions for the settlement of the Kashmir issue (Sial, 2007, p. 3).

Pakistan was benefited from the aligning with the U.S. At that time, Pakistan was in dire need of military equipment. The whole aid from 1954 to 1955 was estimated at \$650 million. These were consisting of economic aid, technical aid, civic law, framing goods agenda, and others. The total estimated economic aid from 1947 to 1965 was \$ 3 billion (Khan, 2011). From 1954 to 1968 the US provided a fairly large armed

assistance to Pakistan. Pakistan got a \$ 630 million fund for weapons and \$ 619 million for security assistance and extra \$35 million for equipment's were bought on cash (Mussarat Jabeen, 2011, p. 119).

Pakistan's leaders believed through these agreements Pakistan would get military and economic assistance which will strengthen the security of the country. Later on, Pakistan realized that the alliance with the West was a blunder and our expectations about the resolution of Kashmir issue were just illusionary (Lubna Sunawar, 2015).

2.11. Indo-Pak Wars of 1965 and 1971:

When the Indo- Pakistan war started in 1965, the US was not interested to become a part of it because they were more interested in the regional scenario. The US canceled its assistance to Pakistan and India. The US was not only interested in South Asia but to also interested in the Middle East and Northeast Asia. In 1966, Tashkent agreement was signed and the US president appreciated the praiseworthy role of the USSR. When the war ended, the US increased the armed aid to Islamabad but not that much as was to Delhi (Mussarat Jabeen, 2011).

The US did not give any assistance in 1971 War. America gave financial assistance to India for the people who had crossed the Indian border as refugees from West Pakistan. America has also desired to protect Pakistan's sovereignty. Later on, Nixon sent the nuclear warship to prevent the Indian aggression on Western Pakistan. The US and china both helped their own friends in the region. The ' Enterprise' continued to "sail" in Delhi books and journal for more than two decades. The US was against of further dismemberment of Pakistan. Pak-India signed Simla Agreement to end the War and this was a step toward normalization of relations between them (Mussarat Jabeen, 2011).

During bipolar era, India was against the US policies. It was supported by USSR: It did not trust American policies that antagonized relations of both states. The USSR supported India economically and diplomatically in 1965 and 1971 (Mussarat Jabeen, 2011).

2.12. Bilateralism and Nonalignment 1972:

After the separation of East Pakistan, the new Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto reviewed Pak-US relations in the changing circumstances and in the new emerging geopolitical realities. Later on, Pakistan understood that the U.S with the help of India was containing China. Due to the absence of help from the US in the two Wars with India Islamabad pulled back from SEATO in 1972 and CENTO in 1979 and attached itself to the Non-Alignment Movement 1979 (Khan, 2011). According to the west, SEATO was planned against China and CENTO against the Soviet Union. Pakistan separated itself from both military alliances in the emerging situation. Now Pakistan adopted independent foreign policy and focused on good relations with the neighbor China and to normalize relations with USSR (Makhdoom, 2009).

2.13. Pak-US Relations: Bhutto Era:

In 1971, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto focused mainly on foreign policy of Pakistan. He changed the foreign policy in the prevailing environment. He was energetic and a seasoned politician. In his capable leadership, Pakistan moved towards a neutral foreign policy. From 1971 onward, he adopted neutral foreign policy between two super powers (Makhdoom, 2009). In 1971, US arms embargo and not coming to the assistance of Pakistan according to the signed agreements endangered the security of Pakistan in war with India. Consequently, Pakistan dismembered in 1971. He signed Simla Agreement in 1972. In 1972, Bhutto started

work on nuclear plant and accessed France to get nuclear technology. Pakistan's nuclear policy was a reason for US anger. The U.S cancelled transfer of other technology to Pakistan. Bhutto launched an independent foreign policy and that was a clear message to the western countries. The US was opposed to those developments. The US policy makers ignored the Pakistani position in the region. The US felt the significant of Pakistan during the Arab- Israeli war in 1973. Kissinger openly supported India against Pakistan. There were many issues which created misunderstanding between Pakistan and US.

Bhutto visited the US in 1973, and once again America promised the security and the preservation of its territorial integrity: and they started their arms aid to Pakistan (Zain, 2012). Due to Bhutto's struggle, the Organization of Islamic Conference held their summit at Lahore in 1974. He established friendly relations with the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) and other third world countries. In February 1974, he convened the Islamic Summit Conference in Lahore and he gave the message for the Muslim union. U.S recognized the role of Pakistan to normalize the Sino-US relations. (Makhdoom, 2009, p. 107)

In 1975, Bhutto visited US and established good relations with the US. After 1975, the US left embargo on Pakistan, they continued the armed aid. Bhutto started to state his disliking to Islamabad's continued connection with the SEATO and CENTO. Bhutto dislikes a big power, but, he did feel the importance of US support for the state economic and security requirements. Later on, he started to talk about CENTO and other defence alliances to have stability in US-Pakistan relations. The US policy makers doubted Bhutto and they kept Bhutto under watch for his alleged dislike of the US (Makhdoom, 2009, p. 107)

2.13. The Nuclear Issue or Nuclear Technology and Relations with the US:

In 1976, Pakistan signed a nuclear deal with France that they would provide a nuclear power reactor, the US did not like that program. The main reason for the atomic program was the question of survival for Pakistan against the nuclear armed India (Khan, 2011). In 1977 Henry Kissinger threatened Prime Minister Bhutto that the US government would stop assistance once again if they had not stopped their nuclear program (Makhdoom, 2009, p. 109).

Prime Minister Bhutto approached to France and made arrangements for the plant to be installed. The US strong action came against the treaty and stopped the selling of 120 aircrafts to Pakistan and also stressed France to cancel the nuclear agreement. The US regarded Indian atomic program peaceful and that of Pakistan not. According to Bhutto, the development of nuclear bomb was necessary in the prevailing circumstances for Pakistan. He successfully handled the international community with deceit and kept the program running (Zain, 2012).

Washington pressurized those who signed provision of nuclear technology to Pakistan and canceled the agreements. The US antagonistic attitude created more anti-US feelings within Pakistan. Pakistan realized that the US is not a true friend and is supporting the Indian interests in the region. The US policy makers were making struggles to stop the Pakistani nuclear program but on the contrary Pakistani government tried to convince. The international community that the nuclear program is paramount important for the security of Pakistan. Bhutto had experience. Of the past economic and security agreement with the west and so he disliked the western powers attitude towards Pakistan. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto period is famous for reviewing the foreign policy and adopting the nuclear policy. The adopting of nuclear policy was

a clear message to the west. The Washington behavior was anti-Bhutto but he was ready to face the consequences (Zain, 2012).

Mr. Bhutto established good relations with neighboring states China and Soviet Union, East-European states and Latin-American countries. Bhutto got many successes without the help of US and previous governments were unsuccessful without the support of USA (Zain, 2012).

Pak-US relations were deteriorated on the issue of nuclear proliferation. The PPP government started to get safeguards from the mighty nuclear states against Indian nuclear blackmailing's. For this purpose, Bhutto and foreign minister Aziz Ahmad visited London, Paris and Washington but returned unsuccessful to convince them regarding Pakistan nuclear program. Additional mutual proposals for nuclear-weapon-free-zone and of the Nuclear Non- Proliferation Treaty (NPT) were considered by Pakistan and India but India did not agree to any of them. Pakistan nuclear program was necessary for the regional security (Khan D. , 2013).

The nuclear non-proliferation problem became significant between Pak-US relations. After the US pressure the French government broke the agreement for the transfers of nuclear recycle program to Pakistan. After the downfall of Bhutto and the harm to Pakistan's international status, the military dictator Zia takeover and the annulment of the agreement by France in August 1978 were proclaimed as one of the reasons for proclamations of Martial law (Khan D. , 2013).

2.14. The Defense Pacts:

Due to the failure of CENTO and SEATO and other defense treaties, the relations deteriorated between the two states. Later on, when Bhutto requested US for the development of Gwadar on Baluchistan shore but due to skepticism regarding Bhutto,

the US policy makers failed to agree to the offer. The US policy maker was suspicious about Bhutto and watched him carefully. Bhutto Gwadar policy failed due to trust deficit. In the Cold War, due to the changing international arena, Bhutto foreign policy on the part of the West did not succeed. In these circumstances, Washington favored Shah of Iran as the most trusted ally. The US was interested in the resource rich Persian Gulf and not in Baluchistan. Bhutto desired that if America came to Baluchistan, the develop technology would accompany them in Gwadar. This would also deter India (Zain, 2012).

2.15. Internal Unrest and March 1977 Elections:

In March 1977 elections, nine opposition parties make Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). The alliance was made against PPP government. When on the issue of rigging, the movement became violent Zia proclaimed Martial Law. Three reasons were provided to end the Bhutto government. One was the issue of rigging the elections and the second reason was the nuclear issues that charmed Bhutto-Carter relations. The American president Carter's struggle went unsuccessful to stop Bhutto from progress in the nuclear program although he cut off all assistance to Pakistan. Bhutto supporters blamed the US government that it helped PNA for anti-Bhutto motion and that the PNA had promised clandestine support to the US Administration to trash the nuclear program. The US administration was blamed that they supported the undemocratic administration in Pakistan; as they US supported the PNA to bring down Bhutto's government. Due to US pressure, Zia canceled nuclear agreement with France (Khan D. , 2013). To balance India in the nuclear technology led Bhutto's demise. Bhutto was trying to pursue Pakistan's interest without antagonizing US. As a result, the trust deficit also deteriorated for Pakistan (Zain, 2012).

2.16. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan:

Pakistani mob burned down the US Embassy at Islamabad on the ambiguous news that US is secretly involved in the assault of Makkah. It resulted in some casualties of the embassy staff. At that time Pak-US relations reached to their lowest point (Hasnat).

In December 1979, two major developments took place in the course of international politics which included the Islamic revolution in Iran and the USSR attack on Afghanistan. As a result, the US changed her previous policy towards Pakistan and initiated her maximum support to Pakistan. Moreover, in 1980 the military leadership in Pakistan was highly assisted by Washington. It was the attack on Afghanistan by the Soviet Union which compelled the United States to come closer and strengthened her bilateral military relations with Pakistan to secure her interests in the ongoing international scene. The Field Marshal General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq (1978-1988) was ready to help out the US interest in Iran by assisting Shah and overthrowing the Komani's rule in the newly established state of Iran. The target of president Zia's foreign policy was to strengthen his ties not only with the West but also with those of the Muslim countries as well. Initially, as being the head of state, Zia adopted an antagonistic behavior against Iran and condemned the Washington for her pro-Shah policies (Lubna Sunawar, 2015).

There was fear in Pakistani side that the USSR's intervention in the region may expand to other parts of the region like that of Balochistan where the Soviet Union to a large extent was portraying the Baloch Nationalists against Pakistan. There was also a claim from Pakistani side that the freedom fighters were highly supported and armed by the communist regime as well. So, the ongoing complex situation in region particularly in Afghanistan had saddened Pakistan deeply (Haqqani, 2005).

2.17. Renewed US Interest and the Improvement in US-Pakistan Relations:

2.17.1 Afghan Jihad

The American engagement with Pakistan was in fact based on the policy to overthrow the USSR from Afghanistan by portraying Mujahedeen. For this, US special aid to Pakistan was not enough and General Zia termed it as “peanut” for Pakistan. This attitude of United States annoyed Pakistan. As result, on January 18 General Zia-ul-Haq demanded for the increase of US aid to Pakistan. He smoothly explained that the general proffer of assistance was extremely less to come to an agreement but what US said to Pakistan was that it was also providing clandestine aid to her. The secret agency of US and secrete agency of Pakistan also collaborated with each other on brainwashing the Afghan Mujahedeen. Besides this, the Saudi government provided aid to Pakistan to support afghan mujahedeen. Had Zia ul-Haq really been distress about disturb the USSR. He would probably not have escalated Pakistan’s inclusion with the mujahedeen (Haqqani, 2005).

More importantly, the newly elected president of America Reagan further strengthened his relations and military support to Pakistan. The quick US assistance to Pakistan was meant to be for the sake of helping and training the afghan jihad. The security agencies of both countries have equally cooperated with each other to train them and then fight back the Russian troops in Afghanistan. Also the migrated Afghans into Pakistan were adjusted and gained a space to serve the interest of both countries. In this regard, both countries were to some extend was successful to meet out their national interest. However, the CIA facilitated money and weapons for the jihad and their recruitment, teaching and political command was in the hands of the ISI (Haqqani, 2005).

On 5 December 5, 1981, the US signed contract to sell F-16s to Pakistan. Before December 1982 for the first-time US give six new highly quality designed aircraft and money. The residing 34 aircraft were given to the Pakistan Air Force at the end of the year 1985 (Hasnat).

Under the Symington amendment, the US parliament had to provide a six-year (1982-1987) Package of \$ 3.2 billion in economic assistance and military weapons to Pakistan. The US parliament passed another six-year package of \$ 4.02 billion economic and military assistances under the Pressler Amendment in which Pakistan had to provide evidence every year that the government of Pakistan was not developing a nuclear program (Hasnat).

In December 1982, the president visited the United State. He negotiated with the president of US and also established an agreement on a Joint Commission on Economic, Commercial, Scientific, Technological, and Educational Cooperation. On 6 December, Pakistan leadership formed a policy of protecting Pakistan's autonomy from the USSR assault. Similarly, a statement was made by Pakistan that the US guidelines were necessary for Pakistan to become a part of the free world (Hasnat).

On 24 December 1985, in National Assembly, the foreign Minister's speech has focused on the foreign policy of Pakistan with special reference to the changing circumstances not only in the region but also globally. He officially declared that Pakistan follows her own security and political interest rather than acting on the US dictations. He denied that it was not the US that formulates Pakistan's foreign policy rather it is Pakistan itself that formulates her foreign policy in accordance with her national interests (Hasnat).

In 1986 five -year assistance package was pursued and with near allegiance of \$ 4.02 billion in assistance to be divided during the next six years. In 1986 the US government announced to provide stylish land-to-air missiles to mujahedeen. The USSR's air force against the Jihad became ineffectual. When the mujahedeen were explained as "freedom fighters" in the worldwide media and they achieved a figure of USSR mortification. In the last, the US government was successful in persuading her goals particularly in Afghanistan and in the region in general. Since the leadership of the USSR changed and agreed to talk of their Afghan government. In 1986, the Prime Minister of Pakistan visited US and asked for aid that it would pursue the US in order to reach out talks and resolved the Afghanistan matter (Haqqani, 2005).

Many times, the US blamed Pakistan for her extreme intense and unfriendly attitude towards American. The United States feared that the Pakistani leadership was focusing on her nuclear program rather than the Soviet containment in the region. On February 16, 1987, the US Ambassador's speech at the Institute of Strategic Studies in Islamabad, he told that the US was uncertain about the Pakistan 's atomic plant. He told there were awareness that Pakistan was acquiring a nuclear capability that would create anxiety surely for America and international community (Hasnat).

In April 1988 under the auspices of UN, talks were held in Geneva for the USSR withdrawal from Afghanistan and an agreement were reached named as Geneva accord. In those talks from Pakistan prime minister Muhammad Khan Junejo participated, after the accord Pak-US alliance purpose was ended (Hasnat).

The USSR wasted its money in Afghanistan, eighteen thousand soldiers were died and many wounded. The US gives \$ 2 billion to the Taliban between 1980 and 1989 for the proxy war against USSR. The enormous aid for the proxy war in Afghanistan created an environment of friend-ship between Pakistan and US, they provided

training, weapons to the Afghan Mujahedeen but their friendship proved not long lasted. Islam in a basic element is Pakistan foreign policy, jihad was used against USSR as an instrument (Haqqani, 2005).

2.18. Pak-US Relations: Benazir Bhutto's First Government (1988-1990):

After Zia-ul-Haq's death, elections were held in Pakistan, Pakistan People's Party got majority of seats in the National Assembly and came to power in Pakistan, and Benazir Bhutto was elected Prime Minister of Pakistan. The US again repeated the history, which always supported dictatorship in Pakistan. The US had no good relationships with democratic governments of Pakistan. The US interest changed after the withdrawal and subsequent break down of the Soviet Union in 1989, and Pak was alienated (Jamshed-ur-Rehman, 2014, pp. 31-32).

The US started interference in the nuclear program of Pakistan. Benazir Bhutto continued to work on atomic program like her father. In response, the US imposed sanctions under Pressler amendment and stopped economic and military aid to Pakistan. The US president George H.W. Bush cut off aid and commercial relations. However, Pakistan did not even receive a fleet of F-16 aircraft for which she had paid \$ 463.7 million bill and had emerged empty-handed from this aborted purchase (Jamshed-ur-Rehman, 2014, pp. 31-32).

The people of Pakistan made anti-US statements against sanctions due to our nuclear program. In 1990, Benazir Bhutto was toppled on the charges of heavy corruptions and dissolved the parliament (Jamshed-ur-Rehman, 2014, pp. 31-32).

2.19. Pak-US Relations: Benazir Bhutto's Second Government in 1993:

For the second time, Benazir Bhutto came to power in 1993. She started to improve Pak-US relations, which had reached to the lowest point. The US blamed Pakistan that they were supporting terrorism. The Benazir Bhutto government started dialogues with Clinton administration, and these negotiations were successful. After these negotiations, the government of Pakistan allowed to take military weapons from US. Clinton administration removed some sanctions from Pakistan. The US government demanded to stop nuclear program. Benazir Bhutto was adamant to stop it, which again created dents in Pak-US relations. The US was not much happy of her role in Afghanistan as Benazir Bhutto and Interior Minister General Nasser Ullah Babar, together with ISI, set up the Taliban in Afghanistan. In fact, the Soviet Union had withdrawn their forces from Afghanistan, so, the US had lost interest in the Pakistan (Jamshed-ur-Rehman, 2014, pp. 31-32) .

It is a historical fact and the people of Pakistan know that US is not a sincere friend of Pakistan. These sanctions affected Pakistan's economy. The US attitude was not good to Pakistan, as compared to India. Once again, Benazir Bhutto was not successful in her policy toward US, and her government was dissolved on the allegations of corruption by President Laghar (Jamshed-ur-Rehman, 2014, pp. 31-32).

2.20. Nuclear Weapons and Missile Proliferation:

Since the last 24 years, India waited for the nuclear tests. They conducted five nuclear blasts on May 11 and 13, 1998. However, the US continued its struggle to deter Pakistan's atomic program. After the Indian nuclear tests Pakistan as a response tested its nuclear arsenal on 28 and 30 May 1998. The US two decades struggle for averting Pakistan's nuclear tests failed, and criticism came on Pakistan. The US enforced

economic and military sanctions on 13 May 1998 over India under section 102 of Arms Export Control Act (AECA). Similar sanctions were enforced on Pakistan on 30 May. Many products were out of the sanctions like Humanitarian assistance, food, and agricultural (Blood, 2002).

The US trade branch of business banned 300 Indian Companies and some Pakistani companies because of nuclear, missile, and atomic program in November 1998. For some trade items exports a trade certificate was necessary to be issued by US trade branch, and for those certificates written petitions needed but was refused by them. In 1990, the US stopped aid to Pakistan when the US enforced sanctions over both countries i.e. India and Pakistan. India was more affected than Pakistan in the prevailing circumstances (Blood, 2002).

The US policy makers were against the continuous progress on arms race between Pakistan and India which can reach to the level of nuclear use against each other. (Blood, 2002).

In October 1999, the US parliament approved under the organizations of Defense annexation 2561, approved Act, 2000. These acts gave the powers to the US president to end sanctions from Pakistan and India which were enforced in reaction to the nuclear test. 27 October 1999 the US president lifted sanctions from India but not from Pakistan. The US under the organization act 2001 and the Foreign Operations Export Financing facilitated the aid for education program in Pakistan. The US Agency for International Development petition for 2002 consists \$7 million for development for increased public society and reform civil education in Pakistan (Blood, 2002).

2.19. US Aid to Pakistan:

In the past few decades Pakistan-US relationship faced ups and downs. When Pakistan came to the map of the world in 1947, she faced a lot of problem because lacking of administrative resources, files, equipment or other more required things within a state. After independence, Pakistan immediately required money and its demanded to US government and US provided \$2 billion loan to Pakistan. A subsequent request listed \$ 700 million for manufacturing, \$ 700 million for farming and \$ 510 million for equipment and infrastructure for defence. The money of \$ 2 billion was accepted for 5 years and further government of Pakistan had requested for wheat to US, which was provided by an estimated one million tons of wheat valued of \$ 74 million. It was quickly send to the port of Karachi at no charge s. Pakistan joined South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) in May 1954 after it became member of Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) in 1955. From 1954 to 1965, the US gave \$ 1.2 to \$ 1.5 billion estimated assistances to Pakistan. From 1947 to 30, September 1965 economic aid estimated about \$ 3 billion (Mazhar, 2011).

In 1957, the US provided aid to different sector of development in Pakistan. Its provided basic structure and farming with military equipment, tanks, helicopters, bombers, high-level lengthy space radars, frigates and a Ghazi torpedo. Further Pakistan received \$ 1.5 billion cost of defence assistance from the Washington till 1959. Both wars, the Indo-Pakistan war in 1965 and in 1971 resultantly stopped US aid to Pakistan. But the government of Pakistan worried to the US government because under before mentioned treaties it was compulsory to provide assistance for protection of Pakistan boundaries. In 1973, Bhutto visited US after normalization of Pakistan-US relationships. In 1974 Once again, Pak- US alliance going towards divergence because Pakistan had started nuclear plant (Mazhar, 2011).

In 1979, When the soviet attacked in Afghanistan once again Pakistan became allied with US. After the US offered aid about 400 million but Pakistan government refused less peanut aid. When president Reagan came to power in 1980 after one year in 1981, he declared assistance package for Pakistan about \$3.2 billion, including 40 F-16 aircrafts over a five-year period. Further he provided aid of \$4 billion for next five years (1987-1993) (Mazhar, 2011).

After 9/11, Once again Pakistan has joined war on terror and made ally with the US. Pakistan-US agreed to cooperate on the fight against the terrorism. The US in response provided economic, social, political, and democratic development to Pakistan (Sial, 2007). Frist three year, the US increased aid about \$3 billion and provided 1.2 billion loan to buy military weapon, \$3 billion for economic aid and security assistance. In FY 2002-FY 2005, Pakistan had received aid about 2.6 billion to US and its included 1.1 billion as security aid. On the request of Pakistan, the US parliament passed a bill through which the US provided \$700 million for security assistance to Pakistan. The Washington provided \$1.5 billion of Foreign Military Financing to Islamabad from 2005-2009 (D'Souza, 2006).

America tacked some initiatives to boost Pakistan's counter-militancy and law implementation capability. In May 2003, the US set up Joint Working Group on Counter Terrorism, extremism and law implement with Pakistan in the region (Souza, 2006).

In early November, 2001, the US government facilitated Pakistan with \$ 73 million in "boundary security" military equipment, consist of Huey aircraft and equipment for F-16 fighter aircraft. In 2002, \$ 75 million were donated to Pakistan under the Foreign Military Financing (FMF), for ten years. In 2003, for domestics use FMF combined \$ 49.5 million, and \$1.75 million were given in related activities. In 2004, FMF wholly

\$ 74.5 million were given for counter-terrorism. A further \$ 148 million was provided in 2005. The Washington plighted \$ 1.5 billion of Foreign Military Financing to Islamabad from 2005-2009. From Pentagon in a statement from CIA adviser Foreign Military Sales said that they had signed a contract with Pakistan worth \$ 343 million for the FY 2003- FY2004 and approximate \$492 million for FY 2005. Furthermore, on the request of Pakistan, America provided \$ 2 million. In November 2004, American Parliament approved three big Foreign Military Sales to Pakistan including eight P-3C maritime investigation airplanes 2,000 TOW, anti-tank missile and six Phalanx naval shooters. The Defence Branch characterizes the P-3C and TOW missile as having important potential against terrorism and made it clear that it will not disturb the power balance in the region. In March 2005, the US president declared that the Washington would recommend the F-16 deal to Pakistan suspended more than 16 years back. In July 2006, the American president provided a huge defence aid worth of \$ 5.1 billion for Pakistan consisting of 36 F-16 jet aircraft for navy, equipping the army with advance weapons; this deal was provided without the consultation of parliament (Souza, 2006).

On October 2, 2006, Pakistan Air Force declared that Islamabad had signed a contract with the US for buying eighteen F-16 jet aircraft. The 30 September agreement was focused on the F-16, which was a great victory for Pakistan. The package including the provision of eighteen fresh F-16s, the advancement of navy fleet by 32 PAF-16s air to air and air to land advance missiles; to enhance the current capabilities (Souza, 2006).

In 2004, eight supernumerary P-3C Orion maritime patrol airplane were provided and for their renovation and other needs costing up to \$970 million in the next year's. Further the sale of 300 Sidewinder air-to-air missiles and 115 self-motivate howitzers

were awaited. Most importantly, a Defense agreement consist of 40 AH-1F Cobra helicopters provision in 2004 and two F-16A combatants 2005 (Souza, 2006).

2.21. Conclusion:

Historically Pak–US relations passed through many vicissitudes and the nature of their relations reflected frequently trade-like pattern, followed by interest seeking policies by both countries. In this chapter, the Pak-US relations were divided into three stages. Pak-US relations confronted several ups and downs and suffered from transition. The purpose of defense agreements was to control Communism; Pakistan was benefited economically and military from US but Pakistan gained these on the cost of enmity of Soviet Union. However, divergence of national interest came when in Pakistan became war-like situation and the US was not helping Pakistan for the urgent need of aid against terrorist. The US government was not tolerant for the acquisition of nuclear technology. When a Pakistani mob burned down the US Embassy at Islamabad, at that time the Pak-US relations reached to their lowest point. This was convergence of national interests when US-Pakistan relationships improved in 1979. The US provided assistance to Pakistan and was playing the front role against communism. In early 1990 due to nuclear matter and after the disintegration of USSR, US cut off assistance. In 1990 the US imposed sanctions on Pakistan, when Pakistan tested its nuclear arsenal in the 1998 US increased sanctions over Pakistan which affected Pakistan's economy very badly. America just used Pakistan for their selfish goals and they never benefited Pakistan in true meaning of friendship. 9/11 incident changed the whole global political scenario and the US lifted four kinds of sanctions from Pakistan¹. Due to Pakistan's help the US achieved great success against Taliban as some Taliban leaders were killed in drone attack. Mover ever,

¹ As Pakistan become the Non-NATO ally of US and a front line state in the war against terrorism

drone attacks have civilian casualties as well and disrupting the social life of the tribal areas. The US, one again, preferred its own interest when these were accomplished. They left Pakistan in lurch. It is the need of the hour that Pakistan should form its foreign policy in its best national interest, not under the influence of other powers.

Chapter III

Pakistan-U.S. Relations: Convergences of Interests and Pattern of Cooperation

3.1. Introduction:

First, it is necessary for every state to make foreign relations to get national interest effectively. States make strategies about hostility and friendship but their prime objectives are usually based national interest and make relationships with other countries according to their interest. Their relations remain strong enough when their interests are tied each other as soon as conflict of interest occurs convergence and divergence of national interest between both countries.

The relationships between both countries were changed time to time which were based on interest and the environment situations. Many times, they become very close due to their interests. The state looked those areas are interest particularly territorial of country coverage relationships another state. If a state violates national interest other of state, their relationships may be go divergence. If the state gains national interest in those areas, they will build strong alliances. If we see the Pak-US relations in this decade, we will find that so many political dynamics occurred in their relationships (Jan, 2014).

When Pakistan People Party came into power and Pakistan has faced many problems like political violence, sectarian, ethnic, insurgency, communal, terrorism, energy, population, food and water were becoming the serious challenges to government. After having an understanding between PPP and military establishment in Pakistan they went to broke away the treaty with US state department on war on terror signed by previous government. It was expected that both countries would enjoy cordial relations and cooperate in the war against terrorism during PPP era.

When the new president Obama came into power this change was established the most important issues in foreign policy of Pakistan. The US policy maker has made policy concerned with Pakistan. Group of policy maker who made policy comprised of 13 experts based in Washington. The US administration reviewed the old policy concerned to Pakistan. After the policy evaluation, they reached to the consensus that the US continue relations with Pakistan and admitted the important role of Pakistan in regional security. The US also supported new democratic government of Pakistan and provided economic assistance. Further it made good governance oversight in Pakistan and increase transparency and accountability in US aid. The US made reforms regarding military institutions own government as well as to strong non-security weapons. It further made long term alliances with Pakistan (Kronstadt, Pakistan-US Relations, 2009).

The president Obama wanted that he had strongly supported democracy and political system of Pakistan. He desired that Pakistan's main focused should be internal and external problem of terrorism. He has changed the old policies and introduced new policies toward Pakistan and US provided non-security aid. Kerry luger bill provided much money to Pakistan and make the country strong enough against terrorism (Zafar Ali, 2013). Despite spending money education, energy sector, and health system of Pakistan by US. it has also provided military weapon capabilities to Pakistan to fight against terrorism (Kronstadt, 2009, p. 4). First, after the White House statement published that "Pak-US strategic relationships is founded on the common interests of two states. They agreed to support democracy and durable peace, military, stability, prosperity, and democracy in South Asia and as well as across the world (D'Souza, 2006, p. 527).

Second, the US administrative alliances with Pakistan security have been one of the important factors of US policy. The US policy makers had provided aid to Pakistan especially for security purpose. The first objective of US was start operation against Lashkar-e-Tayyaba and second was to target the Haqqani network (Ali, 1, 2013, p. 56).

Third, the US has given aid humanitarian assistance to Pakistan. It has been important factor of the US policy in this region. It has given aid to Pakistan during 2006's Earthquake. Next, the American government has given more aid during the 2010 ruining overflows in Pakistan (Ali, 1, 2013).

Fourth, the American government must protect and save sovereignty of Pakistan. Pakistan has elevated issue of the sovereignty and strictly demanded the American military forces not enter to Pakistan without its permission. (Ali, 1, 2013).

Fifth, the American government convinced Pakistan and said that it will not threat the nuclear plant of Pakistan rather it is a source for regional security and bring equilibrium in the South Asia (Ali, 1, 2013).

3.2. Post 9/11 Era:

The al-Qaida supporter's hijacked four aircraft and crashed them into the World Trade Towers in the US on 11 September, 2001. This was the biggest terrorist attack on the US soil. The US blamed al-Qaida for these incidents. The US government pressed Taliban government to hand over Bin Laden. Taliban government denied the US demand so resultantly America began its attacks to avenge the 9/11 (Collins, 2008). For this purpose, the US government needed air base for attacks in Afghanistan. They talked with Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, however, they chose Pakistan.

Pakistan was the only state through which the military and other equipment can easily be transported to Afghanistan including the air bases for the aerial support to their troops over there. Therefore, Pakistan's was enjoying close relations with Afghanistan; American warned Musharraf that "You are with us or against us". The Bush administration acquired Pakistan's help by forced diplomacy. The Washington desired to attack Afghanistan soon to stop Bin Laden and other al Qaida and Taliban leader iron with fist. The Washington anxiously and disparately asked Pakistan's help which was assured by Musharraf (Collins, 2008).

The US diplomatically was using different channels to get assurances for Pakistani government. The US government directly approached the President of Pakistan. They told Musharraf that either relinquish help for the Taliban government or be prepared for the similar consequences like them (Collins, 2008).

Every day there were gatherings of the US ambassador, ISI, Pakistani diplomats, lastly on 12 September, the US handed to-do- list to Pakistan consisting the complete use of airspace, land roots. On 13 September, Secretary Powell telephoned Musharraf to seek what he said was "a specific list of things we think would be useful for them to work on with us." On 16 September Pakistan's government adopted US tilted foreign policy but the secrete agencies were not happy with this alliance. After Pakistan's support for the war against terrorism the US started its military assistance to Pakistan (Collins, 2008).

On 19 September, Musharraf addressed his nation talking about "wrong decisions" in the country's moment of crisis (Collins, 2008).

There were many causes for Musharraf decision for the joining the war on terror. First, when September 11 attacks happened the whole world turned their attention to the terrorism issue. Before that Pakistan had helped the Taliban government and thus

was feared of the loneliness on the international arena. Second the regional countries in Asia including Russia, China all offered support to the US action (Chou, 2005).

Third the US government was supported worldwide on the issue of war against terrorism; it was difficult for Pakistan to stand separate from them so he decided to help America in the anti-extremist and anti-terrorist war. Fourth, Pakistan's ever enemy India also supported US anti-extremism activity. Fifth, the US governments lifted sanctions from Pakistan as rewards which were enforced in 1998 and assures economic aid (Chou, 2005).

The US lifted the economic and military restrictions that were enforced on Pakistan under the Pressler, Glenn, and Symington amendments and part 508 of the Foreign Aid Act. The US president totally lifted them under the power of Brownback (Collins, 2008).

On 24 September with Pakistan's collaboration, Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) started. Pakistan extended every kind of support to the US attacks in Afghanistan. During these times the relations of Pak-US were reached to its highest point that the US without any contract was providing financial aid to the government of Pakistan (Collins, 2008).

With the supported of Pakistan, the US under the "Operation Enduring Freedom" (OEF) started on 7 October, on 12 November the Taliban government were demolished. Pakistan's helped was critical to the clear defined aims of the alliance invasion. The US Ambassador Chamberlain once said that Islamabad lavishly supported America in this war. The Central Command officer told Pakistan if they provided more help to American alliance they will be able to attain their intended goals much easier and much earlier (Collins, 2008).

After the alliance on against terrorism with Pakistan, the US government lifted sanction from Pakistan and started economic and military assistance (Collins, 2008). Collaboration with the US Pakistan intelligence agencies provided help in elimination of Al-Qaeda member and their supports. For the Pak-Afghan boundary management, the Pakistan and Afghanistan counter insurgency cooperation were extended. In chasing and in the elimination of the Al-Qaeda leaders, Pakistan played an important role. Among the three master minds of 9/11 attacks one i.e. Khalid Sheikh Muhammad were picked up from Pakistan on March 1, 2003. Till 10, March, Pakistan had arrested more than 350 Al-Qaeda operatives in Pakistan and out of those 350 captives 346 were handed to the US (Chou, 2005).

3.3. US and Pakistan Counterterrorism Cooperation :

Pakistan joined itself in fronts alliances in the US lead 'world war on terror. Pak-US alliances are based on terrorism that both states cooperated to eradicate the tension of terrorism. Pakistan is fighting war on terror to protected the US interest. Both states established relationships particularly military and intelligence cooperation which for long term relations due to which Pakistan got a large number security and financial assistance from U.S. (D'Souza, 2006). Before, US aimed to approach Lashkar-e-Tayyaba and target it and after its targeted was Haqqani network. For this purpose, the US needed Pakistani road for its security supplies and other assistance for elimination of terrorism in the region (Ali, 1, 2013, p. 56).

In the began on Wednesday, 26 November and lasted until Saturday, 29 November 2008, Lashkar-e-Tayyaba attacked on Bombay. They were killed 164 people and wounding at least 308. After Bombay attack, international organization pressurized Pakistan to attack against terrorist organization in tribal areas of Pakistan. During in

this period, the Taliban had gained in Swat and they had introduced their own Laws of Shariat. They were growing day by day and this increase of Taliban was power suspiciously perceived in western countries. Increasing the Taliban power was also threat to Pakistan and its nuclear weaponry. So, the US and its allies demanded from Pakistan to launch operation against Taliban in Swat. On 16 May 2009, started operation against Taliban. This direction was taken into consideration and the Pakistan army after Swat operation succeeded in 15 July 2009 (Akhtar, 2011).

In late 2008, American and Pakistani security forces have collected information about Taliban and started their cooperation and shared information to intelligence, it reflects that Pakistan has agreed operation against the Taliban near border with Afghanistan. The vice president of US again visited in this region and he was there report "a great deal more collaboration" amid the American and Pakistani security leaderships in the border region. ISAF Commander U.S. Gen. David McKiernan has exalted and improved strategic level cooperation that has permitted for mutual actions along the border (Kronstadt, 2009).

The US special representative Richard Boucher said that Pakistan had fought war against terrorism to protect the national interest of US. Further, Pakistan supported is vital in Operation Enduring Freedom because without Pakistan, US could not fight against Al- Qaeda. He also stated that the US had felt the importance of Pakistan and Pakistan is the only country in this region which could bring peace and stability. If we see the geo strategic significant of Pakistan and its location, it has very important position of Central Asia states and easily access the international market. The US government desired that both states should continue long time partnership. The State and Defence Department also admitted that Pakistan has helped cooperation against militancy groups and Pakistan security started operation against terrorist groups

created obstructive peace process in the Afghanistan. After which US government increased their military force in Pak-Afghan border (Jan, 2014).

In late 2008, Foreign Affairs article, the two-senior regional journalist informed US and gave recommendation for US policy. They suggested that neither American should add more military NATO force in Afghanistan nor attack on Pakistan's broader. They suggested for better regional military situation. Instead of this, Pak-US should agree to start struggle for political and diplomacy for reconciliation and make differences between good Taliban and bad Taliban as well as Al Qaeda. They further recommended reconciliation the militancy groups both Afghanistan and Pakistan. US should continue aid to improve and change the living life style. The US government also "pressured" Pakistan and it demanded Pakistan's security to sincerely struggle against Taliban (Kronstadt, 2009).

When the Taliban groups increased in Afghanistan, the US president Obama inclined towards talk of reconciliation with Taliban in 2009. He admitted vital role of Islamabad after he said that the American troops would be withdraw from Afghanistan in 2014. Further he said that the US acknowledged sacrifices of martyr civilian and thousands military forces during war on terror. When Pakistan started operation to fought against the Taliban under war on terror in the response suicide attacks increased in Pakistan. Pakistani society had been affected badly with more collateral damages. The Pakistan political leadership and security leadership cooperated with each other on operation against militancy. Both agreed on the point that elimination of terrorism now-a-days is necessary because it became an international issue and threat to peace. They had been struggling to control terrorism and was considered growing effects of terrorism (Ali, 2013).

When the US had failed to control over the militant in Afghanistan they blamed Pakistan and said that the militant came from Pakistan, particularly from Tribal agencies. Once again, the US demanded Pakistani military to do more (Ali, 2013). After, US embassy in Kabul attacked Haqqani network second was to target the Haqqani network. On 19, June 2009, started operation Rahe-Nijit North Waziristan in 2009. The security leaderships of Pakistan had decided operation against terrorism in tribal areas of Pakistan. The security leaderships of Pakistan had decided operation against terrorism in tribal areas of Pakistan. The military chief supervised Operation Enduring Freedom in the targeted areas. Taliban and Al Qaida carried out attacks on NATO forces in Afghanistan after which they escaped Pakistani border. Both militant groups made unrest within Pakistan and the government of Pakistan started operation against terrorism and protected western frontier territory. It reflects that the terrorists were more reacted due to which they continued unrest everywhere in Pakistan's soil (Cohen, 2011).

After completion of these operations, Pak army introduced another policy towards Taliban by distinguishing them into two groups i.e. good Taliban and bad Taliban. However, Taliban who were to show them broadens by launching a series of suicide attacks Pakistan (Pakistan, p. 7).

The political leadership of Pakistan agreed for operation against Taliban because they were increased particularly Federally Administered Tribal Areas in last half of 2011. Now-a-days, the terrorist groups get modern education and was working on fundamental Islamism in Pakistan. Further they also studied historical and political knowledge along with focusing their groups growths on new ideological basis and continue their selective objectives. They are aware from the political framework and the main issues rise during procedures and dynamic change. In the beginning people

of Pakistan joined fundamental Islamism movement but after some time they rejected (Cohen, 2011).

This operation against Taliban was however ended when the US army wanted to launch dialogues directly with Taliban. However, Pakistan army mandated in concluding dialogue between the US and Taliban. The reason behind US-Taliban was to secure NATO supply lines between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The reason behind US-Taliban was to secure Nato Supply lines between Pakistan and Afghanistan (Ali, 2013).

The US wanted to eliminate permanently the terrorist groups in Pakistan and Afghanistan. But Unfortunately, it is not possible because the terrorist groups often entered in the common society. Pakistan required good sources and modern technology to eliminate the terrorist inside the country (Ali, 2013).

Terrorism badly impacted on the society of Pakistan because this issues had divided the society of Pakistan. So, the most of public are worried and have concern about peace process of the future in society of Pakistan. Moreover, they regarded terrorism a hindrance in the way of continuing their welfare activities within the society. But The people of Pakistan have most cowardly and predominant under law and commanded situation in Pakistan. Another side saw that this issue creates serious problems for democratic government of Pakistan to fight against the war on terror, and made unsteadiness peace within Pakistan. The terrorism issues are obstacles for the future of democratic government and political procedures. Economy of Pakistan has been weak already and after the war on terrorism more badly impacted. Pakistan is not possible without economic support and was continuing operations against the war on terror and it defeating militancy. The policy of Pakistan consisted operations to fight

against the militancy. When this policy was adopted by the government of Pakistan it will come major risk for national security of Pakistan. In this way, results were more badly affecting Pakistani security and was appeared seriously all aspect of life of Pakistani civilian (Ali, 2013).

In a report published by spectator London on 29 December 2016, it has been mentioned that the terrorist attacks in Pakistan have declined since the successful operation in Karachi and after Zebra- azab in North Waziristan. The report further indicated that was against terrorism in Pakistan has resulted positively. Decrease in number of attacks and peaceful functionary of all social aspects were the indicators of betterment (Siddiqui, 2016).

In 30 September 2013, the Prime Minister of Pakistan cabinet meeting has decided operation in Karachi. After six months, later, he ordered ranger into Karachi. In September 2013, General Bilal said Spectator The report that we have understood 919 target killers from the terrorist wings political parties and target killed 7,300 (Siddiqui, 2016).

3.4. Pak-US Strategic Dialogue:

The US army wanted to intervene in Pakistan and they seek approval from the US government. A proposal was floated to lunch operation against Sirajuddin Haqqani and Baithuallah Mehsud. After lapse of some Pakistan security and they got it serious and predominate that they will not allow any other country to operate within their territories. Therefore, the US government started strategies dialogue with Pakistan. This dialogues concluded that the US will respect Pakistan's territories integrate and will not intervene at stage. The US president said that his government will continuous support Pakistan because war on terror is common challenges to both countries. He

further stressed to strong relations with Pakistan, he further pledge to provide aid for security forces of Pakistan enabling them to continue was against terrorist. The US has also promised to give aid to affected if we on terror and society officials who were suffering (Jan, 2014).

In order to execute such policy, appoint a special representative to deal this matters. In response to this offers, the president Asif Ali Zardari welcomed this policy and said that his government will continue fight against terrorism because the war was Pakistan's own war. However, the strategic dialogue come to suspend when American employer of US embassy in Lahore killed two civilians in day light without any reasons. The second event that talked this dialogue was Abbottabad operation where the Taliban leader Osama bin Laden was killed by the US helicopter operation. These incidents completed stopped the Strategic dialogues between Pakistan and US (Kronstadt, 2009).

However, in 2013, the US secretary of States again proclaimed to start dialogues with Pakistan. A meeting of secretary of States John Kerry and Pakistan National Security representative Sartaja Aziz hold meeting in Washington. Both the ministries were agreed to help each other in maintaining peace and development. It was further pledge that both the continue will cooperate in trade as well. These were five-point agreement e.g. security, energy, non-proliferation, defence law execution terrorism and finance the dialogue also stressed that both the countries should have a wide range of cooperation especially in was against terrorism. However, this agreement was unique of its kinds that were no such written agreement and so it was an herbal obligation to be fulfilled. Finally, the agreement reached to is epic that the US would mediate the conflict between India and Pakistan so that a stable Pakistani military would develop (Jan, 2014).

3.5. Peaceful Afghanistan:

It has been a long desire of both US and Pakistan to have terrorist over Afghanistan affairs and maintain there long lasting peace. The army General on February 1, 2010 officially proclaimed to have devised a friendly relation rather than use of forces to have ensured their Strategic depth. NATO general meeting was held in Brussel in 2010 to formulate and desire a policy with help of Pakistan forces in Afghanistan. General Ashfaq Gallini pledged to provided training to Afghan army enabling protect their own their terrorists. He also looks forward from Afghanistan a positive response in easily implication of the policies. The objective behind extension of such a ground offer to Afghanistan by Pak Army was not only meant to have in Afghanistan but there was a consistent threat of Indian involvement in Afghanistan (Jan, 2014).

The policy of friendly relations with Afghanistan was extended by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. He visited Afghanistan and in his speech mentioned specifically Strategic relations and general in all aspects. He also stressed for a condition dialogue with all state holders including international community (Jan, 2014).

Adviser for national security of Pakistan Mr. sir Taj Aziz also visited London and paid a speech visit to International Institution of Strategic Studies where he delivered a speech. He was of the view that in peaceful Afghanistan would be better for Pakistan and it is necessary for Pakistan to have a peaceful Afghanistan. If there in instability in Afghanistan there is consistent threat to Pakistan security. He also assured his help in dealing peace agreement with Taliban. Economic cooperation between the two countries was also stressed in this speech. The result of above mentioned dialogues paid way for further development. Consequently, the US President Barak Obama agreed to hold negotiation with Taliban. Regular meeting between the US and Haqqani Network began in 2010. They also hold takes with

Mullah Umar. In Doha and Munich Germany and Doha in January 2012. The main dialogue was about the prisoner and Guantanamo. However, the US serve refused to accept release of Guantanamo prisoners just for a verbal assurance by the Taliban (Jan, 2014).

3.6. Regional Peace Building:

The U.S face another issue in the region because It has not been aware in the reality of regional power. U.S was interested in future of Afghanistan and want co-operation with regional powers like Pakistan, Iran and India. The U.S wanted to include all regional power for stable Afghanistan (Ali, 2013).

It is important issue region for peace and stability south Asia. There are mutual treaties between Pak-US relations, both states relations are based on co-operation, regional stability and peace in South Asian. To promote peace in world both states agreed on point to promote peace in region. They are playing their dynamic role regional peace (Jan, 2014).

Foreign minister Miss Hina Rabbani Khar on November 5, 2012 argue in presses conference said that regional stability in the foremost priority of Pakistan agenda. Pakistan is playing dynamic role springing up its relations with contiguous states (Jan, 2014).

The U.S interests in region and its main objective consist of security, energy and democracy. The important question is about the security of dividing the energy source in the Caspian region. U.S is also focused on natural resources and fossil fuels. In this region majority of oil export routes of Central Asia and Caspian are controlled by Russian. But the western oil production especially Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) pipeline and existing consider investment by India and China made non-Russian

routes. These expansion policies of these countries because these may culminate Russian supremacy but it may end into correct rivalry over energy generated for other energy-starving economic like Pakistan. From this place, we can see that this is point where interest of two countries the alliances convergence and policy maker of two countries can account. Both countries on these issues make policy frame of the energy reserve. It is engaging in the region up to the expansion that is needed (Jan, 2014).

3.7. Economic Development of South Asia :

In South Asia region, most important for U.S having closer alliance with Pakistan and India. Both states have nuclear power capability in the region. In this region, a lot money natural resource but still the region is not developing as it required to be because different reasons. Similarly, Pakistan is also raising its voice to make regional organizations for enhancing co-operations among the regional countries to keep the region on the track of growth (Jan, 2014)

Both states Pakistan and U.S common goal is economic interest in Central Asia. This reality cannot be ignored because economic interests cannot be completed until Pakistan communications is not connected with Central Asia. Gwadar port linked with Central Asia Republic would increase trade and business activities in the region. To acquire economic interest, it is vital to progress and co-operation in different field in the region. Trade, energy and minerals would play an important role (Jan, 2014).

The U.S has interested in the South Asia region and its policy is focused on stability in the region and issues between India - Pakistan. India-Pakistan tensions which leads to Militancy and cross border terrorism. On other side U.S is not taking a solid step to resolve the Kashmir issue which is main problem between both neighboring countries. When the Obama administrative came in to power U.S security leadership and civilian government wanted peace and stability in Afghanistan. Both issues between

India-Pakistan is the real threat to south Asia peace and U.S is affected regarding this issue (Kronstadt, 2009).

3.8. Economic development in Pakistan:

Pak-US economic relations can easily be categorized into three broad perspectives. The first given aid second trade and last one is drift of production. Bilateral relations have developed on mutually agreed upon principals of mutual benefit and development. The geo-strategic position of Pakistan has always been the main facts in their relations. The route linkages to central Asia, Middle East and South Asia were mostly being important during cold war era and now in game of anti-terrorist campaign would wide (Jan, 2014). For the Pakistan side, this deals were also creative enough to overcome the trade deficit of % 2.2 in 2009. However, other international organization have also extended a great deal help to Pakistan. The aid received in period 2005-2010 was record high in pervious history. The flow of foreign aid after this period was increased western foreign countries 2008-2013 included \$ 1.9 billion were provided by the Asia Development Bank has also provided \$ 1.7 billion in 2009. In addition, the US also provided \$ 250 million per year for economic reform (Khan M.).

The US provided that money through bilateral economic, development, and humanitarian assistance to Pakistan. After those funds transferred to International Disaster Assistance (IDA) or Migration and Refuge Assistance (MRA) for emergency assistance, as well as to the Pakistan overflow crisis during 2010. If we see previous aid given to Pakistan by US was economic aid about 80% In FY2009 and FY2010. Its remaining 20% provided previses aid (Fazal ur Rehman Khan, 2011).

The ESF main purposed was to provided economic help to Pakistan and desired economic reforms in Pakistan, its improver text collection, strong border neighbor

countries like Afghanistan, repair destroyed building especially terrorist activities. The ESF basic aimed was the development of agriculture, created good atmosphere especially in rural area, and help associates amid farmers, markets, and business services provided to modern tools and seeds. ESF also developing private-sector competition to strong the commercial community, create jobs and expand the economy. Although, the US provided less funds to the mentioned programs (Fazal ur Rehman Khan, 2011).

After the Kerry luger bill, it was known that the US provided huge economic aid to Pakistan, but it was not enough for economic aid. These funds were spending on primary education, literacy programs, basic health, food aid, and support for democracy, governance, and elections, these all funds were spent by USAID (Zaidi, 2011).

In April 2009, 31 states and 18 International institutions sent delegations to an FODP/Donors' meeting in Tokyo. The Ambassador Holbrooke said that the US had provide aid about \$ 1 billion in aid to Pakistan from 2009 to 2010. Meanwhile the international community announced aid about \$5 billion in addition to the \$11.3 billion. International Monetary Fund package first arranged in late 2008. In the beginning of 2009 meeting, the delegation of Pakistan called for a "Marshall Plan". In international assistance, would provide \$ 30 billion over a five- year period. In during meeting FODP, co-chaired by President Obama, President Zardari and British Prime Minister Gordon Brown in New York September 2010 agreed to focus on economic reforms and to increase in tax in Pakistan (Epstein, 2013).

The economic coalition support fund (ESF) facilitated the operate well-being services to the civilian. The ESF is servicing Pakistan administrative in its economic reform as well as purifying taxation system, rewarding border organization, building

communication linkages and progress stability. ESF advance agriculture that is foremost foundation of jobs development in rural areas and help farmer's entry to markets and up-to-the-minute equipment. For promotion of economy ESF also helped private sector competitiveness. Food assistance to Pakistan remained discrepant dependent upon required assistance. During humanitarian food assistance swelled up intensely (Jan, 2014).

The American government not only facilitated Pakistan in economic assistance but also several of the developmental projects in Pakistan are supported by American. In this perspective, the USAID's operated activities in Pakistan can be underscored. The US provided educational program benefited 3.2 million children. Only this way provided to direct benefit to civilian and it is not controversy issues of Pakistan (Jan, 2014).

Both states in high level meeting in January 2014 agreed bilateral trade and business. After this agreement both states welcomed Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA) Council conference in March 2014 in Washington, D.C. the US Secretary emphasized the American government responsibility of helping non-government sector-led development in Pakistan (Jan, 2014).

In FY2012 Budget of US, it had given aid about \$1.9 billion to Pakistan. It expending funds strong democratic system of Pakistan, energy, economic growth, agriculture, the delivery of health and education services. Further it had desired to strong democratic system of Pakistan and accountably. It had also provided aid to affectees of terrorism like, school, hospital, infrastructure bridge (Khan M.).

3.9. Kerry-Luger Bill:

When the president Obama came to power in 2008, First, the US provided military aid to Pakistan. The US has been changed aid policy towards Pakistan now aid given to

civilian government. The president Obama said that he strongly supported political system and democracy of Pakistan (Ali, 2013). He desired that Pakistan must have focused on internal problems particularly its fragile administrative building, still unrest political procedures, weak economy, lack educational system, unrest public society, and ethnic crisis, also trade and external problem of terrorism (Cohen, 2011). He changed the old policy while introducing new policies towards Pakistan, now the US provided civilian aid to Pakistan. But it seems that this bill might be failed because of the conditions put by America through this bill. This act provided large amount of money to Pakistan and Pakistan strongly fight against the terrorism (Zafar Ali, 2013, p. 1466). He also increased security to Pakistan on counterinsurgency goals and he kept terms on aid of continuing fight against terrorism. The new president Obama and vice president Biden was supported Kerry Luger bill. During the first session of the 111th congress, when the US congress initiated new legislation to Pakistan. House of representative passed the bill after three months the upper house passed the Enhanced Partnership with Pakistan Act of 2009. The US congress passed The Kerry Luger bill on 24 September 2009 and the president of US Obama signed it on 15 October 2009. The Kerry-Luger bill also known as Enhanced Partnership Pakistan Act (EPPC of 2009). The US government provided 1.5 billion yearly non-security aid to Pakistan. The US government will provide money \$7.5 billion aid to Pakistan for at least five year FY2010-FY2014 (Epstein, 2013, p. 13). In 2010 and 2011, the newspaper reported, the US committed to fulfil aid to Pakistan and provided about \$1.5 billion to Pakistan in before mentioned year. After that the money has decreased by \$414 million in FY2011, by \$433 million in 2012, and by 428\$ million in the FY 2013. After the US administration said that congress did not permit the funds provide for FY 2011 and FY 2012 (Epstein, 2013, p. 13).

The Kerry-lugar bill funds are more expending especially programs of education, health care, political parties, conduct elections, technology, infrastructure development, poverty alleviation etc. (Zaidi, 2011, p. 108). There have had many points not focused in US policy making toward Pakistan. Firstly, the US administration has not associate public society in Pakistan. It has not recognized important of the civil society. It imported aspect successful in the US policy (Ali, 2013, p. 57). The public of Pakistan hatred the war on terror and considered it the war of US instead of Pakistan. The American government interested in the region for a long time and wanted to win the head and mind of the people of Pakistan. Her policy objective was to target civilian through aid and changed their minds while using public diplomacy. Through public diplomacy people got benefits, more humanitarian assistance and flood relief in Swat in 2010 (Susan B. Epstein, 2012). The current system of assistance disbursement given money to administration of Pakistan and further the US government has been believing that this money was received by the people of Pakistan (Ali, 2013).

The 'Christian Science Monitor' reported that the US government have had expended fund about \$285 million on US Embassy in Islamabad in May 2011. If the estimated fund to spent variety project like \$32.16 million for two dam projects, \$54.8 million on flood relief and recovery. Further it focused civilian aid, about \$39 million for students to study in the United States, \$45 million for higher education, \$75 million for income support to poor Pakistanis, and \$10.34 million for small infrastructure projects in this periods (Zaidi, 2011).

In November 2011, the US State Department showed the report which was related to civilian government of Pakistan. The report further showed that the US wanted to enforce aid program within Pakistan but it made conflict in Pakistan. It claimed that

the influence under KLB is innovative in four notable ways. i) the US founded on alliances with Pakistan priorities; ii) a concerted on visible building projects, particularly “signature” projects as well as dams and roads; iii) based on priority sectors and regions venerable to violent terrorism iv) all of government struggled that taps expertise from a different of US agencies. In 2011, State diminished the number of projects in a struggle to make a more streamlined, visible portfolio (Epstein, 2013).

3.9.1. Waiver of Certification Requirements Conditioning U.S. Assistance:

The US national security made policy that first time placed terms base on the security and non-security aid provided assistance to Pakistan. Pakistan side required certificate to congress that it ensured with the US government to achieved aimed. Under this act given certificate to US national military to do so (Epstein, 2013).

- (1) The US administration supported with Pakistan government to conducted operation against the Haqqani Network, the Quetta Shura Taliban, Lashar-e-Taiba, Jaish-e- Mohammed, Al Qaeda, and local and foreign extremism groups. Its strong emphasis preventing the supporter of Taliban and provided arms material across the boundary assaults into neighboring states.
- (2) Pakistan government not support terrorist activities contrary US military and Nato power in Afghanistan. The Pakistani military leader and secrete agencies were not interfering extra-judicially into political and judicial procedures in Pakistan.
- (3) The US demanded that the terrorist had made weapon before material destroyed and further explosive devices (IED) networks resisting and the precursor chemical utilized to manufacture IEDs.

- (4) The US demanded that its interdicting the proliferation of nuclear- associate material and capabilities.
- (5) The US administration provided the visas system especially to Pakistani military training. The security got training on counter terrorism and for operation against militancy.
- (6) The American administration providing humanitarian assistance approach hostage, internally displaced peoples and other public affected in the terrorism (Susan B. Epstein, 2012).

3.9.2. Debate in Pakistan over the Kerry-Luger Bill:

The Kerry luger bill considered to be amazingly visceral reaction within Pakistan, the law initiated came out with counteressay in society of Pakistan and administration of Pakistan were criticized. If we watched that the people of Pakistan uttered that aimed to interfere in Pakistan and commanded to Pakistan on sensitive foreign policy and national security issues, its maybe even with malevolent goals. The opposition leader of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif said that the law must be presented to parliament until the parliament accept. Many secular party of Pakistan and the ruling coalition also expressed that the law “interfere” in Pakistani internal affairs (Epstein, 2013). When the bill presented in the parliament, 76 percent of the total member of National Assembly had condemned the terms of the Kerry luger bill. Islamic political party Jam’at-e-Islami had demanded from government to conduct referendum on the bill. The media reported that the bill refused about 98% of the civilian of Pakistan (Soherwordi, 2011).

The Lahore High Court Bar Association passed resolution against Kerry luger bill and said that the “cruel conditions” of bill were not accepted because this bill was

completely violation of Pakistani integrity and sovereignty. Many other organization and reporter said that bill was “less an aid program than a treaty of surrender,” and they also criticized the conditions of bill to provide aid to Pakistan. Further he said that “ten-fold is increase in national humiliation.” Another if we looked the terms as purposed “clipping the wings of Pakistan’s mighty security establishment” (Epstein, 2013).

President Zardari rejected all those opinions who criticized the bill. He said that these people misguided and misinformed the people of Pakistan. However, the military leadership strongly criticized this law. In October 2009, the 122nd Corps Commander Conference uttered that this law would be more affecting the national security forces. In diplomatic context, this law clearly marks able and strongly condemned the law. The Army Chief General Ashfaq Pervez Kayani was collected more information about the law after he visiting U.S. commander General Stanley McChrystal, concentrated especially on clauses associated to government control over the military. Further he referenced to the afghan “Quetta shura” and the Lashkar-e-Taiba’s Muridke combine, the US government indicated terrorist and identified within Pakistani territory (Epstein, 2013).

The US administration and the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations were more worried about the negative reaction of civilian society within Pakistan. This law made in the issues and also rebuttal of “myths” surrounding the bill. This bill primary purposed base on civilian assistance and on \$7.5 billion aid provided non-security to Pakistan its terms created misconception between US and the people of Pakistan. Only the US government demanded certificate for record of no threaten the sovereignty of Pakistan and the only terms based to provide aid to military and it’s also more preferred with policies of Pakistan and security. The US neither necessities

and nor wanted an oversight role in internal Pakistani security operations as well as promotion decisions, midst many others (Epstein, 2013).

Some day later Senator Kerry visited to Pakistan and he struggled to solve successfully this issue and maintain relationships between two countries. After Secretary of State Clinton was visited in the month. After the two months Senator Kerry uttered that Pakistan strong reaction seems that it was showed against the legislation of US. He uttered that the US felt "shock" because the both house passed the bill. The US government wanted and give \$7.5 billion to Pakistan in a time of world recession. We wanted that have a 10 percent unemployment rate, the Pakistan media and other organization don't want, the US government understood insult and also shock which led to failed communicative system between two states. Many independent viewed analyses that he expressed unexpectedly strong Pakistani reaction because many opposition political parties and military leadership combined it made cause on this bill and he desired weakening the People's Party-led civilian government. The media more focused anti-government decision. In this view Army, Chief Kayani involved in an ongoing effort with President Zardari and Prime Minister Gilani over final control of the state's security. One sides sea consequence that when its legislation was made to locate the United States of American in the middle of this fight. If Another sides watched this law and begin created conflict within Pakistan society and media criticized it, after that this issue solved in the end of 2009 (Epstein, 2013).

3.10. Assistance to Pakistan's Energy Sector:

Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif came into power in Jun 2013. He confronted more problems and one of them was energy shortage. The energy shortage is also because of short of money an estimated \$5 billion in "circular debt" in the power

sector. The loan main caused largely by a failure that elite class not pay their electricity bill (theft and corruption are other major elements) (Epstein, 2013).

In last decade electricity shortage were more increased in Pakistan that homes and commercial areas became now commonly confront “rolling blackouts” of up to 16 hours per day in cities and up to 22 hours per day in rural areas due to load shedding. The national demand of electricity requires about 15,000 megawatts (MW) is frequently 50% greater than production capacity in Pakistan. The energy crisis is said to shave such more as 4% from the states GDP and 1.5% from the GDP’s rate of development (Epstein, 2013).

The new government struggled to tackle the energy crisis and its main focused was to minimized the load shedding to just three to four hours per day within six months. In 2014 the US Congressional budget accepted energy aid to Pakistan. It determined especially package to Pakistan’s energy sector to counter the issue was the “highest priority,” of US. In FY2014 the government demanded \$265 million money which were provided one-third of all public assistance for the coming fiscal annually. The energy sector goal achieved and Pakistan administration supported “promoting a policy environment that will attractive private company investment money and growth cost recovery for energy. Its diminished technical and business losses, and sum megawatts to the grid through visible production projects (Epstein, 2013).

In the end 2013, it was hoped that Pakistan would got electricity about 900 MW to Pakistan’s power grid and this energy was sufficient for the usage of some two million house and commercial. They planned to add 300 MW in national grid at the end of 2014. The energy generated main source dam improvements and added more electricity like the Muzaffargarh and Jamshoro power stations (serving the cities of Multan and Hyderabad, respectively), such as modernization of the Tarbela Dam.

This is necessary for Pakistan to have main focused on hydropower projects with increased funds its improved capacity of five dams, Kurram Tangi, Gomal Zam, Satpara, and Tarbela). Among all dams of Pakistan Terbela is largest dam in the world with capacity of 16% of the state's electricity. In March 2013, a project to restore three of the dam's started work and after completion would get 128 megawatts to the national power grid. The US provided the \$16.5 million aid needed for repair three dams. In mid-2012, Congress showed \$280 million in new aid for Pakistan's energy sector; this money will help projects at Mangla and Kurram Tangi (Epstein, 2013).

In November 2013, the conference held in Washington and along with other administration Pakistan's Minister of Water and Power Khawaja Asif, reconsidered next stages from the energy Working Group, and pursuing trade delegation to Houston, Texas. In November 2013 Both states sign agreement and Pakistan government more focused on energy shortages. The US provided technical aid project to Pakistan and its improvement of domestic natural gas reserves. In addition, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), the finance administration of the US, is financing up to 300 MW of wind power projects in Pakistan. The US-Pak more accentuated the important of fortify regional energy network and maintaining on upgrading Pakistan's spread base (Jan, 2014).

3.11. US Aid to FATA:

In 2009 report published on the FATA and was written by the Pakistani author. He recommended the long-term objectives of Pakistan and US relationships. He further revealed that the US changed transnational alliances with Pakistan and the new strategic considerations search plane that focused political leadership and build development project needs. He suggested that the US policy maker present time or

after medium- term reconciliation talk started with the militants of FATA, and showing exit policy from Afghanistan and increasing economic aid development project in western Pakistan. He further recommended for the US security and again re-established relationships trust with Pakistani security leaderships. Its fulfilled the demand for provision of helicopter and other arms for counterinsurgency operation against the Taliban. He suggested and made of multilateral training and exercises with Afghan, Pakistani, and American military and among others (Kronstadt, 2009).

3.12. Coalition Support Funds (CSF):

The U.S provided aid to Pakistan for two major base one Coalition Support and another for Economic Support Funds. The Coalition Support Funds were made to compensate Pakistan and the U.S support for long term operations against war on terror. The Coalition Support Fund has been started money to Pakistan since 2001. In May 2011, in the result showed the US has been paid money aid \$ 8.9 billion, the money was used equal to roughly one-fifth to one-quarter of Pakistan 's during this era. Coalition Support Fund money only has been utilized to help military forces took part in these operations against terrorists. which fought against Taliban in North West province. About 1 lac troops took parts in these operations. U.S also help common citizens which were affected by terrorism by providing foods, clothing, and housing. Further this fund used for purpose airfield and seaport (Fazal ur Rehman Khan, 2011). During June-November 2011, pentagon exposed that U.S provided aid to base reimburse, and give aid of \$212 million for food and \$116 million for Pakistani security forces and another aid for weapons (Epstein, 2013).

In 2008 the bush administrative changed the policy reimbursement of program and he cancelled aid to Pakistan and increased aid to India. After Senior Pentagon

administrative showed in the report that act passed only give aid to Pakistan. The National Defence Authorization Act (NDAA) for 2008 was to provide coalition support reimbursements to Pakistan. In 2010 Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan Ambassador Richard Holbrooke said Pakistan got reimbursement aid about 60% to 65% of Pakistan (Epstein, 2013).

In 26 November 2011, when the north Atlantic treaty organization (NATO) forces attacked on Pakistani military check post. It was attacked by heavy helicopter machine guns near the Pak-Afghan border which resulted the killing of 24 Pakistani soldiers. In response Pakistan blocked stopped Nato supplies and suspended communication system with the US. The U.S was not happy with these actions and she stopped coalition support Fund. However, in July 2012, US and Pakistan started reconciliation talk and the finally negotiation was succeeded. The US Reopening and Coalition Support Funds release to Pakistan. The Secretary of State Hillary Clinton telephone call to Foreign Minister Hina Rabbani Khar and said "We are sorry for the losses by the Pakistani military." She further said that the US government provided aid to Pakistan that was stopped during the seven-month period (Epstein, 2013).

After the US government released \$1.8 CSF reimburse aid to Pakistan military in July 2010-May 2011. The congress quickly take action to provide previses aid to Pakistan. If we studied previses aid and the US provided aid about 60% of the \$1.88 billion claimed by Pakistan government for that era. In the 2012, the US provided aid to Pakistan base on Defence Department and further issued \$688 million its paid covering at the Pakistani CSF were stopped. Now in July 2012, CSF demanded that beyond are existence taken under consideration (Epstein, 2013).

3.13. Security Assistance:

Kerry luger bill provide aid on terms to security aid to Pakistan. When in Swat extra judicial killings and violation of the human right were started by militant. The U.S considered under "Leahy Amendment" that it would stop military aid to Pakistan. After the Obama government revealed that the U.S continuing assistance to security of Pakistan because she has created human right abuse (Susan B. Epstein, 2012).

In 2009, the U.S started that new type assistance based on security which is known Pakistan Counter Insurgency Fund/Counter insurgency. Capability Fund (PCF/PCCF) it had only provided aid to security of Pakistan it was started operation against terrorists in Swat. These issues of terrorism were clearly agreed by both countries. She had wanted to start operations against in the militants, therefore, U.S focused on aid security and economic aid to Pakistan in the period of 2009. In this period, U.S focused more on security than economic aid. Economic aid was not their priority like infrastructure of schools, hospital and development.

Earlier U. S give aid to Pakistan about \$5.8 billion from 2001 to 2008, further she also provides about twenty-five percent aid to Pakistan which includes economic, project development, food etc. In these projects FATA was also included (Zaidi, 2011).

The Kerry luger bill included additional \$2.3 billion for security and further text of the bill mentioned it will only receive aid the security of Pakistan in the next fiscal year (Soherwordi, 2011).

In 2011 U.S President provide about \$440-\$500 million especially on counter Insurgency, training's and equipment for Pakistan. After Salala Incident, U.S reduce visa system for Pakistan Military. It also obstacles completed this agreement in the

both states. Further the Coalition Support Fund had interrupted about \$300 million in FY 2011 (Susan B. Epstein, 2012).

In October 2010, U.S announced \$2 billion military aid to Pakistan. In 2012 to 2016, Pakistan buy U.S made weapons, ammunitions and accessories. The U.S believed that both states continuing long term cooperation against war on terror.

3.14. Flooding and Humanitarian Assistance:

In July 2010, the spring (monsoon) in season, the rain had been started heavily in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and because of Sindh, Punjab and Baluchistan increased water and the Indus River basin for this reason huge flood came in Pakistan. The floods killed 2,000 and affected 21 million people. Over all it affected about one-fifth of Pakistan and total landmass under water (Epstein, 2013).

The International Monetary Fund announced \$ 19 billion for agriculture destroyed in Pakistan, and it would further support it by different means (Fair, 2011). After the floods U.S give huge funds about \$400 million of humanitarian aid to Pakistan. The U.S helicopter came in Pakistan took the pictures of those territories which were in affected by floods. Private television Published that U.S were spying in Pakistan despite they were helping flood victims (Epstein, 2013).

During the years of 2010 to 2012, flood continuously affected Pakistan. The flood affected negatively in the life of people, hundreds of deaths, five million leaved homes in Pakistan. The present time in 2012, flood destroyed 350,000 home, it also further affected the people which were migrated do different parts of Pakistan. About 750,000 Peoples were migrated to different parts of Pakistan. After floods U.N office announced for cooperation of Humanitarian Affairs. Pakistan provided aid \$91 million toward relief and further progress to cooperation in the response effort. In

FY2012, State Department and USAID humanitarian provided \$735 million emergence aid to flood relief in Pakistan. Another aid Pakistan provided \$77 million in humanitarian aid had been paid, during the first half of the current fiscal year (Epstein, 2013).

3.15. Waiver of Certification Requirements Conditioning U.S. Assistance:

In August 2012, the State Department clearly send notification to congress if the US provided aid to Pakistan then it should depend on terms and conditions, Pakistan should protect the national security. Pakistan was continuing cooperation with the U.S to counter terrorism, non-Proliferation, democracy, and other issue regions. After a week later, the Secretary Clinton give report to congress that U.S will continue aid flow to Pakistan in Section 203 of the Enhanced Partnership with Pakistan Act of 2009 (Epstein, 2013).

In February 2013, the U.S commanded resumed the restrictions especially on weapons that it had given to Pakistan. The U.S Deputy Secretary of State Thomas Nides sharply removed limitation under 203 waivers arms that he only expressed to allow export licenses for major defense arms. After that U.S neither required to certificate nor focused national security waiver under Section 203 provisions (Epstein, 2013).

3.16. Defence Supplies:

After the CIA adviser report published that total Foreign Military Sales agreements with Pakistan cost \$5.2 billion for FY2002-FY2011. Which includes sale of F-16 fighter aircraft and other military arms. It had provided eight P-3C Orion maritime

patrol aircraft. four repaired aircraft at cost \$ 474 million and refurbishments. In 2011, the terrorist had attacked on Pakistan Naval Station Mehran (Epstein, 2013).

When Pakistan had been starting operation against terrorist in South Waziristan. The US had provided different military weapons like helicopters, gunships, along with record intelligence and surveillance, video sharing from American UAVs.

Further the U.S provided about 1,000 quarter-ton bombs, 1,000 kits for creating gravity bombs laser-guided-capable for Pakistani air forces. It has become strong defence of Pakistan had provided F-16 fighters, P-3C patrol aircraft, and anti-Armor missiles against terrorism (Epstein, 2013).

The ambassador of Pakistan said U.S promise to give more weapons and equipment's but Pakistan got only eight utilized Mi-17 transport helicopters from 2008 to 2010. Pakistani security facing the problem because of less military (Epstein, 2013).

3.17. Conclusion:

Pak-U. S relations is based on eliminate the terrorism by co-operating with each other. Pak-US relations are based on economic development and peace and stability in all region particularly in Afghanistan. Furthermore, their agreements were defence cooperation and economic interests in Central Asia. Not only Pakistan gets benefits from the resources of central Asia but also get benefits from many other regions. Pak-US dialogue on issues of terrorism is going on and both countries want to be united against terrorism and use their power against to demolish terrorism. Further strategic dialogue removing trust deficit between both countries need long-term objectives, common goals, and mutual interests to establish good alliances and they should respect and safeguard their interests in the region. Our national interest, political, geographic domestic instability in Pakistan.

Pak-US relations define a common threat to each other and policy for countering it must reflect the mutuality. Both countries agreed of interest rather friendship and this mutuality is there in curbing extremism and terrorism, develop economy, security and geostrategic interest the U.S announced economic assistance increase in non-security aid to Pakistan. This program improved the lives of the Pakistani civilians, with a special concrete conflict-affected region. The government of Pakistan was maintaining peace and the military protected in the boundaries area. After the U.S government had admitted support and sacrifices war on terror. Pakistan's cooperation in indenting Al-Qaeda and eradicating its leaderships.

Chapter IV

Pakistan-U.S. Relations: Divergence of interest: Distrust and Difficulties

4.1. Introduction:

Pakistan People Party government came into power in 2008 and the bilateral relations of Pak-US relations under this era saw some dramatic scene. Pakistan and US saw many events in this five-year period. Some events became the cause of diversion between these two countries. There is mutual mistrust and suspicion in Pak-US ties. Drone attack in Waziristan, FATA, is one of the dire consequences of war fought against Taliban and Al-Qaeda. Drone strikes in Waziristan led the negative atmosphere for Pakistani press and public. American Drone attacks to kill undercover Afghan terrorists but killed innocent people by the human rights violation caused by drones strikes and undue interference in the sovereignty of Pakistan are major points of conflict. Black water became functional in Pakistan in this period. whenever USA tried to play double games in Pakistan. Then these double standards became the cause of diversions. USA performed many clandestine actions in Pakistan. Some event like incident and Raymond Davis case deteriorated Pak-US Relations severely but diplomatic ties remained good during this period. The sovereignty of Pakistan was badly by US in this period and operations were directly conducted in Pakistan peaked up when US Navy Seals killed Osama bin Laden in a secret operation at Abbottabad on May 2, 2011. On November 26, 2011 near disputed border area of Salala between of Afghanistan and Pakistan, shots rang out in the of night North Atlantic Organization (NATO) soldier in Afghanistan and Pakistani soldier stationed at checkpoint on the Pakistan side of border engaged in a fire fight that left 24 Pakistani soldier dead. Pakistan fought against on war on terrorism of U.S.A in its own land but

Indian try to humiliate Pakistan Army in the form of Salala incident. Some major events made the relation of U.S.A and Pakistan troubled relations and some events on this period, both countries relationships made several conflicts of all those affected civil-military relations with Pakistan.

4.2. Militancy and Terrorism:

In July 2008, the US top administrative leadership provided evidence to Pakistan government that the ISI provide assistance to terrorist convicted in the attacks in Afghanistan. Further the report explained that ISI representative have relationships with the members of Haqqani Network who found in FATA and involved in the attack on American embassy in Kabul. The report revealed that do not trust on the security leadership of Pakistan. They argued about to put sanctions on those who provided intelligence assistance to the Haqqani network and for that they blamed retired ISI officials. After receiving report, the government of Pakistan behave angrily and rejected all blames while calling them 'baseless and malicious' (Kronstadt, 2009).

After the report arrived in Pakistan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan visited US and meet the US President. The president Bush gave clear message to the prime of Pakistan for controlling the ISI. Further he uttered concern that Pakistan intelligence officers were provided information to terrorist and asked to take military operation against Taliban. When they asked about the ISI command structure, Prime Minister Gillani assured US audience the agency "is under the Prime Minister" and 'will do only what I want them to do'. They demanded to control the ISI officials who helped militant and prime minister assured them that he could meet the responsible persons and discuss this issue (Ali, 2013).

In the past Pakistan and United States had military relations but now the US policy indicating that Laskar-e- Tayyaba is no more involved in militant activities, though the Haqqani network doing militant activities in Afghanistan. Thus, US forced Pakistan to take action against the Haqqani network (Ali, 2013).

The American government felt terrorism more danger to international peace. American considered Pakistan as the Centre of religious terrorism and she tried to control it. The perceptions of Western media that Pakistan supported extremism in the region as it was a part of her national policy. Such sort of extremism has its roots in the other regions like East, Middle East, and European etc. The Western Media blamed Pakistan for these extremist activities. They further went to say that Pakistan have relationship with Al- Qaeda (Ahmad, 2013).

Pakistan have potentials to face the challenges of American hegemony. Now another significant factor set the American policy toward Pakistan. Many Western especially US researchers suggested US to 'seize the moment' and extend its control over developing countries in the world. Those developing countries listed, include Pakistan which could potentially threaten to the American power. Pakistan is largest population country in the South Asia. It has huge amount of natural resources, strong military power, have nuclear capabilities and the most of her public wanted Islamic revolution in the country and wish for Pakistan to play leading role as Islamic state in the Muslim world. Only Pakistan will be expected Muslim countries and strong representative of Muslims to become a great power in the world. Some Muslim countries faced internal and external problems and not stabilized according to which US deprived them from religious freedom and also captured natural resources. The American government have hegemonic control to counter threat and power of some countries. It seems that those countries not expand in the world. It clearly showed that

Pakistan will be a target of the US and also searched reasons to take action against Pakistan (Ahmad, 2013).

4.3. Drone Strikes Pakistan Response:

Now-a-days the issue which create conflict between Pak-US relationship is the drone attack in tribal areas of Pakistan. The US administration has been started drone attacks in Tribal areas of Pakistan. It had considered most devastated issues because of this policy more infant civilians are died according to some reports. If we study international law, we become aware of the fact that it does not give permission for the cross-border attacks and act of international law strictly prohibited such violations (Ali, 2013). The UN special Rapporteur, Philip Alston appreciated the targeted killing of terrorist of FATA, and placed it in the self-defense under article 51 of the UN charter (Irfanuddin, 2013, p. 89). Though the US administration had expressed their views in the favor of attacks against militants and another reason for that was the presence of militants in particular region. These drone strikes were more popular in Pakistan, which became a big question for Pakistani people. Moreover, drone strikes have been increased terrorist because if the one man of family killed in attack the other members who have power to retaliate joined the terrorist group or provide assistance to them. In addition, these reasons became a source of growth in terrorism (Ali, 2013).

The continuation of US drone attacks increased civilian deaths in the tribal areas of Pakistan and further created difficulties in the way of war on terrorism and extremism, also made more terrorist as consequence with calamitous result for all stake holders. It was expected that new US Secretary of States John Kerry, would examine the death of the people caused by drone strikes in the terrible area of Pakistan. Moreover, Pakistan government expected that he would show dispassionate result to US

government regarding civilian deaths and about the new born terrorist who get revenge and announced war on terror against the Washington. He is political mature person and easily understand the issue of civilian's deaths which may bring him to a possible conclusion. While the UN has started the investigation about drone strikes deaths and their consequences. The expert on the counter-extremism and human right Ben Emmerson told reporters, on Friday, it was my responsibility to tell people that drone strikes are wrong. He also showed investigation that concrete on 25 case studies of strikes in Pakistan and other countries. He advocates about the utilization of drone technology and called that its need a legal framework and regulations in international law, he commented. There must be a required check on the utilization of drones and also prohibited the violation of the fundamental right of humans (Ali, 2013).

Political parties (PTI, JI, JAI) of Pakistan had opposed drone strikes inside the country because of the killing of innocent people. They went to say that Drone strikes was the violation of international law and negatively affected the society of Pakistan while increasing tensions and chaos in Pakistan. When Pakistan had started dialogue with Taliban, on the same time US drone attacked on Pakistan which led to cancellation of negotiation process from Taliban sides. Pakistan was ally of US on war on terror but US attack deteriorate the negotiation process of peace dialogue with Taliban. Imran Khan, chairman of PTI always demanded from US government to give information about the presence of Taliban to Pakistan and Pakistani troops themselves take action against them. The US did not agree from this suggestion because the drones are targeting unidentified persons. Many independent reporters argued that drone strikes were killing innocent civilians (Waseem, 2014).

The CIA adviser Brennan Behavior had focused on the drone attacks to continue in the tribal areas in Pakistan. His policy had impacted positively or negatively the peace

talks procedures of Taliban inside Pakistan and Afghanistan. Conflict was created between Pakistan and US on the issues raised about drone attack within triable areas of Pakistan. Pakistan has demand from US to recognized sovereignty of Pakistan and stop drone attack inside the country. Pakistan national-security members had felt threat from the American and her ally NATO (Ali, 2013).

4.3.1 US Drone Strikes on Afghan-Pakistan Border:

On June 11th 2008, paramilitary Frontier Corps of Pakistan had fight against Taliban in Afghan- Pakistan border. In the meanwhile, the US had attacked on the Mohmand Tribal agency of Pakistani border and claimed that she had targeted terrorist who tried to escape from border. US troops dropped 12 gravity bombs on Pakistani territory in which 10 members of the paramilitary Frontier Corps got martyrdom. After that, military of Pakistan strongly condemned the airstrikes and called them as act of aggression. It was said that, US violated the international boundary of Pakistan and which was ultimately deteriorate the relationships between two countries. After that, Bush administration said that the US regret for deaths of Pakistani security personnel's. Moreover, different reports had showed the result of separate investigations and said that it was unappropriated and accidental attacks on friendly force but, Pakistani military rejected the claim of US report. This incident affected bilateral relationships of Pakistan and US (Kronstadt, 2009). On October 4th, 2008, the Washington post revealed that there was a secret deal between the US and Pakistan. The government of Pakistan permitted these drone strikes within Pakistan. After that, Pakistan foreign minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi refused the allegation and said that it was not true (Naghman, 2012).

In September 2008, US helicopter attacked in the South Waziristan village of Angoor Adda, 20 people were killed in this attack including woman and children. After that Pakistan condemned the attack and formally protested with the US Embassy and elucidated that this attack violated the sovereignty of Pakistan. The national assembly and Senate passed resolutions and strongly-condemned this attack. But the US government did not give positive response in the favor of these resolutions. After that, military leadership said that we did not allow US to violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our motherland. Further they said that only Pakistan troops have permission for operations in Pakistan and the US did not allow to operate within Pakistan. Army expressed that there is no agreement according to which NATO or US forces operate within Pakistan. Moreover, Pakistan's national security advisor said that this sort of attacked put negative impacts on Pakistan and it may create obstacles in the achievement of war on terrorism. In addition, it was ensured that if the US attacked again in Pakistan, the military could suspend cooperation with US and further have right to defend its territorial integrity. After the CIA adviser, had felt strong response from Pakistan to cross-border raids. However, the US changed her policy of drone strikes in Pakistan and started Predator Missile attack campaign to achieve its target (Kronstadt, 2009).

In the March 2011 drone strikes on a Jirga in North Waziristan's Datta Khel village, only four out of 40 men killed and believed to be terrorist and tribal leaders. In the tribe source of people to come together and take decision on importance issues is Jirga but, US violated FATA's culture. However, both Pakistan security and terrorist condemned this attack (Report, 2013).

4.3.2. Drone Strikes on Response of Pakistan Government:

If we considered about the government of Pakistan we come to conclusion that there is no clear-cut policy against drone strikes in Pakistan. It always gives ambiguous statements on the drone strikes. One side government strongly condemned the drone attack on western boarder of Pakistan and on another side, Prime Minister of Pakistan has celebrated when Baithuallah Mehsud death confirmed in the drone attack. Baithuallah Mehsud was convicted in the killing of former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan (Irfanuddin, 2013).

The government of Pakistan had supported the drone strikes in Pakistan because the security institution had provided the control of Shamsi Airbase and Shahabaz Air base for a long time under the US command to fought against terrorist in the western border of Pakistan. The US government did drone strikes in the Federal Administrative Areas(FATA) while using these airbases (Irfanuddin, 2013).

After that, government of Pakistan gave positive response in confrontation against drone strikes. The reality showed during in the meeting between Former president Asif Ali Zardari and Senator Patrick Leahy in May 2011, the president Zardari clearly demanded the transfer of drone technology from US to Pakistan. He said that “give us the drone technology so our security institutions can eliminate the terrorist from Pakistan. Further he said that the media must not criticized government of Pakistan and our security which is continuing operations against terrorism. However, our country sovereignty gets protected and not violated anymore (Irfanuddin, 2013).

In the session of national assembly drone strikes issue was raised by mem bers and argued that it is frustrated inability of the government to control the drone strikes in the tribal areas. The Deputy Speaker National Assembly, said that none of the

political parties support drone strikes in the Tribal area of FATA and South Waziristan. Moreover, we did not give command to our air forces to shoot the drone planes down because it would be consider as announcing a war against superpower (Irfanuddin, 2013).

John Kerry said that the US has been appreciated negotiation process for peace with Taliban and it would have paved the way for strong relationship of both countries. Further he desired to provide cooperation to the newly elected government for starting the peace negations with Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan. On the other side, US continue drone attacks in the tribal area of Pakistan and especially targeted Hakeemullah Mehsud in a drone attack. Killing of Taliban leader by US ruined the peace process between Pakistan government and Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan. The government of Pakistan had strongly condemned the drone attack especially killing of Hakimullah Mehsud. The interior Minister Chaudhry Nisar expressed that, *"This is not just the killing of one person; it's the death of all peace efforts"*. In response, many other parties were criticized drone strikes like Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) and All Pakistan Muslim League (APML). Those parties condemned the killing of Hakeemullah Mehsud and expressed that it was badly affected peace process and led to cancelation. Many groups in Pakistani establishment thought that Hakeemullah Mehsud was the hindrance in the way of peace process. Moreover, many other expressed that he put very strong terms for negotiation and it was not possible for government of Pakistan to fulfil all those terms (Irfanuddin, 2013).

Government of Pakistan has responsibility to protect citizen life and it seemed failed with the killing of innocent people in drone strikes. The drones have been violated human rights principal under international Humanitarian Law. An independent report revealed the killing of civilian in drone strikes. Government of Pakistan statement has

published that it has claimed widely divergent about the killing of the civilian (Report, 2013).

4.3.3. US Long Term and Short Term Objective of Drone Strikes:

On 2008, President Obama increased drones strikes to Pakistan. If we analysed the impacts of drone strikes in the society of Pakistan socio-economic and psychological life of people have badly affected particularly in the FATA. The US policy of continuing drone strikes increase innocent people killing and collateral damage (Irfanuddin, 2013).

The policy of US drone strikes in Pakistan dually affected the terrorist. First, it is considered to minimize terrorism in short campaign. Second, if the policy is continuing for a long-term drone strikes would increase terrorist. The US government thought that killing of major leaders of terrorist weak their network and further would automatically led to declined. In both countries (Pakistan, Afghanistan) from 2009 to 2012, twenty out of thirty major Al-Qaeda leaders have been murdered in drone strikes. Recently New American Foundation report published in which it was revealed that, 52 leaders of terrorists killed in Pakistan, out of them 28 were high profile terrorist leader from 2004 till 2013 (Irfanuddin, 2013).

In the beginning 2011, the report was published on drone casualties and mentioned that 517 civilians killed in about 74 attacks. The PIPS report showed that 557 killed in 75 drone strikes. In 2011, The CIA adviser John Brennan said, none of the civilian has been killed in 577 deaths about in a year. Further he said the government of Pakistan did not have any proof to show about the killing of civilian in this period (Report, 2013).

In between March 2012 and February 2013, the CRSS report revealed 35 killings in 21 drone strikes, and all were the terrorist. In January 2013, the US administration

revealed in the report that Mullah Fazuallah from Sawat was major priority and target of the US drone program (Report, 2013).

In 2013, the Foreign Ministry of Pakistan published report on drone strikes. It was mentioned in the report that the US has been continuing drone since 2004 and estimated killing about 2,200 civilians and 600 injured in which 400 were civilian and 200 non-combatants (Report, 2013).

The US mad policy specifically to target terrorist and it became problematic. Because the report reliance on so called “signature strikes”. US promised that it would be targeting groups of militant which are involved in the terrorist activities (Report, 2013).

4.3.4. Legality of Drone Strikes and International Law:

When the question raised on legality of drone under the international law, the US government offered suggestion and concern under the international and US law. It explained that there was lack of transparency and good governance in Pakistan. The US government has been only continuing campaign particularly in FATA (Report, 2013).

The CIA adviser explained that the US made “lethal force” contrary our foes’ outside an active battlefield. Further he added, if the states give us permission with mutual consent then we attack with her willingness or if it doesn’t allow us for attack then we do it according to US domestic laws. He also explained that, under international law standard would mean the US could legally target the Al-Qaeda persons. Those groups of Al-Qaeda have had threat to peace process in the world and the US only targeted several Al- Qaeda persons especially in the Tribal area of Pakistan. He said that the US has been used drone under legal right of self-defense. America attacked on

militants to whom she felt threat by taken pre-emptive strikes or in Pakistan territory with Pakistan consent (Report, 2013).

US Defence Secretary Leon Panetta on 2 February 2013 during an interview, expressed the significant of drones to counter terrorism. Further he said that it has been significant part of our operation against Al-Qaeda not just in Pakistan there are many other countries like Yemen, Somalia. He revealed about to continue this campaign while saying that where and when we need we launched operation (Irfanuddin, 2013).

4.4 Nuclear Issue:

The US administration had made programs of non- proliferation and one of the core aim was to stop expansion of the nuclear weapon. The aim of establishing nuclear weapons were to secure herself from Indian threat. However, the government of Pakistan provided nuclear technology to countries like Iran, Libya and North Korea (Ahmad, 2013). After that doctor Abdul Qadir Khan, the national hero of Pakistan admitted about providing of nuclear technology. Due to this people of Pakistan and government felt embracement at international level. Therefore, he was confined in their home during the Musharraf era because he confessed about providing nuclear technology (Akhtar, 2011).

When Pakistan joined war against terrorism, America continuously surveillance the Pakistan's nuclear technology. When PPP government came into power in 2008, they decided to released Abdul Qadir Khan in February, 2009. The representative of US States Department Gordon K. Duguid said that Qadir Khan remain a "serious Proliferation risk," the US government demanded for guarantee from Pakistan that the scientist will never be permitted to resume his former work (Akhtar, 2011).

When the security of Pakistan succeeded operation in Swat, after this achievement terrorist had attacked on public places and ruined some sensitive buildings. 11 October, 2009, was the day when terrorist attacked the General Head Quarter (GHQ) on army installations. After that public opinion created inside Pakistan and Western countries both considered it attack on nuclear weapons. Once again the issue of nuclear weapons of Pakistan rise rapidly and would deemed not to be safe. The US and India blamed Pakistan for the terrorist attack and called it attack on nuclear weapons. Although, the Pakistani security has controlled nuclear weapons and assets entirely (Akhtar, 2011).

4.5. India Policy towards Pakistan:

The US particularly interested in the South Asia region. It made strategic friendships with India and global environment changed with the emergence of China as new power in Asia. Moreover, Pakistan had felt security threat from neighbor country India (Ahmad, 2013).

After Osama bin Laden killed in Pakistan. US halted its \$ 800 million economic aid to Pakistan. India very appreciated step and again and again suggested concern Pakistan played double with US. The India always created between suspicious and mistrust Pakistan and US (Ahmad, 2013).

4.6 Raymond Davis Issue:

In 27 January 2011, the CIA agent Raymond Davis has killed two Pakistani citizens in Lahore. After that the US government had tried to prove that has been the part of diplomatic mission in Pakistan and diplomatic amnesty had been demanded from the government of Pakistan and as a result he got diplomatic immunity and get released. Further it was demanded by the US government to finish the blame charge on their diplomatic employee in the court of Pakistan. Before the actual decision of the

Pakistan government an FIR was entered in the supreme court of Pakistan. Later on, it was found that the government entered fake FIR because in real the government of Pakistan was not in the mode to resist the case of Raymond Davis. The court has continued the case process for few months but later on the court also showed result pathetic. In the court it was decided that the US government would pay \$2.3 million in compensation as blood money to the victims' families and the US government wholeheartedly accepted the decision of the court and as a result Raymond Davis got released. Because the court does not show flexibility in the case and also not perform their duty with honesty in this case but instead immediately distracted in the case. As a result, the US achieved their demands in this case with special privilege that is against the country law. Historically it is evident from the past to the present times that Pakistan has always begged for the money to the US in the form of aid and due to which the US has always consider it a state under their shade but on the other hand the people of Pakistan does not like to get enslaved to the US dominance. Due to this the people of Pakistan openly condemned the decision of the court and the weak stance of the state. In diplomatic world every country respect rule of law of another country but in Raymond Davis case that prime responsibility is not fulfilled by the US and violated the law of the land and a clear business of give and take had been happened between the two countries. Later on, the Prime spy agency of Pakistan disclosed that Raymond Davis was not the part of US diplomatic mission in Pakistan but was the spy agent of US intelligence agency CIA (Naghman, 2012).

4.7. Salala Incident:

On Saturday 26 November 2011, the NATO troops has attacked Pakistan military forces in Salala along Afghanistan and Pakistan border. The NATO Apache helicopter, AC130gunship and F-15 Eagle fighter jets attacked at two Pakistani

security check post Salala Mohmand Agency in FATA, Baizai district. In this attacked 24 Pakistan soldier died in an air strikes by the Nato forces. Both countries like (Afghanistan, US) were blamed on Pakistan sides first was firing of border after the US responded to attacked on Pakistan check post Salala. This statement rejected Pakistani security and government refused. After the attacked the government of Pakistan showed strongly reaction violation sovereignty of Pakistan and evacuate two airfields within Pakistan territory in the US. Immediately, Pakistan has stopped NATO supply in Afghanistan. After Pakistani security demanded strongly from US government to express apology on the loss of their soldiers. Furthermore, they requested the government that they should not open the Nato supplies until the US formally sent apology to Pakistan government. Also in reaction to Salala incident, Pakistan government boycotted the Bonn Conference on the future of Afghanistan. Though unwillingly, Pakistan joined at Chicago conference intended for the future of Afghanistan. In prompt response to Salala incidence, Pakistan vacated by force the US drone operation troops from the Shamsi airbase located in Baluchistan. The people of Pakistan outraged and express anti-American voices, because it has violated sovereignty of Pakistan. After NATO statement that they regret over the incident and it also admitted mistakes. US government deepest commiseration after the president Obama said that this is great tragedy and he does not clearly apology to Pakistan government (Malik, 2013).

On 23 January 2012, the US report published that revealed clear violation of their mandate command that questioned the excuse of self-defence by US NATO force. The US rise issues attacked to self-defence report and blamed to Pakistan sides for the incident. After the report Pakistan security response strongly condemned because it is

attacked on sovereignty Pakistan. After the report that further intensify the controversy between both the countries (Malik, 2013).

After the Salala incident, the government decided finally to get approval from the parliament to open NATO supplies or Not. On 12 April 2012, Pakistani parliament unanimously passed proposal concern Pak-US relations. The parliament reviewed foreign policy goals aim of Pakistan founded realigning with US. The parliament of Pakistan will suggested proposal that the government should not open Nato supply to Afghanistan until the US apology from Pakistan. The proposal included that the US should stop drone attacks in the tribal area of Pakistan. But the US ignored and denied that proposal to stop drone strikes in Pakistan. after The US government denied apology killed soldiers. Furthermore, Pakistan parliament demanded clearly black water should stop operation in Pakistan who is permitted by US. The proposal of parliament would not allow operation of foreign intelligence on Pakistan soil. The proposal further explained that Pakistan would continue fight against on war on terror and it is in the national interest of Pakistan (Malik, 2013).

On 13 May 2011, Pakistan air forces chief Marshall Rao Qamar Suleman in-an-in Carne briefing and to joint sessions of Pakistan parliament, he told that the Shamsi air base was not in control of Pakistan but under the control of the UAE. He did not explain the actual facts in the session because now-e-days the air base is in use and under control of CIA. When the Salala incident it brings out the fact that Shamsi airbase is in use of US drone operation troops and at the end Pakistan security establishment admitted this fact. Further he expressed that the Defence Committee Cabinet decided evocate Shamsi air base 11 December 2011. After Pakistan strongly condemned drone strikes in Pakistani clearly message forward to the US government

of vacate within 15 days and the US airfield hand over Shamsi airbase to Pakistan on 10 January 2012. The secrete of the Shahabaz air base in Sindh has yet to be determined. The writer say that Pakistan should help secretly to the US but to ensure their sovereignty which are still miles away (Malik, 2013).

4.8. North Atlantic Treaty Organization Supply Halted:

After the Salala incident, Pakistan's bold decision to vacated Shamsi air base and halted food, fuel, oil tanker supplies to Afghanistan. There were two routes used to supply stuffs from Pakistan to Afghanistan which gone through Karachi and Khyber. Further, Pakistan had decided to boycott Boonen conference which used to held in Afghanistan in December, 2011. Pakistan demanded to the US that it should apology for what it had done in Salala airstrikes. But the US denied this plea of Pakistani leadership and blamed Pakistan ISI's support to Al- Qaeda. However, Pakistan security agencies have rejected the US blame. After the cut off the NATO supplies, the United States enforced restrictions on trade and halted provision of aid to Pakistan (Naghman, 2012).

After the Pentagon report, the US Supply route about \$ 104 million per month from north road to Afghanistan. Many other cargoes were send \$ 78 million through Pakistan to Afghanistan. After the US president realized that it could not win the ongoing war on terror in Afghanistan without the strategic support of Pakistan. Furthermore, he said that they had to root out the menace of terrorism in Afghanistan, however, they failed to explained the killings of the innocent civilian in the region. President Obama was not expecting strong reaction showed to cancelled negotiations and stop further NATO supply. Pakistan did not participate in the NATO Summit.

After that the US desired to invite Pakistan in the Chicago Summit to get NATO supplies operational (Naghman, 2012).

After that the Defha-e-Pakistan has demanded from the government that it should not open NATO supply to Afghanistan. On 20 February 2012, they protested in Islamabad against the continuous drone strikes and NATO supplies (Naghman, 2012).

After the Secretary of State Hilly Clinton officially apologized for the demise of Pakistan security forces. On 17 April 2012, Pak-US started negotiations with respect to NATO supply and then it was restored. The Prime Minister Yousef Raza Gilani said that NATO supply stopped without any pressure and was restored with consensus. However, NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen admitted that Pakistan opened NATO supply to Afghanistan. Moreover, he said that Pakistan was also invited to attend the upcoming 25th NATO summit which was to be held on 21 May 2011 Chicago (Naghman, 2012).

On 14 May, 2012, the foreign Minister of Hina Rabbani Khar said that Pakistan restored its relations with the United States and Allies. She said that the government of Pakistan agreed and then opened the NATO supply in Afghanistan after the six month (Naghman, 2012).

4.9. Abbottabad Operation:

When the president Obama came in power in 2009. He said that US military would stay in Afghanistan until the elimination of the threat of Al Qaeda from the region. The US and other western states had felt a high threat from terrorism and the US pledged to continue its fight against Al Qaeda. When the CIA was informed by the ISI regarding the presence of Osama bin living in compound in Abbottabad, Pakistan.

The CIA briefed the president Obama with regard to Osama bin Laden's presence who was living 800 yards away from Pakistani military academy. In later 2010, the president Obama and CIA Penetta consideration regarding the operation and then propose military strikes. Both agreed on this point that they would appoint military groups especially Joint Special Operation Command. These groups were committed whether to kill or capture Laden. In march 2011, the CIA launched an operation against Osama bin Laden. The president and National Security Council considered different options for killing or capturing the head of Al Qaeda. Further, they explained operation included a raids or airstrikes without informing Pakistan. The US government finally ordered an operation against Osama bin Laden on 29. April 2009. The operation was launched at eleven o'clock at night of the May 1st within the Pakistani territory at Abbottabad where the house of bin Laden located. More importantly, the CIA was also supported by the Jalalabad air field in case of any assistance. Osama bin Laden along with his son Khalid and Kuwaiti assistant (Tariq Khan) were killed. Apart from these, there were people residing in the compound were a woman along with four persons. After the death of Osama bin Laden, they collected all material in the house. They collected a mother lode, of intelligence material, computers, cell phones, thumb drivers and written documents." After the clarification of the dead body of Osama bin Laden it was taken to the White House Room. After that it buried under Islamic tradition body and was thrown in the sea (Govern, 2013).

The US president George Bush and Pakistan military leadership Pravez Musharraf "a decade ago struck secret deal, he permitted an American government operation against Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden on Pakistan when the Osama bin Laden escaped US troops in the Mountains of Tora Bora in since 2001". In this report, the government of Pakistan permitted openly unilateral raid inside Pakistan in search

convicted top leaderships of Al Qaeda, Osama bin Laden, his Ayman al-Zawahiri, both sides agreed consent. When the US attacked in Pakistan after Pakistan strongly condemned. Under this agreement will have been included with Pakistan 's unspoken policy toward CIA drone attack in the tribal areas of Pakistan. In November 2010, the WikiLeaks revealed the secret contract among the people of Pakistan. After in the WikiLeaks report, the Prime Minister Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani told American government, "I don't care if they do it, as long as they get the right of the people of Pakistan." Furthermore, he said that we would protest in the National Assembly if he ignored it (Govern, 2013).

May 2, 2011 was spiraled down to their ebb point of Pakistan and US relationships. It showed as Bad marriage "but Divorces is impossible. Meanwhile, the relationships between the two countries remained unpleasant during that period. The government of Pakistan always rejected the presence of Osama bin Laden in Pakistan. In that period, Pakistan security forces have started operations against in the Taliban especially in the tribal areas of North Waziristan. Osama bin Laden was killed a day ago that Pakistani Military General speech ceremony remember that were killed army war on terror. He said that our security strongly protected in the states ideologies and geographical boundaries. The COAS considered this was an insult of the Pakistan Armed forces (Akhtar, 2011).

After foreign office report that Pakistan intelligent service provided information to the Central intelligence Agency (CIA) of US since 2009. CIA chief Leon Panetta said that US desired operation to work joint together but they fear our mission could come be risk. They must cautious target especially Navel seals operation time. He expressed that he may be Pakistan had inspired actions of this assaulted without permission operation within Pakistan. Pakistan and US during period created misconception

between both states. After it is seeming to be Pakistan support militancy groups. After the US presidents spoke that he will some operation against the Taliban in the protected in the future of Afghanistan. In this statement revealed it also embarrassment our security forces. Different organization of Pakistan were strangle condemned this reaction by people, the political parties, civil society organization, religious groups, and Media. They did not criticize to murder Osama bin Laden, but they criticized US unilateral operations the Al Qaeda leader in Pakistan (Akhtar, 2011).

Senator John Kerry said that the US direly needs the Pakistan support to fight against terrorism in the future and agreed to decreased 10,000 NATO troops in Afghanistan. Likewise, he suggested that both countries have strong relationship based military. Gen. Kayani said that Pakistan government would not tolerate any kind of such developments in the future, if the US had attacked his country. Pakistan intelligence service and military reviewed policy on the war on terror. Jan Kerry visited Islamabad and attempted to normalize relations between the two friendly countries. After operation on 4 may Pakistan was totally cut off from communication with the US and NATO supply from Afghanistan. Clinton used the diplomacy that the US direly needs Pakistan's support in the war in Afghanistan. If Pakistan continues it support, then it would proceed its military aid to Pakistan, ends drone strikes in Pakistan territory and would launch operation against of militant. On the other hand, it also blamed pakistan for providing support to the militant groups. She showed interest and to achieve long time benefits in this region. She provided a list of militants who are lived in Pakistan. The president of Pakistan clearly responded that the people of Pakistan were protected most focused to protect of sovereignty and top protect Pakistan's national interest. Furthermore, he tabled a resolution in the parliament which urged the US to stop

drone strikes in Pakistan and the US government must respect Pakistan sovereignty (Akhtar, 2011).

Pakistan intelligence agency claimed that the president Zardari denied the report of joint operation against Osama bin Laden. After the operation, the US stopped aid about \$ 800 million assistances to Pakistan.

After the death of Osama bin Laden, the government constituted a commission which was headed by the judge of supreme of Pakistan. He independently inquired in this incident and further convicted individual or institution and organization climax of national humiliation of country. The commission report clarified and blamed the performance of the intelligence agency. The ISI stated before the Commission expressed that ISI had claimed to itself the counter- terrorism role. There was no clear-cut policy of the government concern terrorism (Syed, 2013).

When the commission collected information about incident and prepared the report. The commission collected data from the civilian government and military to carry out the inquiry issue (Syed, 2013).

Hussain Haqqani resigned and left the embassy as he was informed about the operation on Osama bin laden in Abbottabad. According to the local people one day before the operation on Osama bin laden some unknown people cut the trees outside of his hideout for the purposing of clearing the way of US Navy. The report asserted the US military was supported (Dawn, 2013).

After 25 months, later, the report revealed the failure of the security intelligence and the establishment. The report was an embarrassment for the nation (Dawn, 2013).

In 20 December, 2016, another investigation proceeded about Abbottabad commission under the Chief Justice Javed Iqbal and the meeting was held in parliamentary where the interior minister participated. He said that the government should show the report to the public. He expressed that the remaining parts will be classified. After he said that the report of the Abbottabad is in the shelf. He talked to Media persons that the report identified those people who were involved in that incident. Further he said "as I am under oath", I cannot expose the names of those people and only government can reveal their names". Further, he said that the submitted report of July 2013 was not the final report. Iqbal said that the final report was published and the highly criticized the armed forces and especially intelligence services agency. This was not only their failure, but also the civilian government. He said that the report shows that all are responsible for the incident collectively because it was their failure. Further he says should not blame only an individual or an organization. He gave recommendations that all pillars of the state are equally responsible for having contributions form on way to another (Junaidi, 2016).

4.10 Shakil Afridi Case:

Doctor Shakil Afridi went to Abbottabad in march where he had started program and provided funds for vaccination of hepatitis B. He had made organizational groups and also appointed health workers for this vaccination visited to home their provided vaccination free their lived people. Health workers campaigned for polio vaccination for children of those areas where Osama bin Laden had live. Afridi had conducted programs for free medicines and vaccination of hepatitis B around area of Abbottabad. In March, the health workers started programmers that were administrated vaccine poor neighbor area on the contagious of Abbottabad called Nawa Sher. The course duration for vaccination was about three months and each

month one injection was vaccinated to those people who were not affected before. This vaccination is vaccinated for protection from hepatitis B. After month doctor went back to Abbottabad and take the nurse to Bilal Town, Suburbia where Bine Laden. By this practice, they got the blood sample of Osama bin Laden's family. Behalf of blood sample, he informed the US government about Osama bin Laden existence in Abbottabad. After which the US government raid on with helicopter on Abbottabad and killed Osama bin Laden (Naghman, 2012).

On 24 May 2011, Shakil Afridi arrested by government of Pakistan and he was sentenced to jail for 33 years. He made campaign vaccination scheme under the organization of Tribal Area Pakistan. First, He was blamed that the purpose of the that campaigning was to target Osama Bin Laden. Second allegation was that he belonged the rebellious Lashkar-e- Islam. But the Pakistani curt has not declared him the spy of CIA because they said that he did have any authority from CIA. As Kamal said in his statement:

"We filed an appeal beside his conviction and challenged his judgment and the charges leveled against him and who heads the Quiet Association and an anti-militancy civil society group that has taken up".

But a contrary argument is given by Aleena Naghman and she said that it was a wrong allegation on Shakil Afridi about connection with Lashkar-e-Islam (Naghman, 2012).

There are three most polios victim's countries in the world and Pakistan is one of them. Pakistan has failed to eradicate this disease due to which many children are suffering legs problem. There are many cause for failure of eradication of polio in the country but Shakil Afridi case has risen suspicious among people. After Shakil Afridi's fake vaccination campaign had created fear in people. The religious people

also believe that polio drops are a western conspiracy to sterilize the population. In the past 2 years, about 20,000 children were not polio vaccinated in Pakistan. The health workers were targeted and killed because they believe that they are foreign spies (Boone J. , 2012).

US government and politicians had demanded from Pakistan government to release Afridi because he has bipartisan citizen. Further They agreed that they are not against Pakistan rather they are against Al, Qaeda. The US President Obama showed strong reaction on NATO conference held in Chicago due to which he denied the formal meeting held with Pakistan president Asif Ali Zardari (Boone C. M., 2012).

After which the US government had reduced one-million-dollar next year's budget and pressured the government of Pakistan leave Afridi. Earlier, the Senate Appropriate Committee had approved aid of two billion Dollar for reconstruction of damaged infrastructures by foreign hands. But after this Afridi case the president Obama cut \$ 800 million from them and further \$33 reduced from security aid which was frustration for Pakistan. They said that they would restore funds, if Pakistan released Afridi (McGreal, 2012).

From December, 2012 ahead, Pakistan faced another problem that many terrorist organizations changed their strategies and particularly aimed at targeting vaccination health workers. These vaccination campaigns and other social awareness program were led by women workers'. After the death of Osama bin Laden, the terrorist again targeted health worker. The terrorist groups believed that through these women health worker's, Dr. Shakeel Afridi got the blood samples of Osama bin Laden. The religious leaders should have solved the issue and raised their voice for the protection of women health workers and especially for Polio and such other health vaccinations

for children and new generations. The continuous targeting of these health workers resulted in the stopping of Polio vaccination to Pakistan by international community (Ali, 2013).

4.11. Memo Gate Scandal:

The killing of Osama in Abbottabad on 2 May 2011, deteriorated the relations between Pakistan and US. After the killing of Osama, the government of Pakistan decided to make a commission which can investigate the operation and identify the responsible persons. Hussain Haqqani resigned as an ambassador before the commission was made. (Naghman, 2012).

After this incident, both the civil government and military force were held responsible that they could not protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Pakistan. After this incident, the meetings between President Zardari and COAS were immediately held regarding the changing security dynamics of country. The meeting discussed that the latter was written by the civil government and military leadership. It was then become clear that the latter was written by Pakistani side regarding the Abbottabad incident. This memo increased serious issues in military and civil leadership. The civil government ignored the latter and considered just a useless paper piece. The letter was written by Hussain Haqqani, approved by Asif Ali Zardari and submitted to the US military commander Michael Mullen by James L. Jones. After the US, National Security Adviser to president Obama by a Pakistani businessman Ijaz Mansoor based at US. After the memo gate scandal, the relationships between Pakistan and US were mostly tensed in this period. The peoples of Pakistan felt fear that military might get benefits from such kinds of situation. After opposition leader Nawaz Sharif filed a case regarding memo gate scandal in the Supreme Court of Pakistan. The military

leadership and ISI approved the memo by giving evidences and delivering by Defence Secretary Lieutenant General retired Naeem Khalid Lodhi without the consent of Prime Minister of Pakistan. In the result, Defence Secretary was removed from office and misuse of authority violating the rules and regulations (Naghman, 2012).

There were four party who wrote the memo gate, federal government, the military leadership, ISI asked the supreme court of Pakistan to explain that who was involved in this issue. After P.M of Pakistan strongly criticized the statement of military leadership of Pakistan in the supreme court as unconstitutional. The prime Minister statement annoyed the military leadership who issued a stem press release that there can be no allegation more serious than what the honorable prime minister has levelled. This confusion between civil and military leadership had serious implication for Pakistan. The PM gave an interview to international media and also denied to take his words back which directly faced with military institution and he paid the price for his wrong words and action. In during times, the supreme court of Pakistan sent notice of contempt of court to the prime Minister of Pakistan. People of Pakistan were astonished about the democratically elected P.M said that "Army's filling in the supreme court about memo gate was not wrong". Once again the military predominant over politics on Pakistan. In reality, P.M had lost his reliability and trusts in the country and the supreme court of Pakistan had decided to convict the P.M but he did not accept the decision and legitimized his office through the speaker of National Assembly. The public of Pakistan was not happy with Gilani and his Cabinet but the government were not properly delivered in four years. The civilian considered a suspiration, people were happy when he was removed from office (Naghman, 2012).

4.11 Saleem Shahzad Incident and US Response:

When the Journalist Syed Saleem Shahzad was killed by unknown person. After Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) was blamed for his and also started the inquiry of his killing. On 29 May 2011, He was missing before he wrote an article Mehran attack further he carried out recommendation. Because Pakistan Navy was struggling to break down on Al Qaeda cells that had penetrated the service. In the past Several times, he wrote and received numerous warning from Pakistan intelligence agency. He revealed threats from ISI in front of public after ISI refused this clam. In June, the government started to investigate his death. In later, the unnamed American administration salient critiqued murder case ISI leader that blamed clearly involve secret agency in the murder of Shahzad. After the US, joint Chiefs Chairman Admiral Milke Mullen said that he clearly claimed the murder of Shahzad involved Pakistan government (Kronstadt, 2011).

4.12 Black Water Issue:

The People of Pakistan were badly affected due to military operations. After 9/11, the Shamsi airbase was utilized for drone strikes in the tribal areas of Pakistan. Masses assume that Black Water are involved in secret activities in Pakistan. Before handing over to US, the Shamsi airfields was given to United Arab Emirates in 1992. After the UAE handed over the airfield to US for a 10-year period in Octobers 2001 with the approval of the government of Pakistan. The infamous US Black Water network also utilized this air base to develop a parallel intelligent and security network in Pakistan. After this incident, the government rejected the information that the air base was utilized for drone strikes in FATA. The government of Pakistan always claimed concern their air base and was re-given to UAE. Later on, the government of Pakistan has permitted airfields that were used for CIA Blackwater network for the secret

activities. After the evidence showed, the airbase became more dangerous for security forces of Pakistan (Malik, 2013).

After BBC report, which was published in 2008 revealed that the US Air Plane throw guns' weapons to Black Water in the Pakistan and Afghanistan border. They threw weapons upon the terrorists in the tribal areas of Pakistan. When the Swat operation was started where Pakistan military found American weapons from terrorists. The Pakistan military leadership showed concern and rose questions to the American government. The US government replied that these weapons delivered mysteriously to terrorist network without their knowledge. Many experts have shown concern in this issue of American made weapons with the terrorists. The US wanted a long stay for military troops in the region especially in Afghanistan (Kayani, September 12, 2016).

On 20 January 2009, the ummat Newspaper published an article in which he revealed that when Michael whaler visited Afghanistan and saw woman in veils they became very astonished. He suggested that these women can be used for investigation against the Taliban. He started the Black Water network in Afghanistan and Pakistan in 2007. The American considered Taliban as a threat to NATO supply to Afghanistan. So, CIA tasked smugglers to negotiate with Taliban for the safe supply of ammunition to NATO forces. After this, the CIA tasked Black Water for contacts with drug dealers. After this, Michael whaler given the contract to Black Water in mid-2008. In this period, Pakistan started fight against terrorist groups on Pakistan-Afghanistan border. When Jief Kepison took the charge of Black Water, he started the investigation of paths which were used Taliban. He investigated the roads used by smugglers and Taliban groups (Kayani, September 12, 2016).

The CIA founded the center of Shamsi airfield in Pakistan after this it was used by black Water. The Black Water used bullet proof car, with black glass roaming freely in Pakistan. Besides, the US bought big part of land nearly Tarbela which is nearly 80 miles to Islamabad. They protected this area through contagious containers. This area was used for keeping weapons, tanks, helicopters and a military unit. They used drone strikes against militants in the tribal areas of Pakistan. Besides, the US agents lived in rented homes. They had hired some 200 houses in the Islamabad. Often, the government refused clearly about raise question present in Pakistan. These houses were located in Peshawar town, Rachana road, Hayatabad, Shami Adada and Warsak in Peshawar. Civilians were checked in front of their bungalows by the security guards. It was an unpopular move among the masses because they were weird daily checking (Kayani, September 12, 2016).

The international media projected the US military ammunitions, bullet proof cars and heavy weaponry in port Bin Qasim. The common masses were anxious about this large supply of weapons but the government of Pakistan was completely silent in this regard. The masses were feeling threatened due to this increased supply of weapons to Pakistan. The former major General Khalid Latife said that the CIA made command and control system in Marriott Hotel, Islamabad. The drone attacks were being controlled from this hotel. Later on, it was bombed by the Taliban which exposed the dual policy of government of Pakistan (Kayani, September 12, 2016).

Despite the international media projection of Black Water activities, Pakistani government was reluctant to reveal it. Finally, the government of China became intolerant and exposed the Black Water activities. The Chinese ambassador said that the US black Water has increased activities in Pakistan. Many Chinese workers were

killed in Pakistan but due to friendship with Pakistan we have ignored it (Kayani, September 12, 2016).

These persons after getting training, they were used to be transferred to Peshawar. A former British officer, Mathews established training center in Rawat in the guise of an NGO. Approximately, he has trained more than 16000 individuals and offered lucrative salaries (Kayani, September 12, 2016).

4.14. Conclusion:

In the study Pak-US relations many events came in these five periods, there are many point of divergence of Pak-US relationships. When PPP government came into power in 2008, immediately they were released Abdul Qadir Khan in February, 2009. The US demanded to stop expansion of the nuclear weapon "serious Proliferation risk and allegation not to be safe nuclear weapon of Pakistan. The relationships of both countries were deteriorated on the issue of terrorism which led to their divergence. When Haqqani Network attacked US embassy in Kabul. Another Conflict was created between Pakistan and US on the issue raised about drone attack within triable areas of Pakistan. Pakistan has demanded from US to recognized sovereignty of Pakistan and stop drone attack inside the country. US violated the international boundary of Pakistan and reaction terrorist activities increased suicide attack anywhere within society of Pakistan. when the drone strikes targeted Hakeemullah Mehsud death. The drone strikes reached loss of all peace efforts which was ultimately deteriorate the relationships between two countries. The CIA agent Raymond Davis was killed two Pakistani citizens and Pak-US relationships created mistrust between both states and Afghan-Pakistan border district.

After in the assaulted bin Laden broke down in the relationship of the US. After operation 2 days ago, Pakistan was totally cut communication with the US and NATO

supply from Afghanistan. It showed as Bad marriage “but Divorces is impossible. Shakil Afridi for helping the US find Osama after he was arrested government of Pakistan after the court was sentenced to 33 years in prison and after downslide of the relationship between the two.

The NATO troops has attacked Pakistan military forces in Salala check post. After the attacks the government of Pakistan showed strong reaction who evacuate two airfields, Nato supplies, boycotted the Bonn Conference on the future of Afghanistan. Pak-US relationships created mistrust between both states. Journalist Syed Saleem Shahzad was killed. Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) was blamed from American administration salient critiqued murder case ISI leader that blamed clearly involve secret agency in the murder of Shahzad.

Conclusion V

5.1 Findings

Currently, the most common factor, on which Pakistan and US are cooperating is terrorism. But the same is also a cause of the trust deficit between the two.

Pak-US Strategic dialogues should continue as it will help in removing trust deficit.

Further, both states relations are based on co-operation, regional stability, and TO promote peace, democracy in South Asia. The U.S interests in the region and its main objectives consist of security, energy and democracy.

Both states Pakistan and U.S common goal is economic interest in Central Asia. Gwadar port linked with Central Asian Republic would increase trade and business activities in the region. To acquire economic interest, it is vital to progress and co-operation in different field in the region. Trade, energy and minerals would play an important role.

The US provided economic assistance through the Kerry Luger bill in 2009. The US provided Economic, and development assistance to Pakistan. To support democratic institutions in Pakistan to strengthen civilian rule and long-term stability, expand rule of law, build capacity, transparency, and trust in government, and promote internationally recognized human rights. To support economic freedom and economic development in Pakistan such as to strengthen public diplomacy to counter extremism.

Pakistan army launched Swat operation another operation in Waziristan known as operation Rah-e-Nijit in 2009. The US supported security assistance to Pakistan's paramount national security need to fight and win the ongoing counterinsurgency

within its borders, to improve Pakistan's border security, coordinate action against extremist and terrorist targets. In the recently report published, the terrorist attacks in Pakistan have declined since the successful operation in Karachi and after Darbe-azab in North Waziristan.

The American government convinced Pakistan and said that it will not threat the nuclear plant of Pakistan rather it is a source for regional security and bring equilibrium in the South Asia. After the terrorist attack on the General Head Quarter Western Media considered it attack on nuclear technology of Pakistan and again sharply raise the issues nuclear technology of Pakistan will not be safe.

After that, the US provide defence aid sale of F-16 fighter aircraft and other military arms and especially these territories started operation against terrorist. It had provided eight P-3C Orion maritime patrol aircraft.

Pakistan has nuclear capabilities potentially, leading role as Islamic state in the Muslim world. In the recently reality was showed front of world, Saudi Arab were made Islamic Military organization against IS. On 10 January 2017, the British Prime Minister statement that Islamic Military organization showed mean like NATO organization of Islamic States and under supervision of Pakistan leadership appointed membership.

The continuation of US drone attacks increased civilian deaths, violation of sovereignty, human rights principal under international Humanitarian Law, increased terrorist, socio-economic and psychological life, created difficulties in the way of war on terrorism and extremism of Pakistan. Pakistan had started dialogue with Taliban, drone showed negatively affect on peace talks procedures with Taliban inside Pakistan led to cancellation of negotiation process from Taliban sides. After the Salala incident, Killed of Osama bin Laden it totally violated national interest of Pakistan. If

US should respect the sovereignty of Pakistan increased more in the dealing terrorism cooperation successfully.

Raymond Davis killed two Pakistan citizens and FIR was filed against him in the supreme court of Pakistan. US diplomatic mission in Pakistan but was the spy agent of US intelligence agency CIA. After the government showed strong reaction elimination of CIA agent in Pakistan. However, USA tried to play double games in Pakistan. Pakistani security started operations against Taliban in Swat and got weapons from terrorist which was US made. Then these double standards became the cause of diversions. Black Water secret operation within Pakistan.

Shakil Afridi got of blood sample of Laden, he informed the US government about Osama bin Laden existence in Abbottabad. After which the US government raid on with helicopter on Abbottabad and killed Osama bin Laden. Shakil Afridi arrested and sentenced to jail for 33 years. The US government demanded quickly release of Afridi by considering him as a national hero of the US.

Pakistan was suffered another problem that the health workers were targeted to kill terrorist because they believe that they are foreign spies. Due to this polio vaccination was effected in Pakistan.

American administration silently criticized ISI and blamed clearly involvement of secret agency in the murder of Shahzad. On this statement the US should not interference of internal situation of Pakistan.

5.2. Recommendations:

The history of Pak-US relations is full of fluctuations. Sometimes they enjoyed good relations while sometimes not. In the current prevailing circumstances, terrorism is the major problem and a point of convergence for both states. So, it needs to be

understood in terms of a coordinate policy toward countering terrorism. Both states are accepting terrorism as a threat to the regional and international peace and that it should be countered through mutual assistance. Both countries should respect each other's sensitivities for instance US should avoid its intrusive role in Pakistan to build trust.

U.S was skeptical about Pakistan to eliminate Taliban or al Qaeda sanctuaries. It was believed that US knows quite well, that Pakistan is only subject to its own foreign policy objectives and is serving its own national interests. However, they are pressurizing Pakistan to do more while jeopardizing its stability in the interests of both states. It is also believed that Pakistan is fighting war on terror to protect the US interests. The first objective of America was to start operation against the terrorist groups like Lashkar-e-Tayyaba and second was to target the Haqqani network.

America is quite distasteful about the role of Pakistan in the fighting against terrorism and the other engagements in history. Though Pakistan is a front-line state in war against terrorism and is the American non-NATO ally. Despite that US had signed nuclear deal with India instead of Pakistan. So, it could be suggested that Pakistan should not rely on US.

The America is consistently blaming Pakistan's Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI) that it is helping, and has a soft corner for the Haqqani Network, which is involved in attacks on American embassy in Kabul. However, the Atlantic Council's report argues that "the weak link in the ISI's chain of command is the operational level officers who control field operatives, especially in FATA. Reliance on pro-Taliban operatives or retired ISI officers with ties to the Taliban creates problems for command and control of operations in the field. The Western Media too blaming Pakistan that it provides help and supported for their extremist activities while playing a double game.

Pakistan should adopt a counter narrative against terrorism and the US needs to stop the violations of Pakistan's sovereignty which is being violated through drone strikes. Both the states need to build trust on each other to counter militancy and enhance cooperation with each other.

The Iran gas pipeline deal should be a national priority for energy-starved Pakistan and should not bow before US pressure.

Pakistan should broaden its foreign policy options by engaging with Russia and China, without undermining its fragile relationship with the US.

Pakistan needs to increase transparency among the state institutions and society regarding its relations and engagements with US.

All state institutions need to increase coordination to be on the same page in order to present a unified national position on all issues.

There is a need to increase societal awareness of structure and functioning of international systems, the role of US and the space available for Pakistan to contextualize Pakistan-US relations.

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