

# Political Cost-Benefit Analysis of War on Terror in Pakistan: 2001-2011



## Ph.D. Thesis

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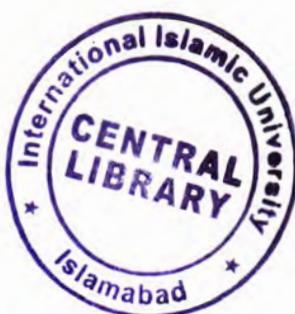
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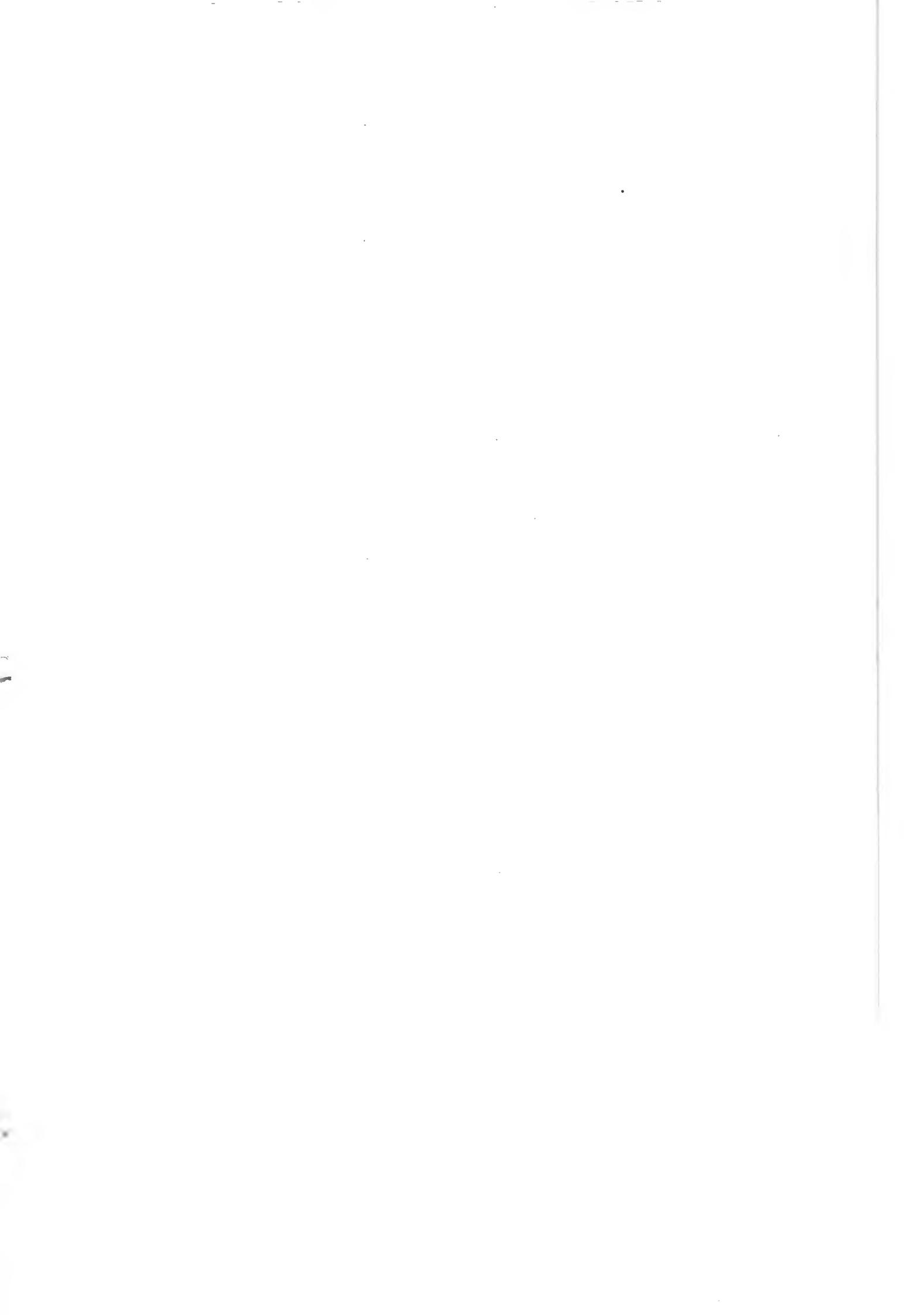


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1. Terrorism - Economic





*IN THE NAME OF ALLAH THE GREAT  
BENEFICENT THE MOST MERCIFUL*

# **Political Cost-Benefit Analysis of War on Terror in Pakistan:**

**2001-2011**

**Thesis for the Award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Politics and**

**International Relations—A Partial Fulfillment**



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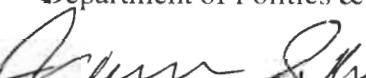
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# **Political Cost-Benefit Analysis of War on Terror in Pakistan: 2001-2011**

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*Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctorate of Philosophy in discipline Politics and International Relations at the faculty of Social Science International Islamic University Islamabad*

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# DEDICATED

WITH

RESPECT

TO

PROF. KHURSHEED AHMAD

DR. HASAN SOAHAIB MURAD

MIRZA MUHAMMAD ILYAS

&

Dr. MANZOOR KAHN AFRIDI

WHO

GUIDED AND HELPED ME IN THE COMPLETION

OF

THIS STUDY

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## ABSTRACT

This study was designed to conduct the Political Cost-Benefit Analysis of war on Terror in Pakistan: 2001 -2011. A decade long study in order to find out the cost which Pakistan bore and Benefits which Pakistan enjoyed. Mainly this is a qualitative study but Primary research was conducted.

In this more than decade long war, which is not only the longest war in the U.S history but in Pakistan's history as well. Pakistan had only experience of brief wars against India in 1948, 1965, and in 1971 which had been maximum weeks long whereas tenure of the war on terror and its impact on Pakistan is more than a decade long. In this war, As far as human sacrifices are concerned, some 3080 soldiers and security personnel are dead now, whereas 40,309 civilians also died.

Study presents the Political, and economic cost of the war and analyses that Musharraf was forced to join this war as threat and message from U.S. was clear that " Either you are with us or with our enemy". Therefore Pakistan had to opt the policy of Bandwagoning with U.S. in order to preserve the national security and avoid direct confrontation. Musharraf set 4 objectives to join this war , to improve economy, save nuclear and missile assets, Kashmir cause and to protect sovereignty. This study is an analysis of Cost-Benefit of those 4 objectives. Results of the study show that Pakistan was able to protect its nuclear program and missile assets despite intense U.S. pressure, Pakistan had to compromise on its sovereignty most of the times, Economy improved in the early years of alliance with America but later reached to worst level, Kashmir cause was mishandled and Pakistan came back on defensive footings. Despite all military and economic assistance was extremely low during 2001 to 2011 Pakistan bore \$ 85.85 billion losses whereas, Pakistan received total military & economic assistance amount of \$ 13.266 billion. CSF amount is actually reimbursement and not US aid. The analysis reveals that irreparable losses (Cost) will keep haunting Pakistan in upcoming many years. Pakistan gained less, ruined much. Cost was incomparably too high than Benefits.

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*Muhammad Ilyas Ansari*

*Lahore*

*December 07, 2016*

## Abbreviations

AFP	Agence France-Presse
BBC-	British Broadcasting Corporation
BHN-	Basic Human Needs
BJP _	Bharatiya Janata Party
Centcom LNO-	Central Command Liaison Officer
Centcom-	United States Central Command
CENTO-	Central Treaty Organization
CEO-	Chief Executive Officer
CIA –	Central Intelligence Agency
CPPNM-	Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Materials
CTBT-	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
DoD-	Department of Defense
FATA -	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
FDI-	Foreign Direct Investment
FMCT-	Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty
FO-	Foreign Office
FOAB-	Foreign Operation Appropriations Bill
GCTF-	Global Counterterrorism Force
GDP-	Gross Domestic Product
GHQ -	General Head Quarters
GNP-	Gross National Product

GWOT-	Global War on Terror
HEU-	Highly-Enriched Uranium
HN-	Haqqani Network
IAEA-	International Atomic Energy Agency
ICC -	The International Criminal Court
IDB-	Islamic Development Bank
IFIs-	International Financial Institutions
IMET-	International Military Education and Training
IMF-	International Monetary Fund
ISAB-	International Security Advisory Board
ISI-	Inter-Services Intelligence
JeM –	Jaish-e-Mohammed
JSOC	Joint Special Operations Command
LeT –	Lashkar-e-Taiba
LoC-	Line of Control (Kashmir)
MMA-	Mutahidda Majlis-e-Amal
NATO –	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCA-	National Command Authority
NeoCons-	Neo-Conservatives of (US)
OPIC-	Overseas Private Investment Corporation
P-5	Permanente 5 Members of UN Security Council
PML (N)-	Pakistan Muslim League ( N)

PML(Q)-	Pakistan Muslim League ( Q)
PNRA-	Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority
PPP-	Pakistan People's Party
PRISP-	Pat Roberts Intelligence Scholars Program
PTV-	Pakistan Television
SATP-	South Asian Terrorism portal
SEATO -	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
SPD -	Strategic Plans Division
TDA-	Trade and Development Assistance
TPP -	Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan
TPP-	Tehreek e Taliban Pakistan
UN -	United Nations
UNGA -	United Nations General Assembly
UNO-	United Nations Organization
UNSCR-	United Nations Security Council Resolution
U.S. -	United States
USAID-	United States Aid
USG-	United States Government
WB-	World Bank
WOT-	Global war on Terror
WW II-	World War II
OECD-	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

ODA-	Official Development Assistance
DAC-	Development Assistance Committee
IDPs -	Internally Displaced Persons
ESF	Economic Support Fund
CSF	Coalition Support Fund
NDAA	National Defense Authorization Act
CNF	Counter narcotics Fund
INCLF	International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement
PCF	Pakistan Counterinsurgency Fund
PCCF	Counterinsurgency Capacity Fund
HRDF	Human Rights and Democracy Funds
IDA	International Disaster Assistance
MRA	Migration and Refugee Assistance
PTCL	Pakistan Telecommunication Limited
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
FOAB	Foreign Operation Appropriations Bill
IDB	Islamic Development Bank
PRP	Personnel Reliability Program
NuSECC	Nuclear Security Emergency Co-ordination Center
NSG-	Nuclear Supplier Group

### **FOWARDING SHEET**

The thesis entitled "*Political Cost-Benefit Analysis of War on Terror in Pakistan: 2001-2011*" submitted by Muhammad Ilyas Ansari in partial fulfillment of Ph. D Degree in Discipline (Politics and International Relation) has been completed under my guidance and supervision. I am satisfied with quality of research work and allow him to submit this thesis for further process of as per International Islamic University, Islamabad rules & regulations.

**Signature:** -----

**Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi.**

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# Chapter 1

Tragic and deplorable event of 9/11 changed the post-Cold War world, particularly Muslim world and more specifically Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iraq politically, economically and socially. Following the demise of Soviet Union in December 1991 and an end of Balance of Power, world eventually became Uni-Polar giving supreme power status to USA.

Tragic incident of planes crash with Twin Towers was considered as attack on USA and interestingly no nation or state was directly responsible for this tragic incident in which around 2700 people killed. Osama Bin Laden was the then chief of Al-Qaeda; a non-state actor was held responsible for this terror attack.

USA declared it as an act of war and the then US President Bush coined a term Global War on Terror (GWOT) which lately replaced by Obama Administration in late March 2009. According to one memo Obama administration ordered officially to avoid the terminology of Global war on terror and preferred the term “Overseas Contingency Operation” Fox (2009).

US President Bush started a longest and a catastrophic war of US history. He had announced before declaring the war formally that this war will prolong, US nation would require patience as the war will not be easy to win in a short span of time. Ed Vulliamy had defined it ‘to muster up national strength and effort for a long span of time’ Ed Vulliamy (2001).

Pakistan is among those countries which suffered a lot from this Global War on Terror declared by US President Bush against Afghanistan on October 7, 2001 and named this military operation as “Enduring Freedom”. Pakistan has paid a heavy price of this war, waged by USA. Political decision taken by General Pervez Musharraf the then CEO and later President of Pakistan’s

decision to join the Global War on Terror, proved lethal and irreparable ,resulted in heavy economic, social and political losses for Pakistan.

Pakistan is still under heavy repercussions of joining the Global War on Terror (GWOT) which has resulted in Human, Economic, Social and Political losses.

Pakistan became partner of U.S. wars in Afghanistan. Firstly when Afghanistan was invaded by USSR in December 1979 and Soviet troops left the country in February 1989, which became US proxy war under the Containment Policy started in 1947 by Harry S. Truman the U.S. President to prevent from expending the communist influence, and secondly following the 9/11 attacks on Twin towers in New York, Pakistan was forced to join the Global War on Terror (GWOT). A U.S. longest war of her own history and of modern times which proved limitless and multidimensional in its nature. Though it started on October 7, 2001 by the US invasion of Afghanistan but engulfed the Pakistan in reality. Still US troops are present on Afghan soil with a gradual plan of withdrawal by December 2014. US President Obama announced on May 28, 2014, Pronounced that 'USA was finishing the assignment in Afghanistan. It took 12 long years for such a realization. It was a hectic engagement of immense economic, military and human dimensions. Through Taliban are Al-Qaeda were targets, yet the catastrophe remained alive' DeYoung (2014).

It is very important to analyze the irreparable losses or cost which Afghanistan, especially Pakistan had to pay due to catastrophic war started by US.

Under forced partnership in GWOT Pakistan had to start a full scale military operation (Al Mizan against defunct militant organization Tehreek e Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and its affiliated groups in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) in 2002. In response, these Militants started an unending series of suicide attacks and bombing with the purpose of targeting more

civil and state related installations. Pakistan had been U.S. ally from her creation in 1947 in pursuit of Economic and Military aid to defend herself from the India. Cold War Time gave opportunity to Pakistan to come closer to U.S. Despite all the sacrifices of Pakistan during GWOT there had always been a factor of Trust Deficit.

Three U.S. presidents (Eisenhower, Kennedy & Johnson) were curious about benefits from Pakistan whereas five other successive U.S. presidents (Carter, Bush Senior, Clinton, Bush Junior & Obama) had always been skeptical regarding trusting the Pakistani leadership, likewise Pakistani leadership had the same problem .American presidents had been viewing Pakistan as a front line state to further their national interests in the region against USSR and China. There was no exception in US presidency in harvesting Pakistani strengths and leaving the soil in disarray. The trust was nowhere. Skepticism and a deep feeling of lack of confidence prevailed for most part of engagements. Pakistan was adamant as the land and leadership experienced betrayals and back-stepping from US leaders in hours of need or calamity'. Hussain (2013).

This war has suffered Pakistan heavily. According to impartial sources in a decade long war on terror in Pakistan a vast area, as many as 35% area of Pakistan starting from north to south suffered most "which was by and large due to Pakistan's partnership with U.S in GWOT" N. Mahmood (2012).

Pakistan was forced to join GWOT with the loud and clear threat made by Bush on September 20, 2001. 'It was rather a notorious message each Pakistani took it as an insult phrase, "with us or against us" from the U.S. leaders. Pakistan was not a terrorist country or with terrorist in anyways but the labeling was loud and clear. United State considered any nation not following the track of 'with us or against us' as hostile'eMediaMillWorks (2001).

In the light of above mentioned threat Pakistan apparently had no choice to declare herself as neutral in the muddle and consequently joined GWOT which proved heavily destructive for Pakistan under the banner of USA.

This is quite interesting that Pak-US relations had mostly been security centric. Right from its inception, Pakistan found itself extremely susceptible in terms of its security .On the Eastern front, it was confronted with Indian hostility and on the western front it was dared by Afghani animosity. The Afghani animosity, though a little surprising and irritating, was manageable; however, the Indian hostile intentions were more threatening. In such a complex situation Pakistan had only choice to join US led Western block in Bi-Polar world for her territorial integrity and counter the hostile environment.

Formally Pakistan signed a defense agreement with the US in May 1954 and became member of Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), whereas in the very next year joined another defense pact “Baghdad Pact” (which was renamed as CENTO in 1958).

History of Pak-US relations had been turbulent. It was always United States which imposed sanctions on Pakistan and removed those imposed sanctions by itself for her needs and national interests. For instance in 1979, Soviet invasion of Afghanistan created a situation in which Pakistan became again American need despite all economic and military sanctions which US already had imposed on Pakistan. Military and intelligence agencies of both countries cooperated and formed the partnership against Soviet Union which lasted up till the Soviet withdrawal in 1989 from Afghanistan following Geneva accord. From Pakistan’s perspective, US turned its eyes and left Pakistan alone to become the victim of consequences of destructive war caused by Soviet invasion in Afghanistan. On June 17th, 2004 Pakistan was declared as “major non- NATO ally” by US president Bush and Pakistan was exempted from many sanctions related to military

hardware' B. News (2004). Musharraf regarded this status of major non-NATO ally as a trophy of success in Pak-US relations but later resulted in an unending series of leveling charges against each other but particularly against Pakistan. In a leading Pakistani English newspaper, a reporter wrote about the consequences of Military Operation in *Malakand* in the summer of 2009 which caused losses of Pakistan in the GWOT. Pakistan had never experienced such a huge displacement inside country, where around "2.3 million Pakistanis had to leave their homes and migrated to the other areas of the country" Wahab (2010).

From Pakistan's popular public perspective 'This is war of someone else and our leaders for the personal gains have no care about the devastating economic cost of war on terror. We don't bother to realize the consequences of the organized militant attacks in the form of suicide bombing and bomb blasts' Wahab (2010). This perception caused high polarization in Pakistani society, on the issue of war on terror.

How drone attacks have changed the lives of innocent children psychologically, it is a vast topic of research. Those children which were exposed to drone attacks and had seen the mutilated bodies of their family members, relatives or friends are suffering from psychological disorders. For instance they are so frightened that even "If you bang a door, they'll scream and drop like something bad is going to happen" Arbuthnot (2014). The loss is so heavy that if drone attacks are even stopped even then the impact is long term and will keep haunting the lives of these children.

World is no more safe now particularly few places on the planet earth are the worst victim of GWOT, particularly Pakistan. Despite Pakistan's all cooperation with U.S in GWOT, Pakistan is

still not “Trustworthy” or has “Double Face” for US, Pak US relations in Post 9/11 era can be categorized as “from Hand shake to loath”

Pakistan cooperated fully with US in the war on terror but was termed as double faced and Pakistan army was blamed that “it is playing a double role in the war on terror” BOARD (2014).

Pakistan had never experienced such worst, social, economic, political and security situation earlier. Therefore this study covers the whole scenario in a comprehensive way from Pakistan’s perspective. Political decision taken by the then head of the state of Pakistan was the result of constraints in international anarchic system. This study sought the costs and benefits of political decision for joining the global war on terror under US led international coalition. A decade long time period (September 2001 to 2011) has been covered, the year in which US achieved its biggest objective of War on Terror, catching or killing Osama Bin Laden on May 02, 2011, in Abbottabad, Pakistan.

## **1.1 Literature Review**

The literature on the topic of Cost and benefits of the war on terror is limited. However available literature on the subject has been discussed below. In this study, costs and benefits mostly revolve around economy which is manageable to quantify, whereas the particular issues of Pakistan’s Sovereignty , Importance of Kashmir issue in Pakistan’s politics, and Nuclear program of Pakistan has been largely described in descriptive manner separately by selecting a particular issue mentioned above. There is a gap visible as combined studies on the core issues related to national interest of Pakistan or core objectives in foreign policy of Pakistan have largely not been studied much.

Majority of the scholars focused to examine Pak-US relations in the aftermath of 9/11 incident. Which largely discussed the importance of this renewed relationship with more focus on Pakistan's cooperation with US in WOT and its impact on results to achieve US goals of war. Due to Pakistan's geographical location in global politics, Pak-US relations had always been a topic of discussion by scholars, The importance of the relationship between the both countries increased in the aftermath of 9/11 incident. Many scholars in the past raised the important points about the cooperation of Pakistan in the GWOT, national interests of both countries, level of Pakistan's cooperation and sincerity. For example C. Christian Fair writes in a Report prepared by RAND Corporation, commented that, 'United States strategic departments as well as central command were admitting the fact that it was an established fact beyond any doubt that Pakistan's commitment to the counterterrorism force and war was unwavering, strong and result oriented. Pakistan devoted more troops than any other country, captured, handed over terrorists in numbers' Fair, Crane, Chivvis, Puri, and Spirtas (2010). This appreciation further goes on by Mr. Leon T. Hader in his article "Pakistan in America's War against Terrorism Strategic Ally or Unreliable Client?" (2002).He explained in his article, That General Musharraf regime was the sole proprietor of the alliance of Pakistan with USA in the war on terror. His regime had close contacts with Taliban regime in Kabul. Islamabad was taken over by his command and control exercise and provided needed military, diplomatic and political assistance to Kabul regime despite latter's radical orientation. Musharraf was promoted and encouraged by Bush administration as courageous and enlightened leader of Pakistan had ever produced. He was continuously pampered to prompt US interests in the region'. Robert Wirsing analyzes in his article "Precarious Partnership: Pakistan's Response to US Security Policies" (2003) about the new partnership of Pakistan with US in the GWOT while discussing the most important national

objectives of Pakistan ‘Kashmir’ and ‘Nuclear program’ ‘Musharraf is ruling over a country which is weak in economy and multiethnic socially, located alarmingly on the fault line dividing the Islamic and Hindu world. The massive stress and strain on the situation of Pakistan is clearly evident in its domestic and international politics. Today Pakistan, America’s “most allied ally,” is the combat zone in the west’s war on terrorism-the war which so far has identified the Muslim states and sub state groups as enemy. Even if, how long and how passionately Pakistan tries to remain the combat zone in the war, it will enormously depend on Islamabad’s computation for its national concerns- in other words, its continuous strategic “fit”- with the constantly changing US security doctrine and policy. For the policy makers of US, boosting Pakistani suspicions of American strategic intentions is a constant challenge whereas they assure that Pakistan does not end up being the most distrustful partner in this war against terrorism. The New Delhi’s eye-catching movement of more than 700,000 armed forces from December 2001 to October 2002 on the Pakistani border did nothing to discourage Pakistan’s national interest in Kashmir. Pakistan’s strategic nuclear and missile assets were mentioned in the list of critical concerns that Musharraf has declared in his address to the nation on September 19, 2001. He had good reasons for its affinity’. Wirsing article has many good aspects that it has discussed the Kashmir and nuclear issues in a balanced way. C. Christian Fair mentioned the reasons of Pakistan to join the war on terror in his article “The Counterterror Coalitions: Cooperation with Pakistan and India” (2004), that ‘The most important reasons according to him was Kashmir dispute. According to him ‘As a result of September 11, 2001, Pakistan finally had the chance to unite with the United States against the terrorist organization: Taliban and Al-Qaeda. There were many reasons behind this joint mission. For example; Pakistan needed a reason to cut off all connections with the Taliban alongside deal with her huge internal security predicament. Also Islamabad needed the push to

defend its strategic resources while finding ways to straighten out the Kashmir dispute mentioning Pakistan's shares in the problem. Pakistan sought to prevent the US to see India as a favored ally in South Asia while it desired to stop being the victim of terrorism. On a long run, it was not clear how dependable Islamabad would be as an ally in the efforts to remove terrorism with the US. Pakistan believes that all their issues are because of India and Kashmir'.

Lisa A. Curtis "US aid to Pakistan: Countering extremism through education reform" (2007) recommends US government regarding US aid to Pakistan that 'The United States should invest more directly into specific project like education and development instead of giving huge amounts of aid money under economic assistance through direct cash transfer to Pakistani government. It should sustain its assistance in teacher training and in increasing the standard of education in schools in Pakistan while also pushing Islamabad to launch systematic reforms of public education. Moreover, Washington will be obliged to strengthen the government to take restrictive measures against the Madrassas that are spreading violence, sectarianism and terrorism in the society trying to dismantle its unique equilibrium. However United States should understand that many Madrassas are actually useful and absolutely peaceful hence the US should avoid getting into the broader Madrassa reform efforts'.

Hammad Shams reminds the need of Pak US relations mutually fruitful for the both countries in his article "Do They Really Hate Us?: The Limits of US Public Diplomacy" (2007), According to him Pakistani "Military personnel have been focusing on the immense need for a friendly relationship between USA and Pakistan, which could lead to help in building better infrastructure in Pakistan. According to a retired 3 star general, "Pakistanis don't like the policy of 'stick and carrot'. He meant that Pakistan doesn't want a temporary ally but they require a rather permanent partner who will stick with them through thick and thin. He also stated that if America thinks that

its 'foreign policy will has only its' benefit in it then they will not be trusted by NATO status country. Americans must persuade the population to support the American ideas, nothing else is needed'. Frederick W. Kagan and Michael O'hanlon wrote in their joint article "The September 12 Paradigm: America, the World, and George W. Bush" (2008), that 'Pakistan's official leaders were in total disarray though oriented to win US support for their regime yet the nuclear nation was held in abyss. US found it difficult to stand by such a government steadfastly. The strategy required oval office to withdraw forces from stabilizing Iraq and coping the deteriorating situations in Af-Pak interests'. The cooperation and sincerity of General Musharraf regarding partnership in war on terror is appreciated by many .For example Bernard Gwertzman conducted Interview of Mr. Marvin G. Weinbaum, an analyst of Pakistan & Afghanistan and had been associated with State Department of USA from 1993 to 2003. As per this interview Mr. Marvin G. Weinbaum "Musharraf was himself sincere and willing to help Washington. He was straight forwardly pursuing Al-Qaeda on US terms but was doing less to curb Taliban factor strategically".

Pakistan had been upset on the breach of sovereignty of hers which sowed the seeds of mistrust which Greg Bruno, and Jayshree Bajoria discussed in their joint report "U.S-Pakistan Military Cooperation" (2008,) that 'first time in 50 years (prior to 2001) of arms purchases worth \$ 3.5 billion, Pakistan set a record in order to fight with Al Qaeda and Taliban in Pakistani tribal areas. But the most annoying thing for Pakistan was covert operations by CIA in Pakistani territory, as these covert actions by America increased political instability which ultimately became the reason to put an important military partnership into disarray'. The trust deficit is further explained by Mr. Zia Mian. He wrote in his article, "America's Pakistan Problem" (2008), 'United States should reconsider its course of action in the war on terror without resorting much

to counter Islamists. Presently, animosity is being developed in people of Pakistan toward Washington and Islamist's support is growing. Pakistan has to reconsider its future identity without men of guns and granites'. Kagan in his article "The September 12 Paradigm: America, the World, and George W. Bush" (2008), both the Bush administration and Democrats were on the same page while treating Pakistan as a subject of intricacy. Both were determined to make Pakistan fully yielded in curbing the Taliban factor and checking the resistance in Afghanistan'. Major Rizwan Akhtar, of the Pakistani Army in his article contributed to London Post in 2014, titled "US-Pakistan Trust Deficit and the War on Terror explained the need to cooperate the both countries for the sake of mutual interests despite trust deficit. According to him "With the implementation of the GWOT, Pakistan and USA have a common concern in evading an encounter with India; all along with provincial/local stability, and ending the increase of opium making and drug trafficking in Pakistan. They also share a common interest in making sure that their nuclear weapons are secure and constant prevention of the spread of nuclear power in countries. They can also team up to take advantage of the economic and strategic prospects in South Asia while making a new, stable democratic government in Pakistan in order to prevent the extreme Anti-Americanism. He continued to state in the report that if Pakistan and USA manage to realize of these possible benefits, they could both build a long-term partnership which will not falter under any pressure. Thus, they could cross a difficult path they have both been on for years'.

Differences in the relations of Pakistan and U.S. arose highly in 2008. In an article US Strategic Policy toward India and Pakistan in Post 9/11, written by Muhammad Munir and Muhammad Ahsan titled "US Strategic Policy toward India and Pakistan" (2008), in this article they discussed that 'Obama's debates during elections were difficult on Pakistan as he attacked the

way Pakistan was handling the war against terrorism. He stated that terrorists will have no trouble hitting the rural areas due to the misgivings of the Pakistani government. Obama disapproved of Pakistan using U.S. aid in training terrorists while asking about taking responsibility and explaining the uses of approximately \$12 billion U.S. aid sent to Pakistan in the previous 7 years'.

Muhammad Arshad Khan and Ayaz Ahmed wrote in their article "Foreign Aid—Blessing or Curse: Evidence from Pakistan" (2009), an atmosphere of the lack of trust that Washington pointed out off and on with a particular eye on ISI. Pakistan's prime spy masters were mostly taken as suspicious characters promoting the cause of Afghan Taliban or at least protecting them as strategically allied force against U.S. interests in Afghanistan. Such a feeling was expressed by visiting U.S. officials frequently'.

U.S. was unhappy over the failure to achieve its ultimate goal "uprooting Al-Qaeda" and mostly blamed Pakistan for not "doing more" This policy of "Do More Pakistan" further fueled the trust deficit. Mintz wrote in his book "Understanding foreign policy decision making"(2010), that 'Al-Qaeda should be uprooted and defeated promptly and absolutely with the objective to break its links with Afghanistan'.

Ex-Pakistani diplomat and Research Fellow and an Adjunct Professor at different universities of U.S. Mr. Touqir Hussain defines precisely in a policy brief "US-Pakistan Relations: What Trust Deficit?"(2010) that 'It was Pakistani elite which enjoyed the U.S. assistance in advancing U.S. national interests in the region but a common Pakistani citizen suffered. Due to bilateral relationship on a transactional basis both states had to pay heavy costs. As a matter of fact history of Pak-US relationship had not been more than a zero-sum. Whenever both countries had been close to each other for their own interests, on the one hand they had been allies of each

other but on the contrary antagonism reflected on one or other issue'. This antagonism is best explained by C. Christine Fair in his article "Mapping U.S.-Pakistan Relations: Past, Present, and Future" (2010), that "After a full decade of the global war on terror, the United States has finally concluded what the Pakistanis had long known: our interests and allies are incompatible".

Stephan Cohen highlights the importance of Pakistan in his book "The Future of Pakistan" (2011), that ' It's not possible to ignore Pakistan due to six reasons as the states located in Pakistan's proximity near or far will be affected if something worst happens in Pakistan. Firstly, Pakistan is not a responsible nuclear state in the light of its past record. Secondly Pakistan uses jihadists as state policy and never accepts its responsibility; even friendly country China is no exception from Pakistani jihadist activities. Thirdly identity based conflict with India is a conscious process and in coming next few years the conflict will turn into a crisis. Fourthly Pakistan's economy has aggravated due to heavy earthquake of 2005 and later heavy floods in 2010. Fifthly Pakistan is no more middle income state; instead demographic indicators have complicated and consequently worsened the economy of Pakistan. Lastly Pakistan can become a source of disruption in the whole region, starting from South Asia to South West and Central Asia which can devastate Indian economic rise and create destabilization in Central Asian states and Persian Gulf region'. The true picture of Pak-US relations may be captioned as Trust Deficit. Every effort to change the perception adds fuel to the fury. Bob Woodward explained in his book " Obama's wars" (2011), ' Powell termed Pakistan's support vital and to Push Pakistan to do more at every cost'.

Nancy Birdsall, Chair, Wren Elhai and Molly Kinder in their joint report "Beyond Bullets and Bombs Fixing the U.S. Approach to Development in Pakistan" (2011), explain the complex nature of bilateral relationship of both states 'The relationship of Pakistan and U.S. is

undoubtedly the most complicated relationship of the states in the world'... uneasy partnership, puzzle pieces of investment policies, and trade ,entangle of defense and diplomatic policies make it difficult to secure U.S. national interests in Pakistan'.

According to Shahzad Qazi in his article "US-Pakistan Relations: Common and Clashing Interests" (2012), 'In the relations of Pakistan U.S., American economic & military assistance has been a bone of contention. U.S. politicians and policy makers often accuse Pakistan that it is not trustworthy and fair in relationship. Despite receiving \$ 20 billion during war on terror, Pakistan plays double game and in more derogatory words U.S. is feeding and Pakistan is biting the hand which feeds it'.

Ex-Ambassador of Pakistan to U.S. described in his book "MAGNIFICENT DELUSIONS Pakistan, the United States, and an Epic History of Misunderstanding"(2013) that, 'United States external relations with Pakistan have seen two decades of extreme difficulty'.

Paul R. Portney wrote in his report "Benefit-Cost Analysis" (2014) that reads, 'That Pakistan's ISI plays double game and supported Taliban and al-Qaeda. Such a support should be dismantled'.

Economy has been an important reason for Pakistan to remain closer to U.S. Ties between the both states had been economic and security centric. Many Scholars has discussed it. For instance Chawla analyses the immediate economic impact of war on terror in the back drop of joining U.S. as partner in her article "Developments in Pakistan economy post September 11, 2001"(2002), According to her 'The economic condition of Pakistan has been deteriorating since quite a few years and natural and human crisis like floods, corruption and political and social upheaval have served to put nails in the coffin. The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States have had their good as well as bad consequences for Pakistan's Economy. One side

of the picture is that multinational companies and the international outfits with huge wealth and investments have restricted their operations suspicious of a war. Moreover Pakistan's already back breaking high Defense Budget is deemed to grow in such times. Looking at the other side of the picture we find that Pakistan has benefitted from the support of United States in against Afghanistan with a huge inflow of international aid by not only the U.S. but financial governing bodies like International Monetary fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). Furthermore, the U.S. sanctions have been lifted and numerous financial aid packages promise fresh loans, rescheduling of debt payments and more access to international markets but their true implementation and utility remains ambiguous. There remains the question if these presumably temporary measures will actually prove to bring about the revival of Pakistan's economy. Undoubtedly Pakistan has received enormous aid from U.S. but this aid was more related to military instead of economic. Therefore U.S. assistance could not affect the life of a common man'.

Cohen, Craig and Chollet, Derek in their article "When \$10 billion is not enough: Rethinking U.S. strategy toward Pakistan" (2007) wrote that, 'The United States has, over the past five years, delegated more than 10 billion dollars to Pakistan in the form of military, economic and developmental assistance making Pakistan one of the four countries, along with Israel, Egypt and Jordan, that receives a budget support from the United States (16% of the total U.S. foreign assistance). The officially proclaimed motive of a direct cash transfer is to comfort Pakistan's debt burden allowing it to spend more on the social sector. This approach has proved successful for Pakistan as after September 11 attacks its economy has witnessed five consecutive years exponential growth approximately touching 7% per annum. However, accountability on its spending of the foreign aid is lacking'.

Official document of Government of Pakistan 'Economic Survey Pakistan' (2011) highlights the consequences of war on terror from economic perspective and explains the continuous sufferings in terms of economy and security. A bulk share of national resources is churned out to fight against since the beginning of GWOT. The cost which Pakistan had to pay in terms of direct and indirect costs is still continued. It started to rise from \$ 2.669 billion in fiscal year 2001-02 to \$ 13.6 billion by 2009-10, and it is moving forward'.

Pakistan's partnership in GWOT indeed could not win the minds of U.S. administration and consequently brought a negative image of Pakistan in global media. National interest is a prime thing for any state. Due to economic and security concerns Pakistan had always looked for beneficial relationship like all states. Mr. Ahsan highlighted the feelings of U.S. in his working paper, "Putin's Russia: Relations with Pakistan" (2004), 'That Pakistan adopted a long and slow strategy to be a part of counter terror campaign. The result was a failure. The terrorism could not be eliminated'.

American Scholar Stephen Philip Cohen wrote in his article, "America and Pakistan: Is the Worst Case Avoidable" (2005), that 'Pakistan tried from the onset to minimize its part yet to maximize benefits in mutual relationship with USA. It was a relationship of minimal one side and substantial on the other, thus dysfunctional'.

Musharraf answering the blames of non-cooperation with U.S. in the GWOT wrote in his book, "In the line of fire: A memoir" (2006), 'Individuals who were declared terrorists by us and captured were 689 in total while 369 of them were handed over and transferred to U.S. authorities. That deal brought bounties in millions of dollars. CIA should be asked how much head money they have paid to Pakistan in return'.

SG Jones mentioned the reasons of Pakistan to join the GWOT in his article “Pakistan's dangerous game” (2007) ,that ‘Pakistan was paying the price of US war. The war was bringing bad name for Pakistan as the global media was branding her as the sponsor of regional terrorism, terming and linking her to the attack on the Indian Parliament and the Kashmir Assembly buildings subsequently. Despite being a contributing partner in the war on terror, Pakistan remained under suspicions regarding sincere cooperation in war on terror. Hammad Shams wrote in his thesis “Do They Really Hate Us? The Limits of US Public Diplomacy” (2007), that ‘even though Pakistan is constantly an ally in the war against terrorism, she is being condemned by the U.S. media and politicians. Pakistanis are not supportive of the terrorism situation; it is just that General Musharraf is simply incapable to challenge the terrorists in his focus. Furthermore, a judgment was made on Pakistan’s labors, on trying to take care of the entrance of terrorists from Afghanistan to Pakistan, that Pakistan should do more to fight against terrorism’. It became very difficult for general Pervez Musharraf to face political situation inside Pakistan as Syed Muhammad Ali Shah writes in his article “Pakistan and the War against Terrorism”(2007), that ‘domestically, policies of Musharraf regarding war on terror are being criticized highly. “Ask not what America can do for you; say what you can do for America”. Every day is increasing criticism against Musharraf for the coalition with U.S. and it is becoming very difficult for him to convince the public about the benefits of war against terror’ .A few wrote about the increasing cost of this war for Pakistan. For example members of Planning Commission of Pakistan Mr. Abdul Wahab Siddiqui wrote in his article “The real cost of Pakistan’s war on terror” (2010),that ‘Government expenditure has gone beyond limits as the costs of the war on terror are alarmingly high, thus biting the already deteriorated balance of payments drastically phenomenal. The war financing and destruction of infrastructure along with natural disasters like floods are posing

direct and live challenge to country's very existence' .In return of U.S. economic and military assistance to Pakistan, some scholars wrote about the return. Colin Cookman, Brian Katulis, Sarah Margon, and Caroline Wadhams wrote in a joint Report, "The Limits of U.S. Assistance to Pakistan"(2011), 'The need has now intensified to rationalize aid being provided to Pakistan on purely cost and benefit analysis basis to justify the taxpayer's dollars being invested correctly'.

Shahnaz Akhtar in her research paper " Dynamics of USA-Pakistan Relations in the Post 9/11 Period: Hurdles and Future Prospects" (2012), explains the relationship of Pak-US after 9/11 that "differences in relationships arose in 2011 due to killings of Pakistani civilians by U.S. CIA personnel Mr. Raymond Davis, killing of Osama Bin Laden in Abbottabad by U.S. marines, NATO's attack on Pak Army's Salala check post on Pak-Afghan border and resultantly evacuation of U.S. armed forces from Shamsi airbase of Pakistan'.

To choose coercive policy toward Pakistan, a Report of International Security Advisory Board (ISAB) written by William J.Perry under the title of "Report on Pakistan and U.S. Security Strategy" (2012), suggested that 'several hostile steps to destroy strategic assets of Pakistan. It was also suggested to derail Pakistan of her strategic depth highway. Nuclear arsenal and program would be attacked through Indian soil, finally disintegrating the country if needed'.

Ex-Foreign Secretary of Pakistan Riaz Mohammad Khan wrote in his book "Afghanistan and Pakistan: Conflict, extremism, and resistance to modernity" (2011), that 'Pakistan was badly affected by the rise of new phenomenon of war on terrorism. Both internal and external threats to its security and existence were taking their toll from the society and the state dangerously'.

An Indian Professor Chintamani Mahapatra from Jawaharlal Nehru University analyzes in his article, 'Pakistan has gained economic and diplomatic objectives at the cost losing influence in

Afghanistan. Pakistan has also lost the initiatives there as the U.S. dictates and Pakistan is duty bound to act' Group (2011).

Paul Rogers writes in his article A War Gone Badly Wrong – The War on Terror Ten Years On" (2011), "A brief war in Afghanistan is shortly to enter its second decade, seven years of war in Iraq have yet to bring a lasting peace, and Pakistan remains deeply unstable".

A Pakistani Columnist Dr. Farrukh Saleem wrote in his column, 'What U.S. Aid returned to Pakistan can be counted on fingers. It was much publicized FATA Livelihood Development Program that trained two dozen truck drivers to read road signs at the cost of \$150 million. The same amount was spent by the Agency to transport cattle from Central Punjab to improve breed in FATA. For yet another \$ 150 million, the Agency distributed 278 Ravi Piaggio motorcycles, 10 tractors, 12 thrashers, 9 reapers, 10 trolleys, 6 MB Ploughs, 6 cultivators, 210 spray pumps and 20 auto-sprays. So was the success story of the U.S. Aid through spending \$ 3.3 million on HIV Aids prevention and Care project. Some 78 HIV Positive individuals were treated and their 276 family members served' Saleem (2012).

Mr. Daniel Markey writes in his article "Pakistan's Insider Threat" (2014), 'Pakistan military bore the damage of both external and internal actors. Actors were both infiltrators as well as directly threatening the discipline and harmony. Such an incident was the strike at the Mehran Naval Base, killing thirteen personnel before killing by army commandos'.

Mr. S. Akbar Zaidi wrote in his book, "Who benefits from US aid to Pakistan?" (2011), the aid balance was heavily tilted toward military rather than economic assistance to Pakistan. The objective achieved obviously was to strengthen the military establishment while keeping the civilian one at a week end; United States spent same \$19 billion since 2001 to 2010 and yielded

little in return. It was mostly the cost of Pakistan's cooperation in the war. Better would have been the economic assistance to Pakistan and the return would also be better on the battle fronts'. 'The Aid relationship between the U.S. and Pakistan is gravely out of adjust. Vigorously weighted toward military aid over financial help, it has fortified the hand of Pakistan's intense security foundation to the detriment of the Civil Government. Both nations have motivation to be baffled that so much U.S. aid —almost \$19 billion since 2002—has accomplished close to nothing. Instead of keep on purchasing Pakistan's grudging collaboration on counterterrorism, Washington and Islamabad would both be ideally serviced by a reestablished accentuation on non military personnel and advancement help'.

Pakistan economically bore the brunt in the war on terror for last four years in Afghanistan. The war engulfed cities of Pakistan severely since 2006 to 2010. The cost was more than 35,000 citizen, 3,500 security personnel, heavily destroyed civil infrastructure, displacement of millions of people internally, stagnation of economic investment and curtailment of overall business activity. The devastation was catastrophic and the effect was a challenge to human imagination. Sovereignty has been an issue between the relations of both states. Violation of Pakistan's space, using drones, targeting terrorists and killing mostly innocents in Pakistani tribal areas has been discussed widely by many scholars. Baz Lecocq and Paul Schrijver explain in their joint article "The War on Terror in a Haze of Dust: Potholes and Pitfalls on the Saharan Front" (2007) the 'technology, such as drones, can be helpful, but it only generates raw data. The images taken from planes and information gathered by drones could easily have been faulty or misleading. In order to interpret data correctly intelligence and working forces need to have pre-existing knowledge and experience. Yet, the Americans, as well as their allies do not know the local situation or the terrain well enough to correctly read or understand the collected data. At the

same time, local partners and associates are selected on Western based criteria on ‘trustworthiness’ which are fixed and predetermined – these local partners are not selected in terms of their ‘native worth’.

There are few voices that draw attention on the core and central issue regarding U.S. led war on terror. One of them is Professor Marjorie Cohn from J.D., Santa Clara University School of Law, USA. She is author of several books on war on terrorism. She explains in her article “Why the Af/Pak War is Illegal” (2009), the drone attacks that ‘it not only violates the Geneva Conventions but UN Charter as well. Willful killings are prohibited in international law’.

Grace Wyler published interview of a U.S. Expert on Pakistan Mr. Daniel Markey for online News Room “Business Insider”. Under the title of FIVE QUESTIONS ON PAKISTAN: Can The US-Pakistan Relationship Be Salvaged?” (2011).According to Mr. Daniel Markey, ‘Raid against Osama Bin Laden is justified and crisis emerged in post Laden killing is not surprising. Killing of Laden is a message for those Pakistani institutions, militant groups and individuals, which are colliding with U.S. interests’.

Pakistan’s nuclear program had been a hot topic in world media and many scholars raised questions about the safety and security of Pakistan’s nuclear program as it was feared that nukes may be fallen into hands of extremists. For instance K. Alan Kronstadt wrote in a report “Pakistan-US Relations” (2009), prepared for member of U.S. Congress, ‘Pakistan’s nuclear security must be ensured as a U.S. objective. This has become vital as the Islamist threat is broadening in influence, character and exercise’.

There is number of literature available on the topic of war on terror in Pakistan mostly discussing the economic effects of war, drone attacks which are the main source of breaching sovereignty, nuclear issue and its dimensions regarding proliferation and safety but there is no compact

studies available which highlight the 4 main concerns which turned into objectives of joining GWOT by Pakistani President Musharraf. There is huge gap in available literature and studies by scholars. Therefore this study has filled the gap in a compact way to discuss the all four objectives of Musharraf to join the GWOT (Pakistan's critical concerns are its sovereignty, economy, strategic assets (nuclear missiles) and Kashmir cause).

## **1.2 Significance of Study**

After more than one decade of the "War on Terror" Pakistan has seen many ups and downs and could not win the minds and hearts of U.S. Administrations (Bush and Obama both) despite the war has spread like an infection into Tribal areas first, and later into rest of important cities of Pakistan, that has so far cost the country. 'Pakistan has paid heavily in the war on terror. At least 52,000 people, both civil and military, were killed since 2004 only. As many as 50,000 were badly injured, this toll does not include the killing of those declared insurgents as well as security forces. Pakistan has suffered a loss of more than \$102 billion in monetary terms' Costofwar.org (2014). From 2001 to Up till March2014 "the direct and indirect cost incurred by Pakistan due to incidents of terrorism amounted to US\$ 102.51 billion" Wasti (2014).

Terrorism caused the devastation of infrastructure, heavy decline in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), loss of production, and growing unemployment in Pakistan. If anybody visits U.S., can observe easily that there is no any kind of sign of devastation of infrastructure, heavy decline in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), loss of production, and growing unemployment, rather life goes on as usual without any scars of war, whereas in Pakistan less roads, offices, educational institutions, and streets are without barricades for security purposes. Life of common people in Pakistan is cripplingly disturbed due to consequences of 9/11 attacks in U.S. Pakistanis have

become victim of no fault of theirs. More Pakistanis have died than any other nations in this war on terror as a result of drone attacks by the U.S. and suicide bombings, by product of drone attacks. In nutshell Pakistan paid heavy cost (in terms of Human and Economic Losses) whereas received extremely low benefits.

Due to popular American narrative of 9/11 incident and aftermath most of the studies conducted on the war on terror are prone to U.S. and its Western allies, while Pakistan is still deemed a state which is responsible for terrorism in the eyes of general public in the world. This study has been analyzed through prism of Pakistan by using neorealism paradigm.

This study is different than others on the grounds that

1. What did Pakistan gain (Benefit) and loose (Cost) in this more than decade long war, which is not only the longest war in U.S. history but in Pakistan's history as well? Pakistan had only experience of brief wars against India in 1948, 1965, and in 1971 which had been maximum weeks long whereas tenure of the war on terror and its impact on Pakistan is more than a decade long.
2. Other studies cover generally economic perspective and lack in Political perspective. The decision by Pakistan's then ruler General Pervez Musharraf to join the War on Terror was a political decision therefore many political aspects have been neglected in other studies. Therefore this study covers the Political dimensions too, for instance:
  - I. Pakistan's sovereignty,
  - II. Pakistan's strategic assets (Nuclear bomb and missiles),

- III. Pakistan's Kashmir Cause (Support of the Kashmiris for their liberation from India)
- IV. Economic aspect is also a dimension of this study.
- V. Finally this study is contrary to the prevailing narrative of war on terror in the world.

Mentioned above discussion make the topic significant to conduct the study of a decade from Pakistani perspective and analyze the cost and benefits of the war due to political decision taken by Musharraf regimen in September 2001.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

Pakistan has been engaged in the War on Terror and was declared as Major Non-NATO ally. Pakistan played a role of the “Front Line State” to curb the menace of terrorism.<sup>1</sup>

A decade long campaign has brought many positive and mostly negative consequences to Pakistan. The similarity and dissimilarity of Pakistan's interests with other powers has raised its position as well as changed its status.

The question arises that how similarity of interests is beneficial and dissimilarity of interests are disadvantageous.

### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

The study was meant to:

1. To examine the history of Pak - US relations and its alliance with U.S. in the War on Terror and U.S. interests in Pakistan

2. To identify the costs and benefits which Pakistan bore in military, political and economic fields in the war on terror
3. To Analyze the impacts of war on terror on Pakistan's sovereignty, nuclear assets, and Kashmir Issues

### **1.5 Limitations of Study**

This study has following limits

1. Tangible costs and benefits (Economic and Military, costs and benefits) have been studied, which include Pakistan's economy and strategic assets, like nuclear and missile assets.
2. Sovereignty and Kashmir cause are political issues therefore impact on sovereignty and Kashmir cause has been discussed which is intangible.
3. Social and psychological impact of war on terror has not been discussed.
4. Data of human losses due to criminal activities in Karachi by politically affiliated criminals and Baloch insurgency has not been included
5. The period of study is decade long (2001 to 2011), as U.S. has achieved its goal to kill the most wanted Osama Bin Laden on May 2, 2011 in Abbottabad, Pakistan. The killing of Osama makes the year significant in terms achievement of most important objectives of U.S.

## **2 Research Questions**

1. Why Pakistan joined War on Terror (WOT)?
2. How Pakistan was affected in the WOT and what remedies are there to overcome?
3. How the U.S. regime is influencing Pakistan to pursue its own interest?

4. What Pakistan gained politically in terms of cost and benefit?
5. How the four objectives of Pakistan; economy, sovereignty, Kashmir issue and Nuclear assets have affected in relationship with U.S. under the War on Terror?
6. Is it necessary and/or how can a Pakistani narrative or perspective make a balanced image of US-Pakistan relationship under the War on Terror?

### **3      Methodology of Research**

The study includes both primary and secondary source materials; and has descriptive – analytical format.

The primary sources which has been widely used in this study, include Public polls, Surveys, Memoirs, Policy proclamations, Statements, Speeches, Autobiographies, Interviews of Pakistani Politicians, Academicians, Economists, Political Scientists, Military officers ( retired and serving), Media persons , and Questionnaires to collect the first hand information regarding Political Cost- Benefit analysis of “War on Terror.

The secondary sources comprise of books, articles and materials relevant to the topic written by scholars at home and abroad. It also includes English and Urdu newspapers from Pakistan and abroad, for instance, Dawn, The News, The Express Tribune, The Daily Times, Washington Post, Telegraph, Christian Science Monitor, The Guardian, Financial Times, The New York Times, The USA Today. The India Times, and Urdu Newspapers like, Nawa-e-Waqt, Jang, Express, Dunya. News websites like BBC, CNN, FOX, and Aljazeera. Journals like Foreign Policy, Foreign Affairs, International Security, The Washington Quarterly, Journals by Pakistani Institutes like, Pak Institute for Peace Studies, Islamabad Research Institute. Institute of Public Policy Lahore, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies New Delhi, India, RAND Corporation

USA. The electronic media, periodicals and other relevant publications.

Both the primary and secondary sources are helpful to understand the whole scope of the topic.

Qualitative Analysis method has been used widely in thesis whereas quantitative method in terms of statistics, data, tables, and graph has also been used wherever it was required.

Interviews of Media Persons who are associated with the beat of “War on Terror”, Academicians, Ex-Chief of ISI, Civil Society were conducted.

#### **4. Chapters of the Research**

**Chapter 1: Introduction:** Introduces and unfolds the research topic by explaining rationale for conducting the research along with the objectives and hypothesis of the study.

This chapter briefly discusses the methodology to provide an understanding about the field execution plan for conducting research by focusing on data collection plan, tabulation and data analysis. This chapter explains the limitations of study as well.

**Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework:** Describes the rationale of usage of Neo-realism as a theory of International Relations, and its application for the current study. This chapter deals with the definition of Cost-Benefit-Analysis (CBA), its operational definition and 4 objectives of General Musharraf who has announced to join the war on terror in September 2001.

**Chapter 3: Pakistan-United States Relations: Political Cost & Benefit:** Explains the background of relations of both countries and ups and downs in different phases. Generally Pakistan and U.S had strategic based relationship therefore military aid was the main objective of Pakistan due to perceived threat from India. Conflicting interests and their outcome has been

discussed. A political cost benefit of relations between U.S. and Pakistan has been focused in this chapter.

**Chapter 4:** Sovereignty of Pakistan was an important feature of the objectives of Musharraf to protect which is widely violated by U.S. through drone attacks, Raymond Davis case, attack on Abbottabad and *Salalah* check post. All relevant issues related to sovereignty during the study period (2001-2011) has been analyzed

**Chapter 5: Economy:** In this chapter Pakistani deteriorating economic situation has been explained that how , due to war Pakistan's economy ruined, level of declining FDI, exports, and rising inflation and unemployment has been discussed. How much economic aid by U.S. was effective and what was real economic condition of Pakistan during 2001 to 2011. Musharraf's objective to improve economic conditions of Pakistan initially achieved to some extent but later a devastating phase started and economy reached to the worst level

**Chapter 6: Nuclear and Missile Assets:** Nuclear program had been a source of balance of power in the region. Pakistan despite all external pressures and sanctions continuously improved the program. This objective of Musharraf was achieved in the war on terror.

**Chapter 07: Kashmir Cause:** From historic background to current times (till 2011) all phases of Kashmir conflict and wars between India and Pakistan has been discussed. Kashmir was reason to join SEATO & CENTO. Impact of 9/11 on Kashmir issue has been explained that how Kashmir policy of Pakistan was reversed and an irreparable loss Kashmir cause has to face due to flawed policies of Musharraf. How the Kashmir cause was almost destroyed by "out of box" policies of Musharraf.

**Conclusion:** Encompasses findings, recommendations and researcher's remarks based on the results.

# Chapter 2

## Theoretical Framework

Political Cost-Benefit Analysis (CBA) of War on Terror in Pakistan in the light of Neorealism paradigm requires the theory discussion and then CBA. According to Neorealism, states have primary objective to survive in the anarchic system “to achieve their objectives and maintain their security, units in a condition of anarchy-be they people, corporations, states, or whatever-must rely on the means they can generate and the arrangements they can make for themselves. Self-help is necessarily the principle of action in an anarchic order” Kenneth N Waltz (2010).

For the sake of survival Pakistan cooperated with U.S. in the wake of 9/11 but despite all huge losses, for instance, total causalities of Pakistani civilians & security personnel are 43,406<sup>2</sup> and economic losses of \$ 85.85 billion<sup>3</sup> bore by Pakistan, there had been trust deficit most of the time during “War on Terror” between Pakistan and America. There are a number of important theories in international relations, each contributing assumptions and propositions about how the international system works. But while each of the broad theoretical schools — classical realism, liberal internationalism, constructivism and Neo-realism— has something distinctive to say about trust in international politics, the later one approach provides perhaps the most salient insights in the context of the Pakistan-US relationship.

In the present research, only Neo-realist paradigm has been used. Famous Neo-realists Kenneth N. Waltz and others has been quoted wherever were necessary. The current study can be best analyzed and explained by Neo-realism.

As far as Neorealism as a theory of International Relations is concerned, it has following key features.

(1) States are the chief actors. (2) States chase powers that are considered as national interest. (3) States behave being unitary and rational actor in conduct.

As per Waltz, 'structure of global system shapes all foreign policy decisions. Structure is characterized by requesting rule of global framework, which is insurgency and the dissemination of abilities crosswise over units which are states. The second contrast is found in their perspective of force. To realists it is an end in itself and they consider military power, financial assets and innovation as most evident components of a state's energy. For Neo-realists, power is more than aggregation of military assets. They consider energy to be consolidated capacities of a state. Control gives an express a place or position in universal framework that shapes its conduct.

The distinction is every one's view on how States respond to the state of insurgency. To Realists, rebellion is a condition or framework and States respond to it as indicated by size, area, household legislative issues and authority. Neo-realists recommend that turmoil characterizes the framework. All States are practically comparable units implying that they all experience same imperatives introduced by disorder. They clarify contrasts in approach by contrasts in power' Forum (2007).

Neorealism talks about International system. It can be said that in the wake of 9/11 incident, Balance of Power and Balance of Threat both were maintained internationally. When U.S. threatened Pakistan by saying that "*either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists*" following the threat, Pakistan was forced to join the U.S. alliance against Al-Qaida and Taliban Regime of Afghanistan, therefore from Pakistan's official perspective joining the U.S led

alliance was Balance of Power. From U.S. official perspective since Al-Qaida had attacked 'Twin Towers' therefore international structure became more anarchic. Following the collapse of USSR, as the world was transformed from Bi-polar to Uni-polar, and Al-Qaida considered that U.S. had become a dominating power, subjugating the Muslim World, exploiting the Muslims, and controlling most of the Muslim countries. If one agrees that Al-Qaida was responsible for this attack then from power perspective, Al-Qaida tried to create the balance of power through this attack on Twin Towers in the U.S. This act was not only Balance of Power (which is actually balance of threat) but also balancing as well, because Al-Qaida as non-state actor attacked against a powerful state.

Since the inception of Pakistan, India had always been a threat to national and territorial integrity of Pakistan and even it got separated Pakistan's eastern wing which became an independent state as Bangladesh. India is not a perceived threat for Pakistan but a real one peril. Since "Sovereignty is defended by the use of security resources – military might and political power" (Bislev, 2004), therefore Pakistan always looked for an alliance to protect herself from powerful neighboring India in South Asia .The history of three wars in 1948, 1965 and 1971 are clear examples. Pakistan was in a very precarious situation in 2001 when 9/11 incident took place. Since international system became more anarchic due to 9/11 incident and Pakistan being the neighbor of Afghanistan and as a weak state came under blunt threats of U.S. (*Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists*).

United States had threatened; it's going to be important for nations to know they will be held accountable for inactivity.....You're either with us or against us in the fight against terror" CNN (2001). As far as situation of Pakistan was concerned, this statement of U.S. became

direct threat to Pakistan. According to Neorealist “Bandwagoning is sensible behavior where gains are possible even for the losers and where losing does not place their security in jeopardy” Kenneth N Waltz (2010).

Therefore Pakistan had to opt the policy of Bandwagoning with U.S. in order to preserve the national security and avoid direct confrontation or war with a super power in the unipolar world and add to the anarchic international system. Duncan McLeod quotes Waltz in his book “India and Pakistan: Friends, Rivals Or Enemies?” that “according to the third image, ‘there is a constant possibility of war in a world in which there are two or more States each seeking to promote a set of interests and having no agency above them upon which they can rely for protection” McLeod (2008).

According to Farid Zakriya (1992) ‘The worldwide system is anarchic, with no larger power giving security and request. In such a "self-help" system every state must depend all alone assets to survive and prosper, and in this questionable atmosphere rivalry and irreconcilable circumstances proliferate. Since there is no definitive, unbiased strategy for settling these questions i.e. no world government-States are their own judges, juries, and executioners, and frequently turn to drive to accomplish their security advantages’.

How U.S. behaved in the post-cold war era and in the wake of 9/11, which clearly show anarchic system of the world. For instance, U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage threatened to Pakistan in the following words “We had to decide whether we were with America or with the terrorists, but that if we chose the terrorists, then we should be prepared to be bombed back to the Stone Age” Pervez Musharraf (2006) .

In the wake of 9/11 incident in an anarchical international structure due to open and threatening statements by Bush and his administration, Pakistan was under compulsion with no choices. Therefore an urgent decision was required to adjust in the changing international structure. In response to the political threats from U.S, a political decision related to foreign policy was compulsory from Pakistan. Consequently Pakistan's leadership, (General Musharraf) decided to join the U.S led international coalition of global war on terror. On September 19, 2001 he delivered his speech on state run television PTV. He said 'We in Pakistan are confronting an extremely critical circumstance. Maybe as basic as the occasions in 1971. In the event that we settle on the wrong choices our indispensable advantages will be hurt, our basic concerns are our sovereignty, second our economy, third our key resources, (atomic, missiles) and fourth our Kashmir cause. Each of the four will be hurt. On the off chance that we settle on these choices they should accord to Islam. It is not the topic of grit or weakness. Yet, boldness without deduction is ineptitude. We need to spare our interests. Pakistan starts things out everything else is auxiliary' Pervaiz Musharraf (2002).

According to the Neo-realists "supreme goal of states in this environment of international anarchy is to survive. This is their overriding interest. And the only way that states can reasonably ensure their survival is to increase their power. Power protects states because states with less power might fear those with more power and therefore be less likely to attack them" Weber (2010).

In the backdrop of 9/11 incident Pakistan had two pronged dangers. One from archrival India and the other by supreme power U.S. In order to achieve the supreme goal of survival and protection of its power (Nuclear bombs & missile), Pakistan had to join the alliance.

According to Kenneth N Waltz (1988) “a country acts according to its national interest means that, having examined its security requirements, it tries to meet them. That is simple; it is also important. Entailed in the concept of national interest is the notion that diplomatic and military moves must at times be carefully planned lest the survival of the state be in jeopardy”. Therefore (there was no way) it was necessary for Pakistan to safeguard its national interest by joining the U.S led international coalition against terrorism. Now overnight “Pakistan became key to U.S. foreign and security policy, and a regime such as the Taliban in Afghanistan became the enemy” Mintz and DeRouen Jr (2010).

Decision to join alliance has some strings attached with it, in terms of cost and benefits or gains or losses. According to Neorealist or structuralism states generally are anxious regarding gains while joining such alliances in anarchic international system. “relative gain is more important than absolute gain” Kenneth Neal Waltz (1959). Pakistan was also concerned in terms of gains or benefits.

Wars always bring costs. Kenneth Waltz mentions in his book “Theory of International Politics” regarding motives of imperial powers and war costs .According to him “Though imperialism promotes employment through the export of surplus capital and labor, losses suffered by an imperialist nation far exceed gains. Gains are insignificant partly because most of them go to businessmen and investors, a tiny minority of the nation. They reap the profits of imperialism; the nation as a whole bears its considerable expense” Kenneth N Waltz (2010). If this argument is true then U.S., herself has paid a heavy price. Military-Industrial complex of U.S. gained more profits and U.S. public paid the costs and a country like Pakistan which had joined the alliance has also paid the cost.

Prof. Linda Bilmes (Harvard University) and Joseph E. Stiglitz (Uris Hall, Columbia University) had conducted a study pertaining to “Economic Cost of Iraq War” and according to them “ As of December 30, 2005, total spending for combat and support operations in Iraq is \$251bn, and the CBO's estimates put the projected total direct costs at around \$500bn. These figures, however, greatly underestimate the War's true costs. We estimate a range of present and future costs, by including expenditures not in the \$500bn CBO projection, such as lifetime healthcare and disability payments to returning veterans, replenishment of military hardware, and increased recruitment costs. We then make adjustments to reflect the social costs of the resources deployed, (e.g. reserve pay is less than the opportunity wage and disability pay is less than forgone earnings). Finally, we estimate the effects of the war on the overall performance of the economy. Even taking a conservative approach and assuming all U.S. troops return by 2010, we believe the true costs exceed a trillion dollars. Using the CBO's projection of maintaining troops in Iraq through 2015, the true costs may exceed \$2 trillion. In either case, the cost is much larger than the administration's original estimate of \$50-\$60bn. The costs estimated do not include those borne by other countries, either directly (military expenditures) or indirectly (the increased price of oil). Most importantly, we have not included the costs to Iraq, either in terms of destruction of infrastructure or the loss of lives. These would all clearly raise the costs significantly” Bilmes and Stiglitz (2006).

This war later proved catastrophic not only for the U.S but for Pakistan as well. Though actual war theater was Afghanistan but Pakistan suffered a lot during more than a decade long war .A war which is unprecedented in the history of not only U.S but Pakistan as well. Neither U.S fought such a long war in its own neither history nor Pakistan. Under the present study the cost and benefit of this war on terror which was started due to political objectives of U.S., and

Pakistan had also its own political objectives to join forcibly otherwise U.S was ready to send Pakistan into Stone Age, has been analyzed.

United States behaved like an imperialist country after 9/11 and the actions of U.S. created costly wars and subsequently industrial complex of U.S. benefited from war on terror, therefore Pakistan as an ally of United States consequently inflicted heavily. Kenneth Waltz (2010) quotes in his book "In the words Hobson borrowed from James Mill, imperialism is "a vast system of outdoor relief for the upper classes." Redistribution of income would put factors of production to more profitable use. If imperialist activity, moreover, causes all wars and not just the directly imperialist ones, then the costs of the entire "war system," the costs of preparing for wars as well as of fighting them, must be charged to the imperialist enterprise. By such reasoning, costs must vastly exceed gains".

Pakistan was under immense pressure regarding the security of the state following the threat of Armitage. A security dilemma started. Waltz says that 'John Herz instituted the expression "security dilemma" to depict the condition in which states, uncertain of one another's' aims, furnished for security and in doing as such get an endless loop under way. Having equipped for security, States feel less secure and purchase more arms in light of the fact that the way to anybody's security is a danger to another person who thus reacts by outfitting' Kenneth N Waltz (2010).

In the case of Pakistan threat was direct .Refusal to cooperation with U.S had only single meaning "Total destruction". Musharraf regime was without choice. But the irony is that cooperation didn't bring safety instead a total chaos in the country.

Pakistan is yet paying the cost of the political decision made by General Musharraf. The current study sought the cost and benefit of this political decision. First of all the definition of cost benefit analysis has been discussed and later its importance has been highlighted.

## **2.0: Balance of Threat (BOT) Against Afghan Taliban Regime and Al-Qaida**

From U.S. perspective Al-Qaeda has attacked America; therefore it was necessary to stop such attacks and threats in future. It was a unique incident; in terms of any foreign attack through terrorism Balance-of-threat theory presented by Stephen M. Walt argues that a threat to security of a state forces the states to find Balance of Power .U.S. had found herself in greatest threat, Therefore she formed a coalition against attackers and their host in Afghanistan. According to Walt “states generally act to *balance* the greatest threats to their security. The degree to which a state threatens others is a function of four factors: its aggregate power, geographic proximity, offensive capabilities, and offensive intentions” Interview (2010).

When cold war was over and USSR collapsed, incident of 9/11 forced U.S. to create BoT once again. By creating a Balance of Threat (BOT) against Taliban regime of Afghanistan and Al-Qaeda in the wake of 9/11 incident by U.S. along with its allies including Pakistan, U.S achieved the following goals 1) removed the Taliban regime and 2) killed Osama Bin Laden the Al-Qaeda chief. Following table explains the BOT against Taliban regime of Afghanistan and Al-Qaeda.

**Table: 2.0 Balance of Threat (BOT) against Taliban Regime of Afghanistan & Al-Qaeda and Role of Pakistan**

Balance of Threat against Taliban regime and allies By U.S. led NATO/ISAF/Afghan National Army and Pakistan's assistance	U.S. led NATO/ISAF/Afghan National Army 180000 +352000=532000  <b>VS.</b> Taliban/ Haqqani Network/Al-Qaida etc. 60000+4000+3000= 67000
Who created BOT	U.S. , 50 countries along with NATO and Pakistan
Role of Pakistan	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Provided intelligence sharing to U.S.</li> <li>2. Provided airbases to U.S.</li> <li>3. Provide logistic facilities</li> <li>4. Provided land routes</li> <li>5. Deployed 70000 troops at Pak Afghan border</li> <li>6. To stop infiltration of fleeing Taliban's and Al-Qaida members and arrest and finally hand over more than 650 important members of Al-Qaida</li> </ol>
Why BOT was created	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To topple the Taliban Regime of Afghanistan</li> <li>2. Destruction of Al Qaida</li> <li>3. Arrest/killing of Osama Bin Laden</li> </ol>
When was created	After 9/11 incident in 2001
Where it was used	Afghanistan
Analysis	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Occupied an independent country Afghanistan</li> <li>2. Toppled the Taliban regime</li> <li>3. Camps of Al-Qaida destroyed</li> <li>4. New civilian regime installed in Afghanistan</li> <li>5. Afghan Taliban started fight against foreign and Afghan forces</li> <li>6. After a decade, Osama Bin Laden's killing was announced on May 2, 2011</li> </ol>

## 2.1: What is Cost-Benefit Analysis (CBA)?

According to an online Business Dictionary, 'Procedure of measuring expenses and advantages of a choice, program, or venture (over a specific period), and those of its options (inside a similar

period), keeping in mind the end goal to have a solitary size of examination for unprejudiced assessment. ... Though utilized fundamentally in budgetary examination, a CBA is not constrained to money related thought as it were. It regularly incorporates those ecological and social cost and advantages that can be sensibly measured' Businessdictionary.com (2014) . Australian Department of Finance and Administration's hand book pertaining to Cost-Benefit Analysis (CBA) which defines CBA as Cost-benefit analysis is a technique for arranging data to help choices about the distribution of assets. Its influence as a diagnostic instrument rests in two principle highlights: 'Costs and Benefit are communicated beyond what many would consider possible in cash terms and thus are straightforwardly practically identical with each other; and Costs and Benefit are esteemed as far as the cases they make on and the increases they give to the group in general, so the viewpoint is a "worldwide" one as opposed to that of a specific individual or interest group' Administration (2006).

Paul R. Portney elaborates CBA as BCA, (benefit-cost analysis) that 'At whatever point individuals choose whether the upsides of a specific activity are probably going to exceed its downsides, they participate in a type of Benefit-Cost Analysis (BCA). In the general population field, formal BCA is now and again questionable procedure for completely and reliably assessing the upsides and downsides connected with forthcoming strategy changes. In particular, it is an endeavor to recognize and express in dollar terms the majority of the impacts of proposed government arrangements or ventures. While not proposed to be the main reason for basic leadership, BCA can be an important guide to strategy producers' Portney (2014).

There is a general practice in United States by government agencies to use CBA unusually and frequently. "This was not always the case. Before the 1980s, agencies did not systematically rely on CBA when evaluating regulations and other projects. But executive orders issued by the

Reagan and Clinton administrations have since made the use of CBA by agencies common. Congress has enacted numerous statutes requiring agencies to perform cost-benefit analyses" Adler and Posner (1999).

In literature of Political science and Policy Analysis, numerous studies have worked on the topic of CBA, for instance James T. Campen. Who had written an article "Benefit, cost, and beyond: the political economy of benefit-cost analysis" in 1986. Steven Kelman, wrote "Cost-Benefit Analysis: An Ethical Critique" in 1981. In 2007 Hahn, R. W. and P. M. Dudley "How Well Does the U.S. Government Do Benefit-Cost Analysis?"

Another study was conducted in United States by Charles L. Hooper a prominent visiting fellow associated with the Hoover Institution. He contends while analyzing the cost benefit of American National Security Agency's (NSA) spying program 'Why does the National Security Agency (NSA) keep an eye on Americans? To put it plainly, it is endeavoring to decrease considerably promote the little likelihood of fear based oppressor assaults on Americans. That lessening in likelihood, times the estimation of the harms deflected, is the normal advantage of spying. Notwithstanding, spying is exorbitant in various ways. A numerate investigation demonstrates that the cost of NSA spying is generously higher than the normal advantages. NSA keeping an eye on Americans ought to be finished' Hooper (2014).

Many U.S. academicians used CBA to find out the real cost and benefit of the U.S. Global war on Terror (GWOT) in Iraq and Afghanistan. Among them are Linda Bilmes & Joseph Stiglitz under the title of "The economic costs of the Iraq War: an appraisal three years after the beginning of the conflict".

A study group belonging to Eisenhower Research Project had compiled a report in which the group contends "Nearly every government that goes to war underestimates its duration, neglects

to tally all the costs, and overestimates the political objectives that can be accomplished by the use of brute force" Group (2011) .

The importance of CBA is evident as generally before going to the war states usually analyses the qualitative reasoning but some States either don't conduct it properly or hide it from the public in order to avoid the public criticism in case of unfavorable results in the battlefields. Same is the case of longest war of modern time, the war on terror. Some American scholars raised the question that" what if we apply rational cost-benefit analysis to the War on Terrorism?" Marat (2010).

An official memo written by American Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld to his team (Chairman, General Pete Pace, Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, and Under Secretary Doglus Feith) on October 16, 2003 regarding Global war on Terrorism was leaked and published in U.S media in which Rumsfeld posed the questions to his combatant commanders that "Are we winning or losing the Global War on Terror? Is DoD changing fast enough to deal with the new 21st century security environment? Can a big institution change fast enough? Is the USG changing fast enough?" Today (2003).

This memo was criticized heavily again in the mainstream media of U.S. Following the heavy criticism in U.S Finally a bill was passed after several years on May 17, 2013 by U.S. House of Representatives , " the bill's requirements offer a "common sense" approach that forces government officials to assess the costs and consequences of its actions the same way families struggling to make ends meet tackle "kitchen-table economics." Mont (2013).

This study has discussed the cost which Pakistan paid in terms of human lives, human injuries, destruction of infrastructure (Schools, hospitals, worship places, like Mosques churches, and shrines), suicide attacks, bombing, rocket fires by terrorists .From Economic perspective

unemployment, low FDI, increasing inflation in terms of cost has been discussed whereas economic and military assistance which Pakistan received from U.S. and its allies also discussed in terms of benefit. And an analysis has been discussed that whether this military and economic assistance to Pakistan was high in value or losses which Pakistan bore were high?

### **2.2.2 What is Political Cost-Benefit Analysis?**

Basically Cost-Benefit Analysis (CBA) was introduced by Accountancy field but later on, it was used heavily in the field of Economics and later on it became common to use and apply the term for various fields like Sociology. A doctoral level study under the title of "Social cost benefit analysis and energy policy" <sup>4</sup> was conducted in one of universities in Berlin, Germany in 2012 by Michiel de Nooij.

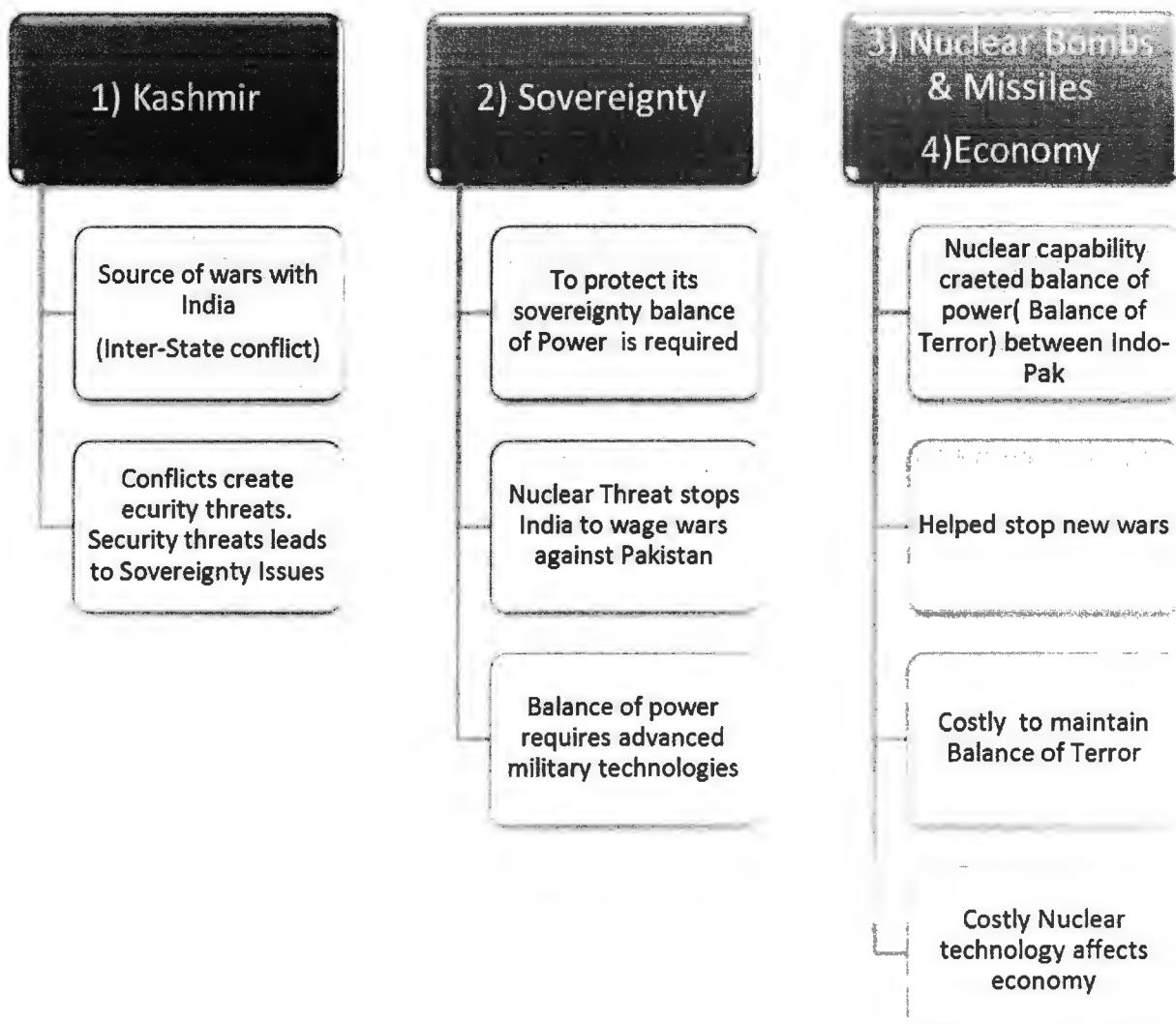
Since it is not the issue of macro or micro economics that is why title for this study has been set as "Political Cost-Benefit Analysis: 2001-2011", which clearly alienates the title from the discipline of pure Economics to the field of Politics and International Relations. Whereas joining the global war on terror was a political decision taken by the General Musharraf, the then ruler which ruled over Pakistan till 2008 and later the newly elected government of Pakistan People's Party (Prime Minister Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani) continued the same policy by claiming that this is "Our war" Independent (2009). Therefore the political policy regarding war on terror remained the same in the whole decade from 2001 to 2011 during the time period of this study. Policies of both governments (Musharraf and Gilani regimes) has been studied and analyzed.

Study determined that, political decision of General Musharraf the then Chief Executive and later on president of Pakistan, to join the global war on terror brought the costs and benefits to Pakistan in a decade (from 2001 to 2011) in the light of following four objectives (critical concerns) mentioned by General Musharraf in his speech on September 19, 2001.

1. Pakistan's sovereignty
2. Pakistan's economy
3. Pakistan's strategic assets, (nuclear, missiles)
4. Pakistan's Kashmir cause

The above mentioned four core critical concerns of Musharraf or core objectives of the current study with regard to Neo-realism has been exhibited in figure 2.0 Pakistan's Four Objectives and Neorealist Approach on next page, whereas the detailed explanation is available on pages 46 up till 55.

**Figure 2.0 Pakistan's Four Objectives and Neorealist Approach**



### **2.3: Sovereignty and Neo-realism**

The concept of sovereignty remained problematic. Numerous challenges with various conceptual thoughts regarding the concept of sovereignty, realists and neorealist “during the cold war continued to accord state sovereignty a ‘no-contest accepted feature’ Mishra (2008). The concept of sovereignty changed following the demise of USSR. According to Teschke, “Historically speaking, sovereignty has a birth..., a life (the past three or four centuries), and arguably just like any other basic political arrangement it will – sooner or later – undergo a transformation that will be so fundamental and consequential as to spell its death for all intent and purposes. Some scholars think that transformation is underway’ Teschke (2003).

Waheed (2014) quotes Ferfuson & Mansbach that “rigid interpretation of sovereignty ‘perpetuated by the continuing domination of the discipline by realism and neo-realism had kept sovereignty confined within a ‘westphalian straitjacket’.

U.S. drone attacks, activities of CIA operatives and raid on Osama’s compound at Abbottabad are examples of breach of sovereignty of Pakistan. Neo-realism doesn’t elaborate much about sovereignty. Waltz discussed sovereignty in his book “Theory of International Politics), Waltz (1979:95–96) underlined anarchy but talked sovereignty in chapter 5, in a sub heading named “character of the units.” Neorealist follows the classical concept of sovereignty. In the above mentioned book Waltz has used the word Sovereignty 5 times. “if the main focus for states is survival, they will not risk their sovereignty for anything” Westh, Juel Giorgio, Wiegersma, and Madsen (2011). Therefore Sovereignty has link with security and security is the main characteristic of Neorealist theory. Pakistan’s sovereignty has 2 way dimensions. 1) Threats from

India (Kashmir an East Pakistan, which became Bangladesh in 1971) and later from U.S. As U.S intervened in Pakistan by sending CIA operatives without permission of Pakistan, Attacking through drones in Pakistan's tribal area, which ultimately caused heavy civilian causalities and finally sent troops to kill Osama in Pakistani territory without permission of Pakistan. How through Neo-realist prism this kind of security issues which comes under the domain of Sovereignty are viewed, has been discussed. Likewise a cost-benefit analysis has been made in the chapter 4 regarding sovereignty.

### **2.3.1: Kashmir and Neorealism**

How and why Pakistan joined SEATO and CENTO pacts back in 1950s. This was mainly because of India over the issue of Kashmir, as this issue had been the major irritant between the both countries from the inception of freedom of both countries in 1947. Pakistan had to join western block due to Kashmir conflict. Pakistan left the SEATO pact in November 1972 as Pakistan could not succeed to save its sovereignty and lost the countries almost half part (East Pakistan, now Bangladesh), which got separated due to Indian invasion with Soviet backing and west's inaction and apathy toward Pakistan. U.S. sought Pakistan's help against Soviet Union in early 80s but soon after Geneva accord in April 1988 was signed, U.S. showed its disinterest in the region and Pakistan was left alone to face the aftermath of Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan (civil war in Afghanistan, Drugs flow toward Pakistan, more than 2 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan, inflow of guns in Pakistani society as a by-product of war in Afghanistan). Earlier in August 1985 Pressler amendment was passed by U.S. congress and Pakistan came under economic and military sanctions in coming years. Pakistan had to face severe security threats from archrival India. In the backdrop of no help from America and growing Indian

security threats coupled with, end of Afghan war, Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, American objective was achieved in the region, therefore international structure changed. A major change occurred in international structure when in the end of 1991 USSR disintegrated, consequently world turned to Uni-polarity, from Bi-Polarity.

In Afghanistan a U.S. supported war was being fought by Afghan Mujahedeen against Soviet Union, an armed struggle against Indian forces had started in Indian held Kashmir too. This armed struggle in Kashmir enjoyed the diplomatic and political support of Pakistan. India had taken the Kashmir issue to the UN in 1948 and Pakistan's stance was very firm regarding Kashmir. But now after 1991, game was changed as Pakistan had lost U.S. interest in the region which caused the setback for Pakistan's Kashmir cause. During the decade of 90s Pakistan was sidelined by U.S. and Pakistan had no role in Global U.S. policy.

Kashmir issue has been a territorial issue which is linked with sovereignty and hence its security issue for Pakistan. Inter-state issues are claimed to be explained by Neo-realism, therefore it is important to analyze the Kashmir issue in the light of Neorealist theory.

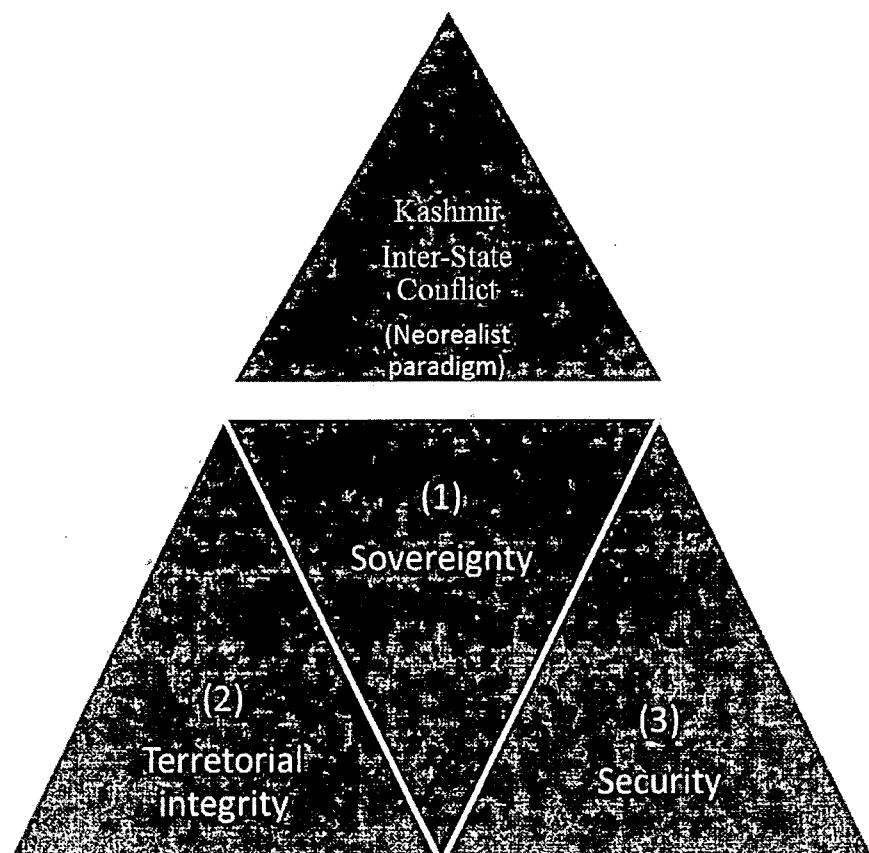
Following the 9/11 incident world changed in terms of international structure. First time in the world history the non-state actors (Al-Qaeda) became the reason of abrupt change in international structure. Pakistan left with no choices but to bandwagon with U.S. to protect its national interests including Kashmir cause. But sooner Pakistan had to come on back footing on the issue of Kashmir and found in a position to abandon the support of Kashmiris.

The militant groups active in Indian held Kashmir, like Jaish-e-Muhammad (JeM), Lashkar-e-Tayyaba (LeT) were soon banned in Pakistan due to pressure of U.S. and western countries. It was happened because of the change in international structure which forced Pakistan to change its foreign policy regarding Kashmir issue as well. India got leverage to highlight that Pakistan

was interfering in its internal affairs in Kashmir by supporting militants. During the study period 2001-211, despite all efforts of Pakistan, Kashmir issue could not be resolved. Whereas U.S. could not be supportive to resolve this issue despite the fact that it's a nuclear flash point in South Asia and can be dangerous for the whole region at any time. A Cost-Benefit Analysis of Kashmir issue has been in chapter 7 in details.

**Figure 2.1: Kashmir Conflict (Inter-State Conflict) Source of War and issue security and**

**Balance of Power**



### **2.3.2: Balance of Terror (Nuclear Missiles) and Neo-realism**

Balance of Terror (BoT) is considered a good theory to explain the behavior of a powerful state vs. other powerful states. In historical perspective case of U.S. vs. USSR was a good example that how U.S. formed a strong coalition against Soviet Union during cold war to contain the communism successfully. USSR was a prominent military and economic power and had a direct conflict with USA but geographically was closer to power centers which were U.S. allies. The U.S. was also not less than USSR in terms of power but geographically U.S. was located on distance from its allies from Europe and Asia. South Asian region has been volatile in terms of power imbalances. India initiated nuclear testing on May 11, 1998 and Pakistan corrected the balance by testing its nuclear weapons after 17 days in the same month. Actions of both countries regarding nuclear weapons fuelled the fears of a new race of nuclear arms. In the region “there was a widespread belief that these weapons and their deterring effect would be able to solve all outstanding issues between the two adversaries, including the issue of Kashmir” K. Waltz and Sagan (2003).

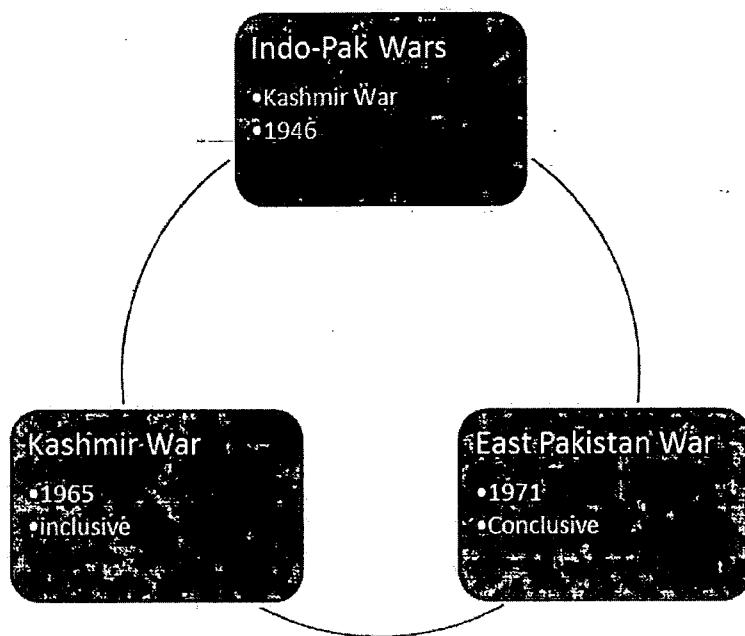
This is a fact that there had always been an imbalance of power between Pakistan and India, but it was nuclear capability which helped balance in the region .This balance of terror, became decisive factor to stop further wars in the region. According to Dr. Zafar Nawaz Jaspal “Still ‘balance of terror’ (due to modernization of weaponry) sustaining a semblance of strategic stability in the region” Dawn (2016).

Since balance of terror had been an effective way to maintain security and peace among the nuclear competing states, therefore it was in the larger interest of Pakistan to stay on the nuclear path. Figure 2.2 & Figure 2.3 depict the situation of both countries related to war and stability, that in the absence of Balance of Terror, wars erupted and how Balance of Terror helped stop

almost near war situation and created peace .Therefore the national interest of Pakistan as an objective to join the GWOT helped Pakistan international anarchical structure for its survival.

**Figure: 2.2 Pre Nuclear Age**

**Wars between India and Pakistan**



### Figure: 2.3 Post Nuclear Situation

#### Balance of Terror (BoT) between India and Pakistan

Kargil Issue	Attack on Indian Parliament	Mumbai Attacks
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• May-July 1999</li><li>• BoT helped stop a larger war between both countries.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• December 13, 2001</li><li>• Indian deployed forces on Pakistani border</li><li>• BoT helped stop a larger war between both countries</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• November 2008.</li><li>• BoT helped stop a larger war between both countries</li></ul>

Due to realization of horrific consequences, India and Pakistan had to stay away from wars like past, (Kashmir war 1948, Kashmir war 1965, and War in East Pakistan 1971). And it was largely because of Balance of Terror. For the sake of territorial integrity, nuclear capability proved useful for Pakistan.

Realizing this horrified scenario, Pakistan and India stayed away from war after balance of terror. Kargil crisis of 1999 was a moment when both countries, armed with nuclear weapons despite all threats to each other, dissolved the tension. Another critical moment came when some places in Indian city Mumbai were attacked in 2008 which resulted in causalities and consequently high level tension arose between the both countries. Prior to that in December

2001, Indian Parliament was attacked and India blamed Pakistan for the attack, but on all three occasion due to Balance of Terror tension settled down.

Despite this great advantage of averting wars, it put a heavy pressure on Pakistan's economy. Pakistan had to face economic pressure due to external security threats and later on war on terror brought a heavy bill of economic losses, in term of unemployment, destruction of infrastructure, lower foreign direct investment, and decrease in exports, which consequently created internal and external security threats for Pakistan. The Cost-Benefit Analysis with regard to Nuclear and Missile Assets has been made in details in the light of Neo-realism in chapter 6.

#### **2.4 Conclusion**

Economy is simple to quantify whereas sovereignty can be quantified in a way that Drone attacks were and are the breach of sovereignty, thus number of drone attacks and number of victims, killed or injured, civilians or terrorists can be quantified, and similarly human lives which were lost due to terrorism can be quantified too. Remaining two important objectives like strategic assets and Kashmir cause has been analyzed in the light of international, particularly U.S and Indian reactions and behaviors. Since U.S had been very sensitive to the issue of nuclear proliferation and following the speech of Pakistani nuclear scientist and in charge of the Pakistani nuclear program Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan on state run PTV on February 4, 2004, so what was its impact on Pak-US Relations in coming years? Similarly regarding Kashmir cause, how much moral support Pakistan continued and what was Indian and U.S reaction has been analyzed qualitatively. This study has dealt with tangible and intangible costs and benefits under Neo-realist paradigm during the period of 2001-2001.

A summary of Neorealist Frame Work for the Current Study has been presented in the Table 2.1.

**Table: 2.1 Neorealist Frame Work for the Current Study**

<b>Serial</b>	<b>Neorealist Paradigm</b>	<b>Case of Pakistan</b>
1.	Anarchy	9/11 incident
2.	Structure	Threat to world including Pakistan "You are with us or with our enemy? ( Bush 2001)
3.	Capability	Nuclear Weak economy Political isolation in the world
4.	Distribution of power	From Power centers point of view only U.S. was super power by the time of 9/112001 until 2011
5.	Polarity	Uni-polarity
6.	National Interest	4 objectives ( Already mentioned above in discussion)

In table 2.1 Case of Pakistan has been mentioned under the paradigm of neorealism that how

Pakistan's case/ current study can be explained theoretically.

**Figure 2.4 Paradoxical Situation in Pak –US Relations after 9/11**

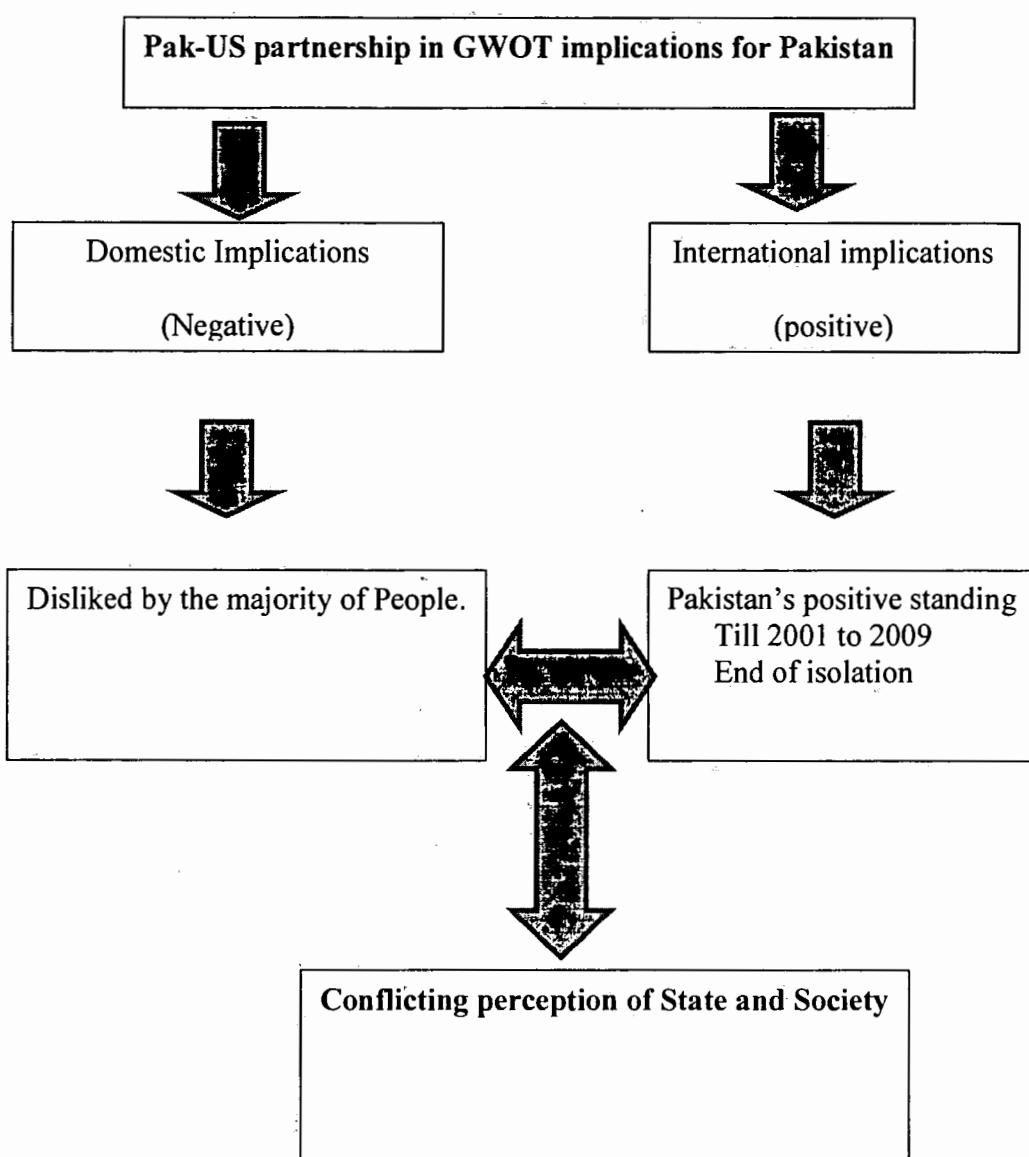


Figure 2.3 explains that how Pakistan's decision to join the U.S. led coalition was seen domestically and globally. Domestically it was disliked highly and globally it was appraised but at the end it seems paradoxical in nature that behavior of Pakistani state and society were in opposite directions which ultimately has its nastiest effects on state and society both.

# Chapter 3

## Pakistan-United States Relations: Political Cost & Benefit

This chapter discusses the history of Pak-US relations, its nature and outcome in an anarchic global structure. This chapter focuses on the following questions which have been answered to know the impact of bilateral relationship in different phases, starting from 1947 till 2011. Economic assistance by U.S. to Pakistan and economic impact of the GWOT on Pakistan has been discussed separately in chapter 5.

1. What is the nature of bilateral relationship between the both countries?
2. How the current U.S. led partnership in the Global War on Terror (GWOT) has shaped Pakistan's image in the world?
3. Pakistan's decision to join the GWOT shows paradoxical nature, as society and state are in opposite directions. How this paradoxical nature shaped Pakistan's image?
4. Was Pakistan able to gain relatively, if not absolutely, from this bilateral relationship?

In this chapter a mix of military and economic relations of both countries has been discussed with more focus on military assistance by U.S., whereas for economic assistance a separate and exclusive chapter number 5 has been allocated.

It will be more appropriate to find the answer of the above mentioned questions by discussing the historical perspective of Pak-US relations and its nature.

### 3.0 A Historical Perspective of Pak-US Relations

Since the inception of Pakistan in 1947, due to two reasons Pakistan had choose to become part of U.S led western capitalist block. Those two reasons were its security and economic needs to

survive in a hostile environment due to India. In the world anarchic system, Pakistan was more concerned about its security needs. Pakistan had to fight its first war with India over Kashmir in 1947-48. In early 50s U.S needed allies in South Asia on two grounds. Firstly to deter the Soviet expansionism in South Asian region and secondly to counter expected rising Chinese influence. Pakistan was facing economic and security issues which compelled Pakistan to join American block of the then bipolar world in order to create balance of power in the region of south Asia and avoid any Indian aggression. In global perspective America was in a dire need to find an ally in the region not only to stop the spread of communism in South Asia but also to counter the emerging China.

Mr. Sial 'noted the impact of Pakistan's participation and involvement in bilateral regional and global pacts and treaties. He opined that Pakistan intentionally became member of SEATO in 1954, CENTO in 1955, while part of US-Pakistan mutual fund. Those episodes of engagements supported military at the cost of civil governance. Foreign policy framework was also met its defining features' Sial (2007).

Due to perceived threat of communism attack and rebellion in South East Asia and Middle Eastern countries U.S felt, Pakistan's unique geographical position is important to thwart spread of communism. Therefore America became willing to provide military assistance and welcomed Pakistan to join military alliance. Wirsing compared economic and military aid from the United States to Pakistan. U.S. interests were military while Pakistan was looking for economic stability as well as military assistance. Pakistan joined military alliances to acquire, with other objectives, military hardware from 1954 to 1965 amounting to \$ 1.2 billion to \$ 1.5 billion, various projects and programs of economic assistance including Public Law 480, agricultural commodity

programs from 1947 through June 30, 1965 were amounted to \$ 3 billion. Pakistan was America's ally in furthering containment policy in and around the region' Wirsing (2003).

**Table: 3.0 Pak-US Relations in 3 Phases**

Phases	Duration	Type/Agreement	US Interest	Pak Interest
Phase I	From mid 1950s ( Cold War era)	Security/Military SEATO (1954) CENTO(1955)	Soviet Containment	Security problems with India
Phase II	Revived Relations ( Cold War era) Covers the 1980s	Security/Military (Front Line State)	Soviet Containment ( to defeat USSR in Afghanistan)	Security problems with India and USSR
Phase III	Revived Relations ( Post 9/11 era) covers the decade;2001 to 2011	Security/Military (Front Line State) (Major-Non-NATO-Ally)	Incident of 9/11 U.S. invasion of Afghanistan to uproot Al Qaeda, topple Taliban regime	Security problems with India. Terrorists and problem with Afghanistan

As Table 3.1 Pak-US Relations in 3 Phases Shows that nature of relations of both countries had been largely on security or strategic based, be it SEATO, CENTO or Frontline State during Soviet invasion of Afghanistan or U.S. invasion of Afghanistan.

In anarchic system states feel insecure; therefore they explore the way which can protect them. Elif Debik quotes and notes that "The grand paradox of international politics is thus born; the "security dilemma". 'In endeavoring to accomplish security from a potential assault, states are headed to obtain increasingly capacities with a specific end goal to get away from the effect of the abilities of others. This renders the others more unreliable and propels them to get ready for the most noticeably awful. Since nobody can ever feel totally secure in such a universe of contending units, rivalry results and the endless loop of security' Dibek (2012).

Pakistan had to review its relationship with U.S. in the light of her national interests, as In the Indo-Pak war of 1971, USA proved not reliable for Pakistan as U.S. didn't support Pakistan.

U.S. was more interested to use India against China and Pakistan was not now in the list of her interests. 'Both military pacts ended abruptly SEATO met its end of Pakistan membership in 1972 while CENTO in 1979. The then Carter Administration was labeling Pakistan close to the so-called list of trouble makers. Z.A Bhutto government was targeted because of its' decision to develop Nuclear Program. United States imposed sanctions on Pakistan to teach her ally a lesson' Akhtar (2012).

Soviet invasion of Afghanistan alarmed the U.S. to find the allies in the region to deter the Soviet expansionism, Pakistan thanks to her geostrategic position attracted the U.S., because Pakistan was the only option for the U.S. to hold Soviet involvement in Afghanistan. Due to this changing global political situation helped military dictator General Zia in Pakistan as legitimate ruler in the eyes of western world. Therefore 'General Zia was privileged to have U.S. umbrella to stay in power for eleven years for his acceptance of U.S. proxy role against USSR in Pakistan' Ziring (1978). The reward came in 1981 as the U.S. congress approved 'an aid of \$ 3 billion for Pakistan as well as 40 F-16 fighter jets. A pledge was also made to provide \$ 4 billion assistance in coming five years, Akhtar (2012).

One incident of the burning of U.S. embassy in Islamabad in September 1979 and the Nuclear Program of Pakistan were catalytic in further weakening the already fragile diplomacy between two countries. 'That fragility suddenly vanished in the wake of the USSR invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the same year; Pakistan accepted the role of a front line state in the containment of USSR advance. Pak regime, looking for world acceptance and legitimacy, immediately took the opportunity and channeled supply of arms to Afghan resistance forces. Pakistan was promised to be given economic and military support. Pakistan termed Carter's \$ 400 million and as 'peanuts' and rejected it. Pakistan was given an economic and military

package of \$ 4.02 billion in 1987. Thus Pakistan became fourth largest recipient after Israel, Egypt and Turkey. The 1987 aid package turned Pakistan to be the second largest aid recipient after Israel' Afidi, Yousfi, and Khan (2014).

When Soviet troops under Geneva accord left the Afghanistan in 1988, and following the collapse of Soviet Union, a big threat for U.S. removed and Pakistan lost its geo-political importance for U.S. Pakistan was forgotten and left alone to face the aftermath of Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. This was Pakistan and is yet, the largest host of the refugees in the world. These refugees were from Afghanistan and Pakistan was left to bear the burden. When in 1991 USSR collapsed and turned into 15 independent states and cold war over, Pakistan became less important in U.S. global strategy, but after 10 years another event changed the global politics, and that was event of 9/11 in 2001.

From 1991 to 2001, during the decade, three major turning points changed the global and regional (South Asian) politics and impact of these turning points proved profound for Pakistan. The first and foremost turning point started from the battlefield of Afghanistan which culminated the unthinkable disappearance of the Soviet Union in December 1991 from the map of the world. This remarkable change in the world politics brought an end of cold war rivalry between USSR and USA. USSR reduced to Russian Federation and lost its global influence and consequently U.S. appeared as individual superpower in the world politics.

The second turning point was related to global and regional security and balance of power, and it was nuclear testing by India due to her hegemon style behavior in the region. It was impossible for Pakistan to stay quite due to track record of India's behavior toward Pakistan's integrity. In May1998 in response to Indian nuclear testing Pakistan followed the same. Due to this changing, geopolitical scenario was filled with security risks and a direct challenge to the U.S. policies

regarding nuclear non-proliferation in the world. Risks started rising toward possible outbreak of nuclear war in the South Asian region.

The third turning point was the 9/11 incident in New York in 2001 which proved destructive for several countries like, Afghanistan, Iraq and Pakistan and for Muslims in the world. Global politics changed drastically. 'The twin tower attacks of 9/11 proved disastrous not only for USA but for Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan as well, that incident changed the horizon of global diplomacy altogether United States emerged as a modern imperial power with a heavy tool of devastation and destruction' Litwak (2002).

The America "has the world's largest economy, overwhelming military power and dominant position in international institutions with foe-haunting culture and ideological forces" Jabeen, Mazhar, and Goraya (2010). As a matter of fact "a dominant power defines the rules of international security and makes the repercussion for small powers in redefining foreign policy" Gilpin (1983).

One day after the attack, on 12th of September the US Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage, told the two Pakistanis that their nation needed to settle on a decision. Islamabad could adjust itself to the Taliban administration in Afghanistan or with Washington. 'You are either 100 for each penny with us or 100 for every penny against us,' 'There is no hazy area.' straight after the meeting Mehmood called Islamabad and addressed General Musharraf. Pakistan's military pioneer settled on an on the spot choice. He told Mehmood that Washington would get what it needed. At 3.00 p.m. Armitage held a moment meeting with Lodhi and Mehmood. This time he had more particular requests. The U.S. would require fundamental strategic support and a high level of insight co-operation. Mehmood guaranteed Armitage that Pakistan would co-work' Jones (2003).

When US threatened Pakistan by saying that “Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists” following the threat, Pakistan was forced to join the U.S. alliance against Al-Qaida and Taliban Regime of Afghanistan.

Waltz has rightly pointed out the vulnerability of the week neighbors when the power of other bites endlessly. “Some states may at any time use force, all states must be prepared to do so-or live at the mercy of their militarily more vigorous neighbors” Waltz (2010).

General Musharraf wrote in his book describing the situation following the 9/11 incident about US General Colin Powell’s threatening behavior “Powel on phone “was quite candid: “You are either with us or against us.” I took this as a blatant ultimatum” Musharraf (2006).

Under immense pressure of U.S. government, General Musharraf delivered a speech to Pakistani nation on September 19, 2001 in a national telecast and informed the people of the severity and intensity of the situation in a candidly delivered manner. He was conveying the decision taken at the highest level that Pakistan could not afford to be sent back to the stone ages. He pointed out that ‘national sovereignty needed to be protected, economy to be saved and developed, strategic nuclear asset, be safeguarded and finally the Kashmir Cause be strengthened. He was philosophical as he told the nation that the government was following brave thinking in spite of stupidity Pakistan came first and else was secondary’ Musharraf (2001).

It is important to discuss the background of the US foreign policy and prevailing situation during cold war and prior to 9/11 incident. According to General (R) Hameed Gull (ex-chief of Pakistan’s spy agency Inter-Services Intelligence Agency (ISI),<sup>5</sup> “When George W. Bush came into power in 2001, an eighteen member team was formed, A report was finalized by the team titled” Vision for 21<sup>st</sup> Century” the team members had said that 21<sup>st</sup> century is an American century .The crux of the report was that we have to control the world. There are lots of

opportunities available to us, because Soviet Union is gone and dead, and now we have great opportunity to rule the world and we (can) monitor everything. The first point was the sovereignty .Sovereignty is a fundamental pillar of nation state system. Under the UN, sovereignty is a basic requirement. According to UN principles sovereign state has authority over its resources. Interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state is a crime. Other nations joined the “The International Criminal Court (ICC)” whereas US never joined it rather rejected. And the thought behind it was that U.S. considered herself as above the international law. I call it Pax Americana “a state of relative international peace regarded as overseen by the US” as once there was Pax Britannica “Latin for "British Peace", modeled after Pax Romana was the period of relative peace in Europe and the world (1815–1914) during which the British empire became the global hegemon (dominant power) and adopted the role of global policeman”. Once US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice coined a new term or theory in June, 2006, “New Middle East” in this new term she said that we shall form a new Middle East in which Pakistan will also be included. The purpose of this theory was to protect Israel. In this theory of “New Middle East” they declared the following objectives 1) Democracy 2) Politico, Cultural Pluralism 3) Human Rights. They had declared these three objectives .They (Neo-Conservatives of America, AKA NeoCons) wanted to forward their agenda when Bill Clinton was in power, They wanted to forward their agenda even earlier before Gorge W. Bush Administration but Hennery Kissinger the ex-Secretary of State had commented on it in one of his interviews that ‘don’t speak highly of democracy because it is not in your interest. We have many enemy Muslim countries from Morocco to Mindanao (Philippines) so don’t blow out democracy’. Therefore (to me) the real target was not Muslim world but Islam. Even George W. Bush once in 2001 (regarding War against Afghanistan) had said that it’s a Crusade. It is because that George W. Bush is an

Evangelical Christian and Billy Graham is their leader. When we analyses the background of war on terror we can conclude that it became inevitable threat for Pakistan (after 9/11 attacks). America would continue to ravage any country which stands in the way but in the case of Pakistan, it was hard for Americans to attack as we (Pakistan) are a nuclear state. They thought that we are a desperate country and we can go to any extent if are attacked. Due to our nuclear program we are safe. They (Americans) thought they would come and sit in Afghanistan where they would enjoy strategically a Central Position. Central Position is a strategic terminology. By enjoying the Central Position Americans shifted their Base from Diego Garcia (British Indian Ocean Territory, UK) to *Al Udeid* Air Base Qatar where they established Central Command (CENTCOM) as Forward Base; The Base Camp of CENTCOM is located in Tampa, Florida. *Al Udeid* Air Base Qatar is the biggest Air Base of US anywhere in the world out of America. After 9/11 incident and entering in Afghanistan, Americans got the Central Position. In this context the decision of General Musharraf to accept the terms of Americans (to join the war on terror) were wrong. After the 9/11 incident UN had passed the resolution (UN SC resolution 1368 in 2001) <sup>6</sup>and it was not possible for us (Pakistan) to defy the resolution. We responded on this resolution bilaterally with America.” Gull (2015).

It becomes clear by seeing the table 3.0 (Pak-US relations in 3 Phases) that nature of relationship of both countries is mostly security based .In both eras (Cold war and Post 9/11), this was strategic need for both countries to cooperate with each other in anarchic world system.

### **3.1: National Interest of Pakistan and U.S. in the War on Terror**

Morgenthau, in advocating the supremacy of national interest, made the ingenious plea that since interest were more susceptible to compromise than binding moral or legal principles, a world

directed by ‘interests’ would be more conducive to moderation and to limited state action than a world governed by ideology and abstract morality. Rochefoucauld had supported the more practical view by stating bluntly that, “Virtues are swallowed up by self-interest as rivers are lost in the sea” Masud (2002).

What were main, U.S. and Pakistani, interest in their bilateral relationship and the areas of possible convergence and divergence? See the Table: 3.2

**Table: 3.2 Pak & US Interests & Clashes (2001-2011)**

Issue	Common Interests	Clash of Interests
Talks with Afghan Taliban	Yes	<u>No</u>
Afpak Policy	No	Yes
Role of India in Afghanistan	No	Yes
Regional Stability	No	Yes
Action Against Al Qaeda	Yes	No
Action Against Afghan Taliban	No	Yes
Drone Attacks	No	Yes
Nuclear Capability	No	Yes
Nuclear Non- Proliferation	Yes	No
Nuclear Safety	Yes	No
Covert Actions of CIA inside Pakistan	No	Yes
NATO Supply after Salalah	No	Yes
Averting Al Qaeda’s re-emergence	Yes	No

Table: 3.2 Pak & US Interests & Clashes (2001-2011) shows that there are total 13 areas in which 9 areas are in conflict, whereas on only 5 areas, consensus is found between the both countries. In addressing the objectives of safe-guarding national interests, one comes across the problem of reaching *on* an agreed definition of national aims. ‘Objective rationality’ of national interests may be taken as the criterion. It is this difficulty in defining national interest which prompted Walter Lippmann to state that “national interest is what man would choose if they saw clearly, thought rationally and acted this interestedly”.

Till September 11, official and non-official US circles, included private think tanks, government sponsor task forces, academic and media managers had competed with each other in describing Pakistan as a failed state and in foretelling its “deserved doom” and disaster in the foreseeable future.

**Table: 3.3 Issues in PAK-US Relations (2001-2011)**

Issue	Likes	Dislikes	Mutual	Neutral	Under Compulsion/National Interest
Drone Attacks	USA	Pakistan			
Military Aid	Pakistan				Yes( National Interest)
Economic Aid	Pakistan				Yes(National Interest)
Nuclear	Pakistan	US			
Sovereignty	Pakistan	US			
Kashmir after 9/11	Pakistan	US			
Trade	Pakistan	USA			
Relations with India	USA	Pakistan			
Relations with Haqqani Network	Pakistan	USA			
Relations with Afghan Taliban	Pakistan	USA			
Dialogue with Afghan Taliban	USA	Pakistan	Yes		
After Salalah NATO Supply	USA	Pakistan			Pak
Covert Operation by CIA in Pakistan	USA	Pakistan			

The Table: 3.3 Issues in PAK-US Relations (2001-2011) shows 13 issues between Pakistan and U.S. but there is consensus on only one issue and that is dialogue with Afghan Taliban.

### **3.1.2: Converged and Diverged National Internets**

During the period of study (2001 to 2011), Pak US Relations reached to a worst level gradually. Distrust started growing rapidly since late 2005 and ended at NATO attack on Salalah check post in November 2011. “After ten years of precarious military, intelligence and other security cooperation between Pakistan and the United States, the two countries could not be more at odds. Worse, as much as they despise each other, they both know that their security depends in varying degrees upon the other” Fair (2012).

### **3.1.3: Indo –US Relations and Pakistan’s National Interest**

As discussed earlier that Pakistan perceived India as a threat from inception, therefore any strategic relationship of U.S. with India had never been welcomed by Pakistan. India gained most important place in U.S. foreign policy gradually but rapidly, in the wake of 9/11.

Despite all cooperation of Pakistan and sacrifices of Pakistanis U.S. deceived the Pakistan in her national interest and strengthened the strategic and economic cooperation with Pakistan’s archrival India.<sup>7</sup>

U.S. and India started conducting joint military exercises since 2002, about which U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Christian Rocca said it would serve ‘large, long terms interest of two countries, and that the progress was tangible toward that objective’. The United States refused to sell badly needed F-16s fighter jets to Pakistan because there was a conflict in the region. Joint military exercises later became an annual feature of Indo-US relationship, since 2002 to 2011 annually and even onward. Pakistan felt that she was less important as compare to Pakistan’s old rival India in post 9/11 era. The United States, however, decided to sell high tech military equipment to India, without realizing the security situations of the region.

The United States also thinks that some religious laws in Pakistan were too harsh against the minorities, but it could not react to carnage to Muslims in Kashmir and Indian Gujarat in 2002. Acts of violence by the extremist Hindu groups might not get that attention even after killing two thousand people that a single such incident in Pakistan could drop international criticism.

India has had raised objection on U.S. military assistance to Pakistan. Pakistan received military assistance during war on terror too. India was wary of it. Indian Foreign Minister *Shashi Tharoor* commented that "We do not feel that such assistance should be turned around and used against us..." "We pose no threat to Pakistan and we find that this kind of diversion is neither in the interest of the sub-continent nor of those who are giving this assistance" BBC (2009).

Musharraf commented on it by saying that 'wherever there is a risk to Pakistan, we will utilize it [equipment gave by the US] there. If the threat comes from al-Qaeda or Taliban, it will be utilized there. In the event that the danger comes from India, we will most doubtlessly utilize it there... There is not at all like this gear has originated from the U.S. furthermore, should just be utilized against Taliban, or that hardware has originated from China and must be utilized against either' BBC (2009).

U.S. behaved misbalancing the power in South Asian region. American tilt was clearly toward India to serve the greater national interests of U.S. and Pakistan was sidelined gradually. Pakistan's interests in neighboring Afghanistan were ignored and India was given preferential treatment by U.S. which later became the irritant in the bilateral relationship of Pakistan and USA. American invasion of Afghanistan brought an end to Pakistan's greater influence and India prevailed there, which by the perspective of national interest proved a blow back for Pakistan.

'Pakistan and United States are friends like partners in a bad marriage. They do not trust each other. They cannot leave each other. They are united in solitude and separated in alliances. They

put blame of their failures on each other. Their divergent interests are dictated by their respective security regimes and defense establishments' Dawn (2012).

Richard Lee Armitage (Ex Deputy Secretary of State - March 2001 to February 2005) in an interview to Voice of America Urdu service on August 2011 had said that its difficult relationship to manage between United States and Pakistan, as Pakistan and United States are clearly on different pages..... Now U.S. policy is one step forward two steps backward for Pakistan... When U.S. started its strategic partnership with India, many Pakistani leaders kept historical threats from India in mind and Pakistan reviewed its policy in Afghanistan to counter India. Due to these two reasons Pakistan changed its policy (toward USA).

From Pakistani perspective, Pakistani leaders never had trusted that US will continue aid to Pakistan. Since 1947; we have cut off assistance of Pakistan six times.<sup>8</sup>

Pak US relations reached to a worst level by the November 2011 that, it seems, it won't turn back easily to normalcy. For example US stopped \$ 688 million Collation Support Fund (CSF) due from January to November 2011. This amount was due on U.S. to pay for the services which Pakistan provided in term of deployment of 140,000 Pakistanis soldiers on the Afghan border.<sup>9</sup>

Since U.S. has still interests in Afghanistan and in the region therefore, US cannot ignore Pakistan for a longer time. As U.S. doesn't want (1) re-emergence of Al Qaida (2) Proliferation of nuclear weapons and (3) instability in the region. Therefore U.S can't afford discontinuity of cooperation with Pakistan, as relationship with Pakistan is fundamental to vital national interests of U.S.

'The second May 2011 episode of Osama Bin Laden killing in Abbottabad made trust shortage amongst Pakistan and USA relations at the end of the day. In any case, ever, there dependably remain domains of doubt between the two nations. The relations amongst Pakistan and its

neighboring nations additionally made doubt in relations. Pakistan is much close in relations to China which has been great as contrast with USA. So also Washington is in amicable terms with Kabul and Delhi yet both are antagonistic to Islamabad. Second element behind doubt is conflict of enthusiasm between the both nations. The USA-India atomic arrangement is against the Pakistan's national intrigue. Similarly China's interest in Pakistan is additionally not in the U.S. intrigue. U.S. was dependably against the Gawadar venture of China in Pakistan. Iran-Pakistan-India pipeline venture was hindered by U.S. what's more, in substitute melted normal gas was offered however Pakistan declined and both Iran and Pakistan entered in assertion' Akhtar (2012).

According to Mr. Mark Toner (US State Department Spokesperson) "No country has suffered most at the hands of terrorists and extremists than Pakistan" Nation (2015b).

British High Commissioner in Pakistan Adam Thompson has once said that Pakistan "suffered the most due to the war against terrorism" Pakistan (Not Mentiones).

Conclusion of Pak-US relations can be described in three themes: 'Pakistan's reliance on the U.S. for economic cum military help, Pakistan's dissatisfaction with the U.S. as to its association with India, and Pakistan's grievances with the U.S. Each of these subjects has its premise in Pakistan's security centricity, the majority of which are tempered by Pakistan's security recognitions toward India. A surprising component of these subjects in Pakistan-US relations is their successive repeat after some time' Waheed (2014).

The cost-benefit analysis of the mutual and bilateral relations of both disturbed allies brings forth a sequence of promoting Pakistan's military establishment and weakening civil government. That strategy has failed to win U.S. goals and promoted anti U.S. sentiments in Pakistani public. That sentiment has yielded to the extremist elements, thus diluting U.S. influence in Pakistan.

### **3.1.4: Divergence of Interests and Growing Mistrust**

There is no doubt that U.S. invasion of Afghanistan brought unthinkable miseries, sorrows and unprecedented devastation in the history of Pakistan for more than decade "Had there been no invasion of Afghanistan by foreign troops, Pakistan would not be in the dreadful situation in which it now finds itself" Cloughley (2011).

Pakistan's Interior Minister *Ch. Nisar* commented while delivering his lecture at US Peace Institute, Washington that 'Reaction of 9/11 was completely taken by Pakistan. In the event that the part of Pakistan had been valued, if there was more noteworthy comprehension of Pakistan's position, might be the majority of Pakistan's penances would have been justified; despite all the trouble - Pakistan has paid the greatest cost for being the cutting edge partner of the U.S. in this war. In the most recent 13 years, we have endured more 9/11s than some other nation. Our penances in real money, kind, and lives are unravel' Nation (2015a)

A research conducted in a US Naval college suggests that "The cost-benefit analysis of the Pak-U.S. alliance, in the fight against terrorism from 2001–2011" ' proposes an example of master military approach from the U.S. toward Pakistan that has not just flopped in accomplishing U.S. targets yet has likewise fortified effectively existing hostile to U.S. assessments in Pakistan and extended the radicals' base. The decreasing U.S. impact in Pakistan is another evidence of defective U.S. approaches toward the nation' Al-Rawashdeh, Irizarry, Minhas, and Blanken (2011).

How the current U.S. led partnership in the Global War on Terror (GWOT) has shaped Pakistan's image in the world? To know the answer few important aspects are being discussed below.

### **3.2.1: Change in Foreign Policy (Political Cost)**

No doubt foreign policy is never static; it's always changing as the changes take place around the globe. 9/11 incident caused shift in foreign policy of several countries including Pakistan but Pakistan was among few those countries which had to change their foreign policy almost in U-turn style. Military, economic, geopolitical, and security reasons always had been the factors to shape the foreign policy of Pakistan. In the changing scenario, policies of Pakistan toward, Taliban regime of Afghanistan, and Kashmir consequently shifted.

### **3.2.2: Perception about Pakistan in U.S. Public (Political Cost)**

Pakistan's image tarnished due to terrorist activities in the country and live coverage by free media of Pakistan without ethical and professional responsibilities. Every country including Pakistan has "Internal fault-lines" but indiscrete analyses of the internal fault lines by some specific Pakistani media groups, with assigned interests of western and Indian media became causative factors to Pakistan's image deficit. Due to heavy media coverage of terrorism related activities in Pakistan, a terrible, unsafe, insecure image of Pakistan developed world over. Despite Pakistan's unmatched losses/costs in the war on terror, Pakistan and Pakistani masses were never appreciated; therefore image deficit brought negative perception about Pakistan and Pakistanis. For example 'The U.S. populace's ratings of Pakistan have hit an unequaled low in 2011, with just 18% of Americans looking positively upon the nation. These perspectives are presumably from Pakistan's relationship in the media with global terrorism. Moreover, to place things in context, just Iran, North Korea and Afghanistan have less great than Pakistan' Al-Rawashdeh et.al. (2011).

As a matter of fact, Pakistan had been under immense pressure of U.S. to take more aggressive steps in war on terror and U.S. repeated the phrase “DO MORE” but it seems quite logical that a country like USA along with 49 allies which cooperated in military action in Afghanistan by contributing soldiers could not stop the Afghan Taliban in Afghanistan in 10 years, then how a country like Pakistan can stop the terrorism alone? Pakistani Ambassador to United States, *Sherry Rehman* has said that “The 46<sup>10</sup> battling in Afghanistan speak to nations with a total national output of more than \$365 trillion, and a total military drive of almost 22 million troops. At the point when this phenomenal coalition can't contain the terrorists on the Afghan side of the outskirt, it is gullible to accept that Pakistan alone can totally dispense militant action on our side of the fringe. We have 140,000 troops in day by day battle against the activists in FATA , and Waziristan” (Rehman, 2012).

If one look at the combat side proportion of NATO, Afghani and Pakistani forces as compare to Al-Qaida and Taliban militant numbers, it can be concluded easily that Al-Qaida and Talban have nothing in match with the forces of Afghanistan, Pakistan and U.S led 49 countries ‘In June 2010, Leon Panetta informed that there were under 100 individuals from Al-Qaeda left in Afghanistan. As per the most recent Brooking Institute Index Afghanistan, there are around 108,000 worldwide troops in Afghanistan under NATO and Operation Enduring Freedom; 344,108 Afghan Security Forces; 90,000 private Defense Department temporary workers; and 2,000 private contractual workers preparing the Afghan Army. Moreover, there are 150,000 Pakistani troops on the Afghanistan-Pakistan outskirt. That is a fabulous aggregate of 694,108 versus 100. Appears a bit needless excess ‘ Drawdown (Year Not Mentioned).

According to Ex-Senator of Pakistan, Prof. *Khursheed Ahmed*, “America indeed has lost the Afghan war, but it wants to hold responsible Pakistan for her own defeat in the war, therefore,

U.S. is applying its modus operandi, 3-B (Bully, Bribe & Blackmail). America herself started political dialogue with Taliban in 2009 which is still continued with intervals<sup>11</sup>, while pressuring Pakistan to take action against “*Haqqani Network*”. The Double standard of U.S. is evident, therefore Pakistan needs to devise its policy in its own interests”<sup>12</sup>.

### **3.2.3: Pakistan's Image in the World (Political Cost)**

War on terror became the reason to tarnish the image of Pakistan around the globe. Global Terrorism Index 2011 ranked Pakistan on top 2<sup>nd</sup> due to acts of terrorism and violence. 115 countries from the world were ranked but Pakistan was ranked on top 2nd. There was sharp rise in terrorism in Pakistan, recorded during the period of 2002 to 2009. 125 of the total incidents of global terrorism occurred in Pakistan. In term of rise in explosive attacks during 2007 to 2009, Pakistan topped to 2<sup>nd</sup> after Iraq. The data shows that in the year of 2011, first top 3 countries which suffered most due to terrorism were Muslim countries, namely Iraq, Pakistan and Afghanistan. Again Pakistan stood 2<sup>nd</sup>, despite the fact the war was being fought in neighboring Afghanistan but Pakistan was suffering more than Afghanistan.

The trend of the decade (2001 to 2011) shows the surge upward in terms of fatalities. For instance it started with 96 causalities in 2002 and reached to 1468 in year 2011. ‘Just about 66% of the terrorist attacks were as bombings/blast took after by guns. Most assaults occurred in Karachi, Peshawar and Quetta with further huge movement in Bajaur(FATA), Dera Bugti (Balochistan), Khyber (Districts) and Mohmand ( FATA). This demonstrates noteworthy and far reaching fear monger exercises inside Pakistan. Pakistan is managing numerous Islamic gatherings other than the Taliban, for example, Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) or inner pressures between ethnic/tribal gatherings’ Index (2012).

Unfortunately the European allies of US also treated Pakistan in the same direction of U.S. Pakistan during war on terror has been viewed through the prism of Afghanistan. Since in the inception of war on terror 'Europe has seen Pakistan through the prism of Afghanistan, where it has paid an overwhelming cost in the course of the most recent decade. Of the 3,427 coalition passing in Afghanistan, more than 800 were from the 25 EU partners that, between them, have conveyed more than 33,000 troops to the NATO-driven International Stabilization and Assistance Force (ISAF). Europeans additionally dedicated around €8 billion in help for the period 2002–2010 to Afghanistan's adjustment and reconstruction' Stanzel (2014). But the fact is that the losses of Pakistan are unmatchable to any nation in this war on terror. The fact is U.S. has lost the war in Afghanistan and as a super power it's impossible for her to accept this bitter reality .As Brian Coughlan quotes the Lt-Colonel Davis in his article 'Another Lost war' 'The United States, alongside more than 40 NATO and other unified countries, has the most complex, intense, and mechanically propelled military power that has ever hit the field of battle. We have the finest and most very much prepared officers that exist anywhere; we have defensively covered vehicles of each sort, to incorporate M1A2 Main Battle Tanks; mounted guns, mortars, propelled rockets, accuracy guided rockets, and hand-held rocket launchers; we have an entirely uncontested aviation based armed forces made out of NATO's most developed ground assault contender planes, aircraft, AWACS controllers, spy planes, signals-capture attempt flying machine, B 1 aircraft, assault helicopters, and gigantic transport planes to ship our troops and basic supplies where they are required; we have a large number of unmanned ethereal automatons both for knowledge accumulation and rocket propelling; we have a helicopter armada for work force transport and assault bolster; we have a colossal star grouping of spy satellites; coordination that are as boundless as the consolidated weight of the modern world; we

have each innovative gadget known to the calling of arms; we can catch for all intents and purposes each type of extremist correspondence to incorporate mobile phones, walkie-talkies, satellite telephones, email, and even some capacity to spy on generally private discussions; a strikingly able companion of insight experts that are as taught, all around prepared and prepared to a degree that used to exist just in sci-fi; and our different countries have the monetary fortitude to burn through \$10s of billions every month to store it all. Furthermore, for right around 10 years we have set this mind boggling and phenomenal capacity against: A pack of fellows in bed sheets and flip-flops' Cloughley (2012).

After the destruction of Afghanistan and Pakistan Obama Said "We have to recognize Afghanistan will not be a perfect place, and it is not America's responsibility to make it one," Obama said. "The future of Afghanistan must be decided by Afghans" DeYoung (2014)

### **3.2.4: Diplomatic Criticism against Pakistan (Political Cost)**

Pakistan had to pay a heavy price in the world community. Despite the fact overwhelming majority of Pakistani people was not in favor to support US and join US led war on terror, but Musharraf being a military dictator and undemocratic leader decided to join the U.S. war. "By saying unconditional yes to the U.S. demands, Musharraf government dragged Pakistan into the war against terror. There is a fact that despite all its efforts, Pakistan did and continues to receive criticism from world political leaders, rulers, Western media under Islam & Pakistan phobia and policy experts in the west. Despite all cooperation with US and UK in the war on terror, Pakistan failed to win the confidence of US and UK. Pakistan had to face much criticism from the both countries on most of the occasions in general but particularly after 2006. In the wake of

accusations by David Cameron Prime Minister of UK on July 28, 2010, a row aroused between Pakistan and UK.

Pakistan was suspected despite all cooperation with U.S. in the war on terror. U.S. criticized Pakistan more and praised less for its unmatched cooperation and losses in the war on terror. Pakistan became instable and reached at the edge of total chaos in 10 years of war on terror. Politically Pakistan had to face pressures from inside and abroad.

### **3.2.5: Allegations of Cross Border Terrorism (Political Cost)**

Pakistan shares its 2<sup>nd</sup> longest border (2430 kilometer) with Afghanistan. There are 685 checkpoints on this border but still there are lots of points of entry which are very difficult and dangerous. It's almost impossible for Pakistan to control all those entry points too. But U.S. always criticizes Pakistan for cross border terrorism. The U.S. is well aware about the complexity of Pak Afghan border but won't admit. "Across its own fenced and heavily patrolled border with Mexico, which costs an annual 6 billion dollars to maintain and has over 20,000 border agents, pass hundreds of thousands of illegal immigrants and thousands of tons of drugs every year" Cloughley (2012). So why to criticize Pakistan?

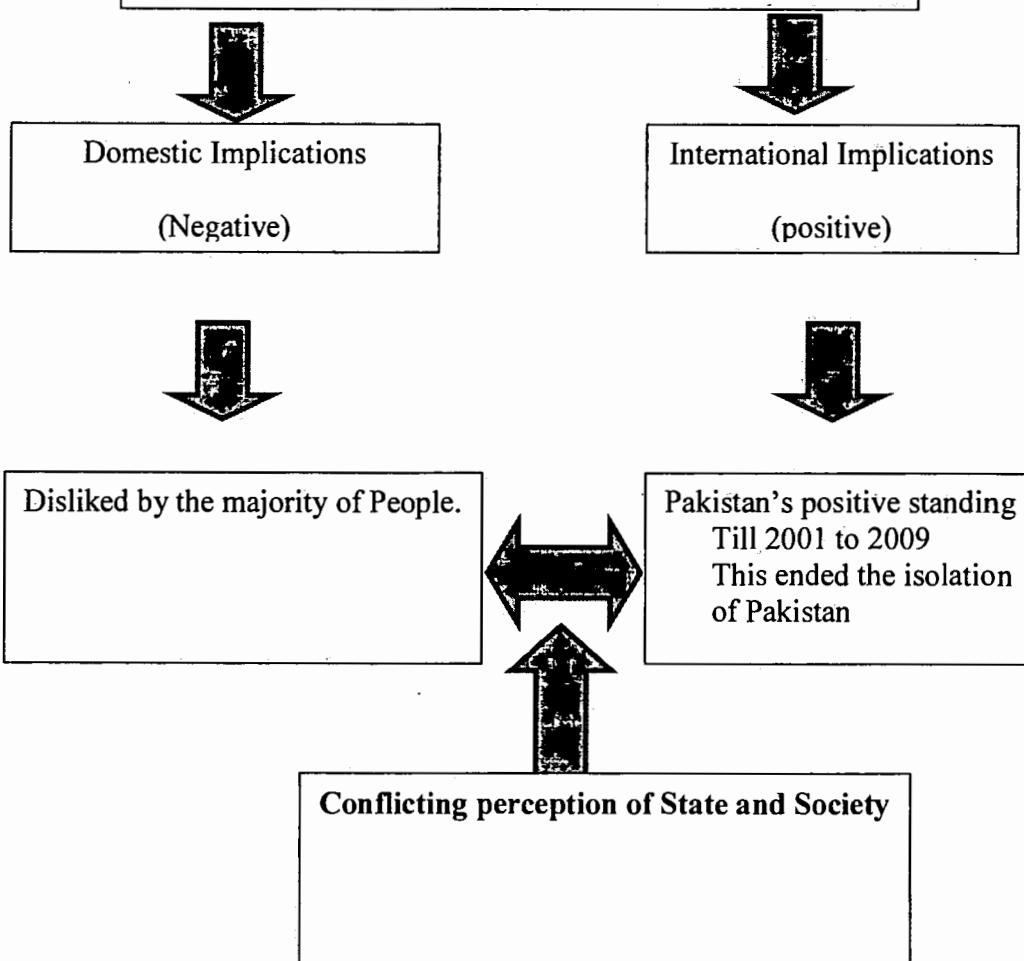
In short Pakistan had to change its foreign policy, image in the eyes of U.S. and global public became negative, diplomatically Pakistan came under criticism, and, allegations of cross border terrorism are being leveled against Pakistan. So in this way Pakistan's negative image in the world was shaped.

#### **3.3.1 Paradoxical situation in Pak –US Relations after 9/11**

Pakistan's decision to join the GWOT shows paradoxical nature, as society and state are in opposite directions. How this paradoxical nature shaped Pakistan's image? The answer is state

and society both are apart in this case. Figure 3.1 explains the both sides that the political decision has negative implications domestically whereas it was perceived positive internationally. Pakistan's political isolation the world community was ended and Pakistan gained positive standing till 2009, but majority of Pakistanis, domestically disapproved this decision which created a conflicting perception Pakistan by creating a paradoxical situation.

## Pak-US Partnership in GWOT Implications for Pakistan



In February 2002, President Bush's statement during a joint press conference with President Musharraf in Washington DC, to the effect that US-Pakistan friendship will endure as long as they share common objectives should have been received as a statement of obvious rather than any path-breaking statement on the ups and downs of Pak-US bilateral ties. In Pakistan, however, amongst large segments of people, the changes in U.S. priorities had been seen in terms of loyalty and betrayal. These terms do not relate to state relations which, unlike individual morality, are largely governed by the morally neutral concept of self-interest. What President Bush said was, about US- Pakistan friendship being dependent on the convergence of their interests/objectives, was merely stating the obvious. National interests are still a determining force in world affairs. Pakistani policy makers, in the wake of 9/11 could not set the priorities.

A public perception of Pakistani society reads 'On the off chance that history is something; it never got auspicious support from the United States at the moment of emergency. Whether it was, 71 war and partition of Bangladesh, Soviet withdrawal and burden of approvals, Kargil emergency and Bill Clinton's terse reaction to Nawaz Sharif, or the Indian organizations on Pakistani outskirts in 2002, there was more lip service than any genuine activity for Pakistan. Or more all U.S. had dependably been supporting the despots in Pakistan which hampered to prosper the popular government which America asserts the perfect framework'.

### **3.3.2: Safety and Security of Musharraf, Responsibility of US**

US supported a dictator Musharraf in Pakistan and invested heavily for his personal security in order to achieve its own goal, which is contradictory to U.S policy to promote democracy in the world. U.S spent around \$70-80M per month for the security of a dictator in 2006, westerners tried to make him realize to do more or get ready for security free life .Therefore Musharraf had

been under constant fear after few deadly attacks on him, in which he survived. 'Musharraf was well aware of the fact that his option was leaving him alone with the fast running time ahead of him. He was always adamant to stand in the U.S way as the economics of \$ 70-80 M per month was much more vital than any other consideration' BBC (2006).

### **3.3.3: Pakistani Public Perceptions about War on Terror and U.S**

A Pakistani, *Hamid Mohsin* wrote in The New York Review of Books under the title "Why they get Pakistan wrong" in 'The previous decade has been obliterating for Pakistan. The nation's yearly loss of life from fear monger assaults ascended from 164 in 2003 to 3,318 in 2009, a level surpassing the quantity of Americans murdered on September 11. Exactly 35,000 Pakistanis, including 3,500 individuals from security powers, have kicked the bucket in dread and counterterror viciousness. Millions more have been uprooted by battling. It is hard to pass on how significantly the nation has been injured. In 1989, my Lahore American School colleagues and I (counting kids from Pakistan, America, Canada, Sweden, Germany, and Korea) could go to the lovely valley of Swat by transport for a weeklong field trip with no security courses of action at all. In 2009, the fight to retake Swat from Taliban aggressors included two full divisions of the Pakistani armed force and several losses among Pakistani warriors. (So also, until a couple of years prior, there had never been a suicide bombing in Lahore. Presently one happens each three or four months.) The Pakistani government puts immediate and aberrant monetary misfortunes from fear mongering throughout the most recent ten years at \$68 billion. Of the \$20.7 billion in U.S. subsidizing designated to Pakistan from 2002 to 2010, \$14.2 billion was for the Pakistani military. On paper, monetary help came to \$6.5 billion, not exactly 33% of the aggregate. As a general rule the non-military personnel share was significantly littler, most

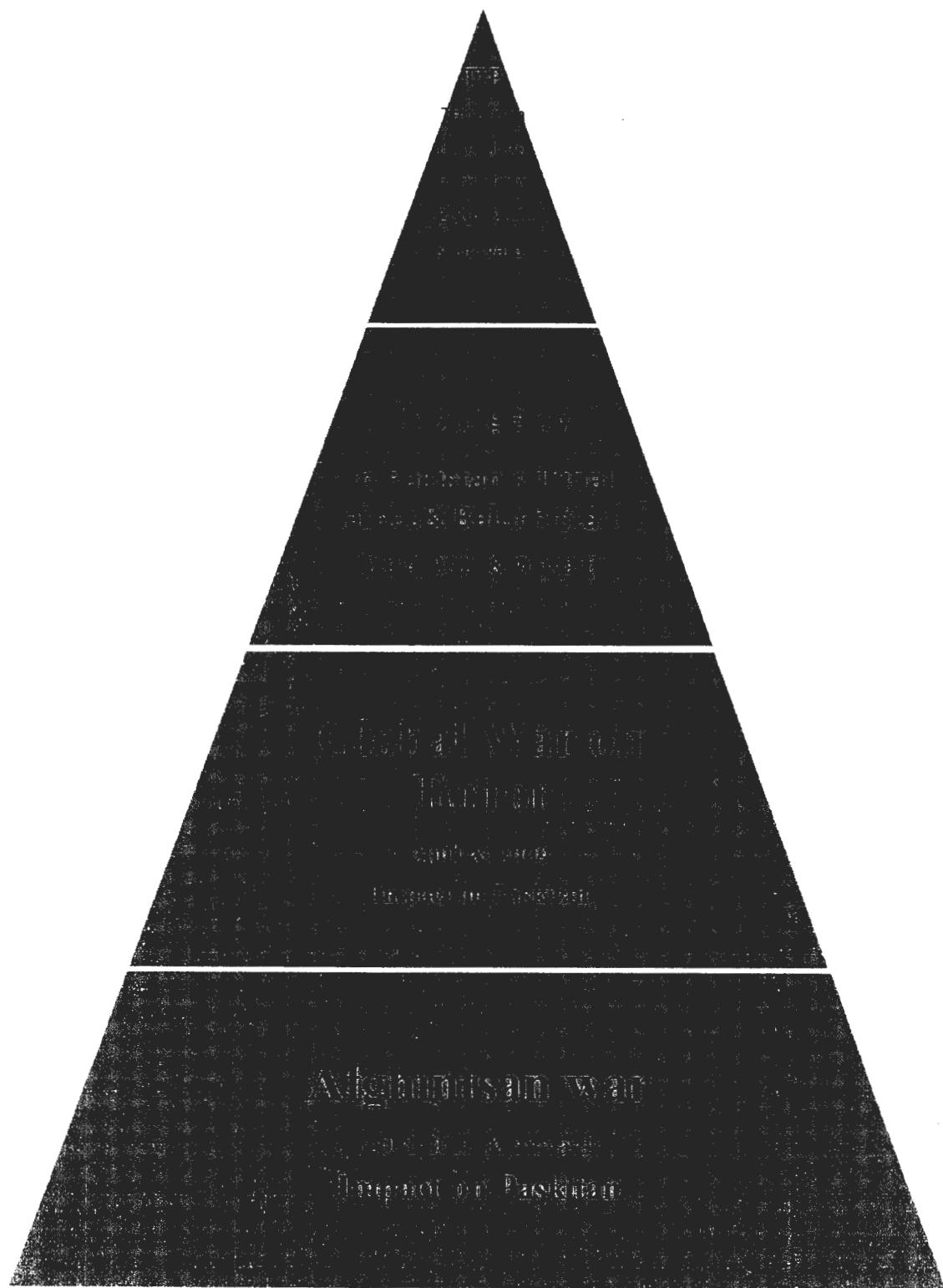
likely not exactly a quarter, for the \$6.5 billion figure reflects "responsibilities" Hamid (2011). This analysis is further confirmed by the other reputable international sources, like PIPA. Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) at the University of Maryland has conducted several surveys in different years to know about the opinion of Pakistanis about War on Terror. In one of such surveys of 2009, the opinion of Pakistani public about U.S. remained 'overwhelmingly negative. 69% have a troublesome perspective of the current U.S. government (58% extremely troublesome) - basically the same as in 2008. 88% think it is a U.S. objective to debilitate and divide the Islamic world (78% unquestionably an objective). The U.S. Predator ramble assaults went for aggressor camps inside the Pakistani outskirt are dismissed by 82% as unjustified. On the war in Afghanistan, 72 % object to the NATO mission and 79 %t need it finished now; 86 %think most Afghans need the mission finished also' Opinion.Org (2009).

### **3.3.4: It was not War of Pakistan (Political Cost)**

Majority of Pakistanis didn't accept this war as the war of Pakistan "Pakistanis" almost to a man, still believe that this is not their war, and that for the troops to fight the Taliban is fratricide. It ignores the fact that the bulk of the Pakistan army fully shares this view" Jha (2009). And the views of Pakistanis were not wrong as Bush himself declared as war president "I'm a war president. I make decisions here in the Oval Office in foreign policy matters with war on my mind.....I see dangers that exist and it's important for us to deal with them" BBC (2004) . And in July 2003, Bush said to a Palestinian delegation in Egypt that he had been driven with a mission from God. God was telling him (George) to go and wage a war on terrorists in Afghanistan and tyranny in Iraq. He said that he was duty bound to do so and did. MacAskill (2005).

Actually it was also not the war of Afghans as well, it was only war of America for her own interests and the war was absolutely illegal. Afghans had been dying in U.S. war, the war was not ours. It was the U.S. security combat. It was promoting western interests Al-Qaeda was a myth while the war was a reality. Afghan president Hamid Karzai had said that “Afghans died in a war that’s not ours....the war was “for the U.S. security and for the Western interest, al-Qaeda is “more a myth than a reality” and the majority of the United States’ prisoners here were innocent” Sieff (2014). So if Pakistanis consider that it was not their war they are right. When U.S. officials in the Afghan war perspective claim that, ‘Americans believed that their death toll, of approximately 2000 deaths of soldiers was huge, they also believed that their country spent more than \$ 600 billion to defeat Al-Qaeda and Taliban. They claimed that they rebuilt Afghanistan’ Sieff (2014). U.S. official always avoid accepting the bitter fact of unmatched human, and material losses, in Afghanistan and its worst impact on Pakistan due to U.S. led war on terror. This perception about the war has two prong challenges for Pakistani state, as domestically governments are unhappy and Pakistan is unable to convince the world community about its losses and efforts to eradicate terrorism.

**Figure 3.2: Pakistan's Worst Condition: Impact of 4 Wars/Insurgency**



The above Figure:3.2 Pakistan's worst condition: Impact of 4 wars/insurgency shows that how Pakistan had to face the worst ever situation in her history by fighting with insurgency in Tribal areas and Balochistan from 2004 to onward, terrorism inside , waged by Tehreek-Taliban Pakistan( TTP) and effects of GWOT and Afghanistan war. The all 4 wars /insurgencies are unique to cope with .Therefore a perception of Pakistanis developed that this is not our but someone else's war. In the current study data of human losses due to criminal activities in Karachi and insurgency in Balochistan has not been included.

### **3.4.1: Cost- Benefit Analyses (CBA)**

According to neorealist “Bandwagoning is sensible behavior where gains are possible even for the losers and where losing does not place their security in jeopardy” Waltz (2010).In the case of Pakistan , no choices were there, as there was a direct threat for Pakistan “You are either with us or against us”. Therefore Bandwagoning was the sensible behavior but what happened with Pakistan in term of cost and benefit. Analysis begins here.

### **3.4.2: Political Cost**

Neorealists believe that “Relative gains may be more important than absolute ones because one's gain measured against that placed of others, affects the ability to shift for oneself. The interest of firms requires them to put the imperatives of survival ahead of other aims” Waltz (2010).

Pakistan had to pay a heavy price in the world community. Despite the fact overwhelming majority of Pakistani people was not in favor to support U.S. and join U.S. led war on terror, but Musharraf being a military dictator and undemocratic leader decided to join the U.S. war. ‘The policy to go with United States was taken by political parties in Pakistan differently and vigorously, the future course of politics was stopped on the lines drawn by Pakistani leaders by

favoring or opposing it. Main current in such a living was Pro-America or No-America in nature and action. The political line up weighted the Kashmir cause alike with their separate interpretations' Rabbi (2012).

'Going with the wind' was the gist of Musharraf's strategy for joining the war on terror. But that wind's impact on national harmony and institutions was alarmingly dangerous Instability of internal dimensions, social unrest and political divide were the dividends of favoring U.S. for political ends. Pakistan's sum total was of a global loser and internal victim.

"The counterterrorism against terrorists and militancy inside the country added to institutional instability and raised social problems that remained consistent to beset the society. Thus, Pakistan is considered as one of the economic and strategic losers in the global system that has evolved since 9/11" Rabbi (2012).

There is a fact that despite all its efforts, Pakistan did and continues to receive criticism from world political leaders, rulers, Western media under Islam & Pakistan phobia and policy experts in the west. Despite all cooperation with U.S. and UK in the war on terror, Pakistan failed to win the confidence of U.S. and UK. Pakistan had to face much criticism from the both countries on most of the occasions in general but particularly after 2006. In the wake of accusations by David Cameron Prime Minister of UK on July 28, 2010, a row aroused between Pakistan and UK. While delivering the speech in a gathering of Indian Businessmen in Indian city Bangalore, he said that "We cannot tolerate in any sense the idea that this country is allowed to look both ways and is able to promote the export of terror, whether to India or Afghanistan or anywhere else in the world." That is why this relationship is important. But it should be a relationship based on a very clear message: that it is not right to have any relationship with groups that are promoting terror. Democratic states that want to be part of the developed world cannot do that. The message

to Pakistan from the U.S. and from the UK is very clear on that point...Asked ..... whether Pakistan exports terrorism, 'Cameron in his reply was carefully saying yes and no simultaneously; 'yes' for the past and a watchful 'No' for that time, not for now or then' Nicholas Watt (2010). It is quite interesting that the champion of human rights, Prime Minister of UK, Cameron didn't talk about a single word regarding human rights violations in Indian occupied Kashmir by Indian security forces. 'David Cameron talked about the streets of London by saying that The threat of terrorism could be reduced or eliminated anywhere' Affairs (2010). He forgot the streets of Peshawar, Karachi, Quetta and many other cities of Pakistan where thousands of Pakistani civilians were killed due to terrorism. This was the failure of policy of Musharraf and Zardari regarding war on terror that they could not succeed to draw the attention of the world toward human and other losses in Pakistan due to terrorism.

Pakistan's cooperation has proved instrumental in dismantling al-Qaeda. Its senior leadership is on the run and in total disarray and lost its ability to plan or execute terror attacks.

Pakistan was made pariah despite all cooperation with U.S. in the war on terror. U.S. criticized Pakistan more and praised less for its unmatched cooperation and sacrifices in the war on terror. The U.S. Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Mullen, in September 2011 praised and criticized Pakistan's role. Brian Cloughley noted that "on the one hand he declares that Pakistan is an international pariah and not to be regarded as reliable on any account, and then says "With Pakistan's help we have disrupted Al-Qaeda and its senior leadership in the border regions and degraded its ability to plan and conduct terror attacks". This is so illogical and off- the- planet as to make one wonder if he had had a bevy of Scotches before he went in to the legislators' Committee to which he testified" Cloughley (2011).

Pakistan became instable and reached at the edge of total chaos in 10 years of war on terror.

Politically Pakistan had to face pressures from inside and abroad. Despite all cooperation Pakistan could not win the trust of western nations in the war on terror. For example a document of UK Ministry of Defense think tank was leaked in mid June 2006, which was later published by BBC, indicates high level of mistrust toward Pakistan. According to this leaked paper Pakistan was blamed as 'dual player in' the war on terror and its army and intelligence agency was maligned. Incident of 7/7 bombing in London was even linked to ISI.

'The Army's double part in fighting fear mongering and in the meantime advancing the MMA thus in a roundabout way supporting the Taliban (through the ISI) is going under closer and nearer universal examination. In a roundabout way, Pakistan (through the ISI) has been supporting fear mongering and radicalism - whether in London on 7/7 or in Afghanistan or Iraq. [The West has] deliberately ignored toward existing flimsiness and the circuitous assurance of Al Qaeda and advancement of psychological oppression. The U.S. /UK can't start to turn the tide until they distinguish the genuine foes from assaulting thoughts strategically - and look to set up an all the more just vision' BBC (2006).

### **3.4.3: Military Cost**

There is a strong feeling in Pakistan regarding U.S. behavior in bilateral relationship toward Pakistan that whenever U.S. strategic interests loose in region, Pakistan is thrown like a "used tissue paper". For instance in one of articles by a former CIA officer Bruce O. Riedel wrote in New York Times on October 14, 2011 "Military assistance to Pakistan should be cut deeply. Regular contacts between our officers and theirs can continue, but under no delusion that we are allies" RIEDEL (2011). A post U.S. withdrawal Afghanistan scenario is like a written on wall for

Pakistan that it must be prepared for the Post U.S. withdrawal Afghanistan. In that scenario, U.S. will stop not only total military aid but economic as well.<sup>13</sup>

U.S. always creates narratives to cut the aid to Pakistan. For example blaming to Pakistan, “Adm. Mike Mullen, then the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told a Senate committee last month, Pakistan provides critical sanctuary and support to the Afghan insurgency that we are trying to suppress. Taliban leaders meet under Pakistani protection even as we try to capture or kill them” RIEDEL (2011).

According to Bruce O. Riedel a senior fellow at Brookings institution and ex CIA officer “First, we must recognize that the strategic interests of two countries are in conflict, not in harmony, and will remain.....America and Pakistan have had a turbulent relationship for decades” RIEDEL (2011). He is right to say like this. Since in anarchic global system, states peruse their national interests .Therefore, during Cold War time and in post 9/11 era it was in the national interest of U.S. to seek cooperation from Pakistan. India is perceived a regular threat for Pakistan, So Pakistan always want balance of power in the region. In the absence of any central authority at global level to enforce laws and to protect the interests of weaker states, states always interact for the protection of interests. Third phase of U.S. military aid to Pakistan started formally in 2002 in the wake of 9/11 incident but was stopped by U.S. following the U.S. raid in Abbottabad on May 2, 2011. On July 10, 2011 U.S. announced to withhold its lending hand and stopped some \$ 800 million in military assistance to Pakistan. The Pentagon blamed Pakistan for the stopping of aid. That amount was one-third of the annual package as security aid to Pakistan.

In the 2010-11 budget, Pakistan set aside \$6.41 billion for defense expenditure, an increase of \$1.27 billion from the previous year” Dawn (2011).

Due to American war on terror which engulfed Pakistan, Pakistani military had to conduct several military operations against foreign sponsored terrorists operating inside Pakistan. These operations not only consumed lot of national resources but caused much causality of military personnel.

**Table: 3.4 Military Operations in Pakistan 2001 to 2011**

Name of Operation	Area	Year
<i>Al Mizan</i>	South Waziristan	2002
<i>Sher Dil</i> ,	Bajur	2007
<i>Zalzala</i>	South Waziristan	2008
<i>Rah-e-Haq</i> ,	Malakand & Swat	2008
<i>Sirat-i-Mustaqeem</i>	Khyber Agency	2008
<i>Rah-e- Rast</i>	Malakand & Swat	2009
<i>Black Thunderstorm</i>	Buner, Lower Dir and Shangla district	2009
<i>Brekhna</i>	Mohmand Agency	2009
<i>Rah-e-Nijat</i>	South Waziristan	2010
Data sources : <sup>14</sup>		

### 3.4.4: Pakistan Day Parade

Pakistan armed forces became the frequent target of the terrorists after 2004. In order to prevent the frequent and deadly attacks on Pakistan's armed forces, Pakistani government had to cancel the joint military parades in Islamabad in 2009. Previously this kind of parade had always been a regular feature of the "Pakistan Day" on March 23<sup>rd</sup>. The joint military parade had been a particular feature to display not only Pakistani culture but military power as well. This cancellation remained intact till year 2011.<sup>15</sup>

What was U.S. behavior as a state in regard to Pakistan, An American journalist described it. According to him, the American military generals who demand that, "Pakistan must do more to combat terrorism." What they mean is that even more soldiers of the Pakistan army and Frontier

Corps (FC) should sacrifice their lives in order to make things easier for the West to claim that things are improving in its Afghan catastrophe. Had there been no invasion of Afghanistan by foreign troops, Pakistan would not be in the dreadful situation in which it now finds itself. The fanatics came over the border and found sanctuary amid the lawless, savage, but culturally hospitable Pushtun tribes, which at that very time were being encouraged, with signs of modest success, to join mainstream Pakistan. But the displaced militants began energetic campaigns of propaganda and hatred, and then wreaked havoc by brainwashing homegrown barbarians to develop their own brand of evil mayhem. Pakistan had no suicide bombings until 1995 when an Egyptian citizen tried to drive a bomb truck into his embassy in Islamabad. There were no other attacks until 2005, when there were two, by sectarian religious fanatics. But then the foreigners' war in Afghanistan really got going, and in 2007 there were over fifty suicide attacks in Pakistan, most of which directly targeted military forces. Since then it's been a hideous growth industry. Last year fifty bombings killed over 1100 people, and so far this year the score is 500 dead innocents. Thank you, Operation Enduring Freedom. And thank you, too, America, for the deaths of over 3,000 soldiers of the Pakistan army and Frontier Corps (FC), because none of them would have been killed were it not for your war in Afghanistan. Kabul's U.S. endorsed and fraudulently elected government and its supporting foreign military forces whine about Pakistan being unable to control movement of militants to and from Afghanistan, and certainly it is impossible to do this.

Installations and personal of Pakistan Air force and other military and civilian offices and airports had been targeted by terrorists.

**Table: 3.5 Attacks on Military Installations**

Place	City	Year	Losses	Description
Kamra	Kamra Aeronautical Complex	December 2007	7-killed	Suicide attack in the bus of employees of Complex
Kamra	Kamra Aeronautical Complex	January 18,2008	No killings	Rocket attacks
Lahore	Manawan Police Training Center	March 2009	Total killings 15	Attack on Police Training Center
Lahore	ISI Center	May 27, 2009	Killings 40	Attack on ISI Center
Rawal Pindi	Head Quarter of Armed Forces ( GHQ)	October 10, 2009	Total killings 14	Attack on ( GHQ)
Lahore	FIA and Manwan Police training Center	October 15, 2009	Total killings 16	Attack by terrorists
Multan	Office of ISI	December 08, 2009	Total Killings 15	Office of ISI
Karachi	Office of CID	July 10, 2011	Total Killings 100	Office of CID was attacked
Karachi	PNS Mehran Naval base , Karachi	May 22, 2011	10 Navy Personal and 3 Terrorists killed	Attack on Naval base, 2 Orion planes destroyed
				<sup>16</sup> Series of attacks continued even after 2011

### 3.4.5: Casualties (Human Losses & Political Cost)

What did Pakistan gain (Benefit) and loose (Cost) in this more than decade long war, which is not only the longest war in U.S history but in Pakistan's history as well? Pakistan had only experience of brief wars against India in 1948, 1965, and in 1971 which had been maximum weeks long whereas tenure of the war on terror and its impact on Pakistan is more than a decade long. Pakistan's loss was threefold. First was the monetary and economic loss, second was the investment in Pakistan economy and third was the loss of United States as a financial partner. The human loss was the lives of some 3080 soldiers and thousands of civilians killed. British scholar Anatol Lieven has admitted on May 5, 2011 regarding Pakistan's losses or cost of War on Terror 'Financial sacrifices which are

vastly in excess of the money - the damage to the Pakistani economy - of the aid given by the United States. And off course human sacrifices, some 3080 soldiers and police and tens of thousands of civilian died,' Lieven (2011).

Russian TV "RT" gave some estimates of civilian deaths occurred due to U.S. invasion in Afghanistan." Over 21,000 Afghan civilians and perhaps as many as 50,000 Pakistanis have been killed since 2001. The "undeclared war" in Pakistan is actually a staggering foreign policy nightmare most know nothing about" RT (2014). According to Neo-realism theory states are rational actors which select strategies in order to maximize benefits and minimize losses .In the case of Pakistan, Military losses (costs) of Pakistan are higher than benefits.<sup>17</sup>

'Experts worldwide debated Pak-US strategic partnership after 9/11, noticing the divergent objectives, wayward priorities and hostile national interests what so ever. They were converging upon eradicating extremism and defeating terrorism only one thing was common no single nation can play the game alone. Both were aware of each other as vital and important but each one was skeptical of the other. Pakistan was the week partner looking for economic development, peace and stability. Defense and economic gains from Central Asia were U.S. interests. So their mutual interests and mutual differences were alive at the same time. These were the reasons compelling both to serve each other by minimizing their deficits. They were agreed to combat terrorism and eradicate extremism to build better understanding in relations and cooperation'Bashir and Jan (2014).

### **3.4.6: Temporal Gains to Permanent Losses (Political Cost)**

Musharraf succeeded in short term for his personal gains but in the long run, his political decision proved destructive in national interest of Pakistan. For instance Musharraf was fortunate

enough to win world's support for legitimacy at a time when he was being taken as a usurper of power. He was instrumentally effective getting loans rescheduled. He achieved funds of over \$ 20 billion in military and economic cooperation. He was showered with more funds in the form of imbursements for military tasks performed by his forces. It is more important the tragedy of 9/11 was a blessing as well for Pakistan to win over a place in the comity of nations and leave behind the precarious Pakistan. It was believed that president Musharraf would be navigating Pakistan to the safest shores of development provided that strengthened with economic, military as well as political backing. But the dream has shattered long ago Pakistan remained in the skeptical category. The divergence of interests has defeated the convergence of opportunity' Fair (2012).

Undoubtedly Pakistan became a big looser of war on terror due to political decision of Musharraf. The circumstances turned the tides against Pakistan and added "the political instability and the economic and social problems that continue to beset Pakistan, and that country has to be regarded as one of the strategic and economic losers in the international system that has evolved since September 11" Hadar (2002).

According to A.Z. Hilali " geo-strategic and geopolitical location of Pakistan at the crossroads of Central, Southern and Southwest Asia also made it a pivotal-state and thus it was in a position to promote U.S. interests in the whole region" Hilali (2005).

### **3.5. Conclusion**

#### **3.5.1: Political Benefits**

Musharraf's decision to join the war on terror has many consequences for Pakistan. Some were short and some were long term.

1. First of all Musharraf himself got benefit as his rule was legitimized though he was a military dictator who overthrew the civil, elected government of Nawaz Sharif. U.S. had applied the policy toward Pakistan's earlier military dictator General Zia ul Haq in 1980.
2. Temporarily Pakistan's status changed from a short time from rogue and failed state to Front Line and Major-Non-NATO-ally
3. Membership of Commonwealth was restored which was under suspension since 1999
4. Pakistan also succeeded to come out of its international isolation.
5. Pakistan after a long time was able to find a friendly government in Afghanistan in form of Taliban regime, as all previous Afghans governments had been pro Soviet and pro India. After becoming U.S. ally against Afghanistan, Pakistan found herself in a most difficult position in regard to foreign policy toward Afghanistan and during whole decade Pakistan faced continuous allegations and hostile behavior by Afghan governments.
6. U.S. pressure over India to resume the dialogue with Pakistan was a temporary political benefit for Pakistan.

In Neorealist paradigm, Telhami is quoted by Elif Dibek that 'National interest' is an elusive concept. In striving for security, states seek to expand their capabilities vis-à-vis rival states. Thus ensuring territorial, economic and military security constitutes the national interest calculus of a state. At the same time, the level of capability a state possesses vis-à-vis others, constrains or equips states to pursue such interests. In turn, the scope and ambition of a country's interests are driven by its level of capability. Therefore within a Neorealist conceptual framework; national interests of states are best understood with reference to their relative capability ranking" Dibek (2012).

In nut shell a hostile and anarchic environment coupled with clashing and divergent interests of both countries, Pakistan could not achieve “absolute gains” but some “relative gains” were obviously archived which has been discussed above.

# Chapter 4

## Sovereignty: 1st Objective of Musharraf

Neorealism talks about sovereignty but in terms of survival, because for any state, the most important thing is survival. If a state survives then it can perform other duties, so survival is first and foremost thing. In the case of Pakistan or in the case of Musharraf's decision to join GWOT, his 4 objectives, one of the objective was that how to retain Pakistan's sovereignty? It means that Pakistan was in quest of sovereignty. Since the very first day of its inception, Pakistan felt herself under threat from India, in the wake of 9/11; Pakistan also faced another problem of terrorism. Therefore in this regard, the sovereignty is related with survival.

Sovereignty is related to survival, since a state want to survive in this anarchic system therefore survival comes first. Pakistan in a hostile environment whether it was from India or by Afghanistan (Terrorists), Pakistan intended to be secured; therefore sovereignty can be related to security. It is indivisible in all three traditional balances of power i.e., balance of threat, balance of terror and balance of power. The internal balancing, the external balancing, the military buildup, security arsenal buildup, in all these scenarios sovereignty is related with security. In the case of Pakistan, what Pakistan wanted especially from India; that was and is solution of Kashmir conflict. In other words, Pakistan is intended to have its security and territorial integrity. As earlier mentioned that following the 9/11 incident, Pakistan was in quest of security against the terrorism. Pakistan's sovereignty was breached on several occasion, for instance, constant drone attacks inside Pakistan by U.S., Raymond Davis, a CIA spy was arrested in Pakistan operating without permission of host country, U.S. marines raid on Osama's compound in Abbottabad, and NATO's attack on Pakistani army's check post at Salala on Pak Afghan border.

In coming years a blame game started between Afghanistan and Pakistan over border management on Durand line (Pak-Afghan border). These all issues are related to security. Survival, security and the sovereignty are related to each other.

In an anarchic environment where there is no guarantee of security and one state feels threatened from the other, there is always a peril of attack. Therefore security is required to protect a state's sovereignty. And as far as security is concerned it is a complex matter. To some scholars "the concept of security is difficult to define and even more difficult to operationalize for a number of reasons" Van Der W. ten, Nijman, and Thijssse (1985). Some scholars have defined it as "Security is the protection of a person, property or organization from an attack" Kurtus (2012).

In such situations states are forced to devise strategies which can help secure sovereignty or integrality of a state. "When a state is weak or in some cases not highly vulnerable to attack, it will implement the strategy of prevention. While a state (somewhat powerful) is attacked by another state or states, will response in a manner to neutralize the attack" Afzidi (2014).

Neorealism talks about sovereignty but in terms of survival, because for any state the most important thing is survival. If a state survives then it can perform other duties, so survival is first and foremost thing. In the case of Pakistan or in the case of Musharraf's decision to join GWOT, his 4 objectives, one of the objective was that how to retain Pakistan's sovereignty? It means that Pakistan was in quest of sovereignty. Since the very first day of its inception, Pakistan felt herself under threat from India. In the wake of 9/11, Pakistan also faced another problem of terrorism. Therefore in this regard, the sovereignty is related with survival.

The dilemma of Pakistan's sovereignty can be divided in this study into two parts 1) internal sovereignty and 2) external sovereignty threat. See table 4.0 below.

**Table: 4.0 Internal & External Sovereignty of Pakistan 2004 to 2011**

Type of sovereignty	Status	Duration	Violator	Action
Internal sovereignty	lost by Pakistan	2009-2011	TTP	Military Actions by Pakistan Army
External sovereignty	lost by Pakistan	2004-2011	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Drone attacks</li> <li>2. Raymond Davis ( CIA operative )</li> <li>3. Operations by Counterterrorism Pursuit Teams (CTPT) in Pakistani land</li> <li>4. NATO attack on Pakistani check post Salala</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Protest by Government of Pakistan</li> <li>2. Public demonstrations against U.S.</li> </ol>

#### **4.1 Historical Background**

Covert drone strikes by United States in Pakistan in North West tribal areas started in 2004.

People living in the region mostly reject the U.S. claim that most who killed in the attacks were terrorists. In Pakistani cities the attacks has triggered large anti-American sentiments.

The Government and Political parties frequently denounce the drone attacks and demanding to stop the drone strikes. The attacks have many negative consequences. It is a fundamental concern in regard to Pakistan's sovereignty; it is violation of the territory and human rights. U.S. never provided causality figures. These are indeed attacks on Pakistan's freedom and liberty.

Drone attacks in such a country which America claimed as a friend (Pakistan), which has never been at war with America, is a clear violation of international law, Geneva conventions and diplomatic norms. Drone strikes have fueled anti-American sentiments in the country

Sovereignty is a matter of honor and respect for any nation. Any nation in today's world values most its sovereign status. Respect and honor defines the sovereignty in any independence of the land and its people. International system relates itself directly to this status. It is truly defined as having supreme authority to exercise political will. Its resolve determines the national character in the light of two prevailing doctrines of non-intervention and that of formal equality respectively and simultaneously. Its dimensions are as observable as empirical, and as judicial as legal.

Sovereignty brings itself a set of rights, privileges as well as obligations. It exists in a system of anarchy in international law and politics. The right enjoyed by the monarch pertains to the doctrine of non-intervention. These rights also have the support of the doctrine of formal equality. Both these doctrines are in accordance with the international law.

One can read the United Nations charter that states in article 2, principle 7 that, "nothing contained in the present charter shall authorise the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the present charter." While chapter VII states, "non-intervention, simply means that sovereigns have the right to be free from interference by others in their domestic affairs". Article 2 of the charter also codifies formal equality as, "the organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members' Relations (Year not mentioned).

The concept of sovereignty evolved with the passage of time in the world anarchic system and it has been an issue of debate over the time. The latest episode of debate started in the wake of 9/11 incident. 'Europeans were the imperial powers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, exercising their national sovereignty beyond jurisdiction. No one could restrict their exercise of powers over other

nations. It was considered once that their imperial rule had collapsed with the end of the world war I, but the reality speaks of the change of methodology with aims and ambitions intact rather more lethal and dangerous for the sovereign states with lesser defense and weaker economy. The war on terror has initiated in the first decade of 21<sup>st</sup> century a renewed and reinforced imperial behavior of America as a state. Its strategy has undermined the applied character of the UNO on the whole and its system of collective security on unilateral basis. Now the weaker and smaller states stay threatened. They have to opt for becoming subjects to U.S. hegemony or to destruction and stalled development. These nations may be declared rogue states, terror-sponsors or even the enemy of humanity. Their economy, defense, even society are at stakes and vulnerable to foreign interference of any sort. Every state is left with its own choice to define and determine its sovereignty independently or in accordance to the dictates of the imperialism of modern style. It has reduced as well political options for leaders on national level. They have one option to go with the forces of modernism or with the forces of evil. They are to deciding what entails an act as 'good' at one time and same one as 'bad' at another. Their adoption or participation is not self-oriented and/or decided by their sovereign decisions. Such weaker states are vulnerable to the interpretations of international law and multilateralism of other's definitions.

Likewise is the case of the war on terror, citizens, politicians, academia and the policy makers are all feeling the brunt but doing what the United States directs. States like Pakistan are bound to adopt strategy of war on terror in political, social, economic and military terms. That strategy has back fired and terrorism has touched the very existence levels of Pakistan' Koechler (2002).

#### **4.2 Musharraf's Policy to Prevent Security Threat in Post 9/11 Scenario**

Due to U.S. threat “ either you are with us or with our enemy” Pakistan found herself in a perplexing situation, as it has cordial relationship with Afghan Taliban regime after almost four decades on its western borders. There were only few countries including Pakistan which had diplomatic relations with Afghan Taliban regime. Pakistan’s geographic location had always forced Pakistan to get involved in the great games whether it was Cold War or Post 9/11 era. Pakistan’s unique geographical location attracted U.S. as a super power in early 1950s when Pakistan signed SEATO & CENTO defense pacts with U.S. led western block<sup>18</sup>.

Musharraf in his speech in September 2001 has mentioned his objectives to join the U.S. led war on terror. One of his objectives was to protect the sovereignty of Pakistan. Pakistan was under immense pressure by U.S. to cooperate with U.S. and provide facilities to attack on Afghanistan, as Afghanistan is a neighboring country of Pakistan and an easy launch pad for the war against Afghanistan.

‘Afghanistan has its unique geography. It has no opening to sea, surrounded by countries from all sides it was invaded by U.S. forces from air and land only when these neighbors were forced to open borders to attack. Though central Asian States quite desperately sponsored the invasion, yet it was Pakistan, the vital key to succeed the Americans. The Indian Ocean proved to launch the campaign. Troops, supplies and fighter jets were present in the Indian waters on Aircraft carriers of United States. Pakistan’s close proximity made it vulnerable to prove either with U.S. or not, in a matter of an overnight decision. Pakistan was chosen as the invading ground for the simple reason of its relations with Taliban regime. They were running the landlocked country. Bush administration twisted arms of the then military regime in Islamabad through coercive

diplomacy. UN Security Council took merely 24 hours to sanction attack on the sovereignty of Afghanistan. U.S. led NATO military alliance waged the most sophisticated and high-tech war on Afghanistan to curb terrorist's safe havens there. Pakistan was logistic provider to U.S. The objective was to eliminate Taliban and make leaders of al-Qaeda run, but they escaped and gone into hiding. The diplomacy failed as U.S. ambassador Wendy Chamberlain could not convince the Taliban to hand over Osama Bin Laden to United States. She met with bitter failure and the result was in vain' Collins (2008).

Musharraf writes in his book that 'On September 13, 2001, Wendy Chamberlain (US Ambassador to Pakistan) presented to me an arrangement of seven demands. These requests had additionally been imparted to our outside office by the U.S. State Department through what is known as a non-paper.

1. Stop al Qaeda agents at your outskirts, catch arms shipments through Pakistan, and end all calculated support for (Osama) Bin Laden.
2. Give the United States cover over flight and landing rights to lead all essential military and intelligence operations.
3. Give regional access to the United States and unified military knowledge as required and other work force to lead every fundamental operation against the culprits of psychological warfare and those that harbor them, including the utilization of Pakistan's maritime ports, air constructs, and key areas in light of outskirts.
4. Give the United States instantly with insight, movement data and databases, and inside security data, to counteract and react to fear based oppressor acts executed against the United States, its companions, or its partners.

5 Keep on publicly denounce the fear based oppressor demonstrations of September 11 and some other psychological oppressor acts against the United States or its companions and partners, and control every single household articulation of bolster [for terrorism] against the United States, its companions, or its partners

6. Remove all shipments of fuel to the Taliban and some other things and enlisted people, including volunteers on the way to Afghanistan, who can be utilized as a part of a military hostile limit or to abet a fear monger danger’.

7. Should the evidence strongly implicate Osama bin Laden and the al Qaeda network in Afghanistan and should Afghanistan and the Taliban continue to harbor him and his network, Pakistan will break diplomatic relations with the Taliban government, end support for the Taliban, and assist the United States in the aforementioned ways to destroy Osama Bin Laden and his al Qaeda network” Musharraf (2006).

According to Musharraf in the same book “We just could not accept demands two and three”. Those were “Provide the United States with blanket over flight and landing rights to conduct all necessary military and intelligence operations”. And “Provide territorial access to the United States and allied military intelligence as needed and other personnel to conduct all necessary operations against the perpetrators of terrorism and those that harbor them, including the use of Pakistan's naval ports, air bases, and strategic locations on borders” but he indeed accepted these two demands of U.S. as well. Landing rights later proved the source of drone attacks inside the territory of Pakistan. According to General ( R ) Hameed Gul<sup>19</sup> “I was told by General Waseem who had visited me after 9/11 to support the policy of Musharraf regarding joining war on terror that “ we have told Americans about logistic support, and you need not to worry about it, because there are your students and subordinates ( to protect the national interest) so it is out of

question that we will allow Americans to use our bases" but later it was revealed that many air bases of Pakistan which include bases in Hyderabad, Shamsi (Quetta), and (Shahbaz) Jacobabad were allowed to use by U.S. Even Americans themselves admitted that they had used the Shahbaz air base Jacobabad (Fighters F-16s of Americans flew from Shahbaz air base Jacobabad). But the most dangerous decision was to give Shamsi Air base to Americans. Because they flew drones regularly from there and attacked our people. Erik Prince (Who is an ex American Navy SEAL officer. He was notorious for establishing the security company Blackwater USA, which was renamed as Xe has told in one of his interviews about the U.S. involvement in drone attacks in Pakistan from Pakistani soil" H. Gull (2015).

During the devastating floods of 2010 in Pakistan the issue of Shahbaz air base arose when ex-Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mir Zafrullah Jamali leveled the charge against federal government that floodwater was deliberately diverted toward Balochistan in order to save the Shahbaz air base where U.S. F-16 fighter planes has been stationed whereas the then Prime Minister of Pakistan Yousaf Raza Gilani categorically denied it. He and "Pakistan Air Force (PAF) said in public statements that the base was under Pakistan's control and denied that American officers stationed there. Defense Minister Ahmed Mukhtar told the Senate in January 2010 that the base had been used for "covert operations in Afghanistan two years ago" but the Shamsi, Pasni and Shahbaz bases were not being used by the U.S.", Whereas on the contrary WikiLeaks cables tells the different narrative. According to U.S. cables on the matter "The security notes also mandate a five year, 24/7 U.S. technology security presence for the F16s. SAF/IA has determined that when fully in place, the U.S. security presence should consist of 45 U.S. personnel – 40 at Shahbaz (five U.S. military and 35 contractors), and five in Islamabad (two U.S. military, one U.S. Government civilian, two contractors). The evaluated cost of the U.S.

security nearness is \$30 million every year, or \$150 million for the full five year time frame.” The F16 aircrafts are subject to security restrictions that the aircraft, armaments, related equipment and technical data need to be housed at a separate air force base which does not have “non U.S./ non Pakistani origin personnel and aircraft.” A January 2009 cable explained this further, stating that “there have been other U.S. government concerns about illegal technology transfer relating to Pakistan’s coproduction program with the JF17 Chinese fighter aircraft.” The cables also note Pakistan’s difficulty in making payments for the security presence. According to the October cable, Pakistan also had to make upgrades and security enhancements to the airbase, which it estimated would cost \$210 million” Imtiaz (2011).

When Dr. Nighat Noureen (Assistant Professor at Forman Christian College Lahore, Pakistan) was contacted to share her views about the question that was Pakistan’s sovereignty respected by the U.S. during the period 2001 to 2011? , she was of the view that “the U.S. did respect Pakistan’s sovereignty to a large extent but not to the fullest as it viewed the actions of the Pakistani security institutions as skeptical to the interests of U.S. The drone attacks in the tribal areas of Pakistan were carried out and some high profile extremist elements related with Al-Qaeda were abducted from the Pakistani soil with the ‘silent’ support of Pakistan but Pakistan did not hesitate in keeping its record straight in protesting against any such event. After all when the U.S. is declared as the strategic partner and a friend and ally of Pakistan in the joint action spread over a decade or so, how can we object on any action that is, though taken without intimation to Pakistan, but stands to the interest of the U.S.? Noureen (2015).

When for the same question Pakistani General (R) Hameed Gull (Ex-Chief of ISI) was interviewed, he had entirely different views .He said that (one of Musharraf’s four objectives to join the war on terror) is concerned; “Pakistan lost its sovereignty totally. When UN passed

resolution 1368, being member we were obliged to accept it but it didn't mean that we should have joined U.S. on such a level to surrender ourselves to act as a frontline state to serve the U.S. interests. This decision of Musharraf to provide the facilities to U.S. was wrong. Details of the decision were kept secret ( by Musharraf) and the day came when on November 26, 2011 NATO killed 24 Pakistani soldiers in an attack on Pakistani check post *Salala* on Pak-Afghan border. Till this NATO attack, *Shamsi* Air base (Near Quetta) was being used by U.S. troops. They carried out drone attacks from our soil (on our own people). Another decision issuing visas to allow U.S. security contractors to come and sit in Pakistan was also wrong. The actual purpose was to De-Nuclearize the Pakistan. Americans have 3 objectives in Pakistan 1) To De-Islamize Pakistan 2) De-Militarize Pakistan 3) De-Nuclearize Pakistan.

Musharraf started catching people for \$ 5000 and even the daughter of the nation like Dr. Afia Siddiqui was also handed over to U.S. There is no doubt that Afia was handed over to Americans on the orders of General. Pervez Musharraf. U.S. sneaked in our system." H. Gull (2015).

Mr. Ayyub Munir (Lecturer at Government Science College Lahore) responded the question regarding sovereignty of Pakistan by saying that "There are numerous examples to prove that government of United States of America has crossed the limits, they had insulted the sovereignty of Pakistan, Why are there drone attack in Pakistan? Why Raymond Davis got free? Why there had been the killings of Pakistani soldiers and army men in Pakistani territory? Why did Obama ask Pakistan to release the Raymond Davis It proves that they (Americans) had violated the Pakistani laws. If NATO forces are there in Afghanistan, if they use our corridor against us ,it means, it was not a respect of our sovereignty, it was a disrespect" Munir (2015).

Mr. Imtiaz Gull heads a think tank (Center for Research and Security Studies) in Islamabad. His views about the sovereignty of Pakistan were "No i don't think so. Whenever U.S. declared war

in some region then it used all the surrounding territories as the stepping stone for its operations, this is what happened in the case of Pakistan too" I. Gull (2015).

#### **4.3 Drone Attacks and Policy during Musharraf Regime**

Drone strikes have created socio, psychological problems in Pakistan as many civilians and non-combatants were killed in most of strikes by U.S. In several drone strikes in Pakistan, hundreds of innocent people, including, children, women and old age people have been killed during Bush and Obama administration. The first drone strike was reported in 2004, whereas, during Obama administration, number of drone attacks increased sharply. "According to reports 2,347 to 3,796 persons were killed in these attacks, including 416-957 civilians and another 168-202 children. Around 1,099-1,660 were injured in drone strikes during this period.

For majority of Pakistani people "The use of drones is not only a continual violation of our territorial integrity but also detrimental to our resolve and efforts at eliminating terrorism from our country". The Peshawar High Court has ruled that the attacks are illegal, inhumane, violate the UN charter of human rights and constitute a war crime. However the Obama administration disagrees and continues on this path .... International human rights law does not allow the use of Hellfire missiles because their heavy fire power exceeds the limits of fire power allowed for law-enforcement purposes, according to the American Society of International Law..... The myth that Drones are 100 percent culminate on targets was broken by a report. The precision rate for hitting the expected target is roughly 1.5-2 percent. The Bureau of Investigative Journalism has assessed that 98 percent of casualties of automaton strikes are 'blow-back', or in more human terms, regular Civilians, kids, or suspected militants who are either minor, low-level associates or whose inclusion with activists has never been demonstrated... .The Predator and Reaper for

the most part cost \$4 million to \$12 million each. This \$4 million is adequate to manufacture 40 secondary school structures in the FATA territories that can oblige no less than 200 understudies in every school' Tariq (2014).

#### **4.4 Failed Policy of Musharraf and Gilani**

Some scholars have emphasized that it is duty of leaders of state to do utmost to apply the principle of sovereignty in the state and protect it from any threat toward sovereignty, for instance according to Richard Little and Michael Smith "sovereignty remains a constitutive principle and state authorities play a crucial role" Little and Smith (2006). In the case of Pakistan in post 9/11 scenario policy of Musharraf had been to hide the facts from the nation. First Musharraf had always condemned the U.S. over drone attack issues during his whole duration of office but much later Pervez Musharraf admitted in an interview to CNN on April 12, 2013 that when he was in power he covertly "signed off, on U.S. drone strikes, the first time a top past or present Pakistani official has admitted publicly to such a deal. Pakistani leaders long have openly challenged the drone program and insisted they had no part in it. Musharraf's admission, though, suggests he and others did play some role, even if they didn't oversee the program or approve every attack.

'Nic Robertson has explained the mystery of drone attacks as the General Musharraf's confessions that Pakistani government signed off deal for drone strikes with insistence that the targets were clearly defined without fears of the collateral damage. He also admitted that agreed strikes were limited in numbers and on terror targets only. It was significant to know that Pakistan had been denouncing any approval given to U.S. for such drastic strikes. No one was ready to believe the unilateral character of the drone strikes' Nic Robertson (2013).

In his interview (Late) General *Hameed Gull* said that “They (Americans) started mapping our cities and they have succeeded to complete the digital mapping of our 18 cities. Digital mapping means that every house can be given a code and a cruise missile can come and hit that house. They hit targets through drone attacks and use Hell fire missiles to kill the people. Musharraf made hell of mistakes and as a result he didn’t blame Americans for the Drone attacks instead he claimed that such attacks are being carried out by ourselves. The peace agreement between Pakistan and with *Nek Muhammad Wazir* (of the Pakistani Taliban was signed on April 20014) was not acceptable to U.S. as both parties were happy and environment in Waziristan turned again in favor of Pakistan, therefore U.S. tried to get it failed through a drone attack in June 2004. On October 30, 2006 in U.S. drone attack on a *Madrasah In Bajur* Agency where around 26 young Hafiz –e- Quran aged 14 were killed. Reason behind this drone attack was to stop a peace agreement between Pakistan and the fighters of the area. All of the peace agreements breaches (between Pakistan and local fighters) were mainly sponsored by U.S. Due to his policies, situation worsened in the tribal areas (FATA) and State is facing a nastiest situation there in FATA” H. Gull (2015).

U.S. was behaving with Musharraf as a master not friend. Journalist Seymour M. Hersh wrote in one of his articles in November 2009 that Musharraf ‘had to face the strong opposition at home on the predator attacks on Pakistan’s soil off and on. The story started in 2005<sup>20</sup> with, ever first deadly attack. Pakistan immediately asked U.S. to give the predators and we would pursue strikes at our own but the request turned down. Musharraf was ready to deceive his nation as he admitted: I told the Americans, ‘Then just say publicly that you’re giving them to us. You keep on firing them but put Pakistan Air Forces markings on them. That, too, was denied’ Hersh (2009).

The same policy regarding Drone attacks was continued by the Gilani government after Musharraf regime, "Pakistan, which has publicly rejected any U.S. military presence beyond trainers restricted to specified bases, secretly authorized as many as 12 U.S. 'Special Operations' commandos to work as advisers to conventional army units in operations last year against insurgents in the tribal belt along the border with Afghanistan. An Oct. 9, 2009, cable from the U.S. Embassy in Islamabad described the arrangement as a "sea change" in Pakistani military attitudes. It noted that "previously, the Pakistani military leadership adamantly opposed letting us embed our special operations personnel with their military forces. "The U.S. personnel would "provide intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance support and general operations advice," including "a live downlink of unmanned aerial vehicle full motion video" to Pakistan's 11th Corps, the unit responsible for operations in the tribal areas that are insurgent sanctuaries. It is not clear from the cable how many, if any, of the Special Forces advisers were put in place..... The cables portrayed a weak civilian government under President Asif Ali Zardari and Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani that has supported U.S. aims but is fearful of the powerful Pakistani military. When Patterson, who also served as ambassador in George W. Bush's administration, met with Gilani in August 2008, the Prime Minister brushed aside concerns raised by his interior minister about attacks within Pakistani territory by unmanned U.S. drone aircraft. The government, then and now publicly rejected the attacks and denied approving them. "I don't care if they do it as long as they get the right people," Gilani said. "We'll protest in the National Assembly and then ignore it" DeYoung and Miller (2010). Drone strikes had been a serious issue which later (after 2011), proved its negative impact on the sovereignty of Pakistan and human rights of Pakistani citizens.<sup>21</sup>

Pakistan's coalition with U.S. in GWOT could not deter U.S. to violate the sovereignty of Pakistan. For instance In March 2011 a heated debate took place between U.S. envoy to Pakistan, Cameron Munter and CIA station chief in Islamabad. 'The Raymond Davis case was finished just a day before. Envoy was insisting to postpone a drone attack inside Pakistan for some other day. His arguments were set aside and station chief ordered the strike at decided time' Tribune (2011a).

**Table 4.1: Drone attack in Pakistan: 2005-2011**

Year	Incidents	Killed	Injured
2005	1	1	0
2006	0	0	0
2007	1	20	15
2008	19	156	17
2009	46	536	75
2010	90	831	85+
2011	59	548	52

Source: SATP (2015).

These are not exact statistics because the numbers vary in different sources. New America Foundation, a public policy group provided some statistics from 2004 to 24 February 2010, in its report.

**Table 4.2: Average deaths from U.S. Drone Strikes in Pakistan, 2004-2010**

Year	Number of strikes	Militants	Others	Total
2004-2007	9	89	9	98
2008	34	126	175	301
2009	53	382	120	502
2010 (Till February 24).	18	112	18	130

Source: Bergen and Tiedemann (2010)

Ben Emmerson, UN special rapporteur on human rights and counter terrorism, visited Pakistan and investigated the matter of drone strikes in Pakistan. According to him 'Pakistan claimed through documented research that drones killed as many as 400 civilians. Another 200 killed were "probable non-combatants". The Bureau of Investigation Journalism in London, while giving number of people killed in drone strikes to a minimum of 2,536 and maximum of 3,577, reported that at least 411 civilians or as many as 884 were killed up till 2005, research reviewed 25 case studies and listened to tribal elders saying that traditional dressing and carrying guns as usual norms also made their innocent fellows to fall prey to drone attacks' Leiby (2013).

Once a Pakistani Foreign Office spokesperson, maintained that unilateral drone strikes are a violation of Pakistan's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Pakistan has repeatedly emphasized the importance of bringing an immediate end to drone strikes; ....these strikes have a negative impact on the mutual desire of both the countries (U.S. and Pakistan) to forge a cordial and cooperative relationship and to ensure peace and stability in the region...Pakistan has confirmed that some 2,200 people were killed by drone strikes in the past decade. Of these, at least 400-450 were civilians and an additional 200 victims were deemed "probable non-combatants" Khan (2013).

In a drone attack on March 17, 2011 more than 50 people including children were killed, this was a community gathering where tribal elders had gathered to settle a local dispute. An Islamabad based charity organization the Foundation for Fundamental Rights (FFR) decided to file a case over this incident, in Peshawar High Court<sup>22</sup>.

One American well known journalist Mr. Clive Stafford Smith was of the view that as an 'American he would expect Barack Obama to strike Pakistan if he were loaded with proof that Pak drones had been targeting Texas. He said he would spare no time but ask Obama for prompt reply without delay. CIA brought shame to the Americans democracy and rule of law by secretly attacking people in Pakistan by predator drones. Such a policy equaled the catastrophic conduct in Guantanamo Bay and Abu Ghraib' Smith (2013).

The results of drone strikes which are unilateral in nature are not fruitful for Pakistan and U.S. 'One-sided missile strikes had negative results for the Pak-US long haul relations. These assaults were counter-beneficial to Pakistan's endeavors against terrorism and radicalism as repeated by Pakistan's civil and military authorities. They had vitiated the local political environment. The overall population and additionally the military had been profoundly undermined by the missile strikes which damaged the state sway and may be negative to collaboration with the U.S. 'Wadhams, Katulis, Korb, and Cookman (2008).

Pakistan's Ambassador to U.S., *Shereen Rehman* had once said "The Pakistani parliament<sup>23</sup> has made clear that drones are a "red line", one Washington chooses for the moment to ignore, putting its long-term standing and influence with Pakistan in jeopardy. Every time there is a drone strike, you see it on 40 (TV) channels at least in Pakistan," "They lend an unfortunate view of U.S. power and how the United States projects its power abroad. Drones may be a key element in the U.S. strategy, but they are "not part of our playbook. The time for drone strikes is really over" Crowley (2013). U.S. Drone attacks inside Pakistan are carried out not only inside Pakistan but from America as well; A Special Unit of U.S. Air force controls this drone attack program which was revealed in a documentary released in 2014. 'Drone strikes in Pakistan are

conducted from the Nevada desert where a U.S. Air force unit commences the program. CIA's drones fly from here to strike in Pakistan. This unit has been identified, by a film in the making, as the 17<sup>th</sup> Reconnaissance Squadron from the corner of Creech air force base, 45 miles from Las Vegas in Mojave Desert. The operators of this unit themselves have claimed that their drones have so far, in a 10 year time, killed more than 2400 people' Wood (2014).

As the time passed, many intellectuals, lawyers and experts started warning U.S. and explaining the death and destruction level of innocents in this war. People of Pakistan registered their anger and protest on drone attacks. Academia and media alike have been vocal in sheet tone and temper decreasing the strikes as a breach of sovereignty. 'A media source claimed that the proportions of innocent killed to terrorists killed were 123 to 3, one can contest these members, but United States could not counter allegations. In an Al-Jazeera poll of 2009, 67% of Pakistanis expressed their opposition while only 9% supported the operations through drones. A PEW poll of May-June of same year exposed that 95% of Pakistanis considered drone strikes absolutely bad, so was the perception against U.S. in Pakistan' R. A. Pape and J. Feldman (2010).

According to *Seumas Milne* 'The government, the parliament and the political elite were strong opponents of renewed drone attacks by the United States. The occasion was the capture and conviction of a CIA agent in Pakistan who helped operation to kill Osama bin Laden in May 2011. Pakistan was refusing to reopen route for NATO supplies after attack on its soldiers at *Salala* post. Washington was not apologizing *Wajid Shamsul Hassan*. Pakistan's High Commissioner in London, termed strike as punitive. Barack Obama was willingly using predators and reapers. Pakistan learnt a formidable lesson setting aside any protest against his actions. Yemen was the second country where those drones were being used. Obama increased strikes during his first two years in office three times, claiming that the 'bad guys' were the

prohibit willful killing. Targeted or political assassinations—sometimes called extrajudicial executions—are carried out by order of, or with the acquiescence of, a government, outside any judicial framework. As, a 1998 report from the UN Special Rapporteur noted, “Extrajudicial executions can never be justified under any circumstances, not even in time of war.” ‘Tenacious murdering is a grave break of the Geneva traditions, culpable as an atrocity under the U.S. Atrocities Act. Extrajudicial executions likewise disregard a longstanding U.S. strategy. In the 1970s, after the senate select committee on intelligence unveiled that the CIA had been included in a few murders or endeavored killings of remote pioneers, President Gerald Ford issued an official request banning deaths. Despite the fact that there have been special cases to this strategy, each succeeding president until George W. Shrubbery reaffirmed that request....In his [Obama's] statement that he would send 30,000 extra U.S. troops to Afghanistan, Obama made insufficient reference to Pakistan. Be that as it may, his CIA has utilized more unmanned Predator rambles against Pakistan than Bush. There are appraisals that these robots have murdered a few hundred regular people. Most Pakistanis restrict them. A Gallup survey led in Pakistan the previous summer discovered 67% contradicted and just 9% in support. Prominently, a dominant part of Pakistanis positioned the United States as a more noteworthy danger to Pakistan than the Taliban or Pakistan's main adversary India’ Cohn (2009).

Innocent citizens become frequently target of these drone strikes, this issue was raised by many writers .Expert on international law, author of many books and a prominent British lawyer Geoffrey Robertson wrote that “Drone killings in Pakistan and in Yemen have ended the lives of targets who are furnished and in conspiratorial gatherings, however others have only been going to weddings or funerals or rising up out of healing centers or mosques. In Pakistan, there have been situations where ace government pioneers, their families and even armed force troopers

have been slaughtered by oversight in automaton assaults that have seriously harmed U.S. relations with a politically tense, atomic outfitted country that is not at war with the U.S....

..There is a feeling that global law has fizzled: the UN Charter, the traditions and the standards of the courts have not gave attractive direction to pursuing awry fighting. Henceforth the quiet of states and the late sincere demand, by the UN's human rights magistrate, for dire elucidation of the law. The path forward might be to discover a route back, to sensible drive and proportionality. At present, many automaton killings must be depicted as outline executions – the discipline of the Red Queen ("sentence initially, trial later"), which denies the privilege to life, the assumption of guiltlessness and the privilege to a reasonable trial' Robertson (2012).

American sent their forces in Pakistani lands without prior permission and violated the sovereignty of Pakistan; furthermore they expanded the plans to bring more soldiers inside Pakistani territory. For instance "The main alternative was a giant expansion of the covert war. America's 3,000-man Counterterrorism Pursuit Teams (CTPT) were now conducting cross-border operations into Pakistan" Woodward (2011).

What is future plan for Pakistan by America in regard to sovereignty, David Sanger has revealed in his book. According to him 'The "enduring presence" in Afghanistan is proposed as a stage to permit American Special Operations Forces and automations to go anyplace in the locale; to strike into Pakistan if Al Qaida restores or an atomic weapon get free; to move into Kabul on the off chance that it looks as though Afghanistan government will fall; to manage Iran. That was the pith of Donilon's message to General Kayani amid that smoke-mixed meeting in Abu Dhabi.it is the privilege key idea for the United States, in any event' Sanger (2012).

U.S. always insisted that they carefully hit the target through drones but later it proved that despite all care according to U.S. claims, innocent people were also hit and Pakistani claim that lot of innocent people become victim, proved.<sup>26</sup>

In a competitive and hostile structure, it is primary responsibility of the states to protect its sovereignty because state and sovereignty are indivisible or in other words complementary to one another. 'To achieve its sovereignty, a state determines its strategies in relevance with other states' policies' Afzidi (2014). From Neorealist perspective "It is generally true, though not at all uniformly so, that states in the modern era, regardless of their ideology, domestic structure, individual aims," Schroeder (1994).

#### **4.5 Activities of Blackwater/Xe and Sovereignty of Pakistan**

Other than drone attacks few more events occurred which dented the Pak-US relations with regard to sovereignty of Pakistan. 'Relations between the two nations were going easily till 2011 albeit consistent request of Washington to accomplish more. Be that as it may, fractures in relations happened in 2011 due to Raymond Davis occasion, Osama's murdering in Abbottabad, NATO assault on Salala check post and finally the get-away of Shamsi airbase by USA' Akhtar (2012).

To achieve their objectives, Americans never hesitate to violate the sovereignty of friendly nations even. Many stories which have been published in different newspapers of U.S. i.e. The Washington Post. The New York Times and The Nation (U.S.) during 2008-09 describes the interventionist policy of Americans in the sovereign states .For instance "the CIA program planned to target various Al Qaeda terrorists overseas by dispatching small "hit teams" made of highly trained special operatives. Not only did the New York Times published reports of the

existence of the “hit teams”, it also asserted that it was Blackwater/Xe operatives who were assembling the missiles and often gathering the intelligence needed for drone strikes in Pakistan. According to *Jeremy Scahill's* report in The Nation these special Blackwater cells also had bases in Karachi and other parts of Pakistan from which they ran their operations. In the *Vanity Fair* report, *Mamoun Darkazanli*, an Al Qaeda financier, is revealed to have been taken out by the secret CIA program without any knowledge of the German government. According to the interview, a similar attack was planned on A.Q. Khan<sup>27</sup> in Pakistan but was never carried out” Dawn (2009). The attack on A.Q. Khan means that attack on Pakistan.

#### **4.5.1 Internal Politics of Pakistan & NGOs**

U.S. had used money to promote the secular parties in the general elections of Pakistan in 2008. *Altaf Hussain*<sup>28</sup> the chief of Pakistan's secular party *Muttahida Qaumi Movement* (MQM) had leveled charges against *Asfandyar wali* the chief of another secular party of Pakistan *Awami National Party* (ANP) .In September 2011 due to political rivalry said that “during the 2008 elections, ANP Chief *Asfandyar Wali* Khan was provided several million dollars by the U.S.” News (2011b).

Similarly the leaders from the ANP also had the same views for instance Mr. *Azam Khan Hoti*, former Federal Minister and one of ANP leaders also said that “*Asfandyar Wali* received millions of dollars from the U.S. for extending support to it in the ‘war on terror” Mayar (2013).

Americans on several occasions tried to interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan. America invested a lot of money to buy Pakistani media houses, funding NGOs, and sending spies under the cover of aid workers during earthquake (2005) and floods (2010).thousands of visas were issued to such Americans. They in turn created mess in Pakistan. They directly distributed funds

to the NGOs of their choices to destabilize the Pakistan. 'USAID was active on its own, setting government of Pakistan and its preferences aside, distributed funds among NGOs of choice, both local as well as American, thus playing role in destabilizing the province KPK as well as Pakistan. Pakistan's prime institutions like NAB, FIA and others, dug out stringer elements used by the U.S. donor agency for spying. Such an illegal activity noticed but rarely checked as the question of mandate and jurisdiction had often played in favor of those hurting Pakistan. Such a scandal of corruption was unearthed and some American NGOs were declared culprit. Those NGOs continued their working under USAID supervision' Abbasi (2011).

According to General Hameed Gull <sup>29</sup>"In order to Secularize Pakistan, NGOs (funded by U.S.) were activated. NGOs were activated only for the sake of secularization the Pakistan. They (U.S.) almost have bought the Pakistani media. The objective of Indian spy agency RAW's Project *Aman ke Asha* is to bring closer Pakistan to India while forgetting the Kashmir cause. 7200 visas were granted (to such Americans) .Some of the visas were issued during Musharraf regime but mostly were granted during the *Zardari* regime and *Zardari* and *Husain Haqqanai* (The then Pakistan's Ambassador to U.S.) both were responsible. As a consequence, U.S. security contractors spread all over the Pakistan (to create anarchy).Raymond Davis was only a tip of iceberg. Raymond Davis was engaged in the "Nuclear Mapping" of Pakistan. They started controlling our administrative system .They already had infiltrated in the Foreign Ministry of Pakistan and likewise Finance Ministry was also under U.S. control. Robin Raphel, the once in charge USAID in Pakistan had said that it is easy to handle the Pakistan, Just control the Army Chief of Pakistan (control his posting and transfer), control 12 Pakistani bureaucrats and same numbers of feudal lords and then there is no problem in controlling whole Pakistan. This is American formula to control Pakistan. They are acting upon it efficiently and they are very

successful in it" H. Gull (2015). Same views were shared by Mr. *Imtiaz Gull* when he was interviewed on the issue. According to him "thousands of CIA operatives landed in Pakistan, often under the cover of development workers who setup NGOs, INGOs and started their profiling and mapping of Pakistan militancy of landscape... whenever they declared war then they try to infiltrate that society, that country through intelligence operatives, through their diplomats, through local human resource who also cover of a lot of NGOs like development sectors, a lot of factors come into play, once the United State declared war on any country or a country that it think can be used as launching pad for its operations in a third country" I. Gull (2015).

#### **4.6 Polarization in Muslims and Pakistanis**

The semi government think tank of America RAND Corporation published its report in March 2004 titled "Civil Democratic Islam: Partners, Resources and Strategies" which was in fact implemented also in the Muslim world and in Pakistan as well. The salient points of the strategy to divide the Muslims clearly show the policy of American Neo-cons. It reads that "Support the traditionalists against the fundamentalists" Benard, Riddle, Wilson, and Popper (2004).

To create more polarization in Pakistan and other Muslim countries as well, the mentioned above RAND report reads that "Fundamentalists .....should be better publicized in order to diminish the heroic image they cultivate with some disenchanted populations. Traditionalist criticism of the violence and extremism of fundamentalism can be publicized. Selectively support secularists" Benard et al. (2004).

The U.S. government Planned in 2011 to change the negative image of America in Pakistani masses by spending "nearly \$50 million on Pakistani media..... Voice of America, a radio and

TV platform that speaks for the government of the U.S. already has a tie-up with Geo TV<sup>30</sup> and now they have aligned with Express TV as well" Siasat (2012).

U.S. Newspaper Christian Science Monitor was quoted by a Pakistani English newspaper Express Tribune that "Two Pakistani journalists filing reports home from Washington are drawing their salaries from U.S. State Department funding through a nonprofit intermediary, highlighting the sophisticated nature of America's efforts to shape its image abroad" Tribune (2011b)

'According to news reports, special fax machines installed at ministry of Foreign Affairs, Islamabad and all Pakistani embassies worldwide had been sending out one copy of every paper to some unidentified location in 2010. Machines were a gift from some friendly country. 'It was revealed later that phones were also tapped, even meetings of the (Pakistani) cabinet were bugged. The activity (of bugging) was so intense once that the cabinet meeting of the Federal Government was postpone" News (2015).

Mahmoud Jan Baber<sup>31</sup> (Ex-Senior Producer BBC Urdu and Bureau Chief Geo Peshawar) was of the view that American provided used fax machines in aid to Pakistan through which U.S. was able to spy all communication of Foreign Office of Pakistan. They used for spying many other devices which were given as aid or gift to Pakistan" Baber (2015).

U.S. kept sending the CIA spies in the guise of Aid workers for the earthquake affected people of Pakistan in 2005. These spies spread all over the Pakistan, particularly in tribal areas which are considered the grey-areas of Pakistan. The Pentagon used the devastating Kashmir earthquake of 2005 for cover agents to send in operatives from their Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC) into Pakistan. 'The U.S. was so much pursuing its objectives that the 2005 earthquake was used as an opportunity to send special operations commandos in the guise of aid workers, so

taking full advantage of a huge human calamity to spread its own resources. They were construction and aid workers in their apparent introduction but die-hard spies of CIA. They worked in boarder areas of Pakistan where no earthquake had hit the grounds' News (2012).

The government of Pakistan People's Party (PPP) bypassed the scrutiny and standard procedures for granting visas to Americans which became a big reason to infiltrate CIA operatives in Pakistan. "At the end of 2009, a special presidential order was issued to give 7,000 visas and the same order was passed through the prime minister's office to Mr. *Haqqani*," a senior Pakistani security official told Reuters, referring to Pakistan's ambassador in the United States, *Husain Haqqani*. "On the basis of these orders, the visas which were valid for three to six months were issued without the scrutiny or routine security clearance of the ISI (Inter-Services Intelligence)" Dawn (2011b).

But actually the number of visas varies as in the next year during a session of Pakistan's Senate (The upper house) in 2012 a member of Senate *SM Zafar* put a question regarding visas issues to Americans, he was responded by foreign minister of Pakistan *Hina Rabbani khar*. She replied that 'More than 50,000 visas were issued to U.S. citizens by the Pakistani authorities in Washington under different classes somewhere around 2008 and 2011, as per Foreign office. Of the aggregate 52,094 visas issued, 13,115 visas were classified as those for diplomats and other senior authorities. Upwards of 2,202 visas to U.S. authorities and diplomats were given somewhere around 2009 and 2011, after endorsement from Pakistan's ministry of defense' Gishkori (2012).

The war on terror has affected the all spheres of life and on the other hand, politically in the world community it created the misperception of the country and nation. "It has helped bartered

away Pakistan's sovereignty and, has been a huge humiliation to its 160 million people" Farooq (2014).

#### **4.6.1 Raymond Davis Case**

On January 27, 2011 a spy of U.S. intelligence agency Raymond Davis on a mission in Pakistan killed 2 citizens of Pakistan (18 years old *Mohammad Faheem* and 23 years old *Faizan Haider*), which heightened the anti-American sentiments in the country. It was not only violation of the Pakistan's sovereignty but a signal also that how Americans behave the Pakistanis on their own soil. The 49 days (from January 27 to March 16) had been most important days in the history of Pakistan-US relations. Due to already growing anti-American sentiments coupled with war on terror, particularly because of drone attacks which had been started in Pakistan in 2004 by U.S. drones, now murder of 2 Pakistanis by a U.S. spy added the fuel on fire.

Raymond Davis case was so sudden that Obama administration took some time to adopt a line of action. Davis had to stay behind the bars in Pakistan for that specific period but of unspecified duration. 'The matter was decided among General Pasha of ISI, U.S. ambassador to Pakistan and the then Pakistan's ambassador to USA, outside the court. The *Shariah* Law was used to settle the matter. A *Diyat* of 200 million Pak Rupees was given to the relatives of the two youth killed by Davis. It was money to offer "forgiveness" to the jailed CIA contractor' Mazzetti (2013). It remained unsettled that either Davis had diplomatic immunity or not, Pakistan government left the matter for the court to decide his status. United States was insistent that the diplomatic immunity had been enjoyed by her spy. 'The case was settled somehow outside the court. *Diyat* was paid to the relatives of the victims and Pakistan's sovereignty was nowhere to express

anything tangible or even intangible. It was violated with the consent of its guards' Javaid (2011).

It is believed that Raymond Davis was in Pakistan on a secret mission to damage the national interest of Pakistan. As American spies had spread all over the country and penetrated in the all departments of government. The way he killed two Pakistani citizens and arrested and later was released, shows the U.S. deep rooted involvement in Pakistan and level of violation of sovereignty of the country. This test case proved that how far American breached the Pakistani sovereignty and almost after 3 months U.S. raided the residence or compound of Osama bin Laden in Abbottabad on may2, 2011.

#### **4.6.2      Outcome of the Raymond Davis Case**

##### **4.6.2.1      Contacts Severed**

The United States made the issue more complicated by suspending the contacts on high level, to deteriorate the Pak US relations. 'The situation has intensified to such a degree, to the point that the Obama administration is accounted for to stop Pakistan's President Asif Ali Zardari's proposed visit to Washington one month from now. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton likewise declined to meet Pakistan's Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi on the sidelines of a security gathering in Munich. Disturbed U.S. administrators demonstrated that guard and monetary ties, including help to Pakistan, may should be returned to' News (2011a) .

According to UK daily ,The Telegraph, 'The meeting of U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton with Foreign Minister of Pakistan *Shah Mehmood Quershi* was to be held on the side-lines of the

Munich Security Conference on Davis case. Mr. *Quershi* lost his portfolio before meeting.

Pakistan reshuffled its cabinet just before it' Telegraph (2011).

To put more pressure on Pakistan for the release of Davis, the U.S. postponed the trilateral U.S.

Pakistan-Afghanistan talks which were “scheduled for Feb 23 – 24” Dawn (2011a).

#### **4.6.2.2 Revenge through drone attack**

On March 17, 2011, a drone attack killed 41 Pakistani people in North Waziristan, near Afghan border only next day after release of Raymond Davis. This was a shocking attack for the Pakistani government, military leadership and citizens of Pakistan as well. Pakistan's chief of army staff General *Kayani* in a very rare personal statement protested strongly against this drone attack.

According to ex-president of the Islamabad Policy Research Institute “ the drone attack on March 17 was deliberate, not only because of the technology available, but also because the CIA was furious over the deal negotiated between the two militaries to oust them from Pakistan” Qadir (2011).

#### **4.6.3 Raid on Osama Bin Laden Compound in Abbottabad on May 2, 2011**

When U.S. soldiers raided and violated the Pakistani sovereignty, According to well-known Academician, Economist and Political Leader of Jamaat e- Islami Pakistan Senator Prof. Khursheed Ahmad<sup>32</sup> “it was quite strange that the then president of Pakistan *Asif Ali Zardari*'s article appeared in U.S. leading Newspaper Washington Post which had no single word in it to condemn the American action regarding Pakistani sovereignty. The then prime minister of

Pakistan Yousaf Raza Gilani called it a victory of Pakistan but as a matter of fact this action without Pakistan's permission was:

1. Clear violation of Pakistan's territory and sovereignty
2. Violation of UN Charter and Geneva Convention
3. Authority given by UNSC to fight against terrorism in Afghanistan, it was breach of that mandate too.

The most interesting point is that Pakistan was declared American strategic partner and major non-NATO Ally. Despite this status U.S. didn't care about Pakistan's status as a sovereign country" Ahmad (2015).

Al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden's killing by U.S. Navy SEALs on May 2, 2011, stands out as a benchmark in explaining the complexity of Pak-US relations. 2011 was truly a terrible year in the context of Pak-US relations. Apart from the calamitous Abbottabad raid, it was repeatedly punctuated by incidents of U.S. military/intelligence walking roughshod over Pakistan's sovereignty; pushing the troubled relations to the edge of the precipice. In January 2011, Raymond Davis, the CIA contractor whom President Obama referred to as "our diplomat in Islamabad"..... The U.S. raid killing Osama further added fuel to the fire of simmering animosity and a swell of anti-US public anger began to take shape" Iftikhar (2012).

U.S. started threatening Pakistan and hold responsible for harboring Osama Bin Laden, in such a difficult situation China supported Pakistan's right of sovereignty. Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani visited China on an already scheduled visit. Where Chinese made it clear that "Any attack on Pakistan would be construed as an attack on China," Mahjar-Barducci (2011). China further explained the policy toward in the following words that "respect Pakistan's sovereignty and solidarity" IndianExpress (2011).

For overwhelming majority of Pakistanis, China is time tested and steadfast friend and ally of Pakistan. People of both nations feel deep respect and love for each other. A stable and strong neighbor is the need of these two countries and they serve this relation very promptly. 'They have sharing in economy development, technical expertise and defense needs of each other. Good and warm relations are built along strong commitments. It is evident in producing of JF-17 thunder fighter air craft. (Times, 2011). Friendly relationship of both countries (China and Pakistan) is strengthening as compare to U.S. and Pakistan<sup>33</sup>.

Musharraf reacted on Abbottabad raid in an interview to CNN on May 26, 2011. He was asked by the host of program Mr. Morgan that "How would you have reacted if you had been Pakistan's president? "Musharraf replied that "Well, I would have certainly reacted, very angrily. This is a violation of our sovereignty. .... It is absolutely illegal" CNN (2011).

He indirectly admitted that he could not achieve one of his important objectives to protect the sovereignty of Pakistan which he had spoken of highly on September 19, 2001 before joining the war on terror formally. This was his confession indeed, regarding failure of sovereignty of Pakistan and breached by U.S.

Pakistanis are uncertain about their own government's role in the military operation that killed Osama Bin Laden. About three-in-ten (29%) believe the Pakistani government authorized the raid and 23% say it did not, but 49% say they do not know. Only 18% think the government knew Bin Laden was hiding in Abbottabad and 29% do not think that was the case; again, roughly half (53 %) offer no opinion" Pew (2011). "Many Pakistanis sincerely believe that their country has been unfairly and unjustly treated" Kux (2001).

#### **.7 US Coercive Action against Pakistan in the Wake of killing of Osama Bin laden**

In July 2011, U.S. took reactionary measures against Pakistan. For instance, United States took punitive measures against Pakistan off and on. In July 2011, Pakistan was denied ‘assistance worth \$ 440-500 million in scheduled counter insurgency training and equipment on unilateral suspicious grounds. Pakistan was left to face other obstacles with regard to other agreements as well without conveying any concerns or complaints’ Kronstadt (2012).

This decision was expected by Pakistan; therefore public perception about U.S. grew more negative. “In the view of some observers, the Administration’s decision was more likely to elicit greater resentment than greater cooperation from Pakistani leaders, and could be taken as validation by ordinary Pakistanis who see the United States as a fickle and unreliable ally” Epstein and Kronstadt (2011).

The Abbottabad attack was precisely described in five words by David Sanger in his book on page 74 in the following words “Getting Bin Laden, losing Pakistan” Sanger (2012).

#### **4.8 NATO attack on *Salalah* Check Post, November 26, 2011**

After raid of U.S. troops to catch Osama Bin Laden “in November 2011, when collective nerves were still raw and throbbing, the U.S. forces’ inexplicable cross border attack on a Pakistani military outpost on *Salalah* ridge killing 24 soldiers and wounding 13 exacerbated the Pak-US tensions to breaking point” Iftikhar (2012).

Pakistan’s Chief of Army Staff General *Ashfaq Pervez Kayani* reiterated that American airstrikes on *Salalah* check post ..... were an attack on Pakistan’s sovereignty” PakSoldiers (2012).

The *Salalah* incident caused serious damage to Pak-US relations ‘Pakistan’s Parliament made its own proposition to audit nation’s relations with the United States, requesting that stop ramble

assaults in the tribal regions, which the United States over and again cannot. Responding further, Pakistan boycotted the Bonn Conference on the eventual fate of Afghanistan and constrained the United States to clear the Shamsi airbase' Malik (2012).

#### **4.9 How Pakistanis See U.S (Paradoxical Relationship)?**

U.S. had declared Pakistan as Major Non-NATO Ally in 2004, according to Robert Pape Pakistan came under indirect occupation of America 'Pak-US relations turned into indirect occupation of Pakistan' "In a traditional alliance, member countries pursue mutual goals of interest but in an indirect occupation the indirectly occupied country gives a higher-priority to the goals of the indirect occupier than its national interest alone would warrant." R. A. Pape and J. K. Feldman (2010).

Robert Pape further refers Hans Morgenthau and cites that "It is only when the common interests are inchoate in terms of policy and action that a treaty of alliance is required to make them explicit and operative" R. A. Pape and J. K. Feldman (2010).

As mentioned earlier in Chapter 3 that Paradoxical situations in Pak –US Relations after 9/11 divided state and society. In the case of Pakistan's sovereignty state was in denial of drone attacks by pacifying public opinion and policies of Musharraf and Gilani are a clear indication, that they could not take any action except condemning America for drone attacks.

The western world sees these drone attacks as a useful strategy to defeat the terrorists and the voice against drone attacks is often regarded support for terrorists. "a label that has threatened the careers of many aspiring politicians. In this manner, it is apparent that the subject is a complex one and also one that does not offer a high level of easy access to individuals willing to speak out about the situation" Rehman (2013).

The Authors of a book titled “Cutting Fuse” which was published in 2010 have observed that ‘Since 2001, United States had been perceived negatively in Pakistan to much larger extent. Polls showed that, following 1999 to present, U.S. ratings in Pakistani public had never risen above 27% when Afghanistan was invaded in 2001, Pew Global Attitudes Project pointed out U.S. ratings of likelihood in Pakistan was as low as 10%. Today, this rating of negativity stands at 64%. Only 22% considered that Pakistan mattered in U.S. policy decisions. Despite such low perception, 53% people held the view that Pak-US relations would be improved’ R. A. Pape and J. Feldman (2010).

According to Pew Survey Just 12% express a positive view of the U.S. and only 8% have confidence in President Barack Obama to do the right thing in world affairs. Obama’s ratings are as low as former President George W. Bush were in 2008. Most Pakistanis see the U.S. as an enemy, consider it a potential military threat, and oppose American-led anti-terrorism efforts. All of these views were comparably negative both before and after the killing of bin Laden.

An American Matthew P. Hoh has served in Afghanistan .He served in *Zabul* Province of Afghanistan as Senior Civilian Representative, and was not satisfied with his government policies, what he observed during his services tenure in Afghanistan and later he stated in his resignation letter on September 10, 2009, according to him ‘The only successful strategy to eradicate Al-Qaeda from Afghanistan would be an all-out attack not only on this country but on west Pakistan, Somalia, Sudan, Yemen etc. as well on simultaneous basis U.S. presence is catalyst in destabilizing Pakistan’ AntiWar (2009).

In 2009 *Wattan* Party (a Pakistani political party) filed a petition in Supreme Court against the unusual expansion of U.S. embassy in Islamabad. ‘The Americans mean to spend about \$1 billion for the up degree of their Islamabad nearness, including a use of \$405 million for the

reproduction and repair of the principle international safe haven building; \$111 million for another complex for obliging 330 staff; and \$197 million for developing around 250 lodging units' OutOfCentralAsiaNow (Year Not Mentioned). This huge expansion was alarming and a threat of national security therefore it was challenged in the court.

Since 2001 when Pakistan joined war on terror, the year 2011 had been the most important year in Pak-US Relations history, where mistrust level reached at its peak since the beginning of Pak-US relations in 1947. With the continuous track record of drone attacks by U.S. since 2004, in the year 2011, Pakistan's sovereignty was breached 3 times

1. Shooting two Pakistani youth by Raymond Davis a CIA man in February 2011
2. Al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden's killing by U.S. Navy SEALs on May 2, 2011
3. Attack of NATO forces on *Salala* Check Post of Pakistan 2.5 Km inside from Afghan border, killing 26 soldiers of Pakistan on November 26, 2011

America has its own interests in Pakistan. According to public surveys, mostly Pakistanis feel that U.S. never treats Pakistan like a friend. Raymond Davis case is a big example of it. USAID is known to have routine contacts with the CIA. The U.S. Agency for International Development was essentially a front face for a carefully planned intelligence operation.

The OTI handles liquid funds in dollars "in very large quantities, without having to go through a lot of review or accountability at the U.S. Congress. 'irregular fighting is gone for controlling the civilians and neutralizing the State, and its fundamental strategy is "counterinsurgency," which is the utilization of circuitous and unbalanced methods, for example, subversion, invasion, psychological operations, social entrance and military double dealing' Chossudovsky (2014).

The killing of Osama bin Laden “has incensed officials on both sides: on the American side because Bin Laden’s hiding place appears to suggest Pakistani perfidy; and on the Pakistani side because the U.S. raid humiliatingly violated Pakistan’s sovereignty” Hamid (2011) .

#### **4.10 Conclusion**

Successive government of Gilani also could not protect the sovereignty of the country Instead U.S. achieved its national interests in Pakistan by polarizing the Pakistani nation into 2 camps, Secular and Islamist. America used money for buying media, creating anarchy through NGOs and spreading its spies all over the country to destabilize Pakistan. International anarchic structure brought more anarchy inside the country, Therefore it is evident that Musharraf’s first objective could not be achieved except preventing a direct attack of U.S. in post 9/11 scenario.

It can be termed as a cost to Pakistan with no tangible benefits as Pakistan appeared as a client state in world community and as per Neo-realism, Pakistan in a global anarchic system failed to protect its national interest pertaining to sovereignty partially, whereas U.S. was able to advance its national interests in Pakistan by using drone attacks and killing Osama Bin Laden and securing the security for U.S. which is a basic theme of Neorealism. The alliance of Pakistan and U.S. was beneficial also for both countries but ratio of benefits is highly disproportionate favoring U.S.

##### **4.10.1 Cost (Losses)**

Pakistan lost its sovereignty on the following occasions

1. Abbottabad raid by America shows:
  - i. Clear violation of Pakistan’s territory and sovereignty
  - ii. Violation of UN Charter and Geneva Convention

- iii. Authority given by UNSC to fight Terrorism in Afghanistan, it was breach of that mandate too.
- 2. CIA operative, Raymond Davis was in Pakistan on a secret mission to damage the national interest of Pakistan, and he got free.
- 3. On November 26, 2011, NATO attack on Pakistani Check post caused 26 causalities of Pakistani forces was another example of breach of Pakistan's sovereignty.
- 4. The drone strikes carried out in Pakistan are absolutely illegal & blatant violation of the sovereignty of the State of Pakistan because frequent intrusion is made on its territory / airspace without its consent rather against its wishes as despite of the protests lodged by the government of Pakistan with USA on the subject matter; these are being carried out with impunity.
- 5. Pakistani state failed to protect its citizens from the drone strikes of America.
- 6. Due to drone attacks, these killings are, in reality, summary executions and widely regarded as potential war crimes by international lawyers including the UNs special rapporteur on extrajudicial killings.
- 7. Drone attacks in such a country which America claims as a friend (Pakistan), which is not at war with America, is a clear violation of international law, Geneva conventions and diplomatic norms.
- 8. "A regular U.S. air force unit based in the Nevada desert is responsible for flying the CIA's drone strike program in Pakistan. A 10-year campaign which according to some estimates has killed more than 2,400 people" This is also violation of Pakistan's sovereignty that war against Pakistanis is being operated from American soil.
- 9. Musharraf himself accepted that Abbottabad raid was violation of sovereignty of Pakistan.

10. Musharraf lied to the nation on the issue of drone strikes and always blamed Americans for conducting such strikes.
11. U.S. sent the CIA spies in Pakistan to in the guise of Aid workers for the earthquake affected people of Pakistan in 2005. These spies spread all over the Pakistan, particularly in tribal areas which are considered the grey-areas of Pakistan.

#### **4.10.2 Benefits**

Any assistance provided to Pakistan by U.S. had stringed attached, which Pakistan resented firmly. This conditional assistance made Pakistan compromised on its sovereignty to some extent, not fully. Pakistan advanced to protect her sovereignty through China. A clear example is the candid statements by Chinese leadership to support Pakistan's sovereignty in the wake of raid on Osama's compound on May 2, 2011. From Neorealist paradigm, Pakistan didn't compromise totally over its sovereignty and disagreed with U.S. over many issues on several occasions during GWOT, therefore Pakistan was blamed as "double faced ally" or "double game" by Pakistan. Pakistan did utmost to protect its national interest including sovereignty. Though Pakistan could not protect its sovereignty totally but didn't surrender at all as well, Pakistan succeeded to prevent the direct threat of attack of U.S. in post 9/11 scenario. Pakistan saved herself becoming a state like Afghanistan and later Iraq.

# Chapter 5

## Economy: 2nd Objective of Musharraf

This chapter focuses on Pakistan's reliance of economic assistance and its reality, human losses and sufferings, its cost to economy. Impact of terrorism on Pakistan's economy, particularly in the fields of foreign direct investment, increasing expenditures to maintain law and order in the country, defense expenditures to counter the terrorist attacks, impact of inflation due to terrorism and its impact on a common man, devaluation of Pakistani currency and a different types of economic, military and human cost has been focused in this chapter and a cost & benefits analysis has been drawn at the end of the chapter.

From Neorealist point of view how much economy of a country is important? This question is also discussed in this chapter.

For Neorealist capabilities are vital for the security and survival a state. Without capabilities survival is meaningless. The objective of survival leads to relative gains. According to Neorealists, there are five main criteria through which capability of any state is assessed. These are technological advancement capacity, military capacity, endowment in natural resources, economic, and demographic situation. Since every state wants its survival therefore level of capability provides level of security. "States within the international system are differentiated via their level of capability. Neorealist scholars thus strive to paint a relational picture of the capabilities each state possesses at any given time. This is referred to as 'relative capability'" Dibek (2012). As far as Pakistan's economic capability is concerned that is not encouraging most of the time in its history due to mismanagement, corruption and bad governance and political instability.

## 5.1 Historical background

As a matter of fact Pakistan as a developing country relies heavily on foreign financial aid since its independence. Details already have been discussed in Chapter 3. "According to data provided on official development assistance by the OECDs Development Assistance Committee, a total amount of US\$ 73.14 billion was disbursed to Pakistan from 1960 to 2002.

**Table: 5.1 Gross Disbursement of ODA to Pakistan 1960-2002**

**2001 prices- US\$ Millions**

<b>Total</b>	<b>73143.65</b>	<b>100%</b>
1. Multilateral ODA	20328.84	27.79 % (of total ODA)
2. Bilateral ODA (of which)	52814.81	72.21 % (of total ODA)
Non DAC	4299.43	8.14 % (of bilateral ODA)
DAC	48515.38	91.86 %
(of which)		% of DAC ODA
Canada	2561.9	5.28
France	960.56	1.98
Germany	5470.90	11.27
Netherlands	1093.88	2.25
Japan	10178.34	20.97
UK	3890.45	8.01
USA	21864.86	45.06
Others	2494.49	5.14

Therefore, over the period as a whole, the US clearly appears as the major contributor" Anwar and Michaelowa (2006).

Assistance of this scale was made conceivable by the way that Pakistan's initiative, particularly its military authority, clearly adjusted itself to the United States amid the Cold War. By joining SEATO (the Southeast Asia Treaty Association) in 1954 and CENTO (the Central Treaty Organization) in 1955 and marking military and different settlements of collaboration with the United States in the 1950s furthermore, 1960s, Pakistan would have liked to profit by U.S.

geopolitical backing and in addition monetary and military help. The United States, thus, saw Pakistan as a partner and a support against Soviet expansionism in the area.

“ Four key economic breakdowns evolved out of this environment: (1) high fiscal deficits, (2) unsustainable public debt (domestic and foreign), (3) a sharp deterioration in the distribution of income, and (4) a disturbing rise in the level of unemployment and poverty” Looney (2004).

## **5.2 Impact of Nuclear Related Sanctions on Economy**

According to John J. Mearsheimer, “latent power refers to the socio-economic ingredients that go into building military power, latent power is based on a state’s wealth and the size of its overall population” Smith, DUNNE, and KURKI (2007). Pakistan being 6<sup>th</sup> largest country by population as compare to archrival India which is 2<sup>nd</sup> largest country in terms of population, has always been under threat for its security since beginning with unmatched conventional military power and economic resources .Pakistan perused hard for survival by sacrificing the economic prosperity and continued its nuclear program following the Indian nuclear testing in 1974, which brought US sanction on Pakistan. Economic sanctions imposed by US on Pakistan resulted in economic problems.

Economic policies in Pakistan resulted in four key economic breakdowns including high fiscal deficit, unsustainable public debt of domestic and foreign nature, distribution of income sharply deteriorates and the unemployment coupled with poverty touched the highest levels. ‘Economic sanctions imposed by successive US governments on Pakistan because of the nuclear program were raised to \$405 million in a span of 8 years, from 1991 to 1998. Sanctions hit Pakistan who had been US ally in Afghan war against USSR. In early 1990s overseas remittances were also dropped sharply due to Gulf War of 1991’(Looney, 2004) .

### **5.3 Economic State of Pakistan on 9/11 Incident**

In 2001 Pakistan was rising up out of an extreme adjustment program with the International Monetary Fund (IMF). "Foreign exchange resources were scarce and at the beginning of FY 2001-02, foreign reserves stood at \$ 3,231 million, enough only to finance three months of imports of goods and services" Pasha (2008).

Following the end of cold war in 1992 "economic instruments of statecraft" became the policy of U.S. on which she relied heavily. Bill Clinton's government was using it greatly which was backed by American global political force and military might.

During the U.S. led war on terrorism, there had been debate that what should be the proportion of "carrots and sticks" against the countries , important for US national interests during war on terror so that U.S. can achieve her national security foreign policy goals. "Economic statecraft" which is known as economic appeasement, positive economic sanctions and economic diplomacy is a tool through which a recipient nation or country can be forced to cooperate for the objectives of a donor nation or a country.

The positive impact of economic statecraft stems from improved foreign aid or meaningful investment. 'While the impact goes negative as sanctions imposed or foreign aid suspended. Economy is much more credible as an instrument and diplomacy is second in influence. Economic instruments precede military tools. It sends good signals when applied as diplomacy and proves valuable in changing political alliances. "When allies become less valuable, for example, decreasing foreign aid is easier than decreasing military exchanges." In the war on terror, allies were not constant or permanent, the economic statecraft become more valuable. Bush administration had greater resolve to apply every available and possible measure to win the war.

Nation Security Strategy document of the Bush administration expressed commitment to economic liberalization to address the terrorism in economic terms. The world was taken as the audience of this policy. "The Bush administration showed international governments that political and moral support for the US war on terrorism would result in greater economic exchanges, and consequently, greater economic prosperity for their countries' Momani (2004).

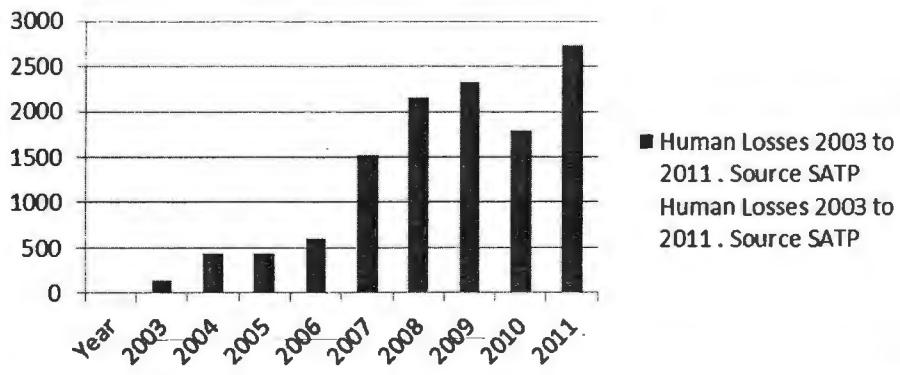
#### 5.4 Human Cost

The premier obligation of a state is to guarantee the security of its residents. There can be no pay for the murdering of its nationals and nobody can evaluate the loss of human life in money related terms. Thus, every single other expense of contention perpetrated upon a country are less huge than the human expense. Pakistan has suffered a disastrous death toll due to GWOT.

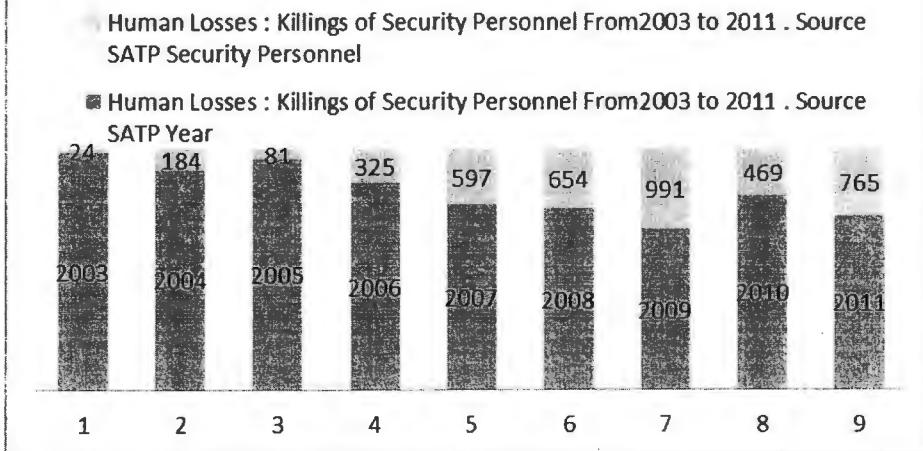
**Table: 5.2 "Fatalities in Terrorist Violence in Pakistan 2003-2011" SATP (2015a).**

Year	Civilians	Security Force Personnel	Terrorists/Insurgents	Total
2003	140	24	25	189
2004	435	184	244	863
2005	430	81	137	648
2006	608	325	538	1471
2007	1522	597	1479	3598
2008	2155	654	3906	6715
2009	2324	991	8389	11704
2010	1796	469	5170	7435
2011	2738	765	2800	6303
Total	12148	4090	22688	38926

**Graph Human Losses : Civilian Killings .From 2003 to 2011 .  
(Source SATP)**



**Human Losses : Killings of Security Personnel  
From 2003 to 2011 . Source SATP**



Since 2001, every year has seen developing number of losses because of terrorist savagery.

There was a significant increase in human losses after 2006. The number of losses because of terrorist roughness ascended from 933 civilians and security personnel killed in 2006, to 2,120 the next year. Death toll continuously increased in the upcoming years with the exception of year

2010 when 1796 people killed whereas the continuous rise in the death toll is visible; in year 2007 the death toll further increased which reached to 2738 in 2011.

In a briefing to the parliamentary committee of Pakistan on defense on October 18, 2011, following details were reported which was published in Pakistani English newspaper daily Dawn on October 19, 2011.<sup>34</sup>

**Table:5.3 “Military Losses” Dawn (2011).**

Civilians Killed	Personnel Killed	Disabled Permanently	Generals	ISI Personnel	Deployment of Pak-Troops on Afghan Border since 2007-2011
40309	3097	721	1-3 Star	63	140,000
			Couple of 2 Star		

Whereas death toll of security personnel also grew which was equal to two brigades of Pakistan armed forces.

**Table: 5.4 “Major Attacks on Military installations” Tribune (2014).**

Year	Place	Killed	Injured	Claimed by
October 10, 2009	General Head Quarters of Pakistan Army(G.H.Q) Rawalpindi	6 Army personnel. including a brigadier and a lieutenant colonel were among those killed	Data not available (NA)	Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP)
May 22, 2011	PNS Mehran Naval Base. Karachi	17 people including security personnel	Data not available (NA)	Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP)

The most recent decade (2001 to 2011) of Pakistan's history has seen a portion of the most exceedingly bad carnage because of the ascent of suicide bombings all regions and provinces of the country. From a couple of segregated episodes in the 80s and 90s, suicide bombings have turned into the weapon of decision for fanatic. The suicide assaults have been continuously

expanding in numbers and fierceness since 2001. The table beneath demonstrates the quantity of suicide assaults and the subsequently human losses since 2001.

**Table: 5.5 Suicide Attacks in Pakistan “2002 to 2011”**

Year	Incidents	Killed	Injured
2002	1	15	34
2003	2	69	103
2004	7	89	321
2005	4	84	219
2006	7	161	352
2007	54	765	1677
2008	59	893	1846
2009	76	949	2356
2010	49	1167	2199
2011	41	628	1183
Total	300	4820	10290

SATP (2015b).

## 5.5 Human Sufferings in the form of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)

In 2009, Pakistan endured one of the most exceedingly terrible Internally Displaced Persons' (IDP) emergencies in the written history, when almost three million individuals from Swat and Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) left their homes notwithstanding expanded threats between the military and the militants. Despite the fact that the emergency crested in the late spring of 2009 after the breakdown of a peace with the Taliban (TTP) in Swat, that prompted a forceful military battle, which compelled citizens of the area to vacate their homes in August 2008 (*Bajaur and Mohmand Agencies* in FATA). Expanding military operations in these two organizations and FATA, alongside the developing vicinity of extremist gatherings constrained individuals to escape the district into North Western Frontier Province (NWFP)<sup>35</sup>. Before the end of April 2009, more than 550,000 individuals were enrolled as IDP's in NWFP. The greater part

(463,000 people), lived with host groups, more distant families or leased settlement, with around 93,000 lived in 11 camps in NWFP.

‘The phenomenon of internally displaced persons (IDPs) has been created in the war on terrorism inside Pakistan. In October 2009, a major anti-terror operation was started in South Waziristan Agency by Pak military. That was a huge activity, rendering nearly 293,000 people displaced from their homes and towns. That was essentially the displacement of a whole community of citizen of every age. Government of Pakistan appealed the world to come forward to shoulder this responsibility. United Nations Pakistan office launched this appeal for \$537 million to address the crises on humanitarian basis. A collective response from 14 UN agencies, 33 international and 22 national NGOs were to comply. Pakistan had met the challenge of looking after as many as 3,000,000 Afghan refugees all alone and after 30 years, it had to call the nations to come forward for its own people. Terrorism caused more than three million tribal people to become displaced in a period of five years. Swat witnessed its two million people displaced in military operations. So the Swat and South Waziristan were witnessing the bitter reality that foreign assistance’ CRSS (2010).

According to Pakistan Economic Survey 2010-11<sup>36</sup> ‘as a normal increment in military spending worth 2.4 % of the aggregate size of economy’. “In addition, the government has had to spend up to \$600 million a year on rehabilitation of internally displaced persons who were affected by the military campaigns against the Taliban (TTP).... US financial assistance to Pakistan since 2002, both civilian and military, is estimated at \$8.5 billion” S. Rana (2011).

## **5.6 Cost of Economy**

Pakistan's economy remained heavily under pressure during the war on terror in Pakistan, particularly since 2006. As this was the year when war spread from Tribal areas to settled areas of Pakistan. This unprecedented war in the history of Pakistan brought wrath in every field whether it was economic or social, political or psychological. The destruction due to this war started in the North of the country and reached to the South, where Karachi the largest city by population, and finical hub of the nation became a most dangerous city in the world.

## **5.7 Karachi the World's Most Dangerous City**

Foreign Policy Magazine of US in 2013, published a story that, 'The population blast which occurred in the city throughout the decade is more than the whole population of New York City. Groups with political affiliations have been working in the ad libbed regions of the city and are included in coercion and land snatching .It is under these conditions that Karachi has turned into the most perilous super city on the planet with the most noteworthy crime rate per 100,000 people' News (2013).

As consequences of the war, millions of the people had to migrate inside the country and these millions of people who were previously living in their homes and cities, became Internally displaced Persons (IDPs) which eroded the foreign direct investment (FDI) in the country .Production reduced, unemployment increased highly, economic activates suffered a lot, disrupted the trading activities in the Pakistan and due to higher insurance cover cost of trading increased substantially.

Thousands of civilians and military personnel killed and further thousands injured in an unimaginable and savage war on terror.

## 5.8 Foreign Direct Investment

Foreign direct investment (FDI) has always been as a big source of development for the nations like Pakistan, as FDI has numerous benefits, for instance through FDI poverty can be reduced, economic growth can be achieved, and new technology brings many advantages.

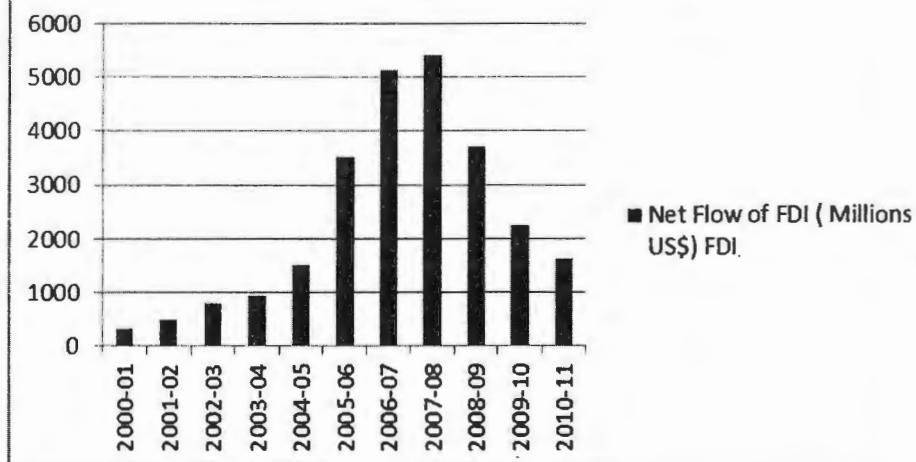
**Table: 5.6 Foreign Direct Investment in Pakistan during 2001-2011 (US\$ Millions)**

Year	FDI (US\$ Millions)
2000-01	322.4
2001-02	484.7
2002-03	798
2003-04	949.4
2004-05	1524
2005-06	3521
2006-07	5139.6
2007-08	5410.2
2008-09	3719.9
2009-10	2250.8
2010-11	1634.8

Source: <sup>37</sup>

### Net Flow of FDI During 2000 to 2011.

Source: Pakistan Board of Investment



In 1998 Pakistan had to suffer because of economic sanctions as a result of nuclear testing in response to Indian nuclear testing.

According to neorealist “Bandwagoning is sensible behavior where gains are possible even for the losers and where losing does not place their security in jeopardy” Waltz (2010).

Soon after the 9/11 incident Pakistan bandwagoned with America and attracted US economic support and FDI by U.S. and her allies which helped improve Pakistan’s economic and financial health in the coming years till 2007-08. Later FDI started dropping substantially.

Year 2009 was the worst year for Pakistan in which due to terrorism total caused 11704 killings, and this was the year when FDI also substantially declined due to horrible situation in the country.

This is only logical that the more terrorist attacks a country has, the more military operations conducted, and therefore the more resources required combating the terrorism. All this is necessary in order to keep the situation in control. In a country like Pakistan such additional resources for military to conduct operations against terrorists are either borrowed or tax is levied,

which in turn increases inflation, make the economy slower, reduces investment and higher trade deficits.

U.S. is the largest donor country through which U.S. controls the politics, economy, sovereignty, culture, religion and internal affairs of the aid recipient countries, and Pakistan is a classic example of it.

The basic purpose of foreign aid by U.S. was to defeat communism and law to give aid was approved by U.S. lawmakers in 1961, when cold war was its on full peak. U.S. federal budget has “1% allocation for foreign aid or assistance” RUTSCH (2015). This 1% amounts around \$ 31 billion. This huge amount is used world over for political, economic and cultural control.

When Mr. *Muhammad Usman Yousaf* (Assistant Professor of Finance, University of Central Punjab, Lahore) was interviewed<sup>38</sup> and asked the question that did Pakistan manage to improve its economic conditions due to U.S. aid to Pakistan during the period of 2001 to 2011?, his categorical answer was a big No. According to him The total aid given to Pakistan by U.S. was around \$12 billion (Military and Economic both) the 2/3 aid was for military purposes and rest of 1/3 was for economic purposes, it means that \$ 8 billion were provided for military and just \$ 4 billion were provided for economic purposes. Besides this, economic aid in the dollars terms is considered to be less beneficial than access to the markets by economists. And it is equally very important that economic assistance should be in the form of participation of U.S. government in the development of infrastructure projects like, eradication of energy crisis, building of roads, dams, schools, and human resource development.

Economic aid should not have been provided in the form of dollars rather it should have been given in the form of access to the markets, which means access for Pakistani companies to sell

their products in the western (US & EU) markets. It not only brings prosperity to a nation but it improves the quality and competitiveness of the companies.

If one looks at the trend of foreign direct investment, one can easily understand the initial increase net inflow of FDI from 2001 to 2007 (from \$ 383 million to \$ 5590 million), then abrupt decline is visible in 2011 which is \$ 3015 million net inflow of FDI. The intensity of terrorism affected the FDI, for instance there were total 48 casualties reported in year 2001 and reached to 359 in 2006 and during the same period FDI was observing the increasing trend. Whereas trend in casualties witnessed sharp increase from 2007 and onward and FDI declined likewise, as discussed earlier. The economic assistance given by US could not bring real development in Pakistan, lot of money through economic assistance was misused and corrupt officials grabbed much of the amount from this economic assistance" Yousaf (2015).

In the wake of US attack on Afghanistan on October 7, 2001 and subsequent terrorist activities in Pakistan, military expenditures rose rapidly. For Neorealists priority of states is the survival and safety of territorial integrity and autonomy in domestic affairs, therefore, protection of human rights and economic prosperity of common people is on the bottom side. John J. 'Mearsheimer says "[t]hey ( states) can pursue other goals like prosperity and protecting human rights, but those aims must always take a back seat to survival, because if a state doesn't survive, it cannot pursue those other goals" Smith et al. (2007)

**Table: 5.7 Expenditure on Law & Order and Defense: 2001-2001 to 2009-2010**

(In Rs. Billions)

Year	Expenditure on Law & Order	Growth Rate	Defense Expenses	Growth Rate
2000-01	17.5	10.9	131.2	-14.1
2001-02	19.5	10.3	149.3	12.1
2002-03	23.7	17.7	160.1	6.7
2003-04	32.1	26.2	180.5	11.3
2004-05	35.5	9.6	216.3	16.7
2005-06	64.7	45.1	241.1	10.3
2006-07	57.1	-11.7	252.6	4.6
2007-08	65	12.2	277.3	8.9
2008-09	NA	NA	311.3	10.9
2009-10	NA	NA	378.2	17.7

Source:<sup>39</sup>

After joining the war on terror, Pakistan had to spend more resources to maintain law and order in the country as the data in the Table 5.7 above shows it. Pakistan gave priority to its survival over economic prosperity and protection of human rights. The year 2005-06 was the worst year when such expenditures rose up to 45.1 % which ultimately disturbed the expenditures and receipts balance which is evident from the following table.

**Table: 5.8 Expenses and Public Receipts From 2001-02 to 2009-10 (Rs. Millions)**

Year	Total Expenditures	Total Receipts	Lending/Net Borrowing
2000-01	717,900	553,000	164,900
2001-02	826,550	624,100	202,450
2002-03	898,200	720,800	177,400
2003-04	940,359	805,827	134,532
2004-05	1,116,981	900,014	216,967
2005-06	1,401,900	1,076,600	325,300
2006-07	1,799,968	1,297,957	502,011
2007-08	2,276,549	1,499,380	777,169
2008-09	2,531,308	1,850,901	680,407
2009-10	3,455,120	2,078,165	928,497

Source of Table 5.8: <sup>40</sup>

The column, Lending/Net Borrowing shows the constant deficit due to war on terror. In the year 2000-01 when Pakistan had joined the war on terror the deficit was Rs. 164,900 million whereas it reached to Rs. 928,497 million in the year 2009-10 which clearly depicts the worst economic conditions due to war on terror.

## 5.9 Inflation

The political decisions of General Musharraf to join the war on terror could not bring long term benefits in the field of economy.

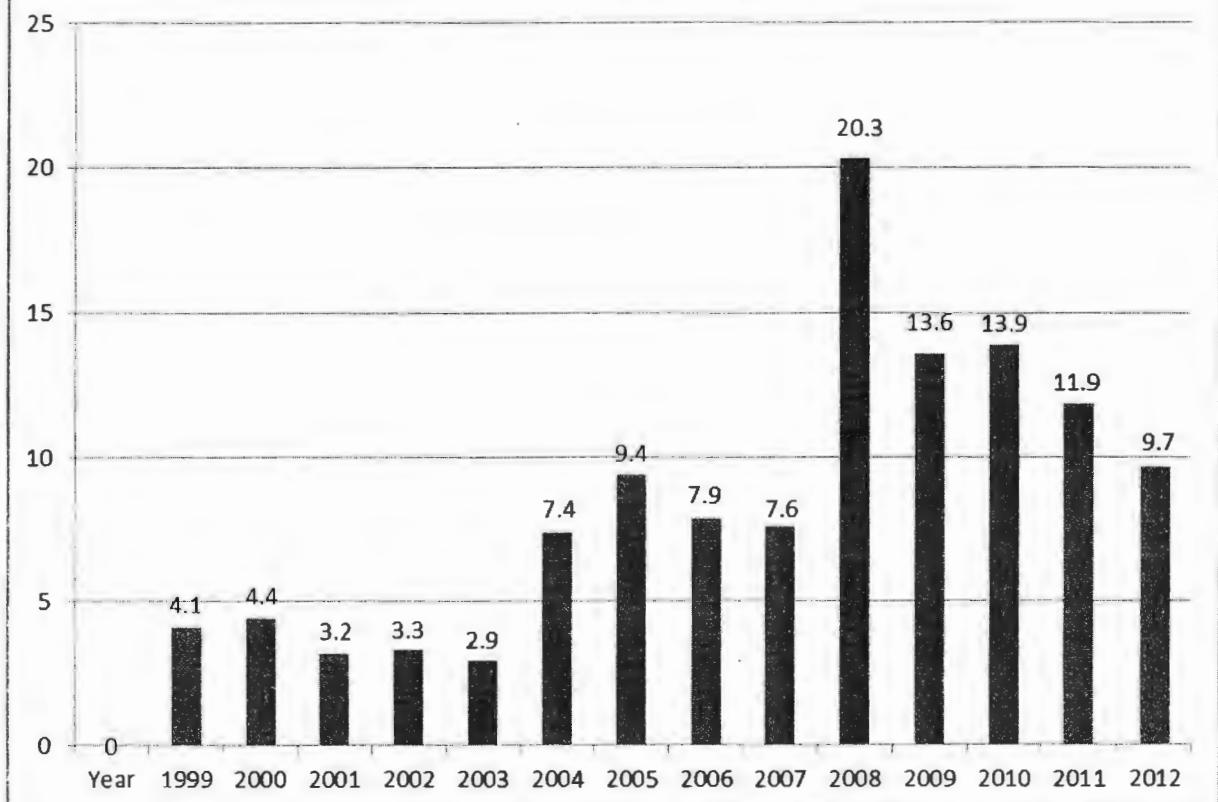
**Table: 5.9 Inflation, consumer prices (Annual %)**

Year	Inflation, consumer prices (Annual %) 1999-2012
1999	4.1
2000	4.4
2001	3.2
2002	3.3
2003	2.9
2004	7.4
2005	9.4
2006	7.9
2007	7.6
2008	20.3
2009	13.6
2010	13.9
2011	11.9
2012	9.7

Source: Bank (2014).

### **Inflation consumer prices (Annual %)**

**Source: World Bank Data**



It is clearly seen through the graph regarding inflation in Pakistan that from the year 2004 inflation started rising with lows and highs reached to 11.9% in 2011. While in the year 2008 it reached to its peak on 20.3% whereas it was only 3.2% in the year of joining the US led GWOT. It hit the common citizens of Pakistan badly.

**Table: 5.10 Increase in Essential Food Basket Items (2001-2012) in %**

Basic food Basket Item	Increase in prices ( 2001-2012)	Contribution to Monthly Food Basket Cost
<b>Wheat</b>	200	20
<b>Meat</b>	300	11
<b>Sugar</b>	200	06
<b>Pulses</b>	134	02
<b>Ghee &amp; Edible Oil</b>	200	13

Source: Kiani (2012).

In a country like Pakistan where much of the budget of a common man is spent on food items, such a sharp rise in the essential food items is alarming. Wheat is the basic food item in Pakistan; it rose up to 200 % during 11 years, meat by 300% and sugar by 6%, pulses by 2% and Ghee and edible oil by 13%.

**Table: 5.11 Devaluation of Pakistani Currency**

Year	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11
<b>Exchange Rate (Rs/US\$)</b>	61.4	57.7	57.92	59.66	60.16	60.1	71.1	78.5	83.8	85.5
<b>% Change</b>	4.8	-4.7	-1.5	2.9	1.3	0.56	14.9	9.4	6.3	1.9

Source: Survey (2011b)

## 5.10 Downfall of Economy

According to a renowned economist of Pakistan Dr. Shahid Siddiqi, writer of the Urdu book titled “*Pakistan aur America — Dehshatgardi, Siasat, Maeeshat*” “at the beginning that the war on terror had devastated Pakistan's economy and the two Pakistani governments had participated in it to expand their run the show. ... Pakistan was at a basic crossroads ever. ... at after 9/11 Henry Kissinger had said that the genuine test would start after America's haul out from

Afghanistan and its inside would be outside of Afghanistan. In this way, today we are being focused on. .... Pakistan's inclusion in the war on terror had brought about its economy lost \$ 80billion — \$ 28 billion amid General Musharraf's government and \$ 52 billion amid the residency of the present regime, in the most recent five years destitution in whatever is left of the world had diminished significantly, yet in Pakistan the circumstance was inverse — it had expanded. .... today India was the tenth greatest economy on the planet and by 2020 would turn into the fifth greatest economy after the US, China, Japan and Russia' Dawn (2012).

When Mr. Imtiaz Gull (CEO of Center for Research and Security Studies Islamabad) was interviewed<sup>41</sup> he was of the view that Pakistan economy suffered hugely just because of every passing day particularly after 2006, every major country's advice its citizens to not visit Pakistan and likewise they advised their investors to not invest in Pakistan. Hence in economic terms this is a huge loss for Pakistan.

Responding to the question that did Pakistan manage to improve its economic conditions due to US aid? Mr. Imtiaz Gull also said that "No, not much. I don't think so". Pakistan was not able to gain much because change in Pakistan mostly was cosmetic. Little change in GDP growth we saw, when Shokat Aziz was prime minister, was primarily because of couple of billions of dollars that was coming in Pakistan; it was also because of the remittances that started coming through formal banking channels rather than *Hawala* and *Hundi* system. Internally, there was no push for structural reforms, there was no push for internal taxation base; there was no push for taxing the rich ones. So that's why the fundamental of Pakistan's economy remain the same and that's why Pakistan couldn't benefit from whatever goodwill it had with US" I. Gull (2015).

When Dr. Asim Iqbal (Economist) was interviewed<sup>42</sup> for this study, he replied extensively. According to him "The economic performance of Pakistan can be assessed by comparing the key

macroeconomic variables with the different political regimes. A snapshot comparison of 1990's and Musharraf's government without any doubt indicates that Pakistan was better off during first five years at the beginning of 21<sup>st</sup> century. The volume of industrial, agriculture and servicing sectors increased. The real GDP registered an average growth rate about 6.7% during 2003-2008. The GDP per capita income increased almost double than the rate of population growth. The statistics show that the economy of Pakistan improved under the Musharraf management. This was incredible success when compare to the preceding decade that was characterized with low economic growth rates, growing poverty and unemployment. Now, question arises that what was the impact of this success on the common man? Does this economic performance measured by high GDP growth rates and per capita income with mainly illiterate and unhealthy population, reflect progress? The weak foundations and planning of the economy did not give benefit to general public as neither effective tax reforms were implemented nor adequate development programs introduced to handle the energy crisis. The short run good performance behind the Musharraf's management was not due to significant structural changings in the economy. However, external or global environment played most important role to enhance real GDP growth and per capital income. Regarding Foreign Direct Investment, he was of the view that, under the military government of General Pervez Musharraf, some liberal reforms in the key sectors of the economy were introduced that pulled in significant amount of foreign direct investment. It reached over about \$5.8 billion in the fiscal year of 2008 and the main beneficiary sectors were telecom, banking and oil and gas. This was also the remarkable accomplishment of military ruler when contrasted with fiscal year of 2013 where FDI inflows were just \$1.2 billion. Moreover, during this era, Pakistan managed to enter again in the international credit markets after about 10 years of quarantine. Three different international bonds were drifted raising about

\$ 2 billion. In addition, looking at the stability and improvement in the economy, overseas Pakistanis started putting their resources into the economy through record remittances that decreased dependency on foreign aid. Remittances were reached over \$ 6.5 billion in fiscal year of 2008 from less than \$1 billion in fiscal year of 2000. Remittances turned into a noteworthy donor to family savings and consumption that help to push the growth of the economy. The effects of these milestones were only for short run due to weak planning and groundwork of military ruler. After 2007 when PPP came into the government, all started going wrong with the economy due to mismanagement of the economy, political instability, terrorism, reckless spending, rising budget deficit, debt burden etc. He talked about Unemployment and poverty by saying that the statistics of poverty trends in Pakistan indicate that poverty is not sustainable rather it has fluctuated remarkably. Moreover, large proportion of population is living near the poverty line. During 2001-2005 under Musharraf's government, the liberal economic policies and stability attracted a large amount of FDI and remittances that helped to increase overall volume of investment in the country. The increased investment shifted the aggregate demand up that led to generate new jobs for the growing labor force and population. The unemployment ratio declined from over 8 percent in the 1990s to five percent by 2008, thereby reduced poverty and millions of households benefitted from a period of high growth in incomes and low inflation.

According to Zaidi (2015) poverty reduced from 31.3 percent in 2001 to 24.5 percent in 2004. However, it increased to 27 percent in 2010. In overall Pakistan, poverty declined 5 percent point from 27.5 percent in 2001 to 22.4 percent in 2010. According to the World Bank, poverty declined from 29.1 percent in 1999 to 20.1 percent by end of 2008. All these statistics indicate that poverty have been more volatile in Pakistan. The analysts argue that both micro and macro shocks in the economy have significant impact on the poverty. Lack of assets, education and

high dependency ratio are the major factors for the persistence of poverty. One of the most striking features of the Musharraf's regime was the increased income disparity among poor and rich class. Although, the poverty reduced during this time period, however, most of the beneficiaries were investor's class, as growth came from those sectors that didn't generate considerably employment opportunities for poor and vulnerable people. He also explained the situation of Inflation, according to Dr. Asim, the key factors behind the high inflation rate during 1990's were the increasing prices of necessities specially food items, oil, gas and electricity. In addition increased indirect taxes and devaluation of Pakistani rupee further aggravated the situation. There was substantial devaluation of rupee throughout 1990's. From a rate of Rs. 25 to one US dollar in early 1990's, one US dollar was being exchanged for around Rs. 60 in 2001. The inflation started to decrease after 1998 due to considerable decline in aggregate demand following the nuclear tests, military coup and 9/11 incidence. During 1999-2003 the average inflation was remain lowest 3.58 percent due to low investment of aggregate demand. After this period there was a high influx of FDI and remittances that helped to generate new job opportunities and increased the purchasing power of people. During Musharraf's government, imports were exempted from sales tax while withholding tax was 1 percent. All these factors increased aggregate demand that raised average inflation to 8.3 percent during 2004-2007. According to Zaidi (2015), the period since 2007/08 is marked for its unprecedented and chronic inflation rates. From having been a low-inflation country, Pakistan became not just a double-digit inflation country, but one where inflation rate seemed to be stuck near 20 percent annually. The major reasons behind high inflation were mismanagement of resources, terrorism, corruption, reckless spending, high budget deficit, high internal and external debt, deficit financing, increasing sales tax on imports, increasing withholding tax, and raise in international

oil prices from \$ 60 per barrel in early 2007 to \$141.7 per barrel in June 2008. He discussed the External and Internal Debt and according to him during 1990's, political democratic governments were failed to improve poor economic condition of Pakistan due to imprudent spending on nonproductive issues, mismanagement of resources, deficit financing, corruption etc. Consequently, macroeconomic condition became more deteriorate including rising internal and external debt that has increased than the size of GDP. In 2000, military ruler Musharraf set up a "Debt Reduction and Management Committee" to grab stern issue of internal and external issue. Many other economies had either internal or external debt issues but Pakistan was facing both crises. Rational monetary management and acquiring loan on low interest led to contain the financial shortages. Then again, effective privatization of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) including oil and gas companies, banks and PTCL also led to reduce overall debt. Government debt decreased to 52 percent by 2008, down from about 88 percent in 2001" Iqbal (2015).

In an Interview<sup>43</sup> Dr. Ijaz Ahmad Rana (Political Scientist) commented that "we had mismanaged our economy, corruption was rampaged, we had printed a lot of paper money which of course devalued the currency value and similarly if we will be begging economic assistance from any country so as a beggar you are not in a position to take some action or stand but even then if you take a stand against any country because you have a red line of your national interest and you can't even talk about the national interest with America" I. A. Rana (2015).

What was impact of U.S. aid on Pakistan's economy during the period of 2001 to 2011, Dr. Qandeel Abbas (Expert on International Relations and Assistant Professor at Quaid e Azam University Islamabad) responded in an interview<sup>44</sup> for the thesis that "Pakistan's economic conditions were improved during 2001 to 2005 specially because during this period. Because Pakistan had foreign support specially from European countries and particularly from United

States and all together this economic support, the total amount was around 20 billion dollar but if we review this support in depth, this whole support was not based on Pakistani needs or as per Pakistani requirements. This whole support was based on Western and U.S. needs in Pakistan. So we believe that out of 13 billion dollar more than 2/3 of this amount was spent for military purposes and less than 1/3 portion was indirectly used for economic purposes. Therefore it cannot be considered a long-term achievement of Pakistan. Indeed it was the short-term economic improvement in Pakistani economy, but if, on the long-term basis we calculate our losses during war on terror, according to official data, these were 85 billion dollar. Whereas if we calculate all infrastructures related losses then it would reach to more than 100 billion dollar and along with this, the causalities of common people and security personnel are more than 40,000 and now it has reached around 70,000 in year 2015, so the economic aid provided by western countries and U.S. was not meant to address the Pakistani needs. So, such aid cannot be considered, as Pakistani gains (benefits). Therefore it had no beneficial impact on Pakistan's economy for the long-term" Abbas (2015).

General (R) Hameed Gull (Ex –Chief of ISI) responded the question related to economy for the thesis that "We had not that much bad economy that we had no other choice but to go for war as ally with of U.S. The Claim of Musharraf that joining war will help improve the economy of Pakistan was wrong. Actually Shokat Aziz (Ex-Prime Minister of Pakistan) was responsible for the fake economy. He later left the country silently from the back door and now he is serving to a prominent Indian industrialist Lakshmi Mittal.

Musharraf claimed that users of Mobile phones in Pakistan have exponentially increased, but none of manufacturing of mobile phone was started in the country. If it would have been manufactured in the country and exported abroad, then I would have agreed the claim of

Musharraf .Indeed he created premature consumerism in Pakistan. He even didn't pay his attention to produce single megawatt electricity' as energy had been our basic problem toward economy .So he did nothing in real for economy; Therefore, I call it a fake economy based on consumerism. They sent the people to go to banks for car leasing instead establishing the private public transport system in big cities. Why he (Musharraf) didn't develop the public private transport system, why are you directing the people toward banks to buy the cars. Economy is based on production. Agricultural sector was also destroyed, we should appreciate our farmers that despite all difficulties they are working and still producing crops. Even potato was also imported from India and this example was started by Musharraf. The period under Musharraf was not good in terms of economy" H. Gull (2015).

Prof. Muhammad Ayyub Munir a writer, and an academician was interviewed<sup>45</sup> for the thesis, his opinion was "Pervez Musharraf while advocating the core objectives which he called his four objectives namely nuclear issue, Kashmir cause, economic uplift and sovereignty but it seems pity that Pakistan didn't get anything, we have lost 40000+ people in this war against terrorism, we have lost stability, we have lost unity in nation, we lost many friendly countries in the world. We are bigger looser because it was war of America; Afghanistan was not a neighbor of America Iraq was not a neighbor of America. America waged these wars and used Pakistan against Afghanistan. There are statistics available from the government and private sector. Pakistan has improved its economy but not due to assistance of United State of America. Whatever we got from United State of America, it was mostly in the form of assistance for military, and military got 75% whereas, 25% for economy. America didn't give us anything instead; she took many things from Pakistan. America didn't offer her services for the solution of Kashmir issue.

America did not offer any services to stop Indian interference in Pakistani province Balochistan”  
Munir (2015).

When Prof. Khalil Muhammad (Expert on Finance and Entrepreneurship) was asked<sup>46</sup> that did Pakistan manage its economic conditions due to the decision to join the war on terror, as in the near past, because of the nuclear testing in 1998 and due to overthrowing the civilian government by the military dictator Musharraf in 1999, Pakistan was under heavy economic sanctions. Hence FDI was also declining and all economic indicators were going toward the lower side. In response to the question that what do you think that because of joining war, did Pakistan improve its economic conditions or was it improved for certain time a little, or became worst?” Prof. Khalil was of the view that “Funds were received by Pakistan, but these were without planning, these funds were given to us for the services which we provided as ally of United States, against Afghanistan and Taliban, but if you understand the basic mechanism and the base line of all business activities, it is based on the trust and confidence of the business people, now you have war going on the neighborhood and you are directly or indirectly involved in that war and the war was also being fought from Pakistan, controlled by Pakistani grounds and supported by Pakistani government. The businessmen were not having a good confidence level, Especially FDI. Pakistani investors also left for abroad. For example in Bangladesh, some of the local investors went to Malaysia, some of the businessmen made joint ventures in India. Some investors left the country for Europe and the foreign investment also stopped. The funds given to Pakistan were not enough to cover the losses. Because we lost more than 100 billion dollar worth of economic activities and Pakistan received only 20 billion dollars but that was only given against the services provided by Pakistan and the military bases we provided to U.S. and NATO”  
Muhammad (2015).

## **5.11 Pakistan A Failed State?**

Fund for Peace had started ranking countries under the name of Failed State Index in 2005 by using different indicators .Initially 76 countries were included in the index, next year it included more countries and total number of countries reached in this index was 146 , from 2007 after inclusion of more countries the number reached to 177 countries are included.

**Table: 5.12 Ranking of Pakistan as per Failed States Index**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Index No</b>	<b>Countries Ranked</b>	<b>Category</b>
2005	34	76 Countries	Warning
2006	09	146	Alert
2007	12	177	Alert
2008	09	177	Alert
2009	10	177	Alert
2010	10	177	Alert
2011	12	177	Alert

Pakistan was ranked as 34 and fell in the category of "Warning" whereas situation in Pakistan due to war on terror became dangerous and Pakistan despite some positive changes remained over all in the category of "Alert", this shows the negative trend as failed state. The data in the above Table: Ranking of Pakistan as per Failed States Index has been taken from the website of "Fund for Peace" FFP (2011).

## **5.12 Conclusion**

'There were four major assumptions that had been considered while the cost of war on terrorism was being estimated at \$ 2.669 billion in fiscal year 2001-02. These were i) The Afghan war will end swiftly by December 2001, ii) normally will return from January 2002; iii) Taliban regime would be toppled after low intensity fight and Pakistan would remain normal; and iv) additional rise in freight cargo and war risk premium would also go. Not a single assumption materialized in the stipulated frame of time. The war proved prolonged with high momentum. Pakistan's settled areas were hit badly causing disruption in investment environment and badly affecting the economic activity. Insecurity prevailed and peace vanished' Survey (2011a).

Since the inception of U.S. led war against terror in 2001, it was Pakistan which continuously paid a heavy price. Heavy human and economic losses turned Pakistan into an African style poor

country in a decade. Pakistan sacrificed its men and material. Heavy, direct and indirect costs continued to rise sharply in the upcoming years. The details of the losses can be seen in the table Estimated Losses (2001-2011) which has been extracted from the data available in Economic survey of Pakistan 2014-15. According the data given in table, it is evident that Pakistan had to bear the \$ 85.85 billion as cost of war during the period of 2001 to June 2012.

**Table: 5.13 “Estimated Losses (2001-2011)” Wasti (2014).**

Years	\$ Billion	Rs. Billion	% Change
2001-02	2.67	163.90	-
2002-03	2.75	160.80	3.0
2003-04	2.93	168.80	6.7
2004-05	3.41	202.40	16.3
2005-06	3.99	238.60	16.9
2006-07	4.67	283.20	17.2
2007-08	6.94	434.10	48.6
2008-09	9.18	720.60	32.3
2009-10	13.56	1136.40	47.7
2010-11	23.77	2037.33	75.3
2011-12	11.98	1052.77	-49.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>85.85</b>	<b>65,989</b>	

In nut shell “The economic aid during nine years (2002-2011) given by US to Pakistan was merely \$4.3billion. In other words it was roughly \$ 4.8 million per annum. If it is divided over Pakistan’s population of 180 million; it becomes \$ 2.67per head yearly. According to a writer of New York Review of Books “This is a price of 6 inch long pizza without additional topping in Lahore” Ahmad (2012).

Pakistanis had serious concerns regarding country’s economic political and security, weaknesses. The grave situation frustrated Pakistanis. Which is reflected in a Pew opinion poll conducted in mid of 2010.

A PEW survey explained 'what Pakistanis were thinking on the state of their nationhood. Surveys showed that only 14% people thought the state of national affairs as satisfactory while 84% were dissatisfied. They viewed economy badly affected with 78%. It means three in four Pakistanis were not happy with the ongoing state of economic conditions. Many believed that the future had been bringing with it no major overhaul or break through in the coming 12 months. Unemployment on a much larger scale was one of the major concerns of the citizenry people in vast majority considered that terrorism, crime, illegal drugs, political corruption and other national issues were posing serious problems'PEW (2010).

Under Kerry Lugar bill, it was planned by US that every year Pakistan will receive \$ 1.5 billion. Let's have a look of worth of this amount of aid for Pakistan

#### **5.12.1        How much is \$1.5 billion a Year in Aid?**

- ✓ 5½ days of average U.S. military spending in Afghanistan
- ✓ Less than 1 percent of Pakistan's GDP and approximately 5 percent of the federal government's budget
- ✓ Half of USAID's global health budget (not including State Department-administered HIV/AIDS programs)" Birdsall (2011).

War on terror left long lasting negative impact on the Pakistan's economy and still economy is under the impact of terrorism. Musharraf's objective to bring economy back on the right track could not be achieved and it was proved that his policy could not bring the desired results. As he had said on September 19, 2001 that "The second priority is our economy - and we are striving for its revival" Musharraf and his successive regime which followed the policies of Musharraf,

could not strive for the revival of Pakistan's economy .Therefore Pakistan didn't get long term benefit instead it was a heavy loss.

### **5.12.2 Cost –Benefit Analysis**

**1. Human Cost:** Pakistan paid the heavy cost in terms of economy and human losses.

43,406 casualties occurred in total (Civilians & Security Personnel) which is a great human loss whereas in twin tower incident on 9/11, less than 3000 people were killed, which is almost, a rough proportion of death shows that around 97% percent killings occurred in Pakistan as compare to 7% in U.S. Exact data of injured person is not available but only in suicidal attacks, 10,290 Pakistan injured during 2004 to 2011.

**2. Human & Material Cost:** While discussing the human and material cost of the war

on terror by America, Michael Truscello quotes, Isenberg (2011) and Webster (2011) “ Consider just a sampling of post-9/11 realities, most in the United States alone: the imperialist invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, combined with war crimes in countries such as Yemen, Pakistan and Libya, in a “war on terror” that has now cost well over 225,000 lives and \$4 trillion, now approaching the financial cost of World War II” Fair (2012).

**3. Pakistan is indeed a victim of terrorism, and the consequences of this war can be seen in Pakistan in daily lives of Pakistanis.** For instance “The war on terror has only prompted terror and militancy. It has affected new areas and expanded in scope and breadth including indoctrinating those who were on the sidelines. The collateral damage has affected thousands of innocent families, driving them in to the lap of insurgency” Hussain (2008).

4. **Educational Cost:** Literacy rate in Pakistan has been historically low, as around 2% budget was allocated for education. Pakistani educational institutions particularly Schools in KPK province and FATA were hit badly. International Islamic University Islamabad was the first University<sup>47</sup> which was targeted on October 20, 2009. Due to security threats educational institutions closed in the whole country for few days and later government made it compulsory for all the educational initiations to take concrete steps to enhance security of educational institutes. An additional burden was put on educational intuitions to install fenced wires, metal detectors and security cameras. Private sector passed on these expenses on the students which caused a sharp increase in financial problems of common Pakistanis. One can observe such security measures easily in all Pakistani cities around the walls of educational institutions. There is a common phrase in Pakistan to depict the deteriorated security situation regarding educational institutions, i.e. 3G (Gate, Guard, Gun) Terrorism lowered literacy rate in KPK particularly.
5. KPK province affected most due to terrorism in Pakistan and educational sector was particularly targeted. Schools were either damaged or destroyed education due to foreign sponsored terrorism<sup>48</sup>.
6. In KPK and FATA 65 per cent of the schools were hit. "Moreover, it is not just girls' schools that have been targeted. More than 42 per cent of boys schools were also destroyed. According to some estimates, nearly 150,000 students have been deprived of education, while 8,000 female teachers are without jobs due to the insurgency" Afridi (2014).
7. In a country like Pakistan where facilities like education and health care are not available to every Pakistani and meager budget on health and education is spent, the targeted

destruction of schools and health centers, in thousands caused more sufferings of the Pakistani citizens. 'Pakistan still positions in the last ten nations for female education as 62% of the poorest ladies in the nation (matured 7 – 16) have never been to class. Of the 135 assaults that occurred on schools in Pakistan in 2011, 76 were in KP and 53 in FATA. 17 schools in Peshawar and 10 government funded schools in Charsaddah were assaulted. Various different schools stayed shut because of terrorizing and dangers. The FATA Directorate of Education reported that 505 schools were destroyed, while 542 primary boys and 108 girls school in FATA because of threats by militants' Mirza (2015).

8. **IDPs:** Millions became dispersed internally ( IDPs)
9. **Cost:** \$ 85.85 billion as cost of war during the period of 2001 to June 2012.
10. **Inflation:** Maximum Inflation rose to 20.3% in year 2008.
11. **Food Items:** Prices of basic food items rose to a higher level in the history of Pakistan. For instance Wheat is the basic food item in Pakistan; it rose up to 200 % during 11 years, meat by 300% and sugar by 6%, pulses by 2% and Ghee and edible oil by 13%.
12. **FDI:** Foreign Direct Investment dropped gradually by \$ 1634.8 million in year 2011.
13. **Currency Devaluation:** Pakistani Rupee devalued during war on terror. The Exchange Rate (Rs/US\$) was 61.4 Rs which further decreased by Rs 85.5 against one US dollar.
14. **Roads:** NATO enjoyed the almost toll free services in Pakistan. NATO containers used Pakistani roads to supply fuel, arms and other goods necessary for war in Afghanistan during 2001 to 2011. US paid only '\$250 per container to Pakistan... . Pakistani roads

have the life to have an existence of ten years yet have devalued altogether since the harm brought about by a solitary container is proportionate to 1,500 to 2,000 cars. [In 2011, Pakistan's] National Highway Authority needs \$1.6 billion to modify the harmed network of roads and, for this reason alone, it has proposed a charge of \$1,000 per container. The extra \$4,000 incorporates charges for filtering, review and examination of the provisions, charges by virtue of roads well-being, ecological effect and port administrations' S. Rana (2012). According to well-known Economist Prof. Khursheed Ahmad<sup>49</sup>, Pakistan provided the logistic facilities to US during 2001 to 2011 absolutely free if service charges had been charged; it would have an amount of \$.4-5 billion annually. Turkey which gave the same facility to US during Iraq war, for the supply of non-lethal goods, received \$ 6 billion annually... This is one example that US deprived Pakistan \$ 40-50 billion in terms of road services during the period of 2001-2011. This huge amount has a lot of meaning to the Pakistan's economy. Therefore it was a loss of \$ 40-50 billion due to NATO supply to Afghanistan via Pakistan.

15. Pakistan's economy ruined gradually after 2006 and losses increased rapidly. FDI decreased on the other hand US aid was very little.<sup>50</sup>

16. One of research question of Study was to find out that Whether Pakistan could manage to improve its economic conditions due to US aid to Pakistan during the period of 2001 to 2011? The answer is "Yes". Because despite all military and economic assistance, which was extremely low during 2001 to 2011, Pakistan bore \$ 85.85 billion losses whereas Pakistan received total military & economic assistance amount of \$ 13.266 billion. 'United States provided finances of \$1.8 billion as economic assistance in 2010. The reality was much bigger than this amount. That US economic assistance was indeed

'peanuts' as on per capita basis it translated into a mere \$10 for 180 million people of Pakistan. Would be any feasibility of a global war fought with such peanuts?' Haider (2012).

17. **Economy:** As a matter of fact, acts of terrorism disturb the normal social domestic, educational, economic, and trading activities. Due to terrorism resultantly costs of business increases and production is delayed which ultimately become one of the reasons of cancelation of export orders.
18. Pakistani items lose their pace of the overall industry to their rivals. Furthermore, terrorism makes instability, diminishes certainty and builds hazard perceptions. Terrorism also prompts lower rates of venture and lower financial development. Terrorism brings direct threat to economy, loss in economy results in loss of jobs or unemployment, unemployment leads to crime and instability in political and social order of any society.
19. Terrorist acts and security threats resulted into termination of the projects and financial investment. Because of terrorism not only foreign investors but local investors also left the country and invested abroad like UAE, Malaysia, UK, and Bangladesh and in other countries.
20. Presently Pakistan needs huge amount to improve the production level of economy. 'Pakistan's economy was seriously influenced. It confronted political shakiness, militancy, terrorism in the public eye that spread dread among speculators and had stunned the securities exchanges. This brought about the poor financial development of the nation and, notwithstanding Washington help to Islamabad, the monetary state of Pakistan did not demonstrate fancied change, rather it decayed' Hashmi (2007).

21. **Trust Deficit:** Most of the Pakistanis are always skeptical about U.S. assistance for Pakistan. As it has been less for economy and more for military. Therefore majority in Pakistan never trusted that U.S. will continue aid to Pakistan. Since 1947 to 2011, U.S cut off Assistance of Pakistan six times.

22. On the one side Pakistan got its economy destroyed in the war on terror, so safely it can be argued that Musharraf's objective to strengthen economy was not fully achieved, whereas on the other side Pakistan is still surviving, that means Pakistan can survive without U.S. assistance.

**Table: 5.14 Cost of War (2001-2011)**

Years	Billion \$	% Change
2001-02	2.67	-
2002-03	2.75	3.0
2003-04	2.93	6.7
2004-05	3.41	16.3
2005-06	3.99	16.9
2006-07	4.67	17.2
2007-08	6.94	48.6
2008-09	9.18	32.3
2009-10	13.56	47.7
2010-11	23.77	75.3
2011-12	11.98	-49.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>85.85</b>	-

Source:<sup>51</sup>

**Table: 5.15 Balance Sheet (Cost Benefit 2001 to 2011)**

Total Benefit (in \$ Billion) (In terms of US Economic & Military Aid. CSF <sup>52</sup> excluded)	Total Cost (in \$ Billion) (In terms of Losses)	Balance (in \$ Billion)
<b>13.266</b>	<b>85.85</b>	<b>-72.584</b>

According to S. Akbar Zaidi “The aid relationship between the United States and Pakistan is badly out of balance. Heavily weighted toward military aid over economic assistance, it has strengthened the hand of Pakistan’s powerful security establishment at the expense of the civilian government. Both countries have reason to be disappointed that so much U.S. aid—nearly \$19 billion since 2002—has achieved so little” Zaidi (2011). Akbar Zaidi has included the Coalition Support Fund amount into total aid.

### 5.12.2 Benefits

Temporal and immediate benefits which Pakistan gained were:

1. Removal of economic sanctions.
2. U.S. helped in getting IMF loans, which were necessary then for Pakistan's economy.
3. Pakistan received some substantial foreign direct investment in the early years.
4. U.S. economic aid received which was little but effective in the beginning.

# Chapter 6

## Nuclear and Missile Assets: 3rd Objective of Musharraf

### 6.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the most important aspect of any state, the security, and relationship of security in terms of nuclear power in the light of neorealism. The Musharraf's purpose was to save the country's nuclear and missile assets along with three other objectives mentioned previously in chapter three, in the wake of 9/11 incident to keep the balance of power in the South Asian region. It will also be discussed here what initiated Pakistan's nuclear program and how could it be taken as a response to Indian accumulation of conventional assets. Accomplishment of this program wasn't easy, as Pakistan being an aid recipient country and dependent on US aid always anticipated many economic and military sanctions during different eras with varied effects. This chapter also deals with the efforts of Pakistan to save and protect its crucial nuclear program from India, Israel and US. The country's nuclear program was taken by some world powers as a threat to world peace and possibility of it falling into terrorists hands could cause further terrorism in the western world. Pakistan developed a safety plan for the nuclear weapons to pacify the concerns of the world community; this safety plan has also been discussed in this chapter. Finally a Cost-Benefit Analysis of e political decision of Musharraf has been taken up for detailed discussion and analysis.

### 6.1 Historical background

Why Pakistan started its nuclear program despite its weak economic situation. The answer goes back into history of its creation. Rivalry started between India and Pakistan in 1947 over the

issue of Kashmir which is continued yet in 2011<sup>53</sup>. This dispute over Kashmir caused the unending conflict between the both adjacent neighbors. 1947–48, 1965, 1971 and 1999 witnessed three major wars between the two countries. Though the 1971 war was not fought over the Kashmir issue, but it proved very significant as it caused the disintegration of Pakistan. Eastern wing of Pakistan was separated and became an independent state of Bangladesh. In the wake of 1971 war, rivalry between the both neighbors reached its peak. Following the dismemberment of Pakistan, India tested its first nuclear bomb in 1974. India had started its nuclear program in 1964, whereas Pakistan started its program very late almost after 8 years in 1972, with a purpose to maintain the balance of power in the region as well as ensure own security in the wake of devastated military defeat and loss of half of the country in 1971. India tested its first nuclear device in 1974, thus creating power imbalance in the region. In the wake of Indian nuclear testing, the then Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto “made it clear following India's 1974 nuclear test that Pakistan would develop a nuclear weapon even if the Pakistani people had to eat grass”. Perhaps no other statement better reflects Pakistan's determination to develop and maintain a nuclear deterrent against India” Files (2012).

#### **6.1.1 Reasons of Nuclear Program**

Pakistan has always been prone to Indian threat since the beginning, therefore ‘Pakistan's security concerns have dependably been coordinated toward India. Having risen up out of India's womb as a different country for Indian Muslims, Pakistan has been overwhelmed by a sentiment a risk to its reality from its bigger, more grounded and frequently unaccommodating neighbor. The two states have had four wars (1947, 1965, 1971, and 1999) and various crisis’ Nayyar (2008).<sup>54</sup>

In order to keep the country secure from external threats Pakistan had to spend a considerable portion of her resources to balance India which hampered the national economic development which ultimately turned Pakistan's political economy from developmental to defense oriented economy. Following the first war in 1948 between the both neighboring countries over Kashmir, Pakistan started looking for military alliance in order to balance India. In early 50s Pakistan became member of SEATO and CENTO military alliances and received substantial military aid from US.

**Table 6.1: US Military Aid to Pakistan.**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Military Aid(US \$ Millions)</b>
1948	0.77
1949	0
1950	0
1951	2.89
1952	74.25
1953	78.29
1954	156.95
1955	733.15
1956	10065.67
1957	1079.65
1958	968.22
1959	1367.93
1960	1689.841
1961	989.53
1962	2334.65
1963	2066.77
1964	2222.66
1965	1928.9
1966	816.28
1967	1213.36
1968	1501.68
1969	541.76
1970	968.32

Note: Data in Table 6.1: has derived from the following source. *Guardian* (2010).

Apart from the military aid received by Pakistan from US, Pakistan continued to spend around 4% of its Gross National Product (GNP) on defense. 'By the late 1960s, Pakistan's defense related expenses around 6% of the GNP, while the Indian figure was about half portion of this. In spite of bearing just 50% of the weight, in total terms, India still spent somewhere around 6 and 7 times, what Pakistan spent on defense. In 1970, Pakistan burned through 5.75% its GNP on its defense, which added up to \$325 million (in current dollars); India burned through 2.99% of its GNP, however this added up to \$2.43 billion' Rajagopalan (1998b).

Due to its geopolitical location in South Asia where three large and important countries like India, China and Russia, Pakistan always faced the problems of security and survival. Therefore, with regard to foreign policy Pakistan has always set three main objectives:

- "Security from any attack emerging from the north<sup>54</sup>,
- Adequate defense from her more powerful neighbor in the event of war,
- and, undoubtedly a position of comparative bargaining strength vis-a-vis India in the long-drawn-out dispute over Kashmir" Wallbank (1958).

As a matter of fact Pakistan has always tried to correct the imbalance of power in with respect to India. State actors have two choices in order to deal with perceived aggressors in International system. Best way is to create balance against perceived aggressor state through their own capabilities which is known as "internal balancing" or by "external balancing" through which a state make alliance with like-minded state to counter the perceived aggressor state. On the contrary another option left with states in the form of "bandwagon" in which primary objective is to avoid becoming a victim. Due to insufficient resources Pakistan was unable to internally balance India, Therefore International structure compelled Pakistan to seek external balancing

and formed alliances, namely SEATO in 1954 and later CENTO in 1955 with the Western countries.

Pakistan struggled hard to gain American support for disputes corresponding Jammu and Kashmir, Indus water and further economic possessions, which India had occupied in the course of the partition of the subcontinent, but under no circumstances attained that backing. None of the matters were fixed even through military coalitions. America was always more inclined toward supporting India due to its tactical habitation in contrast to Marxist china'Mussarat Jabeen (2011).—

1950s and 1960s, Pakistan vigorously sought external balancing and established alliances with US and China. Following the war over Kashmir in 1948 Pakistan's security needs were very important; Therefore, Pakistan signed a Mutual Defense Assistance treaty in 1954 which was a clear effort to balance the India. Initially Pakistan's efforts were successful as between 1954 and 1959 Pakistan received not only military but economic aid from US. The aid was worth \$522 and over \$600 million military and economic respectively. Following the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971, Pakistan sought non-traditional internal balance against India. This non-traditional internal balancing was nuclear technology in the wake of Indian nuclear testing in 1974. Since nuclear weapons had essential leverage against such neighboring adversary to correct the balance ,therefore Pakistan had no choice in the changing international and regional structure, but to start its own nuclear program. There is a clear difference between the Pakistan and India's dynamics. Pakistan had no regional power ambitions; rather it had security threats from India.

Another most important point is that Pakistan had started its nuclear program with the clear objective of using the nuclear technology for civil programs in the fields of health, energy,

industry and agriculture. However it was rivalry with India which forced Pakistan to launch it for military purposes.

According to a Pakistani retired general responding to a western scholar said that 'From the mid-1960s, we knew that India was developing the nuclear bomb thus a Pakistani who denied the fact that it was mandatory for Pakistan to own its own nuclear bomb, was a turncoat or a thorough chump. We had to have a bomb as one was obligatory for NATO in the course of the cold war when the Russian tank militaries were intimidating in Europe. So on what grounds can you condemn us?' Lieven (2011a).

## **6.2 Sanctions Pakistan Faced due to Nuclear Program**

Ironically this was US that viewed India as potential counterweight to Communist powers like China and USSR during the cold war era. The US, therefore not only overlooked India's newly nuclear program, but also provided the nuclear technology to India. Atoms for Peace program had actually helped India to grow its nuclear program.

Since US was founder of nuclear program and US had dropped the bomb on two Japanese cities in August 1945 and after the World War II (WW II) US emerged as a super power in bipolar international system. Therefore US tried to prevent the nuclear proliferation to the other nations. The US administrations used coercive policy measures to stop the nuclear proliferation attempts. US endorsed the policies of UNO to achieve the non-proliferation objective through coercive sanctions.

The following table shows that in some specific and significant areas what type of actions are taken in order to prevent a state actor from nuclear proliferation but economic sanctions are most

widely used. A summary of types of actions as follows in the Table 6.2 (Significant Areas and Types of Actions against Nuclear Proliferation States).

**Table 6.2: Significant Areas and Types of Actions against Nuclear Proliferation States**

Areas	Type of Action	Areas	Types of Action
Economic Assistance	Sanctions	Diplomacy	Coercive Diplomacy
Economic Aid	Sanctions	Security	Military Threats
Military Cooperation	Sanctions	Foreign Relations	Cut off
Technology Access	Sanctions	Culture	Ban
Trade/Business (Import/Export)	Sanctions	Sports	Boycott
		Naval	Blockade

Note: Table 6. 2: has drawn from the data mentioned from the following source. M. F. Anwar (2013).

Since UN system was unable to impose sanctions against violating states in the area of nuclear non-proliferation, therefore US alone unilaterally imposed sanctions against violating states. The US started imposing sanctions unilaterally since 1970s. The following table shows the sanctions record.

**Table 6.3: Unilateral Sanctions imposed by US**

Country	Years of Sanctions
South Africa	1975-82
Taiwan	1976-77
Brazil	1978-81
Argentina	1978-81
India	1978-82
Pakistan	1979-80
Iran	Date not available

Note: Data in the table 6.3: Unilateral Sanctions imposed by US was derived and tabulated from the following source. Gebhard (1995).

US president Carter unilaterally imposed sanctions against Pakistan in April 1979. These sanctions comprised military and economic aid after discovering the secret nuclear program of

Pakistan in the wake of Indian nuclear testing in 1974. “The United States and its allies imposed a number of sanctions on Pakistan, including denial of fuel and heavy water for an IAEA safeguarded nuclear power reactor” Nayyar (2008). The duration of these sanctions was short due to Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979. Therefore certain US sanctions were practically not applied for coming several years, as Pakistani support was very crucial for US in the wake of soviet invasion of Afghanistan. On the contrary US, gave multi billions military and economic aid to Pakistan.

**Table: 6.4 US Military and Economic Aid for Pakistan: 1979 to 1998.**

Year	Military Assistance	Economic Assistance
1979	128.81	23.31
1980	137.53	0
1981	164.16	0
1982	400.6	200.07
1983	534.18	383.29
1984	568.05	415.84
1985	607.26	447.53
1986	623.56	460.91
1987	599.07	469.53
1988	769.14	635
1989	559.72	421.27
1990	548.07	422.37
1991	149.59	141.78
1992	27.14	0.57
1993	74.19	7.98
1994	68.43	0
1995	23.13	10.1
1996	22.79	0
1997	57.17	0
1998	36.32	0

Note: Data in Table 6.4 was derived from the following source Guardian (2010)

### **6.3 US Nuclear Policy toward Pakistan: 1979 to 1980**

On December 21, 2010, US National Security Archives published those declassified US government documents of Carter era (January 1977 to January 1981) which were related to Indo-Pak nuclear program. According to the documents Carter administration did the same whatever was done by Ford administration, i.e. to discourage Pakistan to abandon its nuclear program. Later in 1978 US state department and CIA both discovered that Pakistan was quickly moving to build its nuclear program. US kept pressuring Pakistan to turn off its nuclear project. Firstly US exerted direct pressure on Pakistani President Z.A.-Bhutto and later military dictator General Zia ul Haq, secondly, US tried to lobby her key ally countries and even China to convince them to pressurize Pakistan. US also attempted to persuade them to halt the nuclear related technology to Pakistan. Mr. William Bur has analyzed the declassified documents, among the documented releases, according to him. After an unrealistic request from the American governance in the mid 1978 to pledge that 'Pakistan would refrain from using plutonium producing technology, foreign minister Agha Shahi opposed that this was a "demand that no country would accept" and Pakistan "has the unfettered right to do what it wishes'

- By November 1978, the American government officials started writing schemes for hindering Pakistan from progressing toward the creation of nuclear proficiency, because they became well aware that Pakistan was spending on equipment for a gas extractor fortification facility.
- By January 1979, the American intelligence was certain that Pakistan was on the verge of achieving the position where it possibly will soon attain all the crucial constituents for a gas fortification facility.

The column, Lending/Net Borrowing shows the constant deficit due to war on terror. In the year 2000-01 when Pakistan had joined the war on terror the deficit was Rs. 164,900 million whereas it reached to Rs. 928,497 million in the year 2009-10 which clearly depicts the worst economic conditions due to war on terror.

### 5.9 Inflation

The political decisions of General Musharraf to join the war on terror could not bring long term benefits in the field of economy.

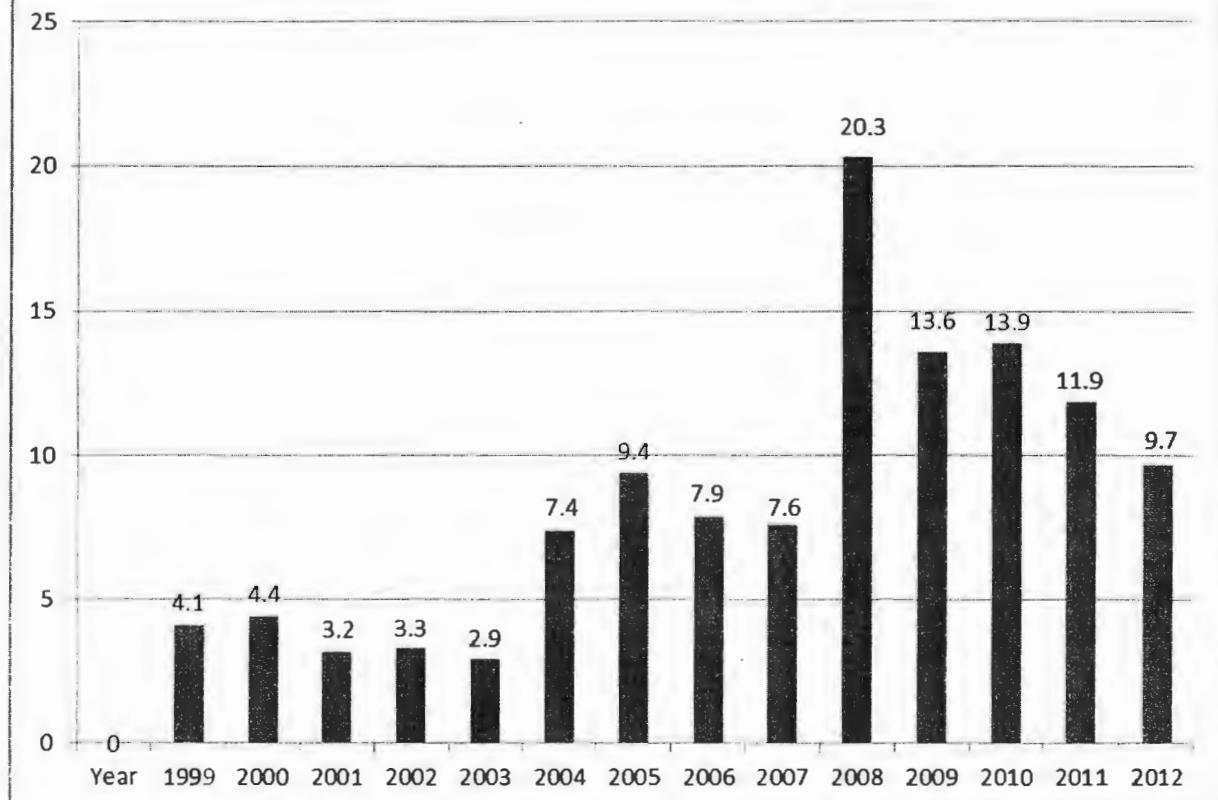
**Table: 5.9 Inflation, consumer prices (Annual %)**

Year	Inflation, consumer prices (Annual %) 1999-2012
1999	4.1
2000	4.4
2001	3.2
2002	3.3
2003	2.9
2004	7.4
2005	9.4
2006	7.9
2007	7.6
2008	20.3
2009	13.6
2010	13.9
2011	11.9
2012	9.7

Source: Bank (2014).

### **Inflation consumer prices (Annual %)**

**Source: World Bank Data**



It is clearly seen through the graph regarding inflation in Pakistan that from the year 2004 inflation started rising with lows and highs reached to 11.9% in 2011. While in the year 2008 it reached to its peak on 20.3% whereas it was only 3.2% in the year of joining the US led GWOT. It hit the common citizens of Pakistan badly.

**Table: 5.10 Increase in Essential Food Basket Items (2001-2012) in %**

Basic food Basket Item	Increase in prices ( 2001-2012)	Contribution to Monthly Food Basket Cost
Wheat	200	20
Meat	300	11
Sugar	200	06
Pulses	134	02
Ghee & Edible Oil	200	13

Source: Kiani (2012).

In a country like Pakistan where much of the budget of a common man is spent on food items, such a sharp rise in the essential food items is alarming. Wheat is the basic food item in Pakistan; it rose up to 200 % during 11 years, meat by 300% and sugar by 6%, pulses by 2% and Ghee and edible oil by 13%.

**Table: 5.11 Devaluation of Pakistani Currency**

Year	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11
Exchange Rate (Rs/US\$)	61.4	57.7	57.92	59.66	60.16	60.1	71.1	78.5	83.8	85.5
% Change	4.8	-4.7	-1.5	2.9	1.3	0.56	14.9	9.4	6.3	1.9

Source: Survey (2011b)

## 5.10 Downfall of Economy

According to a renowned economist of Pakistan Dr. Shahid Siddiqi, writer of the Urdu book titled “*Pakistan aur America — Dehshatgardi, Siasat, Maeeshat*” “at the beginning that the war on terror had devastated Pakistan's economy and the two Pakistani governments had participated in it to expand their run the show. ... Pakistan was at a basic crossroads ever. ... at after 9/11 Henry Kissinger had said that the genuine test would start after America's haul out from

Afghanistan and its inside would be outside of Afghanistan. In this way, today we are being focused on. .... Pakistan's inclusion in the war on terror had brought about its economy lost \$ 80billion — \$ 28 billion amid General Musharraf's government and \$ 52 billion amid the residency of the present regime, in the most recent five years destitution in whatever is left of the world had diminished significantly, yet in Pakistan the circumstance was inverse — it had expanded. .... today India was the tenth greatest economy on the planet and by 2020 would turn into the fifth greatest economy after the US, China, Japan and Russia' Dawn (2012).

When Mr. Imtiaz Gull (CEO of Center for Research and Security Studies Islamabad) was interviewed<sup>41</sup> he was of the view that Pakistan economy suffered hugely just because of every passing day particularly after 2006, every major country's advice its citizens to not visit Pakistan and likewise they advised their investors to not invest in Pakistan. Hence in economic terms this is a huge loss for Pakistan.

Responding to the question that did Pakistan manage to improve its economic conditions due to US aid? Mr. Imtiaz Gull also said that "No, not much. I don't think so". Pakistan was not able to gain much because change in Pakistan mostly was cosmetic. Little change in GDP growth we saw, when Shokat Aziz was prime minister, was primarily because of couple of billions of dollars that was coming in Pakistan; it was also because of the remittances that started coming through formal banking channels rather than *Hawala* and *Hundi* system. Internally, there was no push for structural reforms, there was no push for internal taxation base; there was no push for taxing the rich ones. So that's why the fundamental of Pakistan's economy remain the same and that's why Pakistan couldn't benefit from whatever goodwill it had with US" I. Gull (2015).

When Dr. Asim Iqbal (Economist) was interviewed<sup>42</sup> for this study, he replied extensively. According to him "The economic performance of Pakistan can be assessed by comparing the key

macroeconomic variables with the different political regimes. A snapshot comparison of 1990's and Musharraf's government without any doubt indicates that Pakistan was better off during first five years at the beginning of 21<sup>st</sup> century. The volume of industrial, agriculture and servicing sectors increased. The real GDP registered an average growth rate about 6.7% during 2003-2008. The GDP per capita income increased almost double than the rate of population growth. The statistics show that the economy of Pakistan improved under the Musharraf management. This was incredible success when compare to the preceding decade that was characterized with low economic growth rates, growing poverty and unemployment. Now, question arises that what was the impact of this success on the common man? Does this economic performance measured by high GDP growth rates and per capita income with mainly illiterate and unhealthy population, reflect progress? The weak foundations and planning of the economy did not give benefit to general public as neither effective tax reforms were implemented nor adequate development programs introduced to handle the energy crisis. The short run good performance behind the Musharraf's management was not due to significant structural changings in the economy. However, external or global environment played most important role to enhance real GDP growth and per capital income. Regarding Foreign Direct Investment, he was of the view that, under the military government of General Pervez Musharraf, some liberal reforms in the key sectors of the economy were introduced that pulled in significant amount of foreign direct investment. It reached over about \$5.8 billion in the fiscal year of 2008 and the main beneficiary sectors were telecom, banking and oil and gas. This was also the remarkable accomplishment of military ruler when contrasted with fiscal year of 2013 where FDI inflows were just \$1.2 billion. Moreover, during this era, Pakistan managed to enter again in the international credit markets after about 10 years of quarantine. Three different international bonds were drifted raising about

\$ 2 billion. In addition, looking at the stability and improvement in the economy, overseas Pakistanis started putting their resources into the economy through record remittances that decreased dependency on foreign aid. Remittances were reached over \$ 6.5 billion in fiscal year of 2008 from less than \$1 billion in fiscal year of 2000. Remittances turned into a noteworthy donor to family savings and consumption that help to push the growth of the economy. The effects of these milestones were only for short run due to weak planning and groundwork of military ruler. After 2007 when PPP came into the government, all started going wrong with the economy due to mismanagement of the economy, political instability, terrorism, reckless spending, rising budget deficit, debt burden etc. He talked about Unemployment and poverty by saying that the statistics of poverty trends in Pakistan indicate that poverty is not sustainable rather it has fluctuated remarkably. Moreover, large proportion of population is living near the poverty line. During 2001-2005 under Musharraf's government, the liberal economic policies and stability attracted a large amount of FDI and remittances that helped to increase overall volume of investment in the country. The increased investment shifted the aggregate demand up that led to generate new jobs for the growing labor force and population. The unemployment ratio declined from over 8 percent in the 1990s to five percent by 2008, thereby reduced poverty and millions of households benefitted from a period of high growth in incomes and low inflation.

According to Zaidi (2015) poverty reduced from 31.3 percent in 2001 to 24.5 percent in 2004. However, it increased to 27 percent in 2010. In overall Pakistan, poverty declined 5 percent point from 27.5 percent in 2001 to 22.4 percent in 2010. According to the World Bank, poverty declined from 29.1 percent in 1999 to 20.1 percent by end of 2008. All these statistics indicate that poverty have been more volatile in Pakistan. The analysts argue that both micro and macro shocks in the economy have significant impact on the poverty. Lack of assets, education and

high dependency ratio are the major factors for the persistence of poverty. One of the most striking features of the Musharraf's regime was the increased income disparity among poor and rich class. Although, the poverty reduced during this time period, however, most of the beneficiaries were investor's class, as growth came from those sectors that didn't generate considerably employment opportunities for poor and vulnerable people. He also explained the situation of Inflation, according to Dr. Asim, the key factors behind the high inflation rate during 1990's were the increasing prices of necessities specially food items, oil, gas and electricity. In addition increased indirect taxes and devaluation of Pakistani rupee further aggravated the situation. There was substantial devaluation of rupee throughout 1990's. From a rate of Rs. 25 to one US dollar in early 1990's, one US dollar was being exchanged for around Rs. 60 in 2001. The inflation started to decrease after 1998 due to considerable decline in aggregate demand following the nuclear tests, military coup and 9/11 incidence. During 1999-2003 the average inflation was remain lowest 3.58 percent due to low investment of aggregate demand. After this period there was a high influx of FDI and remittances that helped to generate new job opportunities and increased the purchasing power of people. During Musharraf's government, imports were exempted from sales tax while withholding tax was 1 percent. All these factors increased aggregate demand that raised average inflation to 8.3 percent during 2004-2007. According to Zaidi (2015), the period since 2007/08 is marked for its unprecedented and chronic inflation rates. From having been a low-inflation country, Pakistan became not just a double-digit inflation country, but one where inflation rate seemed to be stuck near 20 percent annually. The major reasons behind high inflation were mismanagement of resources, terrorism, corruption, reckless spending, high budget deficit, high internal and external debt, deficit financing, increasing sales tax on imports, increasing withholding tax, and raise in international

oil prices from \$ 60 per barrel in early 2007 to \$141.7 per barrel in June 2008. He discussed the External and Internal Debt and according to him during 1990's, political democratic governments were failed to improve poor economic condition of Pakistan due to imprudent spending on nonproductive issues, mismanagement of resources, deficit financing, corruption etc. Consequently, macroeconomic condition became more deteriorate including rising internal and external debt that has increased than the size of GDP. In 2000, military ruler Musharraf set up a "Debt Reduction and Management Committee" to grab stern issue of internal and external issue. Many other economies had either internal or external debt issues but Pakistan was facing both crises. Rational monetary management and acquiring loan on low interest led to contain the financial shortages. Then again, effective privatization of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) including oil and gas companies, banks and PTCL also led to reduce overall debt. Government debt decreased to 52 percent by 2008, down from about 88 percent in 2001" Iqbal (2015).

In an Interview<sup>43</sup> Dr. Ijaz Ahmad Rana (Political Scientist) commented that "we had mismanaged our economy, corruption was rampaged, we had printed a lot of paper money which of course devalued the currency value and similarly if we will be begging economic assistance from any country so as a beggar you are not in a position to take some action or stand but even then if you take a stand against any country because you have a red line of your national interest and you can't even talk about the national interest with America" I. A. Rana (2015).

What was impact of U.S. aid on Pakistan's economy during the period of 2001 to 2011, Dr. Qandeel Abbas (Expert on International Relations and Assistant Professor at Quaid e Azam University Islamabad) responded in an interview<sup>44</sup> for the thesis that "Pakistan's economic conditions were improved during 2001 to 2005 specially because during this period. Because Pakistan had foreign support specially from European countries and particularly from United

States and all together this economic support, the total amount was around 20 billion dollar but if we review this support in depth, this whole support was not based on Pakistani needs or as per Pakistani requirements. This whole support was based on Western and U.S. needs in Pakistan. So we believe that out of 13 billion dollar more than 2/3 of this amount was spent for military purposes and less than 1/3 portion was indirectly used for economic purposes. Therefore it cannot be considered a long-term achievement of Pakistan. Indeed it was the short-term economic improvement in Pakistani economy, but if, on the long-term basis we calculate our losses during war on terror, according to official data, these were 85 billion dollar. Whereas if we calculate all infrastructures related losses then it would reach to more than 100 billion dollar and along with this, the causalities of common people and security personnel are more than 40,000 and now it has reached around 70,000 in year 2015, so the economic aid provided by western countries and U.S. was not meant to address the Pakistani needs. So, such aid cannot be considered, as Pakistani gains (benefits). Therefore it had no beneficial impact on Pakistan's economy for the long-term" Abbas (2015).

General (R) Hameed Gull (Ex –Chief of ISI) responded the question related to economy for the thesis that "We had not that much bad economy that we had no other choice but to go for war as ally with of U.S. The Claim of Musharraf that joining war will help improve the economy of Pakistan was wrong. Actually Shokat Aziz (Ex-Prime Minister of Pakistan) was responsible for the fake economy. He later left the country silently from the back door and now he is serving to a prominent Indian industrialist Lakshmi Mittal.

Musharraf claimed that users of Mobile phones in Pakistan have exponentially increased, but none of manufacturing of mobile phone was started in the country. If it would have been manufactured in the country and exported abroad, then I would have agreed the claim of

Musharraf .Indeed he created premature consumerism in Pakistan. He even didn't pay his attention to produce single megawatt electricity' as energy had been our basic problem toward economy .So he did nothing in real for economy; Therefore, I call it a fake economy based on consumerism. They sent the people to go to banks for car leasing instead establishing the private public transport system in big cities. Why he (Musharraf) didn't develop the public private transport system, why are you directing the people toward banks to buy the cars. Economy is based on production. Agricultural sector was also destroyed, we should appreciate our farmers that despite all difficulties they are working and still producing crops. Even potato was also imported from India and this example was started by Musharraf. The period under Musharraf was not good in terms of economy" H. Gull (2015).

Prof. Muhammad Ayyub Munir a writer, and an academician was interviewed<sup>45</sup> for the thesis, his opinion was "Pervez Musharraf while advocating the core objectives which he called his four objectives namely nuclear issue, Kashmir cause, economic uplift and sovereignty but it seems pity that Pakistan didn't get anything, we have lost 40000+ people in this war against terrorism, we have lost stability, we have lost unity in nation, we lost many friendly countries in the world. We are bigger looser because it was war of America; Afghanistan was not a neighbor of America Iraq was not a neighbor of America. America waged these wars and used Pakistan against Afghanistan. There are statistics available from the government and private sector. Pakistan has improved its economy but not due to assistance of United State of America. Whatever we got from United State of America, it was mostly in the form of assistance for military, and military got 75% whereas, 25% for economy. America didn't give us anything instead; she took many things from Pakistan. America didn't offer her services for the solution of Kashmir issue.

America did not offer any services to stop Indian interference in Pakistani province Balochistan” Munir (2015).

When Prof. Khalil Muhammad (Expert on Finance and Entrepreneurship) was asked<sup>46</sup> that did Pakistan manage its economic conditions due to the decision to join the war on terror, as in the near past, because of the nuclear testing in 1998 and due to overthrowing the civilian government by the military dictator Musharraf in 1999, Pakistan was under heavy economic sanctions. Hence FDI was also declining and all economic indicators were going toward the lower side. In response to the question that what do you think that because of joining war, did Pakistan improve its economic conditions or was it improved for certain time a little, or became worst?” Prof. Khalil was of the view that “Funds were received by Pakistan, but these were without planning, these funds were given to us for the services which we provided as ally of United States, against Afghanistan and Taliban, but if you understand the basic mechanism and the base line of all business activities, it is based on the trust and confidence of the business people, now you have war going on the neighborhood and you are directly or indirectly involved in that war and the war was also being fought from Pakistan, controlled by Pakistani grounds and supported by Pakistani government. The businessmen were not having a good confidence level, Especially FDI. Pakistani investors also left for abroad. For example in Bangladesh, some of the local investors went to Malaysia, some of the businessmen made joint ventures in India. Some investors left the country for Europe and the foreign investment also stopped. The funds given to Pakistan were not enough to cover the losses. Because we lost more than 100 billion dollar worth of economic activities and Pakistan received only 20 billion dollars but that was only given against the services provided by Pakistan and the military bases we provided to U.S. and NATO” Muhammad (2015).

### **5.11 Pakistan A Failed State?**

Fund for Peace had started ranking countries under the name of Failed State Index in 2005 by using different indicators .Initially 76 countries were included in the index, next year it included more countries and total number of countries reached in this index was 146 , from 2007 after inclusion of more countries the number reached to 177 countries are included.

**Table: 5.12 Ranking of Pakistan as per Failed States Index**

Year	Index No	Countries Ranked	Category
2005	34	76 Countries	Warning
2006	09	146	Alert
2007	12	177	Alert
2008	09	177	Alert
2009	10	177	Alert
2010	10	177	Alert
2011	12	177	Alert

Pakistan was ranked as 34 and fell in the category of "Warning" whereas situation in Pakistan due to war on terror became dangerous and Pakistan despite some positive changes remained over all in the category of "Alert", this shows the negative trend as failed state. The data in the above Table: Ranking of Pakistan as per Failed States Index has been taken from the website of "Fund for Peace" FFP (2011).

## **5.12 Conclusion**

'There were four major assumptions that had been considered while the cost of war on terrorism was being estimated at \$ 2.669 billion in fiscal year 2001-02. These were i) The Afghan war will end swiftly by December 2001, ii) normally will return from January 2002; iii) Taliban regime would be toppled after low intensity fight and Pakistan would remain normal; and iv) additional rise in freight cargo and war risk premium would also go. Not a single assumption materialized in the stipulated frame of time. The war proved prolonged with high momentum. Pakistan's settled areas were hit badly causing disruption in investment environment and badly affecting the economic activity. Insecurity prevailed and peace vanished' Survey (2011a).

Since the inception of U.S. led war against terror in 2001, it was Pakistan which continuously paid a heavy price. Heavy human and economic losses turned Pakistan into an African style poor

country in a decade. Pakistan sacrificed its men and material. Heavy, direct and indirect costs continued to rise sharply in the upcoming years. The details of the losses can be seen in the table Estimated Losses (2001-2011) which has been extracted from the data available in Economic survey of Pakistan 2014-15. According the data given in table, it is evident that Pakistan had to bear the \$ 85.85 billion as cost of war during the period of 2001 to June 2012.

**Table: 5.13 “Estimated Losses (2001-2011)” Wasti (2014).**

Years	\$ Billion	Rs. Billion	% Change
2001-02	2.67	163.90	-
2002-03	2.75	160.80	3.0
2003-04	2.93	168.80	6.7
2004-05	3.41	202.40	16.3
2005-06	3.99	238.60	16.9
2006-07	4.67	283.20	17.2
2007-08	6.94	434.10	48.6
2008-09	9.18	720.60	32.3
2009-10	13.56	1136.40	47.7
2010-11	23.77	2037.33	75.3
2011-12	11.98	1052.77	-49.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>85.85</b>	<b>65,989</b>	

In nut shell “The economic aid during nine years (2002-2011) given by US to Pakistan was merely \$4.3billion. In other words it was roughly \$ 4.8 million per annum. If it is divided over Pakistan’s population of 180 million; it becomes \$ 2.67per head yearly. According to a writer of New York Review of Books “This is a price of 6 inch long pizza without additional topping in Lahore” Ahmad (2012).

Pakistanis had serious concerns regarding country’s economic political and security, weaknesses. The grave situation frustrated Pakistanis. Which is reflected in a Pew opinion poll conducted in mid of 2010.

A PEW survey explained 'what Pakistanis were thinking on the state of their nationhood. Surveys showed that only 14% people thought the state of national affairs as satisfactory while 84% were dissatisfied. They viewed economy badly affected with 78%. It means three in four Pakistanis were not happy with the ongoing state of economic conditions. Many believed that the future had been bringing with it no major overhaul or break through in the coming 12 months. Unemployment on a much larger scale was one of the major concerns of the citizenry people in vast majority considered that terrorism, crime, illegal drugs, political corruption and other national issues were posing serious problems'PEW (2010).

Under Kerry Lugar bill, it was planned by US that every year Pakistan will receive \$ 1.5 billion.

Let's have a look of worth of this amount of aid for Pakistan

#### **5.12.1      How much is \$1.5 billion a Year in Aid?**

- ✓ 5½ days of average U.S. military spending in Afghanistan
- ✓ Less than 1 percent of Pakistan's GDP and approximately 5 percent of the federal government's budget
- ✓ Half of USAID's global health budget (not including State Department-administered HIV/AIDS programs)" Birdsall (2011).

War on terror left long lasting negative impact on the Pakistan's economy and still economy is under the impact of terrorism. Musharraf's objective to bring economy back on the right track could not be achieved and it was proved that his policy could not bring the desired results. As he had said on September 19, 2001 that "The second priority is our economy - and we are striving for its revival" Musharraf and his successive regime which followed the policies of Musharraf,

could not strive for the revival of Pakistan's economy .Therefore Pakistan didn't get long term benefit instead it was a heavy loss.

### **5.12.2 Cost –Benefit Analysis**

1. **Human Cost:** Pakistan paid the heavy cost in terms of economy and human losses.

43,406 casualties occurred in total (Civilians & Security Personnel) which is a great human loss whereas in twin tower incident on 9/11, less than 3000 people were killed, which is almost, a rough proportion of death shows that around 97% percent killings occurred in Pakistan as compare to 7% in U.S. Exact data of injured person is not available but only in suicidal attacks, 10,290 Pakistan injured during 2004 to 2011.

2. **Human & Material Cost:** While discussing the human and material cost of the war

on terror by America, Michael Truscello quotes, Isenberg (2011) and Webster (2011) “ Consider just a sampling of post-9/11 realities, most in the United States alone: the imperialist invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, combined with war crimes in countries such as Yemen, Pakistan and Libya, in a “war on terror” that has now cost well over 225,000 lives and \$4 trillion, now approaching the financial cost of World War II” Fair (2012).

3. Pakistan is indeed a victim of terrorism, and the consequences of this war can be seen in Pakistan in daily lives of Pakistanis. For instance “The war on terror has only prompted terror and militancy. It has affected new areas and expanded in scope and breadth including indoctrinating those who were on the sidelines. The collateral damage has affected thousands of innocent families, driving them in to the lap of insurgency” Hussain (2008).

4. **Educational Cost:** Literacy rate in Pakistan has been historically low, as around 2% budget was allocated for education. Pakistani educational institutions particularly Schools in KPK province and FATA were hit badly. International Islamic University Islamabad was the first University<sup>47</sup> which was targeted on October 20, 2009. Due to security threats educational institutions closed in the whole country for few days and later government made it compulsory for all the educational initiations to take concrete steps to enhance security of educational institutes. An additional burden was put on educational intuitions to install fenced wires, metal detectors and security cameras. Private sector passed on these expenses on the students which caused a sharp increase in financial problems of common Pakistanis. One can observe such security measures easily in all Pakistani cities around the walls of educational institutions. There is a common phrase in Pakistan to depict the deteriorated security situation regarding educational institutions, i.e. 3G (Gate, Guard, Gun) Terrorism lowered literacy rate in KPK particularly.
5. KPK province affected most due to terrorism in Pakistan and educational sector was particularly targeted. Schools were either damaged or destroyed education due to foreign sponsored terrorism<sup>48</sup>.
6. In KPK and FATA 65 per cent of the schools were hit. "Moreover, it is not just girls' schools that have been targeted. More than 42 per cent of boys schools were also destroyed. According to some estimates, nearly 150,000 students have been deprived of education, while 8,000 female teachers are without jobs due to the insurgency" Afridi (2014).
7. In a country like Pakistan where facilities like education and health care are not available to every Pakistani and meager budget on health and education is spent, the targeted

destruction of schools and health centers, in thousands caused more sufferings of the Pakistani citizens. 'Pakistan still positions in the last ten nations for female education as 62% of the poorest ladies in the nation (matured 7 – 16) have never been to class. Of the 135 assaults that occurred on schools in Pakistan in 2011, 76 were in KP and 53 in FATA. 17 schools in Peshawar and 10 government funded schools in Charsaddah were assaulted. Various different schools stayed shut because of terrorizing and dangers. The FATA Directorate of Education reported that 505 schools were destroyed, while 542 primary boys and 108 girls school in FATA because of threats by militants' Mirza (2015).

8. **IDPs:** Millions became dispersed internally ( IDPs)
9. **Cost:** \$ 85.85 billion as cost of war during the period of 2001 to June 2012.
10. **Inflation:** Maximum Inflation rose to 20.3% in year 2008.
11. **Food Items:** Prices of basic food items rose to a higher level in the history of Pakistan. For instance Wheat is the basic food item in Pakistan; it rose up to 200 % during 11 years, meat by 300% and sugar by 6%, pulses by 2% and Ghee and edible oil by 13%.
12. **FDI:** Foreign Direct Investment dropped gradually by \$ 1634.8 million in year 2011.
13. **Currency Devaluation:** Pakistani Rupee devalued during war on terror. The Exchange Rate (Rs/US\$) was 61.4 Rs which further decreased by Rs 85.5 against one US dollar.
14. **Roads:** NATO enjoyed the almost toll free services in Pakistan. NATO containers used Pakistani roads to supply fuel, arms and other goods necessary for war in Afghanistan during 2001 to 2011. US paid only '\$250 per container to Pakistan... . Pakistani roads

have the life to have an existence of ten years yet have devalued altogether since the harm brought about by a solitary container is proportionate to 1,500 to 2,000 cars. [In 2011, Pakistan's] National Highway Authority needs \$1.6 billion to modify the harmed network of roads and, for this reason alone, it has proposed a charge of \$1,000 per container. The extra \$4,000 incorporates charges for filtering, review and examination of the provisions, charges by virtue of roads well-being, ecological effect and port administrations' S. Rana (2012). According to well-known Economist Prof. Khursheed Ahmad<sup>49</sup>, Pakistan provided the logistic facilities to US during 2001 to 2011 absolutely free if service charges had been charged; it would have an amount of \$.4-5 billion annually. Turkey which gave the same facility to US during Iraq war, for the supply of non-lethal goods, received \$ 6 billion annually... This is one example that US deprived Pakistan \$ 40-50 billion in terms of road services during the period of 2001-2011. This huge amount has a lot of meaning to the Pakistan's economy. Therefore it was a loss of \$ 40-50 billion due to NATO supply to Afghanistan via Pakistan.

15. Pakistan's economy ruined gradually after 2006 and losses increased rapidly. FDI decreased on the other hand US aid was very little.<sup>50</sup>

16. One of research question of Study was to find out that Whether Pakistan could manage to improve its economic conditions due to US aid to Pakistan during the period of 2001 to 2011? The answer is "Yes". Because despite all military and economic assistance, which was extremely low during 2001 to 2011, Pakistan bore \$ 85.85 billion losses whereas Pakistan received total military & economic assistance amount of \$ 13.266 billion. 'United States provided finances of \$1.8 billion as economic assistance in 2010. The reality was much bigger than this amount. That US economic assistance was indeed

'peanuts' as on per capita basis it translated into a mere \$10 for 180 million people of Pakistan. Would be any feasibility of a global war fought with such peanuts?' Haider (2012).

17. **Economy:** As a matter of fact, acts of terrorism disturb the normal social domestic, educational, economic, and trading activities. Due to terrorism resultantly costs of business increases and production is delayed which ultimately become one of the reasons of cancelation of export orders.
18. Pakistani items lose their pace of the overall industry to their rivals. Furthermore, terrorism makes instability, diminishes certainty and builds hazard perceptions. Terrorism also prompts lower rates of venture and lower financial development. Terrorism brings direct threat to economy, loss in economy results in loss of jobs or unemployment, unemployment leads to crime and instability in political and social order of any society.
19. Terrorist acts and security threats resulted into termination of the projects and financial investment. Because of terrorism not only foreign investors but local investors also left the country and invested abroad like UAE, Malaysia, UK, and Bangladesh and in other countries.
20. Presently Pakistan needs huge amount to improve the production level of economy. 'Pakistan's economy was seriously influenced. It confronted political shakiness, militancy, terrorism in the public eye that spread dread among speculators and had stunned the securities exchanges. This brought about the poor financial development of the nation and, notwithstanding Washington help to Islamabad, the monetary state of Pakistan did not demonstrate fancied change, rather it decayed' Hashmi (2007).

21. **Trust Deficit:** Most of the Pakistanis are always skeptical about U.S. assistance for Pakistan. As it has been less for economy and more for military. Therefore majority in Pakistan never trusted that U.S. will continue aid to Pakistan. Since 1947 to 2011, U.S cut off Assistance of Pakistan six times.

22. On the one side Pakistan got its economy destroyed in the war on terror, so safely it can be argued that Musharraf's objective to strengthen economy was not fully achieved, whereas on the other side Pakistan is still surviving, that means Pakistan can survive without U.S. assistance.

**Table: 5.14 Cost of War (2001-2011)**

Years	Billion \$	% Change
2001-02	2.67	-
2002-03	2.75	3.0
2003-04	2.93	6.7
2004-05	3.41	16.3
2005-06	3.99	16.9
2006-07	4.67	17.2
2007-08	6.94	48.6
2008-09	9.18	32.3
2009-10	13.56	47.7
2010-11	23.77	75.3
2011-12	11.98	-49.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>85.85</b>	-

Source:<sup>51</sup>

**Table: 5.15 Balance Sheet (Cost Benefit 2001 to 2011)**

Total Benefit (in \$ Billion) (In terms of US Economic & Military Aid. CSF <sup>52</sup> excluded)	Total Cost (in \$ Billion) (In terms of Losses)	Balance (in \$ Billion)
<b>13.266</b>	<b>85.85</b>	<b>-72.584</b>

According to S. Akbar Zaidi “The aid relationship between the United States and Pakistan is badly out of balance. Heavily weighted toward military aid over economic assistance, it has strengthened the hand of Pakistan’s powerful security establishment at the expense of the civilian government. Both countries have reason to be disappointed that so much U.S. aid—nearly \$19 billion since 2002—has achieved so little” Zaidi (2011). Akbar Zaidi has included the Coalition Support Fund amount into total aid.

### 5.12.2 Benefits

Temporal and immediate benefits which Pakistan gained were:

1. Removal of economic sanctions.
2. U.S. helped in getting IMF loans, which were necessary then for Pakistan's economy.
3. Pakistan received some substantial foreign direct investment in the early years.
4. U.S. economic aid received which was little but effective in the beginning.

# Chapter 6

## Nuclear and Missile Assets: 3rd Objective of Musharraf

### 6.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the most important aspect of any state, the security, and relationship of security in terms of nuclear power in the light of neorealism. The Musharraf's purpose was to save the country's nuclear and missile assets along with three other objectives mentioned previously in chapter three, in the wake of 9/11 incident to keep the balance of power in the South Asian region. It will also be discussed here what initiated Pakistan's nuclear program and how could it be taken as a response to Indian accumulation of conventional assets. Accomplishment of this program wasn't easy, as Pakistan being an aid recipient country and dependent on US aid always anticipated many economic and military sanctions during different eras with varied effects. This chapter also deals with the efforts of Pakistan to save and protect its crucial nuclear program from India, Israel and US. The country's nuclear program was taken by some world powers as a threat to world peace and possibility of it falling into terrorists hands could cause further terrorism in the western world. Pakistan developed a safety plan for the nuclear weapons to pacify the concerns of the world community; this safety plan has also been discussed in this chapter. Finally a Cost-Benefit Analysis of e political decision of Musharraf has been taken up for detailed discussion and analysis.

### 6.1 Historical background

Why Pakistan started its nuclear program despite its weak economic situation. The answer goes back into history of its creation. Rivalry started between India and Pakistan in 1947 over the

issue of Kashmir which is continued yet in 2011<sup>53</sup>. This dispute over Kashmir caused the unending conflict between the both adjacent neighbors. 1947–48, 1965, 1971 and 1999 witnessed three major wars between the two countries. Though the 1971 war was not fought over the Kashmir issue, but it proved very significant as it caused the disintegration of Pakistan. Eastern wing of Pakistan was separated and became an independent state of Bangladesh. In the wake of 1971 war, rivalry between the both neighbors reached its peak. Following the dismemberment of Pakistan, India tested its first nuclear bomb in 1974. India had started its nuclear program in 1964, whereas Pakistan started its program very late almost after 8 years in 1972, with a purpose to maintain the balance of power in the region as well as ensure own security in the wake of devastated military defeat and loss of half of the country in 1971. India tested its first nuclear device in 1974, thus creating power imbalance in the region. In the wake of Indian nuclear testing, the then Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto “made it clear following India's 1974 nuclear test that Pakistan would develop a nuclear weapon even if the Pakistani people had to eat grass”. Perhaps no other statement better reflects Pakistan's determination to develop and maintain a nuclear deterrent against India” Files (2012).

#### **6.1.1 Reasons of Nuclear Program**

Pakistan has always been prone to Indian threat since the beginning, therefore ‘Pakistan's security concerns have dependably been coordinated toward India. Having risen up out of India's womb as a different country for Indian Muslims, Pakistan has been overwhelmed by a sentiment a risk to its reality from its bigger, more grounded and frequently unaccommodating neighbor. The two states have had four wars (1947, 1965, 1971, and 1999) and various crisis’ Nayyar (2008).

In order to keep the country secure from external threats Pakistan had to spend a considerable portion of her resources to balance India which hampered the national economic development which ultimately turned Pakistan's political economy from developmental to defense oriented economy. Following the first war in 1948 between the both neighboring countries over Kashmir, Pakistan started looking for military alliance in order to balance India. in early 50s Pakistan became member of SEATO and CENTO military alliances and received substantial military aid from US.

**Table 6.1: US Military Aid to Pakistan.**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Military Aid(US \$ Millions)</b>
1948	0.77
1949	0
1950	0
1951	2.89
1952	74.25
1953	78.29
1954	156.95
1955	733.15
1956	10065.67
1957	1079.65
1958	968.22
1959	1367.93
1960	1689.841
1961	989.53
1962	2334.65
1963	2066.77
1964	2222.66
1965	1928.9
1966	816.28
1967	1213.36
1968	1501.68
1969	541.76
1970	968.32

Note: Data in Table 6.1: has derived from the following source. Guardian (2010).

Apart from the military aid received by Pakistan from US, Pakistan continued to spend around 4% of its Gross National Product (GNP) on defense. 'By the late 1960s, Pakistan's defense related expenses around 6% of the GNP, while the Indian figure was about half portion of this. In spite of bearing just 50% of the weight, in total terms, India still spent somewhere around 6 and 7 times, what Pakistan spent on defense. In 1970, Pakistan burned through 5.75% its GNP on its defense, which added up to \$325 million (in current dollars); India burned through 2.99% of its GNP, however this added up to \$2.43 billion' Rajagopalan (1998b).

Due to its geopolitical location in South Asia where three large and important countries like India, China and Russia, Pakistan always faced the problems of security and survival. Therefore, with regard to foreign policy Pakistan has always set three main objectives:

- "Security from any attack emerging from the north<sup>54</sup>,
- Adequate defense from her more powerful neighbor in the event of war,
- and, undoubtedly a position of comparative bargaining strength vis-a-vis India in the long-drawn-out dispute over Kashmir" Wallbank (1958).

As a matter of fact Pakistan has always tried to correct the imbalance of power in with respect to India. State actors have two choices in order to deal with perceived aggressors in International system. Best way is to create balance against perceived aggressor state through their own capabilities which is known as "internal balancing" or by "external balancing" through which a state make alliance with like-minded state to counter the perceived aggressor state. On the contrary another option left with states in the form of "bandwagon" in which primary objective is to avoid becoming a victim. Due to insufficient resources Pakistan was unable to internally balance India, Therefore International structure compelled Pakistan to seek external balancing

and formed alliances, namely SEATO in 1954 and later CENTO in 1955 with the Western countries.

Pakistan struggled hard to gain American support for disputes corresponding Jammu and Kashmir, Indus water and further economic possessions, which India had occupied in the course of the partition of the subcontinent, but under no circumstances attained that backing. None of the matters were fixed even through military coalitions. America was always more inclined toward supporting India due to its tactical habitation in contrast to Marxist china'Mussarat Jabeen (2011).

1950s and 1960s, Pakistan vigorously sought external balancing and established alliances with US and China. Following the war over Kashmir in 1948 Pakistan's security needs were very important; Therefore, Pakistan signed a Mutual Defense Assistance treaty in 1954 which was a clear effort to balance the India. Initially Pakistan's efforts were successful as between 1954 and 1959 Pakistan received not only military but economic aid from US. The aid was worth \$522 and over \$600 million military and economic respectively. Following the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971, Pakistan sought non-traditional internal balance against India. This non-traditional internal balancing was nuclear technology in the wake of Indian nuclear testing in 1974. Since nuclear weapons had essential leverage against such neighboring adversary to correct the balance, therefore Pakistan had no choice in the changing international and regional structure, but to start its own nuclear program. There is a clear difference between the Pakistan and India's dynamics. Pakistan had no regional power ambitions; rather it had security threats from India.

Another most important point is that Pakistan had started its nuclear program with the clear objective of using the nuclear technology for civil programs in the fields of health, energy,

industry and agriculture. However it was rivalry with India which forced Pakistan to launch it for military purposes.

According to a Pakistani retired general responding to a western scholar said that 'From the mid-1960s, we knew that India was developing the nuclear bomb thus a Pakistani who denied the fact that it was mandatory for Pakistan to own its own nuclear bomb, was a turncoat or a thorough chump. We had to have a bomb as one was obligatory for NATO in the course of the cold war when the Russian tank militaries were intimidating in Europe. So on what grounds can you condemn us?' Lieven (2011a).

## **6.2 Sanctions Pakistan Faced due to Nuclear Program**

Ironically this was US that viewed India as potential counterweight to Communist powers like China and USSR during the cold war era. The US, therefore not only overlooked India's newly nuclear program, but also provided the nuclear technology to India. Atoms for Peace program had actually helped India to grow its nuclear program.

Since US was founder of nuclear program and US had dropped the bomb on two Japanese cities in August 1945 and after the World War II (WW II) US emerged as a super power in bipolar international system. Therefore US tried to prevent the nuclear proliferation to the other nations. The US administrations used coercive policy measures to stop the nuclear proliferation attempts. US endorsed the policies of UNO to achieve the non-proliferation objective through coercive sanctions.

The following table shows that in some specific and significant areas what type of actions are taken in order to prevent a state actor from nuclear proliferation but economic sanctions are most

widely used. A summary of types of actions as follows in the Table 6.2 (Significant Areas and Types of Actions against Nuclear Proliferation States).

**Table 6.2: Significant Areas and Types of Actions against Nuclear Proliferation States**

Areas	Type of Action	Areas	Types of Action
Economic Assistance	Sanctions	Diplomacy	Coercive Diplomacy
Economic Aid	Sanctions	Security	Military Threats
Military Cooperation	Sanctions	Foreign Relations	Cut off
Technology Access	Sanctions	Culture	Ban
Trade/Business (Import/Export)	Sanctions	Sports	Boycott
		Naval	Blockade

Note: Table 6. 2: has drawn from the data mentioned from the following source. M. F. Anwar (2013).

Since UN system was unable to impose sanctions against violating states in the area of nuclear non-proliferation, therefore US alone unilaterally imposed sanctions against violating states. The US started imposing sanctions unilaterally since 1970s. The following table shows the sanctions record.

**Table 6.3: Unilateral Sanctions imposed by US**

Country	Years of Sanctions
South Africa	1975-82
Taiwan	1976-77
Brazil	1978-81
Argentina	1978-81
India	1978-82
Pakistan	1979-80
Iran	Date not available

Note: Data in the table 6.3: Unilateral Sanctions imposed by US was derived and tabulated from the following source. Gebhard (1995).

US president Carter unilaterally imposed sanctions against Pakistan in April 1979. These sanctions comprised military and economic aid after discovering the secret nuclear program of

Pakistan in the wake of Indian nuclear testing in 1974. "The United States and its allies imposed a number of sanctions on Pakistan, including denial of fuel and heavy water for an IAEA safeguarded nuclear power reactor" Nayyar (2008). The duration of these sanctions was short due to Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979. Therefore certain US sanctions were practically not applied for coming several years, as Pakistani support was very crucial for US in the wake of soviet invasion of Afghanistan. On the contrary US, gave multi billions military and economic aid to Pakistan.

**Table: 6.4 US Military and Economic Aid for Pakistan: 1979 to 1998.**

Year	Military Assistance	Economic Assistance
1979	128.81	23.31
1980	137.53	0
1981	164.16	0
1982	400.6	200.07
1983	534.18	383.29
1984	568.05	415.84
1985	607.26	447.53
1986	623.56	460.91
1987	599.07	469.53
1988	769.14	635
1989	559.72	421.27
1990	548.07	422.37
1991	149.59	141.78
1992	27.14	0.57
1993	74.19	7.98
1994	68.43	0
1995	23.13	10.1
1996	22.79	0
1997	57.17	0
1998	36.32	0

Note: Data in Table 6.4 was derived from the following source Guardian (2010)

### **6.3 US Nuclear Policy toward Pakistan: 1979 to 1980**

On December 21, 2010, US National Security Archives published those declassified US government documents of Carter era (January 1977 to January 1981) which were related to Indo-Pak nuclear program. According to the documents Carter administration did the same whatever was done by Ford administration, i.e. to discourage Pakistan to abandon its nuclear program. Later in 1978 US state department and CIA both discovered that Pakistan was quickly moving to build its nuclear program. US kept pressuring Pakistan to turn off its nuclear project. Firstly US exerted direct pressure on Pakistani President Z.A. Bhutto and later military dictator General Zia ul Haq, secondly, US tried to lobby her key ally countries and even China to convince them to pressurize Pakistan. US also attempted to persuade them to halt the nuclear related technology to Pakistan. Mr. William Bur has analyzed the declassified documents, among the documented releases, according to him. After an unrealistic request from the American governance in the mid 1978 to pledge that 'Pakistan would refrain from using plutonium producing technology, foreign minister Agha Shahi opposed that this was a "demand that no country would accept" and Pakistan "has the unfettered right to do what it wishes"

- By November 1978, the American government officials started writing schemes for hindering Pakistan from progressing toward the creation of nuclear proficiency, because they became well aware that Pakistan was spending on equipment for a gas extractor fortification facility.
- By January 1979, the American intelligence was certain that Pakistan was on the verge of achieving the position where it possibly will soon attain all the crucial constituents for a gas fortification facility.

- Also in January 1979, American brainpower projected that Pakistan would have a "solitary device" (plutonium) through 1982 and experiment a deterrent by means of particularly supplemented uranium [HEU] by 1983, even though 1984 was "more prospective".
- On 3 March 1979, foreign minister Shahi, exclaimed that the America had challenged Pakistan because the deputy secretary of State Warren Christopher spoke in threatening expressions with General Zia and him.
- On 23 March 1979, the Secretary of state Vance was asked to take adequate actions to prevent Pakistan from having its own nuclear bomb, but the ball was in Pakistan's court.
- The state department officials wanted to be in good terms with Pakistan due to its emergence as a nuclear power, but they were moved after the verdict to cut off aid to Pakistan in 1979.
- In spring 1979, Indian Prime Minister Morarji Desai affirmed that if Pakistan tested a bomb, India would respond formerly to crunch it. After Washington made ineffective attempt for conjoint ceiling from both the countries.
- In July 1979, the CIA analysts ventured that Pakistan would join hands with the Islamic countries like Libya, Saudi Arabia and Iraq for nuclear collaboration and might also obtain funding from them.
- By September 1979, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency personnel alleged that most of us are scrabbling our heads around Pakistan's nuclear program and steps to take in this regard.
- In November 1979, after meeting senior British, French, Dutch, and West German officials, the ambassador Gerard C. Smith testified that he found little eagerness to stand against Pakistan's nuclear program and to come up to that position' Burr (2010).

The most important sanction against Pakistan was the suspension of economic assistance worth \$ 40 million by US.

### **6.3.1 US Nuclear Policy toward Pakistan during Soviet invasion of Afghanistan:**

#### **December 1980 to 1985**

Though duration of US sanctions against Pakistan in April 1979 had a very short span as US had resumed aid to Pakistan in the early 1980 in the wake of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. But "these sanctions left a profound sense of unfairness about Western non-proliferation policies among Pakistani policy makers and the public" Nayyar (2008).

The US coercive strategy of imposing sanctions against Pakistan changed in a very short span of time. 'Overnight, truly, the circumstance changed drastically with the Soviet attack of Afghanistan in December 1979. President Carter and others considered this to be a subjective change in Soviet conduct, requiring a worldwide reaction. Pakistan, now a front line state, turned into a fundamental line of defense and a key component of any methodology that looked to rebuff the Soviets for their activity' Thornton (1982).

Since Pakistan became front line state, therefore 'The U.S. offered an assistance of 400 million dollars. Pakistan dismissed the offer as "peanuts" contrasted with its security prerequisites... .... Subsequently be that as it may, the US consented to give \$3.2 billion package of monetary help and military deal credits spread over a time of six years 1981 to 1987-88. Under that plan, Pakistan was guaranteed tanks, , rockets, helicopters and forty F-16.s' Rizvi (1993).

US provided military assistance to Pakistan in order to address her security concerns due to soviet invasion but most importantly with the aim to keep Pakistan away from acquiring the nuclear technology.

#### **6.4 Threats of Indian Airstrikes against Pakistani Nuclear Program In 1980s**

On the one side, Pakistan was under watch and sanctions by US and western world for its nuclear program and on the hand arch rival India was keenly observing and planning to either weaken Pakistani nuclear program or destroy it at all. Israel was also willing to cooperate with India following the destruction of Iraqi nuclear program by Israelis and aided by US. On June 7, 1981, “An undisclosed number of F-15 interceptors and F-16 fighter bombers destroyed the Osirak reactor, 18 miles south of Baghdad, on the orders of [Israeli] Prime Minister Menachem Begin” BBC (Year Not Mentioned).

Pakistani intelligence agencies were successful to obtain some specific intelligence “leads of Israeli and Indian intelligence collaboration and discovered that Indian Air force had begun planning strike on Pakistan’s nuclear facilities” Perkovich (1999). India was vigorously planning to destroy Pakistani nuclear program and for the purpose ‘India planned to follow Israel’s attack on Osirak. Some feasibility study at Combat College was conducted while Indian Air Force performed exercises to attack Pakistan’s nuclear installations. In these exercise high tech jaguar aircrafts were used’ Levy and Scott-Clark (2007).

Israelis have the same hatred against Pakistan like Indians. Therefore, Israel once again offered India a new scheme of attack which would achieve Indian design against Pakistani nuclear program. According to this new scheme, ‘Israeli planes would be conducting a lengthy and dangerous campaign to do the job, flying from airbase in Jamnagar, getting refueled at a satellite airfield somewhere in North of India. They had to shelter behind Himalayas to keep themselves away from Pak radars before entering Pakistani airspace. Mrs. Gandhi ordered but US warned both India and Israel to end this stupidity’ Karnad (2002).

## 6.5 US Nuclear Policy toward Pakistan: 1985-Pressler Amendment

In 1985 Pressler Amendment was invoked, which basically had hit the Pakistan. Therefore it caused great concern for the security of Pakistan. 'The amendment in Pakistan was taken as a selective and discriminatory measure to single out it in the region. Pakistan saw it an addition to the fuel being thrown over the security threat already confronting the country from neighboring India. Pakistan rejected pressure to compromise nuclear program' T. Mahmood (1994).

US Congress adopted Senator Larry Pressler's amendment in 1985 on the nuclear Program of Pakistan. 'It was aimed at to pressurize through annual certification by the president of the united State that Pakistan did not have or developed any nuclear device. Doing so, US may continue economic and military assistance to Pakistan. Pakistan had not to cross the red line to remain eligible for aid. President Reagan issued the certification without break. US officials had to face the difficulty as Pakistan was pursuing its program and instrumental in the war against USSR' Kux (1992).

Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (December 1979) has changed the world politics. Likewise the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan (February 1989) following the Geneva accord of April 1988, lessened the importance of Pakistan as front line state. However the event of fall of the Soviet Union became a turning point which made US indifferent toward Pakistan. Some vital changes had already taken place in the region. For instance an eight years long Iran-Iraq war (September 1980 to August 1988) weakened the revolutionaries of Iran and subsequently Iran's military capabilities decreased on such a level where it was not a threat for US interests anymore .Therefore in the US foreign policy goals, South Asia became a low-priority areas of the world, and ultimately Pakistan also lost its prominence in the US global strategy. Now due to

shift in priorities of US global strategy, Pakistan became the target of US Nuclear Non-Proliferation policy.

#### **6.5.1 US Nuclear Policy toward Pakistan: Brown Amendment September 1995**

United States took no time in leaving Pakistan after withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The job was done and the strategic relationship was also done. There was a messy situation still alive in Afghanistan. It was a war-torn country. 'Pressler amendment was twisting arms of Pakistan. United States denied delivery of F-16 fighter jets for which payments had already been made. The Brown amendment of September 1995 was just a one-time waiver to the Pressler amendment to get military supplies of \$ 368 million from the United States' I. Ahmad (1998).

Through Brown amendment, US wanted to achieve some goals. For instance collaboration in the fields of (1) drug trafficking (2) peace keeping missions around the world (3) and anti-terrorism. Therefore some of the tough provisions of the Pressler amendment were removed which provided some relief in regard to economic and military aid to Pakistan.

**Table 6.5: Impact of Brown Amendment on Pak-US Relations**

Type of Aid/Assistance/Cooperation	Details
Military (Equipment)	Worth \$368 million. Pakistan had already paid this amount but it was interrupted due to Pressler Amendment
Military (Consultative Group)	US consultative group reactivated in 1995. Joint military exercises started annually.
Narcotics	Narcotics control
International Terrorism	Anti-terrorism cooperation globally
Peacekeeping	Cooperation internationally for peace keeping

Though, low level military engagement was observed, thanks to Brown Amendment, but US institutions like, International Military Education and Training (IMET) Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), Trade and Development Assistance (TDA) were not allowed to provide assistance to Pakistan. Since Pakistan could not get the real benefits from the new relationship with US, therefore Brown Amendment can only be termed as cosmetic change. The NGOs working in Pakistan in the area of Democracy awareness were the real beneficiary and receiving grants "amounting to \$2 million a year" Wirsing (1996).

US Assistant Secretary of State described on September 14, 1995 in a testimony before the US Senate's Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs 'Sanctions were meant to obtain political advantage. The relief was also provided for the same objective. It was an effort to restore trust and rectify unfairness with Pakistan. United States had failed the trust of the people of Pakistan for decades. Pakistan was aware that there was nothing like restoration of defense supply relations' Raphael (1995).

US sanctions could not deter Pakistan to hold, freeze or dismantle its nuclear program and on the other hand it was vital for US to dissuade Pakistan from its nuclear program. In the back drop of the Brown Amendment another amendment was passed in US Senate on July 1997 .This amendment was made in the "Foreign Operation Appropriations Bill" (FOAB). This amendment helped to remove the "hurdles that had prevented full implementation of Brown Amendment" D. R. A. Khan (1998). Now flow of foreign direct investment (FDI) from US started toward Pakistan followed by the visit of US secretary of state Madeline Albright to Pakistan. High level official visits from and to Pakistan re- started and finally USAID also became fully operational in Islamabad. But this tenure of resumption of warm relations proved very short due to nuclear testing in South Asia in May 1998.

### **6.5.2 US Nuclear Policy toward Pakistan: Sanctions after Nuclear Testing by India and Pakistan in 1998**

Hindu *extremist* *Bharatiya Janata* Party's (BJP) Government of India with inherent hatred against Pakistan conducted the nuclear testing. Following the nuclear tests of India on May 11, 1998 and in the wake of Indian nuclear testing in order to remain the balance of power in the region between the both neighboring adversaries, Pakistan tested its nuclear device on May 28, 1998.

The very same day (May 11, 1998) when India tested her nuclear device Hindu extremist Prime Minister of India *Atal Bihari Vajpayee* sent a letter to US president Clinton to explain the reasoning behind nuclear test “[T]hat China’s threat was the primary reason of India’s having broken the international testing moratorium” Aziz and Ali (2009). Whereas Indian National Security Adviser Mr. *Brajesh Mishra* explained the reason entirely opposite to Prime Minister that India had “to show a credible deterrent capability not only to the outside world, but to own people” Perkovich (1999). ‘L. K. Advani (Indian Home Minister) ‘ warned Pakistan of the shift in the region’s strategic balance and how it may affect the Kashmir conflict .Another leader, Krishna Lal Sharma, asserted that India was now in a position to take control of Azad Kashmir” Aziz and Ali (2009). National pride reached to level where Hindu nationalist “went even so far to attempt to collect radioactive sands as sacred souvenirs from the test site” Khilnani (1999).

The reaction of international community was strong. ‘The Foreign Ministers of the Permanent Five members of the UNSC met in Geneva on 4 June to talk about the non-expansion of atomic weapons in South Asia. objective behind the meeting was to "channel joint endeavors to capture the atomic weapons contest in South Asia and reestablish the peace and dependability in the region’ Johnson (1998).

US president Clinton furiously criticized Indian nuclear test and termed Indian “decision to detonate five nuclear explosions underground a “terrible mistake” as he announced a raft of economic sanctions in reprisal” BENNET (1998).

It was natural and expected that Pakistan will respond to the Indian nuclear tests. Therefore, Clinton administration started persuading Pakistan not to follow India. US envoy *Strobe Talbott*, the then Undersecretary of State, visited Pakistan and met with the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif, and offered the following:

- 1) Facilitate the pending delivery of F-16 fighter planes
- 2) Lift all the economic and military sanctions against Pakistan
- 3) Resume the significant military and economic assistance

The foreign minister of Pakistan, Mr. Gohar Ayub while discussing the issue during the visit of Mr. Talbott remarked about India “(a “habitual aggressor and hegemon”) and the inconsistency of the United States (“a fair-weather friend”), whose various cutoffs of military aid had deprived Pakistan of its” qualitative military edge” Talbott (2010).

Later Clinton himself contacted Nawaz Sharif in order to accept the offer sent through Talbott, whereas in response ‘Pakistan contacted President Clinton to win security guarantees against India to stop testing. US President expressed his inability to do so. Pakistan was asked to accept what would be given as blocking aid to India and giving more to Pakistan with tools to defend against the neighbor. That made Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to give goes ahead for the tests’ Kux (2001).

There was another important factor in domestic politics and psyche of Pakistani nation, in regard to equality with India in every field. Indian politicians were issuing provoking statements against Pakistan, for example “Indian Minister for Parliamentary Affairs Madan Lal Khurana during his

visit to the Indian-held Kashmir reported to have asked Pakistan to fix a time and place where it wanted to fight the fourth round" Matinuddin (1998).

Besides this hostile environment following Indian nuclear testing in 1998, Pakistan did not get provoked and used the time for analysis of the situation. Nuclear testing by India was not a surprise for Pakistan. Pakistan had warned several times to the nations of the world regarding Indian nuclear program and ambitions.

The Permanent 5 members of the UN Security Council noted that 'tests were conducted first by India and Pakistan afterwards. But they responded both acts together. It was China that took the matter as such that Pakistan conducted tests in response to India's. But the UNSC could not take the distinction' Abdul (2007). Consequently United States imposed sanctions on both Pakistan and India. It was a set of seven sanctions. "Amongst them, the main sanctions hitting Pakistan were the suspension of foreign aid (except for humanitarian assistance or food and other agricultural commodities), the termination of sales of any military items and other military assistance, voting against credits or assistance by international financial institutions such as the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the prohibition of exports of certain dual use goods and technology with civilian and military nuclear applications" Rashid (2015). Mr. Strobe Talbott, the then Undersecretary of State defined these sanctions against Pakistan and India in the wake of their nuclear testing " ..were necessary for several reasons. First, it's the law. Second, sanctions create a disincentive for other states to exercise the nuclear option if they are contemplating it, and third, sanctions are part of our effort to keep faith with the much larger number of nations that have renounced nuclear weapons despite their capacity to develop them" Morrow and Carriere (1999). Precisely, the comparison between the both countries can be best explained in the following analysis, 'The goals behind India's atomic blasts

can be condensed as: 1) India's key rivalry with China; 2) procuring regard in universal group and; 3) decreasing India's reliance on superpowers for security needs. While Pakistan's thought processes behind the atomic blasts could be depicted as: 1) to maintain a strategic distance from the atomic coercing by India; 2) to decrease dependence on foreign countries for national security and; 3) to achieve equality with India which has an edge over Pakistan in traditional weapons' Matinuddin (1998).

When nuclear tests were conducted in Pakistan in May 1998, economic conditions were at the worst. For instance Pakistan was under heavy foreign debt of \$ 30 billion whereas foreign currency reserves had merely worth of \$ 600 million. Since Pakistan had been borrowing foreign debt since long and on this occasion it was not possible for repay the next upcoming installment of IMF. Therefore in such a situation economic aid was crucial for the country like Pakistan, but for national security and balance of power in the region there had no other option left with Pakistan except nuclear testing.

Following the sanctions against Pakistan, Saudi Arabia demonstrated solidarity and offered to provide oil, much needed for the poor economy of Pakistan. 'Pakistan was assured by Saudi Arabia that conducting nuclear tests would win 50,000 barrels of free oil per day in response to the sanctions imposed for nuclear testing. That was the commitment that had given strong hands to Nawaz Sharif and he decided to go for testing. Sanctions imposed by USA and EU proved for less biting' B. Riedel (2008).

Saudi assistance in the form of oil provision valued at over \$ 500 million per annum. This assistance spread over 5 years and later transformed into grant.

U.S sanctions against Pakistan has been summarized in Annexure D-6.1 and Annexure D-6.2, (Please see Annexure D-6.1 & D-6.2)

US senators were very active to impose sanctions against nuclear testing in South Asia. They were highlighting the broader threats and consequences of nuclearization of South Asia .For instance on June 3, 1998 a US senator spoke in the US senate before the subcommittee on Near Eastern &South Asian Affairs Committee on Foreign Relations. ‘Pakistan was left alone in the financial crisis as the delayed IMF support package was coopted by non-availability of funds from the Arab countries. From summer to fall of 1998, Pakistan kept on waiting for the \$ 1.5 billion rescue package from Arab private banks, some financial institutions and Islamic Development Bank (IDB). These donors linked the provision of package to the United States and IMF’s approvals’ Morrow and Carriere (1999).

The sanctions against Pakistan and India which were announced on June 16, 1998 by USA were lifted just within months after the announcement due to commercial and business interests.

Mr. Kux was of the opinion ‘that the sanctions were fully applied would check agricultural export credits and US wheat growers of the Pacific North west would have to halt the sale of 350,000 tons of wheat to Pakistan, or one third of the area’s production’ Kux (2001). A very opportunistic statement was passed by the US Secretary of State, Mr. Strobe Talbot, that “the United States has attempted to “avoid bringing hardships to the peoples of India and Pakistan...especially the poor” S. Ahmed (2000) .

As a matter of fact US had some other concerns regarding Pakistan especially ‘It was a factor in supporting Pakistan out of the fear that economic and financial hardship might lead this country to literal collapse. Pakistan would be left with only one option to sell the nuclear expertise for cash to some Arab country or even to Iran to thwart the collapse. IMF would help well,that was an option’ Mehmood (2003). Now Islamic Development Bank alsoe agreed to offer loans as US

herself has lifted sanctions against Pakistan .Therefore “by September 10, 1998, all the IDB was able to offer was \$200 million of its own funds” Farhan Bokhari (1998).

Pakistan had to pay the price for acquiring nuclear technology. The sanctions against India by US were manageable whereas for Pakistan it happened very severe.

Glenn Amendment had lost most of its strict sanctions were partially ‘waived off when President Clinton, on July 14, 1998, exempt Pakistan from the sanctions on USDA export credits and guarantees until September 30, 1999 on October 21, 1999, President removed sanctions on both India and Pakistan concerning Eximbank, OPIC and TDA assistance. International Military Education and Training Programs were exempted and credits for both countries from US Banks were waived off as well. International monetary obligations were allowed to be performed by certain financial institutions as well’ Commission (1999).

As military General Musharraf has over thrown the civil government of Nawaz Sharif on October 12, 1998 and as punishment US has imposed some sanctions against Pakistan.

Musharraf, in his first speech after overthrowing the Sharif’s civil government said in his national address that ‘he would have to clarify that international security and disarmament and relations with India were of specific nature. Pakistan would continue to be alive to non-proliferation concerns. Despite last year’s nuclear testing for the sake of strategic balance; both nations would have to exercise utmost restraint and responsibility in South Asia. He pledged to honor this responsibility and Pakistan would be following the policy of nuclear and missile restraint’ Pervez Musharraf (1999).

Relations between both countries ( India and pakistan) strained and it was in the interest of US not to ignore Pakistan totally. Therefore on the occasion of visit of US president of South Asia, Clinton arrived Pakistan on Marc 25th,2000. He was welcomed by Rafiq Tarar the President of

Pakistan. Clinton wanted to show his support for democracy by avoiding welcome by General Musharraf. One US official Mr. Samuel Berger told the purpose of the visit of Clinton before the press "to discuss US concerns about Pakistan's future, whether it would be " preoccupied with a nuclear weapons program and conflict over Kashmir" or whether it would address " the really serious problems with the economy and governance of Pakistan" Kux (2001).

Clinton's visit of Pakistan was symbolic in political nature but it was an indicator of shifting US tilt toward India .Pakistanis realized it bitterly. "This is a very painful thing for us, five hours in Pakistan and only five days in India," said Wasi Nayib, one of the employees at the small shop. "India is our adversary, and Bill Clinton should have been fair to both sides" Bearak (2000).

In June 2001, General Musharraf took an undemocratic decision by dismissing the, Rafiq Tarar from presidency, and became president by himself in autocratic way, and retained his previous positions as chief executive and chief of the army staff of Pakistan. "Pakistan's national and provincial legislatures – suspended following the October 1999 military coup – were dissolved. President Musharraf stated his commitment to hold national elections, as directed by the Pakistan Supreme Court, and to restore the country to civilian rule. Musharraf gave as his rationale for assuming the presidency national interests of political stability and the continuity and sustainability of economic reforms. Leaders of Pakistan's various political parties criticized General Musharraf's action, calling it unconstitutional. The United States expressed concern that Pakistan had taken another turn" Besides Democracy Terrorism was another concern in US Policy.US under Indian diplomacy and her tilt toward India blur the Kashmiri freedom struggle with terrorism and US administration starting using the same Indian language regarding Kashmir conflict. Post Kargil Operation situation in Kashmir (1998), Indian plane's hijacking from Nepal (24 December 1999 – 31 December 1999), Supporting the Kashmiri freedom fighter

organizations like Harakat-ul-Ansar, Jaish-Mohammad, Lashkar-e-Taiba, and Harakat ul Mujahidin, no action against the certain Madrassas for which US wanted to be cracked down, Pakistan's Taliban (Afghanistan) policy were the main issues of disagreement between Pakistan and US.

United States conveyed to Pakistan regime that 'Islamabad had been supporting Taliban's military operations, providing them with fuel, funding, technical assistance and military advice. A large number of Pakistanis were moving into Afghan borders to support Taliban militarily certain madrassas were labeled as providing militants for Jihad. Pakistan categorically said that it had been abiding by UNSCR 1333 and imposed arms embargo on the Taliban, Counterterrorism (2000). Relationship between Pakistan and US were just on a formal level up till September 11, 2001 which cannot be termed friendly.

## **6.6 9/11 and its Impact on Nuclear Program of Pakistan**

Before Bush junior South Asia was not on priority in the foreign policy of US following the collapse of USSR as one of the main objectives of cold war was achieved in Afghanistan with the help of Pakistan. Therefore Clinton administration has lost its interest in Pakistan. "However, India-Pakistan crisis of 1990, South Asia's overt Nuclearization in 1998 and the Kargil Conflict in 1999 were the main incidents which temporarily attracted American foreign policy makers toward the region in the 90's. US policy entailed sanctions on both India and Pakistan in 1998 and again on Pakistan in 1999 after General Pervez Musharraf's military coup. The role of US during the Kargil War was obviously an attempt to minimize the chances of full scale war between two nuclear states, not because that America was seeing any long-term interests in the region. With this low priority milieu in foreign office for South Asia, President Bush started his

first term as President of United States of America – the sole superpower of our time” Javaid and Fatima (2012).

General Musharraf described his decision and objectives to join the US led war on terror and explained his objectives in his book, according to him ‘the security of our strategic assets required us to join the US was on terror. We had worked hard for the military parity with India. We could not afford to lose it anyways. United States had seen a Muslim nuclear state with unease and might be looking to destroy such weaponry somehow or the other. India would find it an opportunity to assist USA in its ambitions to hit’ Pervez Musharraf (2006).

Following the attack on Indian Parliament in Delhi on December 2001 situation became worst between India and Pakistan “Following the almost nuclear "Twin Peaks" crisis of 2001-2, Washington's friendly ties with India and Pakistan and steady support for Indo-Pakistani rapprochement have helped ease the way toward dialogue, a cease-fire, and confidence building between the two countries” Markey (2007).

US shared with Pakistan her concerns over Nuclear proliferation particularly Dr. A. Q. Khan network, which was brought into the light in December 2003. A.Q. Khan was blamed for the supply of nuclear technology to Iran, Libya and North Korea. US wanted to investigate Dr. A. Q Khan through international investigators which Pakistan refused because it was an internal matter of Pakistan, but promised to exchange relevant information to the concerned parties if discovered any during Pakistan's own inquiry.

Christina B. Rocca, Assistant Secretary for South Asia Affairs In a lecture in University of Pennsylvania's Center for the Advanced Study of India, Philadelphia, USA, said that ‘United States had been working with Pakistan on non-proliferation issues. We have full cooperation from President Musharraf and his team to end the A/Q Khan's nuclear network. Dr. A. Khan and

his associates were examined, questioned as well as information from other and allied resources had been analyzed to complete the task comprehensively. United State had been doing what could be possible to enhance Pakistan's expert control system to check the proliferation of strategic technology' Rocca (2004). As far as investigation and its outcome is concerned "The investigation led to the February 2004 "public humiliation" of metallurgist Abdul Qadeer Khan, known as the founder of Pakistan's nuclear weapons program and national hero, when he confessed to involvement in a proliferation network". (K Alan Kronstadt (2011).

#### **6.6.1 American Suspicions and pressure on Pakistan**

As per strategy US started putting pressure on Musharraf concerning missile and nuclear assets of Pakistan on two bases, Musharraf writes in his book "In the Line of Fire" 'On the opposite side India was utilizing strategies to incite Pakistan by faulting the sponsorship of the non-state actors like Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed for the assault on Indian Parliament on December 13, 2001. First, as of now they were not certain of my job security, and they feared the likelihood that a radical successor government may get its hands on our vital atomic arms stockpile. Second, they questioned our capacity to defend our benefits and keep them from falling under the control of independent fanatic group' Pervez Musharraf (2006).

A massive deployment by India created dangers of nuclear war in the region 'By early January 2002 India had deployed its 500,000 combat troops along the borders with Pakistan. A fully equipped armory with three division's strength was also sent on 3,000 km frontier. The air and naval forces had been ordered to be set alert for further action. Missile batteries were also armed with nuclear war heads. Pakistan's response was also quick and brisk with a concentration of

forces along Line of Control (LOC), troop deployment in all vital frontiers with India' H. Times (2001).

Indian Defense minister George Fernandes threatened Pakistan in January 2002 that 'India would strike, survive and hit back. Pakistan could not bear the brunt. India had on concern what nuclear response would do in the conflict' Fernandes (2002).

The attack on Indian Parliament caused high tension between India and Pakistan. Prime Minister of UK Mr. Tony Blair visited the both countries, India and Pakistan in January 2002 to calm down the tension, likewise in the month of May in 2002 US deputy secretary of state Mr. Richard Armitage had to visit the both countries to ease the situation as US was engaged in war in Afghanistan and Pakistani support for US was crucial.

Tony Blair (TB) was aware of the dangers of nuclear war between India and Pakistan as he was informed by chief of the defense staff Admiral Sir Michael Boyce on January 01, 2001" 'in the event that India and Pakistan go to war, we will be in a tough situation. Geoff [Hoon] said TB gave a quite miserable appraisal re[garding] India/Pakistan, said [the Indian head administrator Atal Bihari] Vajpayee was truly resentful about the way [Pakistan's president] Musharraf treated him. Military attitudes continued as before, with more than a million troops there [in Kashmir]. He evaluated that the Indians trusted that they could retain 500,000 causalities. Pakistani capacity was far more prominent than the Indians accepted' Watt (2012). In April 2002 General Musharraf said in an interview to a German magazine Der Spiegel, warned India that "if the pressure on Pakistan becomes too great then "as a last resort, the atom bomb is also possible".....India had a "superpower obsession" and was energetically arming itself" Rory McCarthy (2002).

## 6.7 Pakistan's Nuclear Program, target of west and India

Like many other well-known newspapers an American leading newspaper Washington Post published the WikiLeaks on November 30, 2010. According to this

- (a) Pakistan is delivering atomic weapons at a speedier rate than whatever other nation on the planet.
- (b) As per US Ambassador Anne Patterson "our significant concern has not been that an Islamic activist could take a whole weapon.
- (c) Pakistan had reneged on consent to permit the U.S. to expel a maturing stockpile of exceedingly improved uranium at an examination atomic reactor. The Pakistanis stressed, she said, that the media would get twist of the evacuation and "depict it as the United States taking Pakistan's atomic weapons.
- (d) Pakistan had gone "on edge" about its munitions stockpile after worldwide media's reporting about U.S. concerns.
- (e) Pakistani authorities grumble about a US common atomic accord with India, their conventional foe, and note that its arrangements will permit Indians to occupy materials to their own weapons program.
- (f) As per U.S. authorities "we are attempting to spare Pakistani government since we can't bear the cost of a nation with 80 to 100 atomic weapons turning into the Congo' DeYoung and Miller (2010).

Many western experts kept hyping the nuclear safety issue of Pakistan. Graham Allison, expert and director at Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University USA expressed his concern about the safety of nuclear arsenal of Pakistan. According to him there are

three threats “The first is “a terrorist theft of a nuclear weapon, which they take to Mumbai or New York for a nuclear 9/11. The second is a transfer of a nuclear weapon to a state like Iran. The third is a takeover of nuclear weapons by a militant group during a period of instability or splintering of the state” Ambinder (2011).

## **6.8 Concerns of Western World and First Use Doctrine**

What kind of the concerns US had regarding Pakistan’s nuclear program, one of most important US official Michael Mullen, the US Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral defined in a speech on September 22, 2008. He said that ‘We believe in the safety and security of Pakistan’s nuclear weaponry. No change of government or control could alter this position. Pakistan knew how to protect. Pakistani leadership is very much alive to our concern of falling such weapons into the hands of terrorists or their proliferation. That would be worst case scenario and nothing in actual or going to happen’ Paul K. Kerr (2013).

US officials initially created confusions about Pakistan’s nuclear program and later expressed confidence in the safety of Pakistan’s nuclear assets.

Doubts by US officials were created in 2009 that Pakistani government was on the verge of either collapse or near-collapse, so there was probability that terrorists or militants could acquire nuclear arsenals of Pakistan. On March 31, 2009 in a testimony before US Senate General David H. Petraeus, the former Commander of US Central Command, said that “Pakistani state failure would provide transnational terrorist groups and other extremist organizations an opportunity to acquire nuclear weapons and a safe haven from which to plan and launch attacks” Nikitin (2012).

On April 29, 2009, Obama discussed the issue of nuclear program of Pakistan in a press conference which was reported by Washington Post also. He said that, 'I'm sure that we can ensure that Pakistan's atomic armory is secure, principally, at first, on the grounds that the Pakistani armed force, I think, perceives the risks of those weapons falling into the wrong hands. We have solid military-to-military contacts.' . . . '[w]e need to regard their power, however we likewise perceive that we have tremendous key interests, immense national security interests in ensuring that Pakistan is steady and that you don't wind up having an atomic equipped militant state'. . . . 'sure that that atomic stockpile will stay out of militant hands' Service (2009).

On November 16, 2009 Seymour M. Hersh wrote in The New Yorker 'High-level cooperation between Pakistan and American on the Pakistani atomic stockpile started no less than eight years ago. When I talked with (Ex-President) Musharraf in London, recognized that his regime had held broad discourses with the Bush Administration after the September 11th, and had given State Department limitation specialists knowledge into the charge and control of the Pakistani weapons store and it's on location security methods. Musharraf likewise affirmed that Pakistan had built an immense passage (tunnels) framework for the vehicle and capacity of atomic weaponry. 'The passages are deep to the point that an atomic assault won't touch them,' Musharraf let me know, with clear pride. The passages would make it incomprehensible for the American knowledge group—"Huge Uncle," as a Pakistani atomic weapons master called it—to screen the developments of atomic segments by satellite' Hersh (2009).

In April 2011, Gary Samore, National Security Council Coordinator for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation, described in an interview to a magazine Arms Control Today that "The Pakistani government takes the nuclear security threat very seriously, and they've put a lot of resources

into trying to make sure that their nuclear facilities and materials and weapons are well secured” Peter Crail (2011).

Following the US raid on Osama’s compound in Abbottabad on May 2, 2011 The State Department’s spokesman Mark Toner told in a press briefing on May 26, 2011, that “the safeguard and security of Pakistan’s nuclear weapons are of concern, but ... it’s an issue that we discussed with the Pakistani government, and we’re sure that they’re under safeguard” Toner (2011). He again said on November 9, 2011, that “We have confidence that the government of Pakistan is well aware of the range of potential threats to its nuclear arsenal and is accordingly giving very high priority to securing its nuclear weapons and materials effectively” Gull (2011). “US intelligence officials have articulated similar assessments. Then-Director of National Intelligence Dennis Blair told the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence February 3, 2010, that ‘from what we see of ... measures that they take,’ Pakistan is keeping its nuclear weapons secure. US intelligence officials have articulated similar assessments, but added that “vulnerabilities still exist” Nikitin (2012). This was kind of a mixed observation of satisfaction and suspicions by US policy makers.

In response to a question of Piers Morgan of CNN to ex-President of Pakistan Musharraf on May 26, 2011 Musharraf replied the question “If Pakistan disintegrates, then it can be dangerous. Otherwise, if Pakistan’s integrity is there, and which I’m sure it will be there as long as the armed forces of Pakistan are there, there is no danger of the nuclear assets or strategic assets falling in any terrorist hands” CNN (2011).

## 6.9 Nuclear Doctrine of Pakistan

In the wake of the nuclear tests in 1998 Pakistan relies on nuclear arsenal in order to prevent Indian belligerence. Therefore as a result of inclusion of nuclear weapons, Pakistan developed its nuclear doctrine. 'Pakistan's endeavors to set up a successful atomic force posture, command and control system ,deterrence strategy, and strategic organization were extremely unbreakable, additionally at last encouraged, by three genuine emergencies that happened in the previous five years: (1) the constrained reorientation of Pakistan's remote and resistance arrangements after the 11 September 2001(2) the 2001-2002 military standoff that almost produced a noteworthy war with India; and (3) the disclosures in mid-2003 of the A. Q. Khan system's unlawful exchanges of atomic weapons innovation and materials to North Korea, Libya and Iran' Peter R Lavoy (2007).

Brigadier General (Rtd) Naeem Malik has summarized the nuclear doctrine of Pakistan. According to him Pakistan's nuclear doctrine purposes:

'To maintain minimum deterrence.

- To stay far from weapons contest with India
- To collaborate with concerned worldwide associations
- To lead Pakistan's atomic approach will be led with "limitation" and 'duty'.
- To take an interest in the FMCT discourse persistently.
- To shun assist atomic testing. In any case, this dedication is liable to change on the off chance that India chooses to resume testing.
- Pakistan will fortify existing controls on the fare of atomic innovation through managerial and lawful components' Doctrine (Year Not Mentioned).

According to Michael Krepon, 'Pakistan's nuclear doctrine may be summarized in four key principles. First is that nuclear arsenal is India specific. Second, it is a credible and minimum deterrence. Third, the deterrent is driven by a dynamic threat environment. And fourth, against India's conventional military advantage, it is Pakistan's option' Krepon (2012).

Pakistan's nuclear weapons are not India specific only. Pakistan's nuclear arms had been under threat from Israel too as India and Israel has collaborated in the past to destroy the Pakistani nuclear program, particularly in 1980s, likewise after the military operation by US forces against Osama Bin Laden in Pakistani city Abbottabad on May 2, 2011 "Concerns over US designs against Pakistan's nuclear deterrent were especially heightened" Sultan (2012).

Before Abbottabad incident, Dr. Lavoy explained in June 2007 about Pakistani doctrine in the following words by quoting the words of Pakistani military General Kidwai 'Atomic weapons are pointed exclusively at India. In the event that this discouragement falls flat, they will be utilized if:

1. India assaults Pakistan and vanquishes an extensive piece of its region (space edge);
2. India devastates a substantial part its property or aviation based armed forces (military limit);
3. India continues to the financial choking of Pakistan (monetary choking);
4. India pushes Pakistan into political destabilization or makes a huge scale inner subversion in Pakistan (local destabilization)' Peter R Lavoy (2007).

### **6.9.1 Pakistan's Response to Nuclear Safety Challenges**

Pakistan responded the challenges pertaining to its nuclear program's safety long ago. For instance the government of General Musharraf established the National Command Authority

(NCA) on 02 February 2000 in order to control the policy with respect to nuclear weapons. The National Command Authority is fully “responsible for policy formulation with employment and development control over all strategic nuclear forces and strategic organizations. It consists of an Employment Control Committee and a Development Control Committee, as well as the Strategic Plans Division which acts as its Secretariat” FAS (2002).

Pakistan Successfully settled an extreme ‘arrangement of measures to guarantee the security of its atomic weapons. These have been founded on duplicating US practices, strategies and innovations, and include: a) physical security; b) work force dependability programs; c) specialized and procedural protections; and d) double dealing and secrecy. These measures give the Pakistan Army's Strategic Plans Division (SPD)— which supervises atomic weapons operations—a high level of trust in the security of the nation's atomic weapons’ Gregory (2009).

Selection process is tight in Pakistan army regarding personal reliability. In order to avoid personality problems, inappropriate external affiliations, sexual deviancy and sympathy with terrorists and personality problem, “Pakistan operates an analog to the US Personnel Reliability Program (PRP)” Gregory (2007).

(For Screening Programs See Annexure D-6.3 & D-6.4)

According to a report published in New York Times on November 18, 2007 US spent handsome amount during George Walker Bush’s administration from 2001 to 2007. ‘U.S. has spent practically \$100 million on an exceptionally ordered program to help Musharraf, secure his nation's atomic weapons... .A pile of hardware — from helicopters to night vision-goggles to atomic identification gear — was given to Pakistan to secure its atomic material, its warheads, and the research centers that were the site of the most exceedingly awful known instance of atomic proliferation in the nuclear age’ Sanger and Broad (2007). This amount of \$ 100 million

in safety aid for nuclear weapons of Pakistan was merely 1% of total US aid given to Pakistan during 2001 to 2007.

In the wake of 9/11 attacks and before US invasion of Afghanistan in October 2001 a debate started in Bush administration with the feelings that nuclear security technology should be shared with Pakistan. “There were a lot of people who feared that once we headed into Afghanistan, the Taliban would be looking for these weapons” Sanger and Broad (2007).

Pakistani authorities had always been reluctant to provide US access to its nuclear sites due to deep suspicions. Pakistani authorities deemed that US had a secret objective to collect classified information about the location of nuclear weapons and disable the weapons if necessary.

When Dr. Ijaz Ahmad Rana (Assistant Professor, Political Science Department, University of the Punjab, Lahore) was interviewed<sup>55</sup> for this study and was asked the question that did Pakistan manage to secure its nuclear plan during the period of 2001-2011, and can we call it the success of the Musharraf’s objectives during this period particularly about the nuclear program? He was of the view that “It is not. I don’t believe that Musharraf or any government has to do with Pakistan’s nuclear assets. That is entirely a different thing. What I believe is (nuclear program is) a different domain, because whatever forces which are protecting Pakistan’s nuclear assets, they are very much sensitive about their work and they never allow anyone to intervene in their work.

For example in the book “Deadly Embrace: Pakistan, America, and the Future of the Global Jihad, written by Bruce O. Riedel (who is considered leading experts on counter-terrorism), it is stated in the book that America does not know where Pakistan’s nuclear arsenals are located, but Radicals can reach to that Pakistan’s nuclear assets, so it is quite ridiculous. When American intelligence agencies are unaware whereas the writer knows about the details and Bruce O. Riedel, about thirty years he was a senior officer in CIA. But, I believe that Pakistan is not only

very much successful in protecting its nuclear assets but I do believe that Pakistan's nuclear assets are of international standards in terms of safety and security" I. A. Rana (2015).

Dr. Nighat Noureen (Assistant Professor, Foreman Christian College Lahore) replied to the same question that "The nuclear program remained at risk – firstly when during the Zia period, India with the connivance of Israel was to attack our nuclear installations from the occupied Kashmir side as Israel did in Iraq and Syria with impunity saying it had dealt with its future security risk. But the US, though respecting our nuclear status apparently, did express its concerns that with the influence of the extremist elements growing in Pakistan and the armed forces are not out of bound of this influence, our command and control setup might, according to the US, slip into the hands of the 'terrorist' who might trigger the button risking the security of Israel. Same was the concern of Indians who propped up the US and Israel to take 'necessary' action at the 'appropriate' time" Noureen (2015).

Nuclear program has always been very important to every government in Pakistan. No government never tried to compromise on this program. When this question was put to Dr. Qandeel Abbas (Assistant Professor, Quaid e Azam University, Islamabad) that how do you see nuclear program during these last 10 years and how much nuclear program was successful?, he replied<sup>56</sup> that "As far as nuclear program of Pakistan is concerned, I believe that we succeeded before starting of the war on terror as we had conducted our nuclear in 1998. Therefore that was ultimate success, but how we can keep this program secure , during this last decade , as we had lot of terrorist activities specially against military installations and offices like General Head Quarters (GHQ) and generally by referring these attacks some specific segment of international media tried to declare that sensitive installation in Pakistan are not safe so nuclear installation in Pakistan are also not safe .But fortunately we don't have even a single incident in installations of

our nuclear program and that was the great success of Pakistan's law enforcement agencies and we were able to keep our nuclear installation secure and specially in this regard I appreciate the Strategic Plans Division (SPD), those who had planned to protect our nuclear installation" Abbas (2015).

Mr. Imtiaz Gull replied<sup>57</sup> the same question in these words " nuclear program remained very much secure; this is one thing which no civilian or military government will ever probably ever think to compromise on it" I. Gull (2015).

Prof. Ayyub Munir (Science College Lahore) had the positive opinion regarding nuclear program. During the Interview,<sup>58</sup> he replied that "yes I think there is one point that is positive in the whole Cost-Benefit Analysis and that benefit is that Pakistan succeeded to save its nuclear program" Munir (2015). Regarding nuclear program, Prof. Khalil Muhammad ( Professor and Finance Expert at University of Central Punjab, Lahore) was of the view<sup>59</sup> that "I think nuclear program was luckily surviving most of the time because of thanks to the armed forces of Pakistan as they didn't allow any political or military government to interfere in the atomic and missile program and that is the main reason we are still surviving and its growing day by day" Muhammad (2015).

Ex- Chief of ISI, General ( R) Hameed Gull commented on Nuclear Program in interview for this thesis that "Nuclear program was saved because Americans were reluctant to attack on it.US journalist Seymour Hersh once visited me and said " Americans will attack on your nuclear program, what do you think, you (Pakistan) will be able to save it ?" I replied its' impossible to destroy it as thousands of people or individuals are ready to protect it. They are kind of people who can sacrifice their lives to protect it, and (if it is attacked) you will suffer the consequences.

I was already aware that Americans has given the task to a specific person to go and pick up the nuclear assets of Pakistan on the basis of information of 72 hours lead time, so go and trigger the mechanism of Pakistani nuclear program. They had given once green signal to the specific person that take your helicopters, pick your commandos and bring the assets. They know the hide about of our nuclear assets but they were got nervous. He (Musharraf) told to Americans that our nuclear missiles require 72 hours to launch .It means Americans came to know the lead time is 72 hours. Americans those who were already monitoring our nuclear program, now became more vigilant but on the other hand Americans were always reluctant to attack on our nuclear program. They had a fear that if Pakistan's nuclear program was hit by US, as a reaction Pakistan may react against Israel. Pakistan's long range missile has a range to hit Indian cities Madras and Israel Also. Therefore Americans were more anxious about the security of Israel. The ISI was working under its own (patriotic) philosophy which helped save the nuclear program. Only core national interest based objective (Nuclear Program) was protected by Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI). Rest of the objectives stated by Musharraf, were all lost" H. Gull (2015).

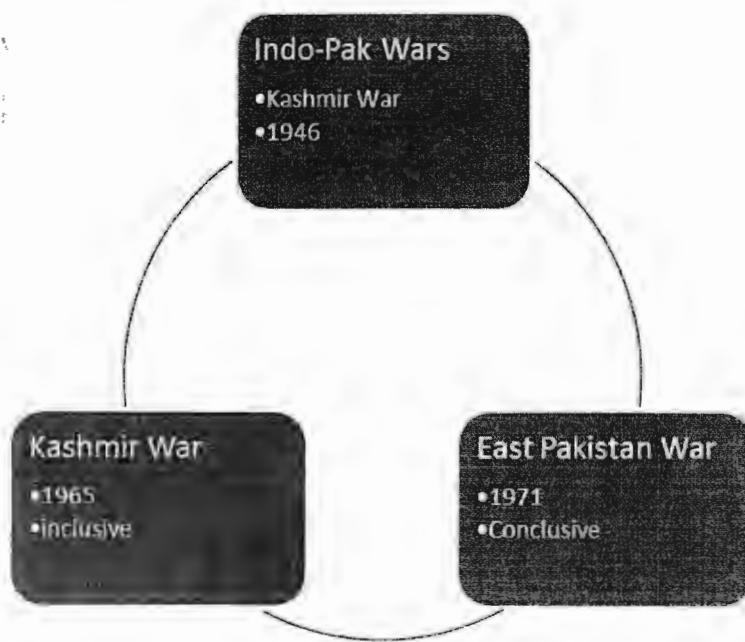
### **6.9.2 Balance of Terror in South Asia**

As discussed earlier in the 2<sup>nd</sup> chapter of the current study that since balance of terror had been an effective way to maintain security and peace among the nuclear competing states, therefore it was in the larger interest of Pakistan to stay on the on the nuclear path. Figure 2.2 & Figure 2.3 depict the situation of both countries related to war and stability that in the absence of Balance of Threat wars erupted and how Balance of terror helped stop almost near war situation and created

peace. Therefore the national interest of Pakistan as an objective to join the GWOT helped Pakistan international anarchical structure for its survival.

**Figure: 6.1 Pre Nuclear Age**

**Wars between India and Pakistan**



**Figure: 6.2 Post Nuclear Situation**

**Balance of Terror (BOT) between India and Pakistan**

Kargil Issue	Attack on Indian Parliament	Mumbai Attacks
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• May-July 1999</li><li>• BoT helped stop a larger war between both countries.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• December 13, 2001</li><li>• Indian deployed forces on Pakistani border</li><li>• BoT helped stop a larger war between both countries</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• November 2008.</li><li>• BoT helped stop a larger war between both countries</li></ul>

Due to realization of horrific results, India and Pakistan had to stay away from wars like past, (Kashmir war 1948, Kashmir war 1965, and War in East Pakistan 1971), and it was largely because of Balance of Terror. For the sake of territorial integrity, nuclear capability proved useful for Pakistan.

Kargil crisis of 1999 was a moment when both countries, armed with nuclear weapons despite all threats to each other dissolved the tension. Another critical moment came when some places in Indian city Mumbai were attacked in 2008 which resulted in causalities and consequently high level tension between the both countries. Prior to that in December 2001, Indian Parliament was attacked and India blamed Pakistan for the attack. On all three occasions, due to Balance of Terror, tension was deferred. In the region “there was a widespread belief that these weapons and

their deterring effect would be able to solve all outstanding issues between the two adversaries, including the issue of Kashmir" K. Waltz and Sagan (2003).

## **6.10 Cost Benefit Analysis**

As discussed earlier, Musharraf has explained the reason to join the war on terror on September 19, 2001 that "Our critical concerns are our sovereignty, second our economy, third our strategic assets (nuclear and missiles), and forth our Kashmir cause". What cost Pakistan paid and what benefits Pakistan gained politically on the issue of strategic assets in decade from October 2001 to October 2011?

### **6.10.1 Benefits**

Traditional rivalry between the two neighboring countries India and Pakistan resulted in three large scale wars in 1948, 1965 and 1971. Pakistan has no match with India's conventional fire power and armed forces. The nuclear capability changed the balance of power in the region between the both countries. According to the neorealism theory "States armed with nuclear weapons may have stronger incentives to avoid war than states armed conventionally" Waltz (2010). This nuclear capability proved a deterrent to prevent the large scale wars on the following occasions:

- In Kargil conflict (May-July 1999).
- Attacks in Delhi (Indian Parliament) December 13, 2001 and Attack on Indian held Kashmir State Assembly on October 01, 2001, which resulted into a standoff between both countries.
- Mumbai attacks on November 26, 2009.

1. This was nuclear balance created in 199, which prevented the war between the both countries at least after 9/11.
2. Pakistan has successfully increased its nuclear stockpile as compare to India .According to report published in Washington Post in January 2011 ‘US authorities survey Pakistan's atomic weapons program with similar devices utilized by the outside specialists - satellite photographs of atomic related establishments, assessments of fissile-material generation and weapons advancement, and freely accessible explanations and certainties. Four years back, the Pakistani stockpile was evaluated at 30 to 60 weapons’.

According to Albright ‘Pakistanis have been expanding the nuclear program swiftly. According to Shaun Gregory, director of the Pakistan Security Research Unit at Britain’s University of Bradford, put the number between 100 and 110” DeYoung (2011).

3. Pakistan not only succeeded to keep the balance of power but also increased its nuclear power and tactical weapons which prevented India to increase its hegemonies designs against Pakistan since 1971. Pakistan developed its tactical weapons ‘Nasr, a mobile dual-capable battlefield ballistic missile with a range of only 60 kilometers..... Indeed, Pakistan is even more of a puzzle on this score than India, given its constrained strategic geography, conspicuous anxiety about its conventional military shortcomings vis-à-vis its nemesis, and the profound influence of a military establishment renowned for worst-case strategizing” Karl (2014).
4. The issue of safety and security of nuclear arsenal and missile system had always been raised by US, western world and India, systematically to keep Pakistan under intense pressure and create a bad image in the world community. US had a clear purpose to track Pakistani nuclear positions in which US failed and Pakistan successfully improved safety

and security measures which poses a long term benefit for Pakistan. Denis Flory, Deputy Director General of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) had said in April 2011 in Islamabad about the importance of national responsibility for security of nuclear arsenal, that Pakistan has taken this matter very seriously. He admitted and praised in the following words 'Pakistan has had an Action Plan set up to fortify atomic security since 2006. This arrangement covers such things as Management of Radioactive Sources; Nuclear Security Emergency Co-appointment Center (NuSECC); Locating and Securing Orphan Radioactive Sources. Pakistan has worked with the organization to execute that arrangement and to give assets to its usage. Pakistan is the tenth biggest patron to the Nuclear Security Fund, contributing \$1.16 million. This is a case of their solid initiative and responsibility and additionally their genuine way to deal with atomic security over the span of actualizing its activity arrange. More than 200 individuals from Pakistan have attended IAEA instructional classes for training' Dawn (2014a).

5. Pakistan has developed its best security and safety mechanism which covers 1) Physical protection, 2) border controls 3) material control and accounting, and finally 4) radiological emergencies.
6. 'No other atomic power procured an atomic capacity under such impediments and even with endeavors to wreck the program; no other power without involvement and bolster transformed its simple atomic ability into operational obstruction powers; and no other power made hearty order and-control framework and built an atomic security administration under enormous pressure from Western skepticism and inward security dangers' F. Khan (2012).

7. Despite all allegations, suspicions and doubts, Pakistan proved that its security and safety mechanism is so strong that not even a single time its nuclear arsenal, facilities have come under threat. During 2001 to 2011 thousands of civilians and soldiers were killed due to terrorist attacks and economy almost ruined but nuclear program, missile and strategic assets remained safe and all doubts proved baseless.
8. Obama himself has to admit about the accuracy in the safety and security of Pakistan's nuclear program in 2013. Obama "reiterated his confidence in Pakistan's commitment and dedication to nuclear security and recognized that Pakistan is fully engaged with the international community on nuclear safety and security issues" NTI (2013).

#### **6.10.2.1 Cost (Losses)**

1. Dr. Qadeer Khan's apology on Pakistan's state run PTV, February 04, 2004 invited a series of criticism and doubts about the safety, security and proliferation of Pakistan's nuclear program, which became a constant source of US led western countries to damage Pakistan's image politically and diplomatically .It was a serious blow for Pakistan.
2. US as usual left Pakistan and later aligned with India, despite the fact that Pakistan worked with US as front line ally from 1979 to 1987 and later 2001 to 2014, Even US declared Pakistan as Major Non -NATO Ally in 2004. 'The Americas wanted to restore its cold war example of relationship with Pakistan, and to utilize Islamabad as a balancing out impact in the area. In the Indian case, the thriving India's economy gave the U.S an exceptional opening to increase monetary and political focal points. The US didn't, be that as it may, execute unmistakable, focused on, and maintained authorizations against India's atomic weapons program. Despite what might be expected, the US

consented to reschedule India's outer obligation, expanded its monetary help to India, and for a couple of years kept on providing atomic fuel to India's atomic reactors. The US arrangement of unlimited military, financial, and mechanical help to nations with dynamic atomic weapons programs highlighted the inconsistencies between its pronounced and operational restraint approaches' Ashier (2012).

3. US has unfriendly policies toward Pakistan. It supports India and discourages Pakistan and spread misinformation about the safety and security of Pakistani nuclear program and arsenals, whereas Pakistan always assures that Pakistan's nuclear program is safe and secure and it's not easy to understand.
4. US neglected Pakistan with regard to any nuclear cooperation deal, but cooperated with India. On July 18, 2005, US president Bush decisively changed the policy clearly tilting toward 'Raising India to the status of a key partner, he cut an interesting special case in the worldwide nonproliferation regime, suggesting that India be permitted to keep its military stockpile even as it accessed advancements and fuel for its non-military civilian reactors. Throughout the following two years Mr. Bramble utilized waning political cash-flow to get the arrangement affirmed by the Congress and foreign regimes. At the point when Pakistan asked for a comparative agreement, it was informed that such arrangements were held for "responsible" states. .... New concentrate on India is likewise possibly perilous for the world, since it dismisses Pakistan.. Helping India while disregarding the obsessive advancements in Pakistan was no support to India, not to mention Pakistan' Giridharadas (2009).
5. The Indo US nuclear negotiations and deal which was started in 2005 when Bush visited India and finally signed in January 2015 on the visit of India by Obama is a clear loss for

Pakistan. Despite all human and material losses borne by Pakistan during war on terror, could not win the US and US finally supported India through the nuclear deal by leaving permanent security threats for Pakistan by India.

6. Through Indo-US nuclear deal, India will be able to “produce significant quantities of fissile material and nuclear weapons from unsafe guarded nuclear reactors which would adversely impact on strategic stability in the region” Fisher (2004).
7. The greatest benefit which India now enjoys is the legitimacy of the India’s nuclear program, whereas Pakistan’s nuclear program is still under suspicions and worries regarding its safety and security.
8. Because of deal, the US has removed all of its sanctions related to transfer of nuclear technology. While Pakistan will remain under sanctions.
9. Now India will be treated as an exceptional country which is tantamount to acknowledge India as a de-facto nuclear power. Whereas Pakistan will have to face its effects.
10. Since this deal has made possible for India to acquire and raw materials, hardware, and latest technology from US, which is directly associated with the development of weapons program. This situation will change the balance of power in the region.
11. In the “long run, the deal gives India, the opportunity to significantly strengthen its nuclear weapons program by building higher capacity reactors and enhancing the targeting efficiency of its nuclear arsenal. Furthermore, the de facto legitimacy would also allow India to proceed with its controversial nuclear programs under the cover of legitimacy with relative ease” Yusuf (2007).
12. US proved that Pakistan is its only war time ally therefore Pakistan is not important in peace days but India which is all time enemy of Pakistan is given preference .



## 6.11 Conclusion

Dr. Kenneth Waltz had said that “In international affairs, force remains the final arbiter. Thus some have thought that by acquiring nuclear weapons third countries reduce their distance from the great powers” Waltz (2010).

Pakistan started its nuclear program after Indian nuclear explosion in 1974. Pakistan had to face economic sanctions imposed by US and its western allies. Although it is difficult to “calculate the costs or benefits of the Indian and Pakistani nuclear programs. Citing the need for secrecy, New Delhi and Islamabad refuse to reveal what they spend on nuclear weapons or delivery systems. Based on likely labor, facility, and material costs, however, one can estimate that each state has allocated more than \$1 billion to design and manufacture a small number of nuclear-capable missiles (Prithvi and Agni for India, Ghauri and Shaheen for Pakistan). Each side is likely to have spent five times that figure for the production of fissile materials and the manufacture of a few nuclear weapons. These are only some of the costs involved in their emerging nuclear and missile programs. Of greater concern is the price Islamabad and New Delhi must pay to establish credible and secure nuclear deterrent forces in the future...According to one Indian estimate, a single Agni missile costs as much as the annual operation of 13,000 health care centers. More than 3,000 public housing units could be built for the price of one nuclear warhead. The expenditures required to develop India’s “minimum” deterrent could meet 25 percent of the yearly costs of sending every Indian child to school. Nearly all Pakistani children could be educated and fed for the cost of the nuclear and missile arsenal that is being created for their protection” Peter R. Lavoy (1999). Furthermore Pakistan incurred a huge

amount, but exact amount is yet unknown but some sources have revealed the amount which is not accurate due to the nature of secrecy. Ehtisham (2015).

Now India again will be in a position to change the nuclear balance after 2015. It's true that during the period of 2001 to 2011, Pakistan was able to maintain the nuclear balance of power in the region. According to Advisor to Prime Minister On National and Security and Foreign Affairs *Sartaj Aziz* responded saying that " Indo-US nuclear deal struck for "political and economic expediencies" would have a detrimental impact on nuclear deterrence and overall stability in South Asia" Dawn (2015).

In short the objectives of Musharraf to join the war on terror in order to save the "strategic assets (nuclear and missiles)" partially was achieved during 2001 to 2011. despite huge misconception created by US and its allies including India s related to safety and security of nuclear program. Therefore, despite heavy cost incurred financially and politically the benefit side was high as it helped in balance of power in the region and saved Pakistan from external particularly Indian attack.

# Chapter 7

## Kashmir Cause: 4th Objective of Musharraf

### 7.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the 4<sup>th</sup> objective of Musharraf government to participate in war on terror in 2001. Kashmir has been a source of contention between Pakistan and India since their independence from British colonial rule in 1947. Kashmir issue has its imprints and effects not only on Indian and Pakistani foreign policy but it also affected the relations of big powers as well during cold war. In the wake of 9/11 incident structural change in global politics changed many things. US shifted its policy over Kashmir issue and inclined toward India, the archrival of Pakistan. This chapter also explains the factors which forced Pakistan to change its stance over Kashmir issue in the wake of 9/11, despite this issue has been an important part of Pakistani national politics. In the light of Neorealism paradigm, Pakistan's stance over Kashmir issue and its cost-benefit analysis has been made. Since Kashmir issue is so sensitive in Pakistan that it is considered the national interest of Pakistan. It is an inter-state-conflict, therefore it is linked to sovereignty and sovereignty linked to security and security is linked with balance of power. Wars were fought between India and Pakistan over Kashmir issue; hence any analysis of war on terror cannot be realistic unless Kashmir issue is discussed. This chapter further explains the human rights situation in Indian controlled Kashmir, role of UN and struggle against Indian security forces. Furthermore for the sake of study period (2001-2011) analysis of policies of Musharraf as well as Gilani regime has been conducted.

## 7.1 Historical background

Aspiration and struggle of native Muslims of Kashmir for independence from Hindu ruler *Maharaja Hari Singh* of Kashmir in early years after independence of India and Pakistan in 1947 from British Empire was on its full swing, some of Indian authors like *Prem Nath Bazaz* have described the struggle of Kashmiris for their rights and independence from the repressive Hindu ruler *Maharaja Hari Singh* of Kashmir. *Prem Nath Bazaz* wrote a book under the title of “*Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*” which was published in New Delhi in 1954, describes the real situation and struggle of Kashmiris. ‘The desires and all the struggles of Kashmir’s Muslims are ferociously conquered by State forces. *Hari Singh* who is a part of Hindu descent, ruled over a major part of the Muslim State. Most of the Muslim’s population remained deprived, illiterate, penniless and they were not sufficiently appointed in services given by the State’ KashmirLibrary (2014).

The freedom struggle was even started in early 30s. In 1932 Muslims of Kashmir had set up a political party “All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference” under the leadership of Sheikh *Mohammad Abdullah* in order to achieve freedom for Kashmir from the Maharaja’s rule, later All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference became the National Conference in 1939.

*Prem Nath Bazaz* explains the situation in his book “*Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*” that ‘Commission of the Glancy arranged by *Maharaja* printed a detailed report in April 1932, establishing the truth about the existent offenses of the State’s concerns and it gives suggestions by giving enough representation and description of the Muslim in the State’s system; *Maharaja* welcomes these suggestions but detained the implementations, going toward other agitation in

1934; *Maharaja* allows a Constitution giving a Legislative and Judicial Assembly for people' KashmirLibrary (2014).

Since the birth of Pakistan in August 1947, Kashmir had been the source of growing pain and principal cause of conflict and clash between India and Pakistan. Consequently, it has always been on top of agenda on the foreign policy of both governments. Failure in finding the solution even led to two full scale wars in 1948 and 1965, between the both countries.

### **7.1.1: Kashmir and Neorealism**

As already mentioned in Chapter 2 that how and why Pakistan joined SEATO and CENTO pacts back in 1950s. This was mainly because of India over the issue of Kashmir, as this issue had been the major irritant between the both countries from the inception of freedom of both countries in 1947. Pakistan had to join western block due to Kashmir conflict. Pakistan left the SEATO pact in November 1972, as Pakistan could not succeed to save its sovereignty and lost the countries almost half part (East Pakistan, now Bangladesh), which got separated due to Indian invasion with Soviet backing and west's inaction and apathy toward Pakistan. U.S. sought Pakistan's help against Soviet Union in early 80s but soon after Geneva accord in April 1988 was signed, US showed its disinterest in the region and Pakistan was left alone to face the aftermath of Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan (Civil War in Afghanistan, Drugs flow toward Pakistan, more than 2 million Afghan refugees were in Pakistan, inflow of guns in Pakistani society as a by-product of war in Afghanistan).

Earlier in August 1985 *Pressler* amendment was passed by U.S. congress and Pakistan came under economic and military sanctions in coming years. Pakistan had to face severe security threats from archrival India. In the backdrop of no help from America and growing Indian

security threats coupled with, end of Afghan war, Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, American objective was achieved in the region, therefore international structure changed. A major change occurred in international structure when in the end of 1991, USSR disintegrated, consequently world turned to Uni-Polarity, from Bi-Polarity.

In Afghanistan a U.S. supported war was being fought by Afghan Mujahedeen against Soviet Union, and on the other hand an armed struggle against Indian forces had started in Indian held Kashmir too. This armed struggle in Kashmir enjoyed the diplomatic and political support of Pakistan. India had taken the Kashmir issue in UN in 1948 and Pakistan's stance was very firm regarding Kashmir. But now after 1991, game was changed as Pakistan had lost U.S. interest in the region which caused the setback for Pakistan's Kashmir cause. During The decade of 90s, Pakistan was sidelined by U.S. and Pakistan had no role in global U.S. policy.

Kashmir issue has been a territorial issue which is linked with sovereignty and hence its security issue for Pakistan. Inter-state issues are claimed to be explained by Neo-realism, therefore it's important to analyze the Kashmir issue in the light of Neorealist theory.

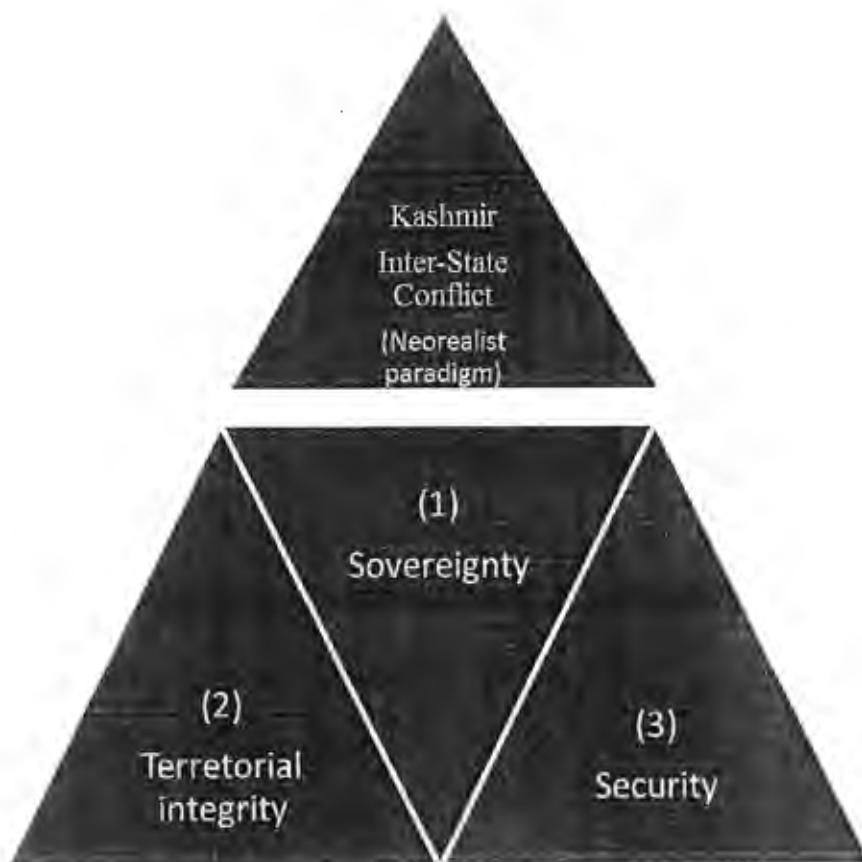
Below in Figure 7.0: Kashmir Conflict (Inter-State Conflict) Source of War and Issue of Security and Balance of Power, has been explained that Kashmir issue is a conflict between the two states, therefore due to its nature of inter-state conflict, it has been a source of war between Pakistan and India, hence it resulted into balance of power related issues. It was disputed area, so it became the matter of sovereignty and territorial integrity, as India claims Kashmir as its integral part while Pakistan claims Kashmir being its life line; ultimately it results into security issue. Neorealism deals with security issue too.

Following the 9/11 incident world changed in terms of international structure. First time in the world history the non-state actors (Al-Qaeda) became the reason of abrupt change in

international structure. Pakistan left with no choices but to bandwagon with U.S., to protect its national interests including Kashmir cause. But sooner Pakistan had to return on back footing on the issue of Kashmir and found in a position to abandon the support for Kashmiris.

The militant groups active in Indian held Kashmir, like Jaish-e-Muhammad (JeM), Lashkar-e-Tayyaba (LeT) were soon banned in Pakistan due to pressure of U.S. and western countries. It was happened because of the change in international structure which forced Pakistan to change its foreign policy regarding Kashmir issue as well. India got leverage to highlight that Pakistan was interfering in its internal affairs in Kashmir by supporting militants. During the study period 2001-211, despite all efforts of Pakistan, Kashmir issue could not be resolved. U.S. could not be supportive to resolve this issue; despite it is a nuclear flash point in South Asia.

**Figure 7.0: Kashmir Conflict (Inter-State Conflict) Source of War and issue of Security and Balance of Power**



Since the creation of Pakistan in 1947, dispute over Kashmir with India has been the key element of its deliberate conduct in the international field. Islamabad has always advocated for the rights of the Kashmiri people to freely determine their future to join Pakistan or India through a plebiscite. Pakistan has exercised its diplomatic strategy at all international levels, particularly at UNO. Pakistan always played a role as champion of human rights of Kashmiris and their freedom struggle. Pakistan repeatedly raised the voice against the “illegal” and “immorally unjust” Indian occupation over two-third of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. India claims that Kashmir was annexed with India through an instrument of accession by signing Hindu ruler *Hari Singh* on October 26, 1947. At the time of independence of India and Pakistan in 1947, Hindu ruler *Hari Singh* was ruling over Muslim majority in Kashmir and he had no right to annex Kashmir with India without the consent of population of Kashmir.

‘The only most important conflict of the subcontinent is Kashmir, not only because of its area or land and its contested population, but because of the main issue of the regional power distribution and the national identity is embedded in it’ Stephen P Cohen (2002).

Kashmir is such an important problem that peace revolves around it and Pakistan always tried to resolve it. Prior to the summit level meeting of India and Pakistan in January 2004, in Islamabad, ‘before the summit level meeting between Pakistan and India in 2004, it’s been more than 35 times, when the Heads of Pakistan and India have met. Except of all these meetings at highest degrees, there were about 12 rounds of chats in between 1989-1998, right before the Agra and Lahore Summits. Neither the meetings at the foreign secretary level, nor the Heads of the State level could move further. All these tries always violently smashed, because of the catastrophe of both the governments to have Kashmir’s understanding’ Padder (2012).

'The attitude of Pakistan officials on Kashmir can be outlined in the following 6 inter-linked propositions:

1. Jammu and Kashmir is an area of land having so many clashes.
2. This clashed status of Jammu and Kashmir is admitted in UN Security Council resolutions of 13 August, 1948 and 5 January 1949, in which both the India and Pakistan are parties.
3. These resolutions remained operative and functional and cannot be undertaken or ignored by the parties.
4. Meetings between both Pakistan and India on the future status of Kashmir should focus to secure authority of strength of will and self-determination for the people of Kashmir. These rights require a fair, free and international superintend referendum in the resolutions of UN Security Council.
5. The referendum should suggest the people of Kashmir to have the choice of Pakistan or India.
6. The chats and meetings between Pakistan and India, concerning the future status of Kashmir, should grasp the conformity of the Simla Agreement (July 1972) and the appropriate resolutions of the UN Security Council. An international settlement role should be sufficient if mutually accepted' S. R. Hussain (2008).

## 7.2 Kashmir Issue in Pakistani Politics

Before Partition of India several Kashmir Committees were formed to highlight the plight of Kashmiris under *Dogra Raj* and later when Pakistan came into being in 1947, a new Kashmir Committee was formed, which had the following members.

1. The Kashmiri leader *Ch. Ghulam Abbas*
2. Founder of Jamaat-e-Islami *Maulana Maudoodi*

3. *Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan*

4. *Ch. Mohammad Ali*

In the wake of popular uprising movement in late eighties in Indian Occupied Kashmir ,for the sake of pursuing the Kashmir cause, in 1990 under the chairmanship of the then Foreign Minister of Pakistan *Sahibzada Yaqub Khan*, Kashmir National Council was set up, whereas the then Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, *Khawaja Tariq Rahim* was made vice chairman.

The Kashmir issue has always been a matter of national issue with national consensus in Pakistan. In the decade of 1990; two Parliamentary Committees<sup>60</sup> were formed in Pakistan. 'The preparations of the committees of Parliamentary on Kashmir are an unambiguous manifestation of an enduring and persistent commitment to the Kashmir cause by the Pakistani nation. The significance of the Committee and Kashmir cause can be perceived from the certainty, because when the parliament was not in position, National Committee of Kashmir, whose head was *Sardar M. Abdul Qayyum*, the late President of AJK<sup>61</sup>, continued till the establishment of National Assembly, in 2002' Committee (2008).

The Committee has different terms of references which are given on its websites as given below:

- To observe the human rights transgressions and violations, if being committed in the occupied place of Kashmir by the Indian forces
- To improve and expand the awareness about the Kashmir issue, not within the country but outside as well
- To assemble the world's opinion in support of this cause for the self-determination of Kashmiri people and for the principle stand of Pakistan as well.
- To seek and provide diplomatic, moral and political help to the people of Kashmir and in their struggle for their rights, by honoring the U.N Resolutions.

- To observe the presentations of organizations working in Kashmir, for Kashmir to provide them guidance when needed
- To examine, contemplate and resolve many other matters and issues, related to the above mentioned points, which maybe mentioned time to time' Committee (2008).

How much is Kashmir an important issue for the Pakistani nation, it can be assessed from the day of 5th February which is an important example that on this date Pakistan has been celebrating Kashmir solidarity day since late 80s.

### **7.3 Kashmir Dispute and Impact of Pak-US Defense Pact (SEATO/CENTO)**

As already mentioned in chapter 1, 2, 3 and 6 that Pakistan signed defense pact with U.S. and western world, right after Pakistan came into being in 1947, Pakistan was facing economic and security issues which compelled Pakistan to join American block of the then bipolar world in order to create balance of power in the region of South Asia and avoid any Indian aggression. In global perspective America was in a dire need to find an ally in the region not only to stop the spread of Communism in South Asia but also to counter the emerging China.

A sequence of pacts (US-Pakistan Mutual aid: May 1954, Membership of SEATO: September 1954, Membership of CENTO: September 1955) performed two things providing an air of protection and security to the new country.

In August 1953, later the series of the bilateral conferences, a junction communiqué was supplied by the PM's of Pakistan and India that the problem of Kashmir should be resolved through a fair, proper and neutral vote or referendum and that the vote administrator for this cause should be scheduled by the end of the April, 1954. When Indian Prime Minister Mr. Nehru got to know that Pakistan was busy in the initial negotiations with the U.S. ,related to an alliance, Mr. Nehru

notified Pakistan in December, 1953, about it, that the pact started in the junction communiqué of August 1953, would not be accomplished because of the whole circumstances of the Kashmir agreement. It will change if the military help came in Pakistan' Sial (2007). In May, 1955, Pakistani government tried to exclude the agreement but failed. Previously, the USSR, had maintained a neutral stance on Kashmir issue, later in 1955, two Soviet presidents, Nikita Khrushchev and Prime Minister Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin went on official visit to India and visited Indian occupied Kashmir. Soviet president Nikita Khrushchev announced in Srinagar, 'Kashmir is one of the nations of India which has been decided already by its people,' while as Bulganian mentioned to, "this northern area of India and then explained its population and people as "a part of the people of India' Bose (2007).

Moscow's Tass news agency, quoted on February 5, 1964 that 'Khrushchev, in 1955 visited India, had autographed the Delhi's stand on Kashmir, while comprehending that Pakistan had flattered as a U.S. representative in South Asia. Lower level of the Soviet officials had rehearsed the same endorsement in 1957, in Security Council of UN, and during a tour of India in 1959. In February 1964, the Security Council discussed and debated, however Moscow was on India's side. It was being stressed that at the same time a dispute should exist and be settled by the parties, relating both Pakistan and India and undoubtedly by the peaceful means' Sheldon (1967).

The military pact with Pakistan proved very advantageous for America and discussion in the American House of Representative prove it. 'When the military pact proved to be useful for Americans, then in relations with it , many other Moslem (Muslim) member affirmed the Afro-Asiana bloc. Pakistan can be an effective supporter of the Western policies and can apply a

diminish impact on the anti-Western attitudes and behaviors of some of the groups and the extreme nationalism' H. C. o. F. Relations (1958).

On the other hand Pakistan's pact with the United States proved to be dangerous 'When the Pak-US pact proved to be dangerous, it endangered the accountability in the relations of Afro-Asian countries. India frequently degraded Pakistan as a country who itself becoming a camp follower of the Western power' Hasan (1960).

Pakistan's military pacts with U.S. resulted in hostility in the Arab world, 'When Pakistan's military pacts developed bitterness in the Arab countries, especially because it was one of the main funding representatives of the Baghdad agreement, which was resentfully opposed by the Egyptian President Nasser, who was even much strong than the India. As an outcome, the Arab world was not ready to hold up Pakistan on the stand of Kashmir, although Pakistan was the Muslim country trying to claim the help and self-determination of Kashmir's Muslims' Sial (2007).

#### **7.4 Kashmir Dispute under Musharraf Regime before 9/11**

When General Musharraf came into power by toppling the civil government of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif on October 12, 1999, in his very first televised address to the nation on October 12, 1999 he mentioned Kashmir issue, which reflects the importance of Kashmir for every Pakistani government. General Musharraf stated in his first address to the nation 'Both Pakistan and India can change this layout together. For this purpose, they both must truly work with each other for resolving these problems, particularly the main problem of Jammu and Kashmir. The people living in Kashmir sacrificed so much for achieving their basic rights as per promised by the UN. We shall carry on the determined diplomatic, political, moral support to our Kashmiri

brothers in the struggle to have their basic rights. India must respect the United Nations resolutions and its dedication and devotion for the people of Kashmir. It must also stop its suppression on the Kashmiri people and honor their basic human rights. Pakistan would greet result-oriented and unconditional and fair dialogues with India. Meanwhile, our armed and equipped forces are ready to protect our territorial integrity and national sovereignty. We wish for a peaceful and calm situation on Line of Control (LOC) and on our borders with India' FAS (1999).

Following are the salient points of Musharraf's Kashmir policy when he came in power.

1. Kashmir was a core issue
2. Moral, material and diplomatic support for Kashmiris will continue
3. Kashmiris have right of self-determination
4. Responsibility of India "to honor the UN resolutions and its commitments to the people of Kashmir made in 1948 and onward.
5. Indian responsibility to honor the basic human rights of Kashmiris

Resolution of Kashmir issue is vital to prevail the peace in South Asian region. 'Kashmir had taken place of the other issues and problems as the most important debate between Pakistan and India. This refers that the specific arguments and debates are the only symptoms of a much deep clash between both the countries. If this fundamental dispute is not acknowledged and talked about, then settling the particular debates and conflicts, and giving speech over Kashmir and nuclear weapons will take peace to nowhere' Rajagopalan (1998a).

#### **7.4.1 Kashmir Issue in Post 9/11 Era**

Since Pakistan had been U.S. ally during the Cold War, therefore, U.S. did not raise any objection on Pakistan's association with "Mujahedeen groups". Pakistan and U.S were associates to support the Afghan Mujahedeen in their struggle against Soviet Union.

Regarding Kashmir, U.S had a policy to condemn India for the heavy handedness against Kashmiris 'In 1990's the nuclear proliferation dealt with the vague Washington's consciousness from the counter terrorism agenda. After the incident of 9/11, the political costs of Pakistan's jihadi policy started. Overnight, the terrorism became White House's first priority and Islamabad's semantic difference between the terrorists and freedom fighters no longer held so simple. Unconcealed official binds with Afghanistan's Taliban was the first victim of the new era. Later soon, in 2001-2002 they moved away with India when Musharraf forced to drop the full sponsorship of the extremists crossing Line of Control of Kashmir. In both the occasions, Pakistan restricts Islamists who were perceived as owning the existential threats from the outside powers' Markey (2007).

#### **7.4.2 9/11 Incident and Its Impact on Kashmir Policy Reversal**

Since the end of Taliban rule in Afghanistan, Pakistan and the U.S. initially moved closer cautiously. Any Pakistani attempt to move closer was met with polite rebuffs from the U.S. This American reserve demonstrated in more ways than one. Musharraf government claimed that the U.S. had accepted, among other Pakistani conditions, a stepped-up American role in the Kashmir dispute. But in reality the Republican administration's subsequent behavior toward Pakistan on this issue had been as cold as that of the Clinton presidency. In fact, at the joint press conference

with president Musharraf at the end of his American visit in February 2002, President Bush, while offering to “facilitate” talks, avoided the word Kashmir and merely spoke of “all issues”.

‘Instantly, right after the 9/11 attacks, both Pakistan and India proposed to extend all the support and assistance to the United States. For the very first time in the history, America at the same time enjoyed the friendly relationships with both India and Pakistan. Although, Pakistan with Musharraf, who offered the cooperation in the contest against terrorism, which phenomenally resulted to the 50’s front line status. In a speech, to the nation of Pakistan on 19 September, 2001, Musharraf recognized 4 major Pakistani interests behind this conclusion: first, country’s security, second, to fulfill the economic challenges, third, the apparent need of fixing the strategic assets of Pakistan and last one, to chase the Kashmir cause’ Javaid and Fatima (2012).

Pakistan deeply hurt when Americans decided to sell arms to India, while restricting the sales to Pakistan of spare parts. “While American generals were in Pakistan to conduct operations against Afghanistan, no U.S. military delegation came to Pakistan the way Gen Meyers, Chairman of the joint chief of staff, went to New Delhi to sell arms, especially weapons-detecting sensors to use against Kashmiri freedom fighters” Siddiqi (2002).

## 7.5 US Intervention and Indian Role

‘In 1992-1993, the United States came close to proclaim Pakistan as the sponsor of terrorism, as that of like Pakistan had many extremists who did attacks in Kashmir and the Indian states of Punjab. There are large numbers of bombings and kidnappings that carried away in Sindh, which make it necessary the imposition of the martial law in 1992. Islamabad later counter-claimed these groups, particularly the *Jaye Sindh*, which was thought as the danger for the Pakistan’s

unity, who was thought to be taking help from India in their search to initiate a “*Sindhudesh*”, a self-sufficient homeland for Sindhis’ Gardner (2005).

### **7.5.1 US Policies toward Kashmir Issue**

Unusually in 2008, in his presidential campaign, Mr. Obama became a first presidential nominee who “raised the Kashmir issue in a national political campaign” Schaffer (2012).

As a matter of fact U.S. followed the policy on Kashmir in post 9/11 era ‘In this era, less activist policies were made. It was said that both Pakistan and India can settle this debate bilaterally and peacefully, proceeding with its account the wishes of the people of Kashmir. It has proposed to play an unexplainable encouraging role in helping both the countries to make progress. But the conclusion was made that the both countries will be involved if they wish to. In result, this has given India the veto power, this is what U.S policy makers recognized’ Schaffer (2012). ‘The new U.S. management was anticipated to carry on the Clinton’s policy toward South Asia, promoting: ‘an incline toward India and a sympathetic desire to correct the previous unconcerned and cold behaviors and attitudes toward Pakistan, urging nuclear moderation and encouraging the process of peace in Kashmir. The team of Bush has a perception about India as a future deliberated strategic partnership in maintaining the stability in Indian Ocean, fighting and emerging the Islamic fundamentalism and checking on the ambitions of the Chinese, which were very strong – not because of the economic sense but in military sense as well’ Guihong (2003).

### 7.5.2 US Policies toward Kashmir: Pre 9/11 Incident

The table 7.1 shows the role of U.S. related to Kashmir issue.

**Table: 7.1 US Kashmir Policies**

Years	Government	Policy type for Kashmir	Number of policies
1947-53	Harry S. Truman	Pro plebiscite	1
1953-61	Dwight D. Eisenhower	Plebiscite/ Partition	2
1961-63	John F. Kennedy	Bilateral talks	1
1963-69	Lyndon B. Johnson	Firstly UN role/ Later Lost interest	2
1969-74	Richard Nixon	1)Non-issue 2) Dormancy	2
1974-77	Gerald Ford	Issue in Dormancy	1
1977-81	Jimmy Carter	Issue in Dormancy	1
1981-89	Ronald Reagan	Issue in Dormancy	1
1989-93	George H. W. Bush	Emphasis on Simla Accord	1
1993-2001	Bill Clinton	1) Doubt on efficacy of the Simla Accord 2) support for Simla Accord. 3)Side lining the issue after Kargil War	2
2001-2009	George W. Bush	Pakistan under pressure to accept Indian hegemony	1
2009-Incumbent	Barack Obama	1)Highlights Kashmir issue 2)Bilateral talks	2

### 7.5.3 Kashmir issue and US policy in 2013

Indians always try to link the freedom fighters of Kashmir as terrorist. When a question was asked by an Indian journalist in 2013, U.S State Department's spokesperson Marie Harf replied, 'We are discussing 2 separate issues here. I want to make a difference between the issue of Kashmir and a broader issue about the extremism in Kashmir....." Answering to a question by an Indian journalist attempted to interlink the Kashmir issue with the terrorism being done by the

Taliban extremist and Al Qaeda. Ms. Harf responded: "I'll foreground that these both issues are different and the views on both the issues are well-known. Re-stating the position of United State on treating Kashmir as a conflict that needs to be settled between both the countries, India and Pakistan. She further said: "On Kashmir our position has not changed yet' A. Iqbal (2013).

## 7.6 Human Rights Violations in Indian Occupied Kashmir ( IOK)

Indian Security forces have violated the human rights in Kashmir. The following table regarding "Human rights violation committed by Indian troops in IOK<sup>62</sup> shows the depth of sufferings and pain of Kashmiri civilians" Committee (2008).

**Table: 7.2 Human Rights Violations Committed By Indian Troops in IOK**

**(From January, 1989 To October, 2008)**

Total killings	92,651
Houses/Shops destroyed	105,657
Children orphaned	107,208
Women molested	9,843
Women widowed	22,670

The brutality by Indian security forces against Kashmiris in Kashmir is explained by a western journalist. In his words, which he wrote in an article after visiting Indian Occupied Kashmir, 'Welcome to such a nation who occupy 700,000 fearless security forces- India. Welcome to the uninterrupted hooked wires of security checks and military columns. Welcome to a savage which is unimaginably almost anywhere else! Welcome to such a land where the military exercise are undertaken by the U.S., India, and Israel. Kashmir it is! Still so alluring but scared. Still so gratified but bleeding and much exhausted... Standing still, still countering, independent and free, in its heart at least!' Vltchek (2015).

*Arundhati Roy*, an Indian novelist, essayist, the Booker Prize and Sydney Peace Prize winner said that ‘Kashmiri always caught up in the middle. More than 100,000 innocent, faultless, guilt-free Kashmiri have been died in the 20 year dispute’ Killings in Kashmir have become so commonplace that they are reported like car accidents in the United States. Illustrative is a February 25, 2014, news report of a fake encounter wherein seven civilians were killed in *Lolab* area by Indian forces. Agency France Press (AFP) reported that ‘So many annoyed villagers fought with the Indian police in Kashmir (25 February, 2014). As a result of suspicion the police killed seven civilians, mistaken as rebels. A witness and policeman said that some of the villagers burnt the police station in forested *Kupwara* near the region of de facto border with Pakistan and demanding the police to handover the dead bodies for the identification and burial’ Fai (2014).

Following is the data according to an Indian website which considers Kashmiri Freedom Fighters as Terrorists. Between the periods of 1998 to 2011, a long series of incidents (47234)<sup>63</sup> in Kashmir shows that 14636 Kashmiri civilians were killed by occupied Indian forces whereas 22561 freedom fighters were killed by Indian occupied forces. The worst situation in Indian occupied Kashmir the methods and nature of torture conducted by Indian security forces against Kashmiris has been explained by different institutions including International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) .Reports of ICRC were later leaked by WikiLeaks. According to such reports ‘India ignores and allows torture and the detainees are not the Islamist rebels or Pakistani extremist, who are killed on daily basis. Rather, they are civilians, somehow believed and connected to have the information about the rebels. The ICRC took interviews, by 1,296 detainees in which almost 681 were being tortured. From those, 498 were claimed to be electrocuted, 381 were suspended by the ceiling, and 304 cases were explained as sexual. 294

described different procedures of torture the guards used to do on them, by crushing their legs etc. U.S officials reported the court cases and terrorism investigation to depend upon the confessions, and confessions can be taken by different tortures like beating or threatening' Allen (2010).

British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) also published the same report in December 2010. "The torture allegations come at a time of heightened tensions in Kashmir, with massive public protests and numerous curfews in recent months. The ICRC told diplomats they had made 177 visits to detention centers and met 1,491 detainees, a cable published in the UK Guardian newspaper said. Ill-treatment was reported in 852 cases, the ICRC said, a total of 171 said they were beaten and 681 subjected to one or more of six forms of torture:

Electric shocks, Suspension from ceiling, Crushing of leg muscles, Legs split 180 degrees, Water torture, Sexual abuse" BBC (2010).

When Dr. Ijaz was asked the question for this study<sup>64</sup> regarding Kashmir cause that did Pakistan succeed over Kashmir cause during the period of 2001-2011 when Musharraf had presented out of the box solutions and even had said that we are ready to even withdraw from the Pakistani stand on the resolutions of UN on Kashmir, so what do you think how that during these 10 years, Kashmir cause saved or ruined? He replied that "As far as the Kashmir issue is concerned, Pakistan's foreign office has always used the language of that apology or appeasement and that appeasement in fact obliged India to adopt that modus operandi. Indians believe that whatever we are firmly standing on Kashmir issue, it is right and, no third party should be there. It was Pervez Musharraf who was able to break that status quo, which India wanted to prevent but Musharraf said that ok we are going to talk, come on, and talk to me. And this statement of

Musharraf purely was to just break that status quo. Even India turned back from talks" I. A. Rana (2015).

Dr. Nighat was of the view <sup>65</sup> about the Kashmir Cause as one of objectives of Musharraf that "Pakistan found a rare opportunity during the last six decades of its history of using the U.S. obligation to influence India to sit across for a 'meaningful' dialogue called the composite dialogue which India successfully avoided by stretching the dialogue process until the forces within Pakistan keen to promote the dialogue get scattered and India got scot-free waiting for pro-India political forces to grab power in Pakistan. That was the only time when Pakistan and India did discuss the initial modalities of the Kashmir issue and an outcome was expected soon when the whole guardians lot was made to scatter" Noureen (2015).

When it was asked<sup>66</sup> to Dr. Qandil Abbas that Pervez Musharraf also highlighted the case of Kashmir and Kashmir had always been very important element in the politics of Pakistan internally .So any government in Pakistan cannot ignore Kashmir cause or the support of the Kashmiri people, he (Musharraf) also had mentioned in his objectives that he will highlight the Kashmir cause and how do you see, his policy during this era from 2001 to 2011, his government was over in 2008 but the succeeding government of Gilani continued almost same policy? Dr. Qandeel was of the view that "Regarding Kashmir issue, Musharraf was successful that he was able to refresh Kashmir issue in world politics. During the mentioned period, Kashmir lost its status in international media due to the war on terror. The Kashmir movement was reported as freedom movement in international media, mostly under UN resolution in the past. This movement was justified under UN resolutions, but during war on terror period, this movement was presented as terrorist movement in international media. International media was under the influence of western lobby and most of the freedom movements are being considered as terrorist

movements today .This conspiracy shifted the status of freedom movements toward movements of terrorism .U.S., and India collaborated to defame the legal struggle of Kashmiris. And Musharraf could not succeed to save this cause under his period after 9/11” Abbas (2015).

Mr. Imtiaz Gull replied<sup>67</sup> about the Kashmir Cause “Musharraf had become notorious because of Kargil operation, and a lot of people outside the country including India started looking at him as a villain. But 9/11 event helped him in reviving his image, he tried to be proactive. He presented out of the box solutions. But gradually Kashmir had lost its relevance during the decade .Till 2008 it remained very relevant, when government of PPP came in power” I. Gull (2015).

Prof. Khalil Muhammad opined<sup>68</sup> that “I think case of Kashmir was put on back burner by Musharraf government. During last 10 to 15 years even the current government is not handling the Kashmir issue very seriously they are not even discussing openly about it, so Kashmir being the blood line of Pakistani economy and based on the water supply we received from Kashmir, which is a very serious issue. Unless, until we resolve the Kashmir issue, we are keep going to spending billions and billions dollars on piling up the weapons and nuclear system just because of Kashmir. We want to protect ourselves from our direct enemies. So Kashmir cause was mishandled and still being mishandled” Muhammad (2015).

Prof. Ayyub Munir also said<sup>69</sup> that Kashmir objective was not achieved by Musharraf Government. He described it in his interview. “Pervez Musharraf while advocating the Kashmir cause, result was failure” Munir (2015).

According to General Hameed Gull<sup>70</sup> “As far as Kashmir is concerned, the objective of *Project Aman ke Asha* is to bring Pakistan closer to India while forgetting the Kashmir. “Out of the Box” solutions brought nothing but damaged the Kashmir Cause” H. Gull (2015).

Mr. *Mehmood Jan Babar* was of the view<sup>71</sup> that “ Due to policies of Musharraf, Kashmir cause was ruined and now India is not ready for any talks with Pakistan as Musharraf weekend the Pakistan’s stance over Kashmir” Baber (2015).

### **7.7 Cost Benefit Analysis of Musharraf’s Kashmir Policies**

Kashmir was set an important objective while joining the U.S. led War on Terror but soon it became clear that Musharraf failed to highlight the “freedom struggle” of Kashmiris and he set such policies, which ultimately blurred the “freedom fighting” with “terrorism”. ‘The changing in the Kashmir disputes have experienced an extreme change since the 9/11 incident due to the considerable change as shaped up as the U.S. war on the terrorism. U.S focuses on fighting extremism, terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism. Most of the times these all are inter-linked with each other and this put pressure on Pakistan’s policy for Kashmir. Making the differences unclear between struggle, terrorism and freedom, the international community and society became much un-sympathetic and uncompromising to terrorism’ Shaheen Akhtar (2007).

The Deputy PM of India, Mr. *L. K. Advani* welcomed a statement from the President Pervez Musharraf, a call to initiate a holy war against the militants, it would take much time to stop terrorism from growing further. ‘I welcomed it, saying that it’s a great statement. I strongly feel that this step by Pakistan will help in preventing terrorism in the region. Pakistan had already made the clear statement in SAARC summit that they will not allow their territory to be used by the terrorists. This statement cleared many things and the situation of their region. If this statement had been made in the Agra summit, which would have been better. But, it’s better if this statement is made now. In the name of *jehad* or by the name of anything else, terrorism should be fought by all the nations’ Hindu (2004).

India even didn't take any proposal of General Pervez Musharraf particularly his "Four Point Formula for Kashmir". As a matter of fact it (formula) was brain child of former Indian BJP led government's legislator and a known Indian lawyer *Ram Jethmalani* .He admitted in 2014 that 'Mr. Pervez Musharraf visited India with resistant and sincere objective. His suggestions were phenomenal on the Kashmir issue. It was a magnificent notification which can be a permanent solution of Kashmir issue. I have no problem saying that all the frustration of his efforts were from India, not Pakistan' Dawn (2014b).

As per, WikiLeaks, India and Pakistan had through "back channels" agreed to a non-territorial solution to Kashmir under Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, and the then president of Pakistan Pervez Musharraf.

According to the U.S. embassy cable - dated April 21, 2009 - Singh confirmed this to a visiting U.S. delegation, led by then House Foreign Affairs Committee chairman Howard Berman in April, 2009, saying that the solution included free trade and movement across Line of Control (LoC). Singh told the U.S. delegation that Delhi and Islamabad had made great progress prior to February 2007, when President Musharraf ran into trouble 'We have extended to the point of understanding through the back channels. Musharraf got agreed on the non-territorial solution of Kashmir issue. Singh went on adding that we want a peaceful, stable, strong relation with Pakistan and India will make no claim on even an inch of Pakistani territory. The comments of Singh validated Musharraf's last year's declaration that Pakistan and India had reached on that point at which they are going to prepare the final draft of the plan" T. News (2011b).

'The improvement in the development of the relationship among India and Pakistan has always been injurious because of the security interests. India is secured under the U.S. umbrella, having approval and encouragement of the U.S. and has been invaded Afghanistan. The strategic

partnership of U.S. is with India which signals to Pakistan, to show that India is the long term partner with America. The indirect chasing of Washington, having New Delhi as partner is the identification of India as both the growing extra-regional power and the regional hegemony. U.S. totally got failed in grasping Pakistan, because Pakistan will never accept Indian hegemony in the near future. In such a way Pakistan will have to admit its defeat enlarging the revisionist goals, which were at first being focused on changing the territorial status over Kashmir issue. India increasingly started involving in the expansion in region. Pakistan has little expedient of doing them apart from the militant proxies' Fair (2012).

Being a dictator General Musharraf's all policies including Kashmir policy has always remained haphazard even contradictory. Series of proposals by Musharraf under his regime arose regarding Kashmir issue but none created any positive response. His proposals encouraged India and other states to further misread the Kashmir issue. Musharraf offered a variety of models to resolve the Kashmir conflict .Those models ranged from "Economic Union" proposals to the "Swiss Model" and likewise "Ireland Formula". Ironically Musharraf made all these models public discourse, instead of serious and concrete dialogue table talk, which ultimately worsened the Kashmir issue.

Musharraf had started discussing Kashmir dispute with Indian leadership. First attempt of the series on dialogue on Kashmir dispute was Agra Summit in July 2001,which was failed due to Indian behavior which according to General Musharraf 'At 11 o' clock I met PM Vajpayee in a very sober mood. I told him abruptly that there is someone above us who has all the power to revoke us. I also uttered the words that today we both are ashamed. He sat there still, yet speechless. I rushed by thanking him in a very quick manner' Pervez Musharraf (2006).

After UN Security Council's first resolution ( No 47) on Kashmir dispute under the subject of India Pakistan Question in the meeting no 286 on April 21, 1948, this was first reversal in the policy of Pakistan regarding Kashmir dispute emerged on December 17, 2003 , prior to the three weeks before of the SAARC summit conference in Islamabad. In this reversal, Musharraf verbally said that 'United Nations Security Council plans and resolutions are what we are here for. But we have left that aside now' CNN (2003).

General Musharraf didn't stop destroying the Cause of Kashmir through his personal style of leadership. After 19 days on January 6, 2004 he made another mistake by issuing the joint communiqué (Islamabad declaration) after SAARC summit in Islamabad. His personal style reflects in the joint communiqué "he will not permit any territory under Pakistan's control" to be used to support terrorism in any manner" Dawn (2004).

This was perhaps his most dangerous documented statement to spoil the Kashmir cause. About the draft of the joint communiqué, which was issued after the meeting between the Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and the then President of Pakistan Pervez Musharraf, was not drafted by Foreign Office of Pakistan, instead U.S. was behind it. This was disclosed almost a decade later in 2014 by ex-foreign secretary of Pakistan Mr. Shamshad Ahmed in a conference. 'Foreign office was not being added in the drafting of Islamabad Declaration 2004 which led to the commencement of dialogue composite with India. The affirmation could have occur from Washington' Reporter (2014).India considered this joint communiqué as its triumph at diplomatic level' Hindu (2004).

In other words Musharraf accepted that freedom fighters of Kashmir were terrorists, as the territory of Pakistan was being used by those freedom fighters. Musharraf's changing stances led

to the blurring of distinction between terrorism and freedom fighting. This was a total U-Turn policy of Musharraf from Kashmir cause, for which he considered himself as a champion.

Musharraf damaged the Kashmir cause and left the principal stand of Pakistan on Kashmir dispute. Musharraf has stated 4 objectives of Pakistan to join the war on terror, in fact provided the all facilities demanded by USA for an attack on a sovereign state of Afghanistan. It was stated by Musharraf in his address to nation on September 19, 2001 on TV. "In my view there are four critical concerns..... and the fourth priority is the Kashmir cause. ....Our wrong decisions, God forbid, may cause harm to all these concerns" BBC (2001).

In regard to Kashmir Cause, Musharraf's U-turns harmed this cause. Pakistan had always the stance that Kashmir is a tri-party case (Kashmiris, Pakistan and India) and furthermore the representatives of Pakistan, India and Kashmiris have the only right to negotiate the dispute. Musharraf practically, backed off from this stance. India from the beginning had a strategy to put the Kashmir dispute on back burner and emphasize only to normalize the Indo -Pak relations through trade which favors India. Now, Musharraf also followed the Indian strategy by forgetting Kashmir dispute as core issue and preferring normalization of Indo-Pak relations.

Above all Musharraf gave up the difference between "freedom fighting" and "terrorism". This difference was always emphasized by Musharraf until Agra Summit in 2001, where he had presented the case of Kashmir very boldly in front of Indian media. This is a known fact that India never pays heed to the demands of Kashmiris. It was only the freedom struggle of Kashmiris which started in late 80s that forced India to some extent to come to table for negotiation.

'Unexpectedly, New Delhi was the one which took Kashmir issue to the UN in 1948 and its resolutions were accepted, which was predominantly upheld the people of Kashmir straight away

to the self-determination. But India never wanted to implement the resolutions. A latest, declaration established that Jawaharlal Nehru, who was actually India's PM in 1948, made allegiance on the United Nations resolutions solely to buy the time and was not significant enough to implement them on any way. To brace the rule over Kashmir, India slowly clipped government's powers and proclaimed it as a major part of India' Mahmud (2007).

As a matter of fact, Musharraf could not achieve his objective in regard to Kashmir cause within first 3 years of the war on terror. In a joint session of Pakistani parliament on January 17, 2004, after Islamabad declaration of January 6, 2004, he mentioned four dangerous perceptions which according to him were being faced by Pakistan. "In current situation Pakistan is facing four very dangerous perceptions: First, we are responsible for carrying out the terrorism in our tribal areas from Afghanistan. Second, we are always being criticized for the terrorism in Kashmir beyond the Line of Control. Third, we are also being claimed as the one cause of the expansion of nuclear weapons. Last, our community and society is being recognized as the intolerant and extremist" G. P. Musharraf (2004). In this address, he clearly admitted the failure of his two objectives, Kashmir cause and Nuclear Assets.

United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) is a forum where world leaders explain their policies. Pakistani rulers always raised the Kashmir issue in UNGA which shows the Pakistan's policy toward Kashmir. During 2002 to 2006 Musharraf's failure toward Kashmir dispute is clear evidence in UNGA. Table: 7.3 Musharraf's Speeches in UNGA from 2002 to 2006 explains the 7 Issues discussed in speeches namely, UN Resolutions, Self Determination, Kashmir Dispute, Freedom Fighting, Human Rights, Criticism on India, Pak India Relations, whereas, Table: 7.4 New Government of Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani 2008 to 2011 UNGA from 2008 to 2011 is a reflection of the policy of successive government of Gilani.

<b>Table: 7.3 Musharraf's Speeches in UNGA from 2002 to 2006</b>							
<b>7 Issues discussed in speeches</b>							
Year	UN Resolutions	Self Determination	Kashmir Dispute	Freedom Fighting	Human Rights	Criticism on India	Pak India Relations
2002	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
2003	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
2004	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
2005	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
2006	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
2007	Musharraf didn't attend the Session as he was busy inside country due to internal Political crisis. His Foreign Secretary attended the session and details are not available.						

<b>Table: 7.4 New Government of Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani 2008 to 2011</b>							
<b>UNGA from 2008 to 2011</b>							
<b>7 Issues discussed in speeches</b>							
Year	UN Resolutions	Self Determination	Kashmir Dispute	Freedom Fighting	Human Rights	Criticism on India	Pak India Relations
2008	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
2009	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
2010	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
2011	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes

When Gilani as a civilian Prime Minister (of Pakistan People's Party) (PPP) came into power in 2008, it was being expected that this new civilian government of PPP might give up the Musharraf's Kashmir policy and highlight the plight of Kashmiris. Asif Ali Zardari, being chairman of PPP shocked the Kashmiris and Pakistanis when he interviewed with Indian TV anchor Karan Thapar. 'Before the assumptions of Zardari's presidency, his views on the foreign

policy issues came on-air. Zardari proclaimed that the Indo-Pak can't be held like prisoner to the Kashmir issue. The plan can wait and set alongside for the future generations to have them get solved. While explaining the position of the issue as per Zardari said, he actually stated that there are other issues as well to be focused on' Siddiqui (2008).

'Giving up the right of the self-determination has done enormous damage to the cause of Kashmir and to Pakistan as well. It's not the LoC which has embellished the unrelated but Kashmir issue is that issue which needs to have both ways communication. In spite of the government refusal which has been no pattern or model to shift, plain reality is that Pakistan has changed its historic place, and situation is open for the new ideas and out of the box solutions. Unfortunately, Gilani's government continued to conciliate the policy of Musharraf's era. While addressing the UNGA on 25 September, 2008, President Zardari followed the traditions of the successors' Ambassador (2010).

Since this study period comprises on 10 years (2001 to 2011) in which Musharraf ruled for almost eight and half years out of his total period which starts from October 1999, whereas Gilani had three and half years for his regime from 2008 to 2011, therefore most of the Period remained under Musharraf regime. So General Musharraf's period has been discussed more as compare to Gilani regime.

The cost which Kashmiris are paying for this dispute is very heavy. Kashmir is a potential nuclear flashpoint as India and Pakistan both are armed with nuclear weapons. Both countries have fought wars in 1948, 1965, and 1971, first 2 wars were fought over Kashmir. *Siachen* is the place in Kashmir which has highest militarized zone in the world. Kashmir is the place where 'Almost half a million Indian soldiers and some of the army camps were designed, some of the torture cells in which *Abu Ghraib* style was put under the shade and bringing the democracy and

secularism for the Kashmiri people. In the struggle of self-determination 68, 000 people died, 100, 000 were being tortured and 10,000 people disappeared. Who set up the killing part of Guru, it was unlike those 10,000 people who died in the prison cells, while his life and death was the part played by the Indian institutions which put him to death' Fair (2012).

Joint communiqué (Islamabad declaration) of January 6, 2004 was the start of the destruction of Kashmir Cause.

1. Musharraf totally failed to register Kashmir as a core case due to inconsistency and shabby Kashmir policy. It could have been Musharraf's inexperience in diplomacy or a policy to pacify U.S. and India, which eroded ultimately Pakistan's principal and historic stand on UN resolutions of 1948, 1965 and 1998. Gradually Kashmir became no core issue. Abandoning from UN Resolutions was tantamount to accept the Kashmir dispute as bilateral issues instead of international issue
2. The statement of Musharraf in Joint Communiqué (Islamabad declaration) of January 6, 2004 "he will not permit any territory under Pakistan's control" to be used to support terrorism in any manner" was nothing but a great setback for Kashmir Cause.
3. Since Musharraf became subservient to the war on terror, therefore Kashmir lost the primacy. The war on terror created Islamophobia in the world and India effectively but in a subtle way exploited Islamophobia and equated the freedom fighting of Kashmiris to terrorism.
4. Pakistan was blamed for the violation of Islamabad declaration in which Musharraf had said that "he will not permit any territory under Pakistan's control" to be used to support terrorism in any manner". These words were not less than an acknowledgement that

Pakistan was responsible for all violent incidents in Indian occupied Kashmir.

Furthermore it was an admission of guilt in regard to Kashmir Cause.

Following is the Musharraf's four point solution which he discussed on an Indian TV channel NDTV on December 5, 2000 which clearly contradicts Pakistan's historic and principled stance. Furthermore this four point solution was a clear violation of Pakistan's commitment to those resolutions which were passed by UNO. As per Musharraf's proposals:

- 'Kashmir will have similar outskirts however individuals will be permitted to move unreservedly forward and backward in the area
- The locale will have self-administration or self-governance however not autonomy
- Troops will be pulled back in a staged way
- A joint supervision mechanism will be set up with India, Pakistan and Kashmir, Mahmud (2007).

In nutshell Musharraf and Gilani's regime could not achieve the stated objectives by Musharraf government to save the Kashmir cause. It is more appropriate to say that Kashmir case was heavily damaged and ruined indeed. Benefit was zero in the context of Kashmir cause and cost was high, politically, diplomatically, morally and humanitarianly as Indian security forces committed more violations of human rights at a horrible level in Indian occupied Kashmir<sup>72</sup>.

Through the Neo-realists prism, Pakistan could not safe guard its national interest in the case of Kashmir, which was declared an objective of the joining the war on terror by Musharraf. Though Bandwagoning, Pakistan saved herself from the direct threat of U.S. attack in the wake of 9/11 but, could not help to save its sovereignty. India the archrival of Pakistan succeeded to portray the freedom "fighter movement" of Kashmiris as "terrorist", which damaged the Kashmir cause heavily .As the international structure was anarchic and Pakistan as state and unit of the system

was not stable in the Uni-Polar world and distribution of power on regional level was also not favorable for Pakistan .Bandwagoning was best available option for the sake of national interest but it could not be utilized wisely and tactically.

# Conclusion

Attack on twin towers transformed Musharraf's fortunes as an ally of Bush. "By joining with the United States in its war, a new leaf of destruction started. There is no doubt that U.S. invasion of Afghanistan brought unthinkable miseries, sorrows and unprecedented devastation in the history of Pakistan for more than a decade. If there had not been any war on terror by U.S., Pakistan would have been a different country; a country without, suicide attacks, and drone attacks.

In the wake of 9/11, General Musharraf made a speech in September 2001 and he said that "If we make the wrong decisions, our vital interests will be harmed, our critical concerns are our sovereignty, second our economy, third our strategic assets, (nuclear, missiles) and fourth our Kashmir cause. All four will be harmed. If we make these decisions, they must be according to Islam. It is not the question of bravery or cowardice. But bravery without thinking is stupidity. We have to save our interests. Pakistan comes first everything else is secondary"

Unfortunately all has been harmed except Nuclear Assets, which are evident under the following topics:

## Temporal Economic Benefits

In the beginning, this decision of Musharraf brought some relief for Pakistan to overcome the economic sanctions due to nuclear testing in 1998 and overthrowing the civilian government of Nawaz Sharif by Musharraf in October 1999. Pakistan also succeeded to receive economic along with military aid.

## **Benefit of Nuclear Technology**

Nuclear capability proved a deterrence to prevent the large scale wars between India and Pakistan, on the following occasions:

1. In Kargil conflict (May-July 1999).
2. Attacks in Delhi (Indian Parliament) December 13, 2001 and Attack on Indian controlled Kashmir State Assembly on October 01, 2001, which resulted into a standoff between both countries.
3. Mumbai attacks on November 26, 2009.
4. This was nuclear balance, created in 1999, which prevented the war between the both countries at least after 9/11.
5. Pakistan has successfully increased its nuclear stockpile as compare to India.

According to report published in Washington Post in January 2011 'US authorities survey Pakistan's atomic weapons program with similar devices utilized by the outside specialists - satellite photographs of atomic related establishments, assessments of fissile-material generation and weapons advancement, and freely accessible explanations and certainties. Four years back, the Pakistani stockpile was evaluated at 30 to 60 weapons'.

## **Political Cost**

1. America herself started political dialogue with Taliban in 2009 which is still continued with some intervals, while pressuring Pakistan to take action against *Haqqani* Network. The double standard of U.S. is evident, so Pakistan needs to devise policy in its own interest.

2. Pakistan had to pay a heavy price in the world community. There is a fact that despite all its efforts, Pakistan did and continues to receive criticism from world political leaders, rulers, and Western media and policy experts in the west due to Islamophobia & Pakistanophobia.
3. Pakistan was made pariah despite all cooperation with U.S. in the war on terror.
4. U.S. criticized Pakistan more and praised less for its unmatched cooperation and sacrifices in the war on terror. Pakistan became unstable and reached at the edge of total chaos in 10 years of war on terror.
5. Politically Pakistan had to face pressures from inside and abroad. Despite all cooperation Pakistan could not win the trust of western nations in the war on terror.
6. U.S. supported a dictator Musharraf in Pakistan and invested heavily for his personal security in order to achieve her own goals. Torchbearer of democracy, U.S. spent around \$70-80 million per month for the security of a dictator in Pakistan.
7. To create the division in Muslims in the world was the policy of American Neo-cons. They devised the strategy to “Support the traditionalists against the fundamentalists” To create more polarization in Pakistan and other Muslim countries as well, they have an agenda that “Fundamentalists .....should be better publicized in order to diminish the heroic image they cultivate with some Muslim populations, and support the secularists”

**Trust Deficit:** Most of the Pakistanis are always skeptical about U.S. assistance for Pakistan. As it has been less for economy and more for military. Therefore majority in Pakistan never trusted that U.S. will continue aid to Pakistan. Since 1947 to 2011, U.S cut off Assistance of Pakistan six times.

## **Economic Cost**

1. One of research question of the study was to find out that whether Pakistan could manage to improve its economic conditions due to U.S. aid to Pakistan during the period of 2001 to 2011? The answer is “Yes”. Because despite all military and economic assistance, which was extremely low during 2001 to 2011, Pakistan bore **\$85.85 billion** losses, whereas Pakistan received total military & economic assistance amount of **\$13.266 billion**.
2. United States provided finances of \$1.8 billion as economic assistance in 2010. The reality was much bigger than this amount. That U.S. economic assistance was indeed ‘peanuts’ as on per capita basis it translated into a mere \$10 for 180 million people of Pakistan.
3. It would be wrong to assume that Pakistan’s survival rests on a meager \$10 per head in an U.S economic assistance for Pakistan.
4. On the one side Pakistan got its economy destroyed in the war on terror, so safely it can be argued that Musharraf’s objective to strengthen economy was not achieved, whereas on the other side Pakistan is still surviving in tough economic conditions ,that means Pakistan can survive without U.S. aid.
5. Impact of war on the lives of Pakistani people was measured through surveys in different years conducted mostly by U.S organizations. One of the surveys conducted by PEW in 2010 reveals that lack of jobs is a national problem. Terrorism, economic issues and corruption are very big problems
6. NATO enjoyed the almost toll free services in Pakistan. NATO containers used Pakistani roads to supply fuel, arms and other goods necessary for war in Afghanistan during 2001

to 2011. US paid only '\$250 per container to Pakistan.... . Pakistani roads have the life to have an existence of ten years yet have devalued altogether since the harm brought about by a solitary container is proportionate to 1,500 to 2,000 cars. [In 2011, Pakistan's] National Highway Authority needs \$1.6 billion to modify the harmed network of roads and, for this reason alone, it has proposed a charge of \$1,000 per container. The extra \$4,000 incorporates charges for filtering, review and examination of the provisions, charges by virtue of roads well-being, ecological effect and port administrations.

7. Pakistan provided the logistic facilities to US during 2001 to 2011 absolutely free if service charges had been charged; it would have an amount of \$ 4-5 billion annually. Turkey which gave the same facility to US during Iraq war, for the supply of non-lethal goods, received \$ 6 billion annually... This is one example that US deprived Pakistan \$ 40-50 billion in terms of road services during the period of 2001-2011. This huge amount has a lot of meaning to the Pakistan's economy. Therefore it was a loss of \$ 40-50 billion due to NATO supply to Afghanistan via Pakistan.

### **Educational Cost**

Literacy rate in Pakistan has been historically low, as around 2% budget was allocated for education. Pakistani educational institutions particularly schools in KPK province and FATA were hit badly by terrorists. International Islamic University Islamabad was the first University which was targeted on October 20, 2009. Due to security threats educational institutions closed in the whole country for few days and later government made compulsory for all the educational initiations to take concrete steps to enhance security of educational institutes. An additional burden was put on educational intuitions to install fenced wires, metal detectors and security

cameras. Private sector passed on these expenses on the students which caused a sharp increase in financial problems of common Pakistanis. One can observe such security measures easily in all Pakistani cities around the walls of educational institutions. Terrorism lowered literacy rate in KPK particularly.

### **Foreign Refugees Cost**

1. Apart from Pakistani internal displaced persons (IDPs) due to military operations inside country, Afghan refugees already had been burden on Pakistani economy since Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979. Pakistan is the largest country which hosts foreign refugees<sup>73</sup>.
2. Due to Afghan war Pakistan had to receive around 3 million Afghan refugees after 2011 which caused heavy economic burden over the already weak economy of Pakistan.
3. According to Russian TV (RT) "It is estimated that perhaps as many as 3 million Afghans have fled their homes since 2001. That's about 10% of the total population." RT (2014).

### **Kashmir Cause Cost**

1. Since Musharraf became "subservient to the war on terror, therefore Kashmir lost the primacy. The war on terror created Islamophobia in the world" and consequently India effectively but in a subtle way exploited Islamophobia and equated the freedom fighting of Kashmiris to terrorism.
2. Pakistan was blamed for the violation of Islamabad declaration in which Musharraf had said that "he will not permit any territory under Pakistan's control" to be used to support terrorism in any manner". These words were not less than an acknowledgement that

Pakistan was responsible for all violent incidents in Indian controlled Kashmir.

Furthermore it was an admission of guilt in regard to Kashmir Cause.

3. Pakistan failed to get acknowledged the freedom movement of Kashmiris, whereas India succeeded to portray freedom struggle of Kashmiris as terrorism.

### **Sovereignty Cost**

1. With the continuous track record of drone attacks by U.S. since 2004, In the year 2011, Pakistan's sovereignty was breached 3 times:
  - A. Shooting two Pakistani youth by Raymond Davis a CIA man in February 2011
  - B. Al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden's killing by U.S. Navy SEALs on May 2, 2011
  - C. Attack of NATO forces on *Salala* Check Post of Pakistan 2.5 Km inside from Afghan border, killing 26 soldiers of Pakistan on November 26, 2011
2. America has its own interests in Pakistan and U.S. never treats Pakistan like a friend<sup>74</sup>. Raymond Davis case is a big example of it. USAID is known to have routine contacts with the CIA. The U.S. Agency for International Development was essentially a front for a carefully planned intelligence operation.
3. Pakistani state failed to protect its citizens from the drone strikes of America.
4. Due to drone attacks, these killings are, in reality, summary executions and widely regarded as potential war crimes by international lawyers including the UNs special rapporteur on extrajudicial killings.
5. Drone attacks in such a country which America claims as a friend (Pakistan), which is not at war with America, is a clear violation of international law, Geneva conventions and diplomatic norms.

6. "A regular U.S. air force unit based in the Nevada desert is responsible for flying the CIA's drone strike program in Pakistan. A 10-year campaign which according to some estimates has killed more than 2,400 people" This is also violation of Pakistan's sovereignty that war against Pakistanis is being operated from American soil.

## **Nutshell**

War on terror caused the devastation of infrastructure, heavy decline in foreign direct investment, loss of production, and growing unemployment in Pakistan. In Pakistan only few roads, offices, educational institutions, and streets are without barricades for security purposes. Life of common people in Pakistan is cripplingly disturbed due to consequences of 9/11 attacks in U.S. Pakistanis have become victim of no fault of theirs.

Pakistan gained more losses than benefits in the war on terror. Pakistan paid the heavy cost in terms of economy and human losses. 43,406 civilian and security personnel died in total, which is a great human loss, whereas in twin tower incident on 9/11, less than 3000 people were killed, which is almost, a rough proportion of death shows that around 97% percent killings occurred in Pakistan as compared to 7% in U.S. Exact data of injured person is not available but only in suicidal attacks, 10,290 Pakistanis injured during 2004 to 2011.

Pakistan received \$ 13.266 billion in total as American aid since 2001 to 2011. U.S. gave \$ 5.710 billion for economic assistance, whereas \$ 7.556 billion for military assistance.<sup>75</sup> Therefore it can be said that 43% aid was meant for military assistance while 57% for economic purpose.

Irreparable losses (Cost) will keep haunting Pakistan in upcoming many years may be decades. Pakistan gained less, ruined much. Cost was incomparably too high than Benefits.



# **Recommendations:**

## **Do More US now**

U.S. always pressurized Pakistan to “Do More”. Pakistani Prime Minister Gilani reacted on September 17, 2011 on U.S. demand of “Do More” by saying that “Pakistan has already contributed enormously in the fight against terrorism and extremism and now the United States should “Do More” instead....Now it’s time they (U.S.) should sacrifice like we did” Irfan Ghauri (2011). Pakistan must ask America to “Do More Now” and Policy should be like “No More Now”.

## **Political Solution**

Pakistani Parliament unanimously passed the joint resolution on October 22, 2008, which is basically an instrument and guideline for further policy and course of action for the government of Pakistan (Please see Annexure A). It emphasizes on political dialogue with insurgents and terrorists. The best solution can be 3-D that is Dialogue, Deterrence, and Development.

## **Nuclear and Missile Assets**

In the wake of Edward Snowden’s leaks Pakistan needs to be more vigilant to protect the nuclear program which is a great asset for the security of Pakistan. Though Pakistan’s security checks are very strict but they must be strongest.

## **Sovereignty (Drone Attacks)**

Majority of Pakistani public is extremely against drone strikes due to its cost in the backdrop of national sovereignty and collateral damage. It seems that Pakistan is incapable to protect its sovereignty; therefore Pakistan should aggressively work diplomatically to stop drone attacks, so

that Pakistan's sovereignty could be protected on the one hand and lives of innocents of Pakistani citizens can be saved on the other hand.

Pakistan has no clear Counter-Terrorism Policy up till 2011<sup>76</sup>. Pakistan need to formulate its own counter terrorism policy to defeat foreign sponsored terrorist networks inside Pakistan on the one hand and on the other hand to stop U.S. drone attacks on the soil of Pakistan. Pakistan can coordinate U.S. to take actions against terrorist but there should be no compromise on national sovereignty. Through this policy, both countries can cooperate for mutual benefits.

### **Economy (US Aid)**

U.S. Aid is never interest free, the aid whether it is economic or financing in Media or bribery to Pakistani politicians must be scrutinized so that through aid U.S. doesn't control Pakistan, as Pakistan is already instable due to cooperation with U.S. in war on terror.

### **Cause of Kashmir**

Foreign Secretary of UK David Miliband had accepted regarding Kashmir in his article on January 15, 2009 that “Although I understand the current difficulties, resolution of the dispute over Kashmir would help deny extremists in the region one of their main calls to arms, and allow Pakistani authorities to focus more effectively on tackling the threat on their western borders” Miliband (2009).

Pakistan needs to highlight the case of Kashmir which was damaged due to Musharraf's policies. Therefore, no compromise with India over national interest on Kashmir issue should be the firm policy and no more “out of box” solutions be presented to damage the Kashmir cause in future. Kashmir issue must be highlighted at UN and global level diplomatically to strengthen the moral support of Kashmiri “freedom fighters”<sup>77</sup>.

## **National Interest & Foreign Policy**

Pakistan had always been ally of U.S. against USSR but Pakistan gained less and lost much in this kind of alliance. It has been a transactional type of relationship with U.S. Pakistan needs to find more possibilities to develop relationship with big powers like Russia<sup>78</sup> without ignoring U.S.<sup>79</sup>

Pakistan needs to broaden her foreign policy options and find military and economic relations with Sweden, Germany, Italy, Britain, France, Brazil, South Africa, Turkey<sup>80</sup>, Indonesia, Bella Russ, Ukraine and Russia. Cooperation with China must be extended.

## **Relations with US.**

Mechanism of transparency between Pakistan and U.S. must be developed so that every agreement has clear documentation and proper discussion in Pakistani parliament.

Secret deals, like NATO supply, and air bases facility for U.S., should be avoided and Parliament must debate over it before approval of any deal.

Every deal with U.S. must be made public for transparency and Aid given by U.S. should be used transparently .Public should be informed the decade long cost and benefits of war on terror.

Public awareness regarding U.S. aid will be helpful for both countries and will reduce anti-Americanism.

## **Afghanistan**

In the wake of 9/11 incident UN had passed a resolution (UN SC resolution 1368 in 2001) which clearly didn't give rights to U.S. to invade Afghanistan. "It was the United States that manipulated the United Nations Security Council into a Resolution that seemed to give justification for its unwinnable war. "The military campaign in Afghanistan was not specifically

mandated by the UN – there was no specific Security Council Resolution authorizing the invasion – but was widely (although not universally) perceived to be a legitimate form of self-defense under the UN Charter” Cloughley (2011).

When USSR invaded Afghanistan in December 1979, U.S. promptly aligned with Pakistan and achieved her national interest by defeating Soviet troops in Afghanistan through Afghan Mujahedeen with the help of Pakistan. U.S. turned eyes and left Pakistan alone to bear the burden of post war Afghanistan, later when U.S. attacked on Pakistan in October 2001, Pakistan became again U.S. ally under structural changes in global system .Afghan Taliban though defeated but as a matter of fact U.S. and its 49 allied countries have not succeed in Afghanistan till 2011, Afghan Taliban are rising and continuously engaging 49 allies of U.S. in Afghanistan militarily<sup>81</sup>. Pakistan must maintain contacts with Afghan Taliban for future power sharing and broad based government to bring peace and stability in the backyard of Pakistan. Stability in Afghanistan is the key to peace in the region. India must be checked in Afghanistan so that anti Pakistan<sup>82</sup>, Indian activities do not create further security problems for Pakistan. Somehow, sooner or later U.S., NATO, /ISAF forces will have to leave Afghanistan. Being super power U.S. would like respectable withdrawal but Pakistan needs responsible withdrawal otherwise in post withdrawal Afghanistan, scenario will not be different than a civil war, which ultimately would destabilize the whole region generally and Pakistan particularly.<sup>83</sup>

U.S. will surely, keep its few thousand forces inside Afghanistan to maintain regional stability but for the purpose U.S. would need cooperation of Pakistan .Pakistan must not cooperate unconditional like it did in the wake of 9/11.

Without Pakistan's cooperation it was not possible to topple Taliban regime in Afghanistan and weaken Al Qaida. Therefore in order to protect national interest, particularly its strategic interest, for U.S., Pakistan's cooperation is vital.<sup>84</sup>

### **Iran Pakistan India (IPI) Gas Pipe line**

Iran Pakistan India Gas pipe line is crucial for Pakistan's economy to meet the energy needs. U.S. is cooperating with India in energy sector while pressing Pakistan to withdraw from the project. Pakistan must ask the support and aid for the alternate energy project for the needs of Pakistan or must not quit the project, as it is a matter of national interest. Pakistan already paid the cost of war in billions of dollars and in return reached at a devastating economic level. U.S. must be pressed to either give up opposition of IPI gas project or provide aid for energy needs of Pakistan vital for recovery of the ruined economy of Pakistan which is indeed a consequence of the war on terror.

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# **ANNEXURE- A**

## **RESOLUTIONS**

### **CONSENSUS RESOLUTION AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE IN-CAMERA JOINT SITTING OF PARLIAMENT (8TH OCT - 22TH OCT 2008)**

This in-camera joint session of Parliament has noted with great concern that extremism, militancy and terrorism in all forms and manifestations pose a grave danger to the stability and integrity of the nation-state. It was recalled that in the past the dictatorial regimes pursued policies aimed at perpetuating their own power at the cost of national interest. This House, having considered the issue thoroughly and at great length is of the view that in terms of framing laws, building institutions; protecting our citizens from violence, eradication of terror at its roots, re-building our economy and developing opportunities for the disadvantaged, we all commit to the following:-

1. That we need an urgent review of our national security strategy and revisit the methodology of combating terrorism in order to restore peace and stability to Pakistan and the region through an independent foreign policy.
2. The challenge of militancy and extremism must be met through developing a consensus and dialogue with all genuine stakeholders.
3. The nation stands united to combat this growing menace, with a strong public message condemning all forms and manifestations of terrorism, including the spread of sectarian hatred and violence, with a firm resolve to combat it and to address its root causes.
4. That Pakistan's sovereignty and territorial integrity shall be safeguarded. The nation stands united against any incursions and invasions of the homeland, and calls upon the government to deal with it effectively.
5. That Pakistan's territory shall not be used for any kind of attacks on other countries and all foreign fighters, if found, shall be expelled from our soil.
6. That dialogue must now be the highest priority, as a principal instrument of conflict management and resolution. Dialogue will be encouraged with all those elements willing to abide by the Constitution of Pakistan and rule of law.
7. That the development of troubled zones, particularly the tribal areas, and NWFP (Pukhtoonkhwa), must also be pursued through all possible ways and legitimate means to create genuine stakeholders in peace. New economic opportunities shall be created in order to bring the less privileged areas at par with the rest of Pakistan.
8. That a political dialogue with the people of Balochistan, the redressal of grievances and redistribution of resources shall be enhanced and accelerated.
9. That the state shall maintain the rule of law, and that when it has to intervene to protect the lives of its citizens, caution must be exercised to avoid casualties of non-combatants in conflict zones.

10. That the federation must be strengthened through the process of democratic pluralism, social justice, religious values and tolerance, and equitable resource sharing between the provinces as enshrined in the Constitution of 1973.
11. That the state shall establish its writ in the troubled zones, and confidence building mechanisms by using customary and local communities (jirga) and that the military will be replaced as early as possible by civilian law enforcement agencies with enhanced capacity and a sustainable political system achieved through a consultative process.
12. That Pakistan's strategic interests be protected by developing stakes in regional peace and trade, both on the western and eastern borders.
13. That mechanisms for internal security be institutionalized by; paying compensation for victims of violence; and rehabilitate those displaced from their homes as soon as possible; that spill-over effects of terrorism be contained throughout the country and that public consensus be built against terrorism through media and religious participation.
14. That a Special Committee of Parliament be constituted to periodically review, provide guidelines and monitor the implementation of the principles framed and roadmap given in this Resolution. This House authorizes the Speaker to constitute the said Committee in consultation with the parliamentary leaders of both Houses. The Committee will frame its own rules upon meeting.

Sd/-

Mrs. Sherry Rehman

Mian Raza Rabbani

Dr. Babar Awan

IqbalZafar Jhagra

Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman

Mr. Wasim Sajjad

Anisa Zeb Tahirkheli

Abdul Rahim Khan Mandokhel

Justice (R) Abdul Razak A. Thahim

Munir Khan Orakzai

Mir Israrullah Zehri

Shahid Hassan Bugti

Pervaiz Khan

Syed Haider Abbas Rizvi

Maulana Sami-ul-Haq

Prof. Khursheed Ahmed

Ch. Nisar Ali Khan

Resolution Date: October 22, 2008

Source ([http://www.na.gov.pk/en/resolution\\_detail.php?id=39](http://www.na.gov.pk/en/resolution_detail.php?id=39))

## **ANNEXURE- B**

### **RESOLUTION UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1368 (2001)**

**The full text of Security Council resolution 1368 (2001) reads as follows:**

“The Security Council,

“Reaffirming the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations,

“Determined to combat by all means threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts,

“Recognizing the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence in accordance with the Charter,

“1. Unequivocally condemns in the strongest terms the horrifying terrorist attacks which took place on 11 September 2001 in New York, Washington (D.C.) and Pennsylvania and regards such acts, like any act of international terrorism, as a threat to international peace and security;

“2. Expresses its deepest sympathy and condolences to the victims and their families and to the People and Government of the United States of America;

“3. Calls on all States to work together urgently to bring to justice the perpetrators, organizers and sponsors of these terrorist attacks and stresses that those responsible for aiding, supporting or harbouring the perpetrators, organizers and sponsors of these acts will be held accountable;

“4. Calls also on the international community to redouble their efforts to prevent and suppress terrorist acts including by increased cooperation and full implementation of the relevant international anti-terrorist conventions and Security Council resolutions, in particular resolution 1269 of 19 October 1999;

“5. Expresses its readiness to take all necessary steps to respond to the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 and to combat all forms of terrorism, in accordance with its responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations;

**Source :(<http://www.un.org/press/en/2001/SC7143.doc.htm>)**

# ANNEXURE- C

## The Judgment of Peshawar High Court on Drone Attacks

- i. "That the drone strikes, carried out in the tribal areas (FATA) particularly North & South Waziristan by the CIA & US Authorities, are blatant violation of Basic Human Rights and are against the UN Charter, the UN General Assembly Resolution, adopted unanimously, the provision of Geneva Conventions thus, it is held to be a War Crime, cognizable by the International Court of Justice or Special Tribunal for War Crimes, constituted or to be constituted by the UNO for this purpose.
- ii. That the drone strikes carried out against a handful of alleged militants, who are not engaged in combat with the US Authorities or Forces, amounts to breach of International Law and Conventions on the subject matter, therefore, it is held that these are absolutely illegal & blatant violation of the Sovereignty of the State of Pakistan because frequent intrusion is made on its territory / airspace without its consent rather against its wishes as despite of the protests lodged by the Government of Pakistan with USA on the subject matter, these are being carried out with impunity.
- iii. That the civilians casualties, as discussed above, including considerable damage to properties, livestock, wildlife & killing of infants/ suckling babies, women and preteen children, is an un condonable crime on the part of US Authorities including CIA and it is held so.
- iv. That in view of the established facts & figures with regard to civilians' casualties & damage caused to the properties, livestock of the citizens of Pakistan, the US Government is bound to compensate all the victims' families at the assessed rate of compensation in kind of US dollars.
- v. The Government of Pakistan and its Security Forces shall ensure that in future such drone strikes are not conducted & carried out within the sovereign territory of Pakistan. Proper warning be administered in this regard and if that does not work, the Government of Pakistan and State Institutions particularly the Security Forces shall have the right being under constitutional & legal obligations to shut down the drones, attacking Pakistani territories or when these enter the airspace of Pakistan Sovereign territory.
- vi. The Government of Pakistan is directed to take the matter seriously before the Security Council of the UNO and in case it does not succeed there if VETO power is unduly exercised by the US Authorities then, urgent meeting of the General Assembly be requisitioned through a written request to resolve this menace in an effective manner.
- vii. The Government of Pakistan shall also file a proper complaint, giving complete details of the losses sustained by the Pakistani civilians citizens both to life & properties due to drone strikes, making a request to the UN Secretary General to constitute an independent War Crime Tribunal which shall have the mandate to investigate & enquire into all these matters and to give a final verdict as to whether

the same amounts to War Crime or not and in the former case to direct the US Authorities / Government to immediately stop the drone strikes within the airspace / territory of Pakistan and to immediately arrange for the complete & full compensation for the victims' families of the civilians of Pakistan both for life & properties at the rate & ratio laid down under the international standards.

- viii. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is directed to prepare draft resolution / complaints and requisition for doing the needful within a minimum possible time in line of the above guidelines given by the Court, also asking & requiring the Security Council and the General Assembly, as the case may be, to pass a resolution condemning the drone strikes, flown by the CIA / US Authorities and violating the sovereign territory of Pakistan in violation of UN Charter and various Conventions of the UNO, referred to above.
- ix. In case the US Authorities do not comply with the UNO Resolution, whether passed by the Security Council or by the General Assembly of UNO, the Government of Pakistan shall sever all ties with the USA and as a mark of protest shall deny all logistic & other facilities to the USA within Pakistan
- x. During election campaign Barak Obama had said that "The President does not have power under the Constitution to unilaterally authorize a military attack in a situation that does not involve stopping an actual or imminent threat to the nation. As Commander-in-Chief, the President does have a duty to protect and defend the United States. In instances of self-defense, the President would be within his constitutional authority to act before advising Congress or seeking its consent. History has shown us time and again, however, that military action is most successful when it is authorized and supported by the Legislative branch. It is always preferable to have the informed consent of Congress prior to any military action" FactCheck (2011).
- xi. This was Barack Obama who once had been opponent of military actions unilaterally but when came in power he "secretly exempted the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) from carrying out adequate intelligence-gathering missions in Pakistan before conducting drone strikes in the country..... President Obama made rules for the US drone program stricter in 2013, but secretly approved a waiver allowing the CIA more flexibility when it comes to conducting drone strikes against suspected militants in Pakistan.

Source: ([www.peshawarhighcourt.gov.pk/images/wp%201551-p%2020212.pdf](http://www.peshawarhighcourt.gov.pk/images/wp%201551-p%2020212.pdf))

## **ANNEXURE- D-6.1**

### **Box 6.1. Sanctions Required by the Glenn Amendment**

“The Glenn Amendment to the Arms Export Control Act of 1994 requires the resident to impose these seven sanctions:

Suspend foreign aid (except for humanitarian assistance or food and other agricultural commodities);

- Terminate sales of any military items;
- Terminate other military assistance;
- Stop credits or guarantees to the country by US government agencies;
- Vote against credits or assistance by international financial institutions;
- Prohibit US banks from making loans to the foreign government concerned; and
- Prohibit exports of specific goods and technology [as specified in the Export Administration Act of 1979] with civilian and military nuclear applications

**Source: Morrow and Carriere (1999).**

## ANNEXURE- D-6.2

### **Box 6.2. Summary of Fact Sheet “India and Pakistan Sanctions,”**

“Released by the Bureau of Economic and Agricultural Affairs, United States Department of State, June 18, 1998

The United States imposed sanctions on India and Pakistan as a result of their nuclear tests in May.

Imposing these sanctions, the United States sought:

- To send a strong message to would-be nuclear testers;
- To have maximum influence on Indian and Pakistani behavior;
- To target the governments, rather than the people; and
- To minimize the damage to other US interests.

The goals of the United States are that India and Pakistan:

- Halt further nuclear testing
- Sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) immediately and without conditions;
- Not deploy or test missiles or nuclear weapons;
- Cut off fissile material production for nuclear weapons
- Cooperate in Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT) negotiations in Geneva;
- Maintain and formalize restraints on sharing sensitive goods and technologies with other countries;

and

- Reduce bilateral tensions, including Kashmir.

Accordingly, the United States:

- Terminated or suspended foreign assistance under the Foreign Assistance Act, with exceptions provided by law (e.g. humanitarian assistance, food, or other agricultural commodities).
- Terminated foreign military sales under the Arms Export Control Act, and revoked licenses for commercial sale of any item on the US munitions list.
- Halted any new commitments of USG [US government] credits and credit guarantees by USG entities (including EXIM and OPIC).
- Gained G-8 support to postpone consideration of non-basic human needs (BHN) loans for India and Pakistan by the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) to bolster the effect of the Glenn Amendment requirement that the United States oppose non-BHN IFI loans.
- Will issue Executive Order to prohibit US banks from extending loans or credits to the Governments of India and Pakistan.
- Will deny export of all dual-use items controlled for nuclear or missile reasons. Will presume denial for all other dual-use exports to entities involved in nuclear or missile programs

Source:Morrow and Carriere (1999).

## ANNEXURE- D- 6.3.3

### Screening programs

Pakistan has set up screening procedures to ensure the loyalty and mental balance of personnel serving in the most sensitive positions. These procedures were established in the early 2000s, took two years to set up and required overcoming various forms of resistance.

Two different programmes exist: a Human Reliability Program for civilian personnel and a Personnel Reliability Program for military personnel. They have been applied to up to 4000 people (although the numbers vary), including about 2000 scientists or engineers working in particularly sensitive areas or who have critical knowledge, and who continue to be monitored after retirement. The Strategic Plans Division (SPD) plans to extend these programmes to 10 000 personnel with access to sensitive information. The screening process can take up to a year and involves four different agencies: the Intelligence Bureau, the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), the Military Intelligence and the SPD. There are clearance rechecks every two years.

Unsurprisingly, checks are said to focus on finances and religious beliefs. Punjabis (who make up two-thirds of Pakistan's officers) are reportedly privileged over people of other origins. There have been reports of attempts by militant groups to infiltrate the nuclear complex through Pakistani scientists trained abroad. SPD officials estimate that 7000 to 10 000 people out of a total of 70 000 people in the nuclear and missile complex are nuclear scientists and engineers”

Source:Tertrais (2012).

## **ANNEXURE- D-6.4**

### **Physical security and surveillance**

“Three levels of nuclear security exist. The first level (or inner ring) is managed by the Strategic Plans Division (SPD), which controls around 9000 personnel dedicated to this task. a The SPD’s directorate in charge of nuclear security is led by a two-star general and is endowed with its own counter-intelligence team. It has a cell in each of the four laboratories controlled by the National Command Authority (NCA), each headed by a one-star general. The second level is physical, including fencing, sensors and so on. The third level (or outer ring) is surveillance and monitoring of suspicious activities around the sites, with Inter- Services Intelligence (ISI) involvement. The SPD has a system of sensitive material control and accounting, which involves regular and surprise inspections. It has reportedly adopted inventory systems to track individual components of warheads. Theft- and tamper-proof containers and vehicles are used for storage and transport. The SPD has set up a ‘Special Response Force’ presumably to deal with nuclear incidents. On the civilian side, the Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority (PNRA), created in 2001 and including 200 experts, is in charge of the physical security of fissile material and radioactive sources. The military is strongly involved and the SPD’s director general is a member of the PNRA. A five-year Nuclear Security Action Plan, designed to enhance the safety and security of nuclear materials and radioactive sources, was adopted by the PNRA in 2006. Special border controls have been set up. In 2011 a safety review of existing and planned facilities was conducted. All known sources have reportedly been registered, orphan sources have been recovered and two secure storage sites have been set up.

Pakistan cooperates with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to improve nuclear safety. b It ratified the 1980 Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Materials (CPPNM) in 2000 and participates in the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism. Pakistan has not, however, ratified the 2005 Amendment to the CPPNM and is not a party to the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism.

a SPD officials give numbers ranging from 8000 to 10 000. A 2011 report by Rezaul Laskar claims that over 8000 new personnel will be trained by 2013 at the SPD Training Academy. A report by Andrew Bast mentions two army divisions, or about 18 000 troops, with the source being the former President Musharraf in a 2011 on-the-record interview with the author. This number may refer to the total of the current and future force.

b According to Michael Krepon, in 2006 the Stimson Center began hosting fellows from the PNRA”

**Source:Tertrais (2012).**

# ANNEXURE-E-1

## Annexure E-1 (Table Kashmir Committees)

Parliamentary Committee	Total Members	MNAs	Senators	Federal Ministers	Headed by	Duration
Ist Committee	24	21	3	0	(Late) Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan (MNA)	December, 1993 To November, 1996
2nd Committee	26	26	0	0	(Late) Ch. Mohammad Sarwar Khan (MNA)	May, 1997 To October, 1999
National Kashmir Committee					Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum, former President of AJK,	1999 To 2002 (Until establishment of the National Assembly in 2002)
3rd Committee	49	36	13	14	Ch. Hamid Nasir Chattha (MNA)	June, 2004 To November 2007
Special Committee of the National Assembly	14	14	0	1	Maulana Fazl-ur-Rahman (MNA)	August 19, 2008 To November, 2013
Special Committee of the National Assembly	24	24	0	0	Maulana Fazl-ur-Rahman (MNA)	2013 to Date

## ANNEXURE- E-2

**Table: Fatalities in Terrorist Violence 1988 – 2015”**

	Incidents	Civilians	Security Force Personnel	Kashmiri Freedom Fighters	Total
1988	390	29	1	1	31
1989	2154	79	13	0	92
1990	3905	862	132	183	1177
1991	3122	594	185	614	1393
1992	4971	859	177	873	1909
1993	4457	1023	216	1328	2567
1994	4484	1012	236	1651	2899
1995	4479	1161	297	1338	2796
1996	4224	1333	376	1194	2903
1997	3004	840	355	1177	2372
1998	2993	877	339	1045	2261
1999	2938	799	555	1184	2538
2000	2835	842	638	1808	3288
2001	3278	1067	590	2850	4507
2002	NA	839	469	1714	3022
2003	NA	658	338	1546	2542
2004	NA	534	325	951	1810
2005	NA	521	218	1000	1739
2006	NA	349	168	599	1116
2007	NA	164	121	492	777
2008	NA	69	90	382	541

2009	NA	55	78	242	375
2010	NA	36	69	270	375
2011	NA	34	30	119	183
Total*	47234	14636	6016	22561	43213

**Source of Table 7.4: SATP (2015b).**

# ANNEXURE- F

## Questionnaire for Interview

### International Islamic University Islamabad



**Department of Politics & IR**

**Ph. D (Politics and IR)**

**Topic: Political Cost-Benefit Analysis of War on Terror in Pakistan: 2001-2011**

**Dear Sir/Madam**

This Interview is conducted as a part of research project, which will be submitted to the Department of Politics and International Relations, International Islamic University Islamabad as a partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Ph.D. (Politics and IR).

The main aim of this study is to know the impact of War on terror on Pakistan. Therefore I need your precious time on Phone or Skype or in person for the interview to know your valuable opinion on the topic. I shall be highly obliged if you please respond the following questions.

Thanks & Regards;  
Muhammad Ilyas Ansari  
Ph.D. (Politics & IR) Scholar

International Islamic University Islamabad, Pakistan

[ilyas.ansari@gmail.com](mailto:ilyas.ansari@gmail.com)

Cell No 0321-4422967

## **Questionnaire**

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1. Why did Pakistan join War on Terror (WOT)?
2. What has Pakistan gained in the War on Terror?
3. How was Pakistan affected adversely in the WOT and how can these issues be addressed?
4. What was the US policy toward Pakistan in regard to terrorism during the period of 2001 to 2011?
5. How was the US regime influencing Pakistan to pursue its own interest during the period of 2001 to 2011??
6. What did Pakistan gain politically in terms of cost and benefit
7. Was Pakistan Sovereignty respected by US during the period of 2001 to 2011?
8. Did Pakistan manage to improve its economic conditions due to US aid to Pakistan during the period of 2001 to 2011?
9. Did Pakistan Succeeded over Kashmir Cause during the period of 2001 to 2011?
10. Did Pakistan manage to secure its Nuclear Program during the period of 2001 to 2011?

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# End Notes

<sup>1</sup> The usage of the term “Front Line state” was later dropped by Pakistan on January 20, 2011

<sup>2</sup> Statistics related to causalities of Civilians and Military personnel provided in Pakistani Parliament and published in Dawn on October 19, 2011 will be used in analysis.

<sup>3</sup> Economic Survey of Pakistan 2014-2015 Annex-IV (Impact of War in Afghanistan and Ensuing Terrorism on Pakistan’s Economy)

<sup>4</sup> De Nooij, M. (2012). Social cost benefit analysis and energy policy. IRC-Library, Information Resource Center der Jacobs University Bremen.

<sup>5</sup> Interview conducted by writer of thesis on August 12, 2015, three days before his death.

<sup>6</sup> See Annexure B

<sup>7</sup> On September 23, 2015 US Secretary of State John Kerry and External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj held a joint press conference to put pressure on Pakistan. For details see the “India, US agree to deepen cooperation to combat terror; call on Pak to bring to justice 26/11 perpetrators. Available on ([http://zeenews.india.com/news/india/india-us-ask-pakistan-to-act-against-26/11-mumbai-attack-perpetrators\\_1800787.html](http://zeenews.india.com/news/india/india-us-ask-pakistan-to-act-against-26/11-mumbai-attack-perpetrators_1800787.html)).

<sup>8</sup> Please see details on the following webpage. (<http://www.urduvoa.com/content/usa-richard-foreign-minister-interview-08aug11-127263708/1135373.html>) .

<sup>9</sup> This amount was announced to be released later in December 2012. For details see New York Times December 17, 2012 “In Sign of Normalization, Pentagon to Reimburse Pakistan \$688 Million” Available on (<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/18/world/asia/pentagon-to-reimburse-pakistan-688-million.html>)

<sup>10</sup> The exact number is 49.

<sup>11</sup> On May 21, 2016 Afghan Taliban Leader Mulla Mansoor Akhtar was killed by a drone attack inside Pakistani territory and Peace process has once again halted.

<sup>12</sup> Interview conducted by author of thesis on September 19, 2015

<sup>13</sup> The United States on August 12, 2015 indicated to Pakistan that further extension in the Coalition Support Fund (CSF) beyond 2015 may not be possible. See details in Dawn August 12, 2015 (<http://www.dawn.com/news/1199935>)

<sup>14</sup> BBC & Dawn

[http://www.bbc.com/urdu/pakistan/2014/06/140615\\_operations\\_and\\_agreements\\_background\\_sa.shtml?](http://www.bbc.com/urdu/pakistan/2014/06/140615_operations_and_agreements_background_sa.shtml?)

<http://www.dawn.com/news/1112980>

<sup>15</sup> This parade was conducted later in year 2015 after the gap of 7 years. For details see Dawn March 23, 2015. Pakistan holds first Republic Day parade in seven years. (<http://www.dawn.com/news/1171371>)

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<sup>16</sup> For example on August 16, 2012, Kamra complex was again attacked, On December 15, 2012 Peshawar airport was attacked, On July 24, 2013, office of ISI in Sukkur was attacked, Karachi Airport was attacked on June 08, 2014, Samnagli Air base near Quetta was attacked on August 14, 2014. On September 18, 2015, Air base of Pakistan Air force near Peshawar was attacked. For details see BBC Urdu

[http://www.bbc.com/urdu/pakistan/2015/09/150918\\_attack\\_on\\_military\\_timeline\\_sh](http://www.bbc.com/urdu/pakistan/2015/09/150918_attack_on_military_timeline_sh)

<sup>17</sup> The economic impact of violence on the global economy in 2014 was substantial and is estimated at US\$14.3 trillion or 13.4 per cent of world GDP. This is equivalent to the combined economies of Brazil, Canada, France, Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom. Since 2008, the total economic impact on global GDP has increased by 15.3 per cent, from US\$12.4 trillion to US\$14.3 trillion. The level of terrorism has grown steadily over the last decade, and shows no sign of abating. Deaths from terrorism increased by 61 per cent from 2012 to 2013, with almost 18,000 people being killed in terrorist attacks in 2013. Eighty-two per cent of these deaths occurred in just five countries: Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nigeria and Syria. (See, Global Peace Index 2015)

<sup>18</sup> See Chapter 3 for historical background of SEATO & CENTO

<sup>19</sup> Interview conducted by writer of thesis.

<sup>20</sup> The first drone attack was done by US in 2004.

<sup>21</sup> UN General Assembly passed resolution on December 19, 2013 against Drone Strikes in Pakistan calling it a breach of sovereignty of Pakistan and violation of Human Rights, Similarly Pakistan's National Assembly also passed the resolution against drone strikes on December 20, 2013 ([http://www.na.gov.pk/en/resolution\\_detail.php?id=142](http://www.na.gov.pk/en/resolution_detail.php?id=142))

).

Likewise Peshawar High court also gave its judgment on May 09, 2013 regarding drone attacks by calling it violation of sovereignty of Pakistan.

<sup>22</sup> The court later announced judgment on May 09, 2013. See Annexure C for details.

<sup>23</sup> See Annexure A

<sup>24</sup> Interview conducted by writer of thesis

<sup>25</sup> US attacked on Mulla Mansoor Akhtar the chief of Afghan Taliban in Pakistan's boundary while he was entering in Pakistan from Iran on May 21, 2016. Sovereignty of Pakistan is still being violated.

<sup>26</sup> "Obama apologizes for hostage deaths in Pak-Afghan border strike", Dawn, April 24, 2015. See also "American, Italian Hostages Killed in CIA Drone Strike in January" The Wall Street Journal, April 23, 2015.

<sup>27</sup> Dr. Abdul Qadeer Kahn was founder of Pakistan's Nuclear Program and regarded a national hero for Pakistanis.

<sup>28</sup> British and Pakistani nationality holder politician .

<sup>29</sup> Interview conducted by writer of thesis.

<sup>30</sup> Pakistan's largest and most influential private TV network

<sup>31</sup> Interviewed by Writer of thesis

<sup>32</sup> Interviewed by Writer of thesis

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<sup>33</sup> On May 18, 2016, on the occasion of visit of Pakistan's Army chief General Raheel Shareef, Chinese leadership said "China will support Pakistan in ensuring Pakistan's sovereignty, integrity, national security and development" See <http://www.brecorder.com/top-stories/0/46823/>

<sup>34</sup> Statistics related to causalities of Civilians and Military personnel provided in Pakistani Parliament and published in Dawn on October 19, 2011 will be used in analysis.

<sup>35</sup> NWFP was renamed as KPK in 2010.

<sup>36</sup> Official annual document of ministry of finance , government of Pakistan

<sup>37</sup> Pakistan Board of Investment.

<sup>38</sup> Interviewed by writer of thesis

<sup>39</sup> Handbook of Statistics on Pakistan Economy 2010

<sup>40</sup> Pakistan Economic Survey 2011-12

<sup>41</sup> Interviewed by writer of thesis

<sup>42</sup> Interviewed by author of thesis

<sup>43</sup> Interviewed by writer of thesis

<sup>44</sup> Interviewed by writer of thesis

<sup>45</sup> Interviewed by writer of thesis

<sup>46</sup> Interviewed by writer of thesis

<sup>47</sup> Later, Bacha Khan University was attacked on January 20, 2016.

<sup>48</sup> Mostly hideouts of TTP are located in Afghanistan and Pakistani government hold responsible Afghanistan and India for these terrorists' activities done by TTP. A very recent example of APS School incident which took place on December 16, 2014 which shook the whole Pakistan in which more than 134 school children and staff was killed by terrorists.

<sup>49</sup> Interviewed by writer of thesis

<sup>50</sup> Up till September 2015 Pakistan received \$ 30 Billion in Military and Economic Assistance whereas Economic losses were reported \$ 107 Billion. In short Pakistan lost \$ 77Billion. For details see(<http://urdu.dunyanews.tv/index.php/ur/Pakistan/298383>)

Pakistan's Federal Minister Abdul Qadir had said on July 22, 2014 that terrorism has affected Pakistan heavily and no one is ready to invest in Pakistan due to terrorism. See details (<http://www.urduvoa.com/content/pakistan-terrorism-/1962676.html>)

<sup>51</sup> Economic Survey of Pakistan 2014-2015 Annex-IV( Impact of War in Afghanistan and Ensuing Terrorism on Pakistan's Economy)

<sup>52</sup> Coalition Support Fund (CSF) is Defense Department funding to reimburse Pakistan for its logistical and operational support of U.S-led. Military operations; it is technically not foreign assistance. Figures in the CSF row

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reflect actual payments by appropriation year and not appropriations themselves. S. Akbar Zaidi has included the Coalition Support Fund amount into total aid.

<sup>53</sup> Interviewed by writer of thesis

<sup>54</sup> Ex USSR

<sup>55</sup> Interviewed by writer of thesis

<sup>56</sup> Interviewed by writer of thesis

<sup>57</sup> Interviewed by writer of thesis

<sup>58</sup> Interviewed by writer of thesis

<sup>59</sup> Interviewed by writer of thesis

<sup>60</sup> See Annexure E-1

<sup>61</sup> Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK)

<sup>62</sup> Indian Occupied Kashmir

<sup>63</sup> For detailed table of Killings in Kashmir see Annexure E-2

<sup>64</sup> Interviewed by author for thesis

<sup>65</sup> Interviewed by author for thesis

<sup>66</sup> Interviewed by author for thesis

<sup>67</sup> Interviewed by author for thesis

<sup>68</sup> Interviewed by author for thesis

<sup>69</sup> Interviewed by author for thesis

<sup>70</sup> Interviewed by author for thesis

<sup>71</sup> Interviewed by author for thesis

<sup>72</sup> July 2016 is the month when 3<sup>rd</sup> upspring started in Indian held Kashmir. Dozens of peaceful Kashmiri demonstrators killed and injured by Indian security forces, There was no militancy involved behind these fresh demonstrations.

<sup>73</sup> Due to Civil war in Syria and influx of Syrian refugees from Mid-2015 to December 2016, Turkey is the largest host country for foreign refugees and Pakistan ranks 2<sup>nd</sup> in this category.

<sup>74</sup> See column of John McCain (US senator and chairman of the Senate Committee on Armed Services) "America ignores Pakistan at its peril, published in Financial Times, London, July 26, 2016. Available at <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/d97ccbe8-527e-11e6-9664-e0bdc13c3bef.html#axzz4Fhlgg19B>

<sup>75</sup> Data extracted from <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/pakaid.pdf>

<sup>76</sup> NACTA was established vide NACTA act 2013 with the view to curb the menace of terrorism from the country. Please visit <http://www.nacta.gov.pk/>

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<sup>77</sup> PM Nawaz Sharif selected 22 parliamentarians as envoys to highlighting the Indian brutalities and human rights violations in Indian occupied Kashmir, in key capitals of the world on August 26, 2016.

<sup>78</sup> New block is emerging in which Russia, China, Iran and Pakistan are coming closer to each other. Russia conducted its first ever joint military exercises in Pakistan in October 2016. Pakistan will purchase military hardware from Russia to minimize reliance on U.S.

<sup>79</sup> PM Nawaz Sharif contacted with Donald Trump on November 30, 2016 telephonically after his success in American Elections and Special Assistant on Foreign Affairs Tariq Fatemi will be sent to US on 10 day tour on December 3, 2016 to start a dialogue with new Donald team. Donald will formally resume his office as President of US on January 2016.

<sup>80</sup> Defense cooperation between Turkey and Pakistan extended in 2016. Turkey will buy Pakistani made training aircraft and Pakistan will get overhauled its F16 fighter planes from Turkey.

<sup>81</sup> Invading forces started withdrawing from Afghanistan in December 2014 but still U.S has maintained its military presence in Afghanistan and still it has plan to keep its 8400 troops after the end of 2016 . For details please visit <http://www.wsj.com/articles/obama-to-slow-troop-withdrawal-from-afghanistan-1467817803>

<sup>82</sup> Pakistan participated in Heart of Asia Conference on December 3-4, 2016 in Indian city Amritsar despite tense relations between India and Pakistan .India had boycotted the scheduled 19th SAARC Summit conference of Islamabad in September 2016.

<sup>83</sup> At its peak, the US-led ISAF deployment involved more than 130,000 personnel from 50 countries. Year 2014 had been the bloodiest in Afghanistan since 2001, with at least 4,600 members of the Afghan security forces dying in the fight against the Taliban. Up till December 27, 2014 Nearly 3,500 foreign troops including 2200 US soldiers killed since the beginning of the mission in 2001. See Details (<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-30377059>)

See more column of John McCain (US senator and chairman of the Senate Committee on Armed Services) "America ignores Pakistan at its peril, published in Financial Times, London, July 26, 2016. Available at <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/d97ccbe8-527e-11e6-9664-e0bdc13c3bef.html#axzz4Fhlgg19B>

<sup>84</sup> See details explained by Gen Joseph F. Dunford Jr on July 10, 2015 which was published in Dawn on July 11, 2015. (<http://www.dawn.com/news/1193686>)