

Pakistan-United States Relationship Post Afghanistan War



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Islamabad

August 2020

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MS Peace and Conflict Studies 16

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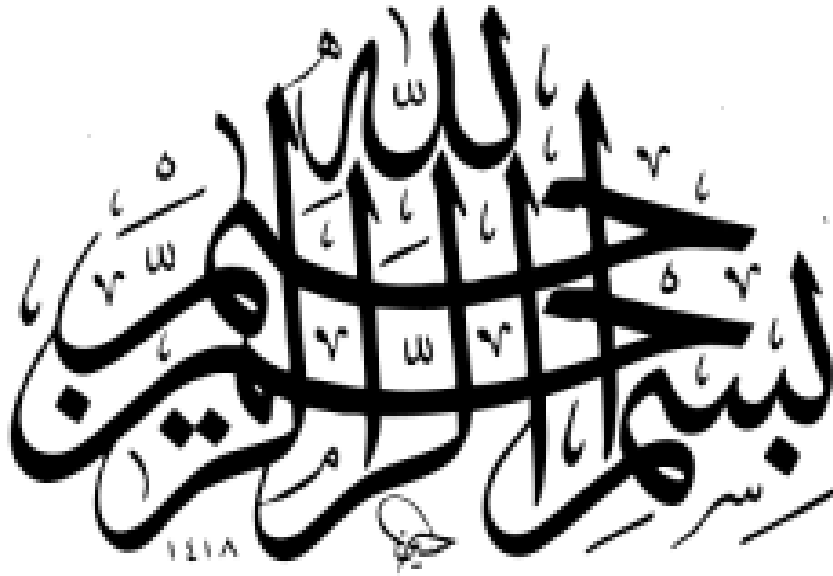
DEPARTMENT OF PEACE CONFLICT STUDIES

CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND STABILITY (CIPS)

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCES AND TECHNOLOGY (NUST)

ISLAMABAD

AUGUST 2020



IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE MOST BENEFICENT
THE MOST MERCIFUL

*Read! And thy Lord is Most Honorable and Most Benevolent,
Who taught (to write) by pen, He taught men which he knew not*

(Surah-Al-Alaq 30: 3-5)

Al-Quran

National University of Sciences and Technology

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be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of **MS - Peace and Conflict**
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DECLARATION

I, **Ayesha Masood**, declare that this research work titled “**Pakistan-United States Relationship Post Afghanistan War**” is my own work. The work here in was carried out while I was a post-graduate student of Centre of International Peace and Stability, NUST under the supervision of **Dr. Tughral Yamin**. The work has not been presented elsewhere for assessment. The material that has been used from other sources it has been properly acknowledged/referred.

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Acknowledgment

I cannot express enough thanks to my supervisor and mentor DR.TUGHRAL YAMIN for his continuous support and encouragement throughout my journey. I offer my sincere appreciation to him for always taking out time, replying to my emails on time and continuously guiding me through this difficult pandemic.

I want to thank my parents who truly believed in me that I can do it and continuously motivated me in this journey. The completion of my research could not have been possible if my parent's prayers were not with me. They were the only beacon I had which kept me going through out this whole process.

Finally, I would like to thank my sister who kept me sane all this time and made me unlimited cups of tea.

Abstract

Pakistan's relations with the United States have always been rocky since 1947. The periodic convergence of strategic and security interests have brought them closer to each other, time and again. The bilateral cooperation, however, more often, remained in the favor of the US as Pakistan paid a heavy cost in terms of men and resources. Islamabad has collaborated with the US in its containment policy during the Cold war era. Later, in the 1980s, Pakistan provided outright support to the US in the war against the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan and also the civil war that followed. Since 9/11, Pakistan has been actively engaged with the US in the war against terrorism. More recently, Pakistan's crucial role in orchestrating a peace deal between the warring parties, the Taliban, and the Afghan government speaks for the significance of Islamabad in the US's South Asia Policy. Why is the periodic convergence predominantly driving Pak-US relations? What are the major impediments to 'consistent foreign policy' between the two countries? These questions are the core of this research. Beside, this study attempts to figure out post-US withdrawal political and security complexities in Afghanistan and Pakistan's role in mitigating immediate and long-term threats through US possible collaboration. Apart from the Kabul-centric approach, this study aims to look forward independent, consistent Pak-US relationships based on equitable cooperation on both traditional and non-traditional security spheres. The study argued that Pakistan being a strategically important country is crucial to US interests in the region, thus, productive cooperation in the future between the two countries is mutually beneficial.

Keywords: Pak US relation, post Afghanistan war.

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ABC	American Business Council
ABF	American Business Forum
ALP	Agrarian Linkages Program
AMD	Agricultural Market Development
ANLF	Afghan National Liberation Front
APCAC	Asia-Pacific Council of American Chambers of Commerce
APG	Asia Pacific Group
AREF	Agricultural Research Endowment Fund
BRI	Belt Road Initiative
BTWCO	Bio And Toxin Warfare Convention Organization
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CMEA	Centre For Middle East And Africa
CPEC	China Pakistan Economic Corridor
DFC	Developmental Finance Corporation
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zones
FATF	Financial Action Task Force
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FPCCI	Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry
ICA	International Cooperation Administration
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
ISI	Inter Service Intelligence
ISSI	Institute Of Strategic Studies Islamabad
ITA	International Trade Administration
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRGC-QF	Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps Quds Forces
LOC	Line Of Control
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NPT	Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty
USSR	Union Of Soviet Specialist Republics
WOT	War On Terror

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Current situation of Afghanistan's peace process and Pakistan's role:

Pakistan's relationship started with United States right after Pakistan was created in 1947. Pakistan and United States relationship has always been a roller coaster but the interests of both countries tend to combine the two countries over these decades (Yamin, 2012). Pakistan and United States relations are very vast in terms of every context whether it be aid, military alliance, trade etc. but this research will solely focus on America's war in Afghanistan which will include the background, current situation, how this war will move towards a peaceful settlement and what will be the future relations of Pakistan and United States post Afghan war. Afghanistan and United States war started from soviet invasion era to 9/11 era back in 1999. Pakistan has solely been the helping hand in Afghan-US war over all these years. Without Pakistan there could not have been effective movement against soviet and organized military operations (Weinbaum, 1991). Pakistan has played a role of bridge between the peace talks of Afghan Taliban and US government from the start. President Trump told the press on his surprise visit to Afghanistan in November 2019 that the Taliban wants ceasefire and wants to resume the peace talks between both the parties. Taliban's spokesman on the other hand says that Americans were the one who walked away from the peace talks not the Taliban and now the ball is in the court of Americans whether they want to come back or not. However, the talks were ongoing as of January 2020. According to the turning positions, those days where Afghan government was not part of the

peace talks, many observers predicted that United States would prefer to draw their forces from their peacefully rather than a difficult complex political settlement (Thomas, 2020). Other than that situation, the contracted President Ashraf Ghani's victory had been announced in the results of the elections took place in September 28, 2018. The results were released in December 2019 which was opposed by many other candidates accusing the election system and victory of President Ashraf Ghani as fraud. After multiple episodes of successful and unsuccessful negotiations, finally on 29th February 2020 United States officials and Taliban's representatives have signed up a peace agreement in Qatar's capital Doha (Aljazeera.com, 2020). The agreement was signed on demands presented by both sides. Taliban's demand was that the foreign forces present on Afghanistan's soil is the main reason of the aggravated violence and conflict therefore, United States should pull their forces from the Afghan soil. United States demand from the Taliban's was that Taliban's should cut off ties with Al-Qaeda and other terrorist groups immediately and sit down with the Afghan government (they have always denounced, calling them the puppet government of United States) to negotiate and build peace (Aljazeera.com, 2020). According to the agreement, United States will withdraw its forces completely from Afghanistan till next spring 2021. This peace deal was the result of the 14th month old rollercoaster negotiations between United States and Taliban by the assistance of Pakistan. Better late than never, US realize that Pakistan's assistance is essentially required for gaining entrance in South Asia and Afghanistan (Siddiqui, 2011). Though after president Trump took over the government, Pakistan was badly neglected by the United States and military assistance and other assistances were blocked by them still Pakistan decided to become a bridge and a facilitator between United States and the Taliban (Siddiqui, 2011). An official handout released by the current Prime minister's office (Imran Khan), he said that achieving stability and

peace in the Afghanistan region is in national interest of Pakistan for which it will go to every limit to make peace in the region. He further added that Pakistan will safeguard the process and the progress towards a peaceful region and will guard against all the negative powers trying to undermine this progress (Theexpresstribune.com, 2020).

1.2 Argument and context:

Pakistan and United States always have had a chequered history (Kroonstad, 2011). Both countries have had their interest which forces them to bind with each other. Apart from the history of mutual interests between the two countries, there also has been trust issues regarding security and terrorism in the current Afghanistan scenario. Many other emerging factors will also affect both countries relationship for example, India is now a part of American strategy through which United States is trying to contain China. On the other hand, Pakistan is unwilling to participate in the American policy of China containment because of friendly relations with China. Other than that Pakistan's relationship with Iran will also affect United States. These are the factors which will hinder relations between Pakistan and America. As America is slowly pulling out their forces from Afghanistan and moving towards a settlement, in future Pakistan and United States relations could only be fruitful and productive if they are not dependent on Afghanistan and not hold themselves the prisoners of Afghanistan in future.

1.3 Research Questions:

1. Keeping in mind post-US Afghanistan's political and security complexities, what will be the future course of bilateral relations between the US and Pakistan?
2. What are the short-term and long-term viable policy options do Pakistan have to strengthen its ties with the US?
3. Apart from defense and security, what are the potential sectors in which Pakistan and the US can accelerate?
4. What are the key factors Pakistan should consider to have consistent and vibrant foreign policy towards the US in the future?

1.4 Research objectives:

The research will dive into the relationship of Pakistan and United States since 1947, doing an in-depth analysis of both countries military collaboration, aid assistance and future relationship of both post Afghanistan war that how both countries can have a productive future based on a non-security based relationship. The variables of this research are United States withdrawal from Afghanistan as an independent variable and future contours of Pak-US relations as a dependent variable is the main focus on which the future relationship between the two countries depend. The research will keep a track of the peace talks going on between Taliban's and the government of America linked with the upcoming President trump's strategies towards Afghanistan and South East Asia. Moreover, Pakistan would need programmatic and diplomatic changes supported by an efficient government. The changes would definitely create temporary disturbances and costs, but there are worthy reasons to believe that the United States would still be better off adopting an Asia-oriented strategy for Pakistan and moving away from the present Pak-Afghanistan approach and to fight the security challenges together in future. This research will also look into how Pakistan's relationship with the following countries like China, Iran, India and Afghanistan will have an effect on Pakistan's relationship with United States.

1.5 Methodology:

The research is qualitative in nature. It is exploratory which will see how Pakistan-United relationship will shape after the Afghanistan war. It will gather data from primary sources with the help of interviews and from secondary data and various sources like congressional research services, articles, case studies and drawing conclusions from observations of changing dynamics

of the two country's relationship every day. Inferences will be drawn on the basis of all the procedure mentioned. Deducted approach will be used when analyzing the data. My research will comprise of five chapters.

1.6 Review of the existing Literature review:

Pakistan and United States relationship has always been bumpy and uneven throughout the history (Alavi, 1961). This history goes back to 1947 (creation of Pakistan) when the relationship between the two countries started and it has been a roller coaster from that period (Yamin, 2019). National interests, socio economic and political differences were there which hindered this relationship as well as diplomatic foreign policy changes but, geopolitical realities and strategic compulsions have always tended to bring these two countries together (Azmi,1983). Pakistan United States relationship has always comprised of various theme like military, aid, terrorism etc. and the relationship has always based on these contexts. However, United States changed behavior and changing of policies over all these years have always affected this strategic relationship based on their changing interests and it has always abandoned Pakistan whenever their security interest changes (Fair, 2011). In terms of aid, if we see the trends of aid, we see that the highest amount of aid given to Pakistan was in the era of dictatorship and not democracy and it was never for the strengthening of democracy and economy but for their own interest and aid never comes without any strings attached to it. (Ali, 2009). Aid given by United States to Pakistan was never a blessing, it was always a curse and we got indebted in that curse and were forced to do what United States and their interests were. The benefits of aid were temporary and badly failed to improve the economic conditions of Pakistan (Khan, 2007). Moreover, foreign aid has always been affected by the powerful interests of United States and the pressure groups over there because if you see the trend, foreign aid has always been doubled whenever United States

needed Pakistan like in the era of cold war (Khan, 2007). The significant increase we see in the aid from the past history clearly shows that for example, in the dictatorial regime of General Ayyub Khan when Pakistan and US were most ally with Soviet Union in the cold war then in the era of General Zia-Ul-Haqq when countering Soviet Union in Afghanistan and lastly in the era of General Pervez Musharraf to combat terrorism on war on terror in Afghanistan (Waheed, 2017). Aid has never been affected and never have been beneficial for the economy of Pakistan be it agriculture sector or industrial sector (Alavi, 1961).

Other than Aid, Pakistan and United States relationship is also explained through the lens of security and nuclear that how the relationship between two countries became fragile based on the insecurity and fearfulness of United States. There are multiple incidents in history where Pakistan needed United States Assistance but United States disapproved like in Indo-Pak war during 1965 and 1971, different sanctions imposed on Pakistan whenever Pakistan tried to prosper for example, during the era when Pakistan was building nuclear and America imposed Pressler amendment and similar sanctions of aid, sanctions of embargo etc. where United States became in secured of Pakistan possession of nuclear (Ahmed, 2000). United States never wanted Pakistan to become a nuclear power and it strongly opposed it. They were insecure of Pakistan being a nuclear power and they always feared this (Ahmed, 2000). In the Pakistani context, when Pakistan was formally allied to the USA in 1950's and was a major beneficiary of US economic aid and military assistance and hardware, Pakistan felt that it should have a nuclear weapon capability. Post US embargo in 1965, as the first differences developed in the relationship, Pakistan turned to China for conventional arms. By the late 1960s Pakistan showed an interest in acquiring a nuclear weapons capability by refusing to sign the NPT. In the 1970s, a dismembered Pakistan opted to match India's nuclear weapons capability, driven as much by considerations of

prestige and status as by security concerns. Having overlooked India's nuclear weapons program since the 1950s, the USA suddenly became aware of the dangers of South Asian nuclear proliferation after the 1974 Indian nuclear test, pressuring Pakistan to abandon its nuclear weapons program. In October 1990, the United States obstructed the delivery of dozens of new F-16 fighter jets to object Pakistan's then-undeclared nuclear weapons program; Pakistan's nuclear test of 1998 brought a fresh wave of sanctions from Washington (Bruno and Bajoria, 2008). Ultimately, Pakistan's nuclear choices and hence its security environment will be determined by internal and regional factors, including its defense decision making processes (Ahmed, 2000). Talking about decision making, the famous incident of Raymond Davis in which he was released because, of the pressure by United States. Also, much of the decisions of IMF (international monetary fund) are influenced by United States because of the 17 percent vote in IMF (International monetary fund) is by United States just like aid post 9/11 were doubled and tripled (Waheed, 2017). If we analyze this relationship, whenever Pakistan needed United States help to fund them and assist them in wars with India and Kashmir issue, United States did not bat an eye (Shaikh, 2002). Other than that, President Dwight Eisenhower famously called Pakistan America's most allied in Asia (Kronstadt, 2009). In an address, President Bush called Pakistan a major non-NATO ally (Kronstadt, 2009).

Pakistan and United States relationship has also been analyzed in terms of terrorism and war. United States and Pakistan's strategic relationship are of vital importance because of the security threat pose to United States because of terrorism (Lavoy, 2009). Pakistan over here was also consistent with its policy towards United States and helping them win the war on terrorism whether it be the era of dictatorship or democracy like in the regime of General Pervez Musharraf and President Zardari (Kronstadt, 2009). President Zardari while helping out in

terrorism called war on terror as “Pakistan’s war”. Similarly, General Kiyani vowed in his era to root out extremism from West Pakistan. Moreover, Alleviating Pakistan’s state failure has come to occupy a secondary position in US policy. After a few years of war on terror, when United States used Pakistan and had no longer interest in it, the focus of United States policies began to change and was heavily bent towards more immediate security concerns rather than being part of a broader rubric United States assistance to absolve Pakistan of the drivers that contribute towards the state failure. Misrepresentation of interests can be found in history at various places where United States has depicted in front of the world that they want to invest in Pakistan’s democracy and in Pakistan’s long-term peace and stability but the reality was different (Waheed, 2017). United States had least concern in Pakistan fragility and has contributed nothing towards economic growth of Pakistan. 64-million-dollar aid was given by United States for investing on poor children and education and hardly 2 dollars was spent on each child per year (Waheed, 2017). Many bills which was passed by United States in the name of providing assistance to poor people and civilians was rather used to fulfill the security concerns against terrorism (Waheed, 2017). Condoleezza rice introducing the transformational diplomacy declared that Pakistan is a failing and insecure state and it fails to protect its homeland and it needs our assistance. Cohen also says that “United States priority was to counter terrorism, insurgency. Never was it in the favor of Pakistan’s long terms stability.” In terms of military assistance and aircrafts commercial sale of refurbish American made F-16 fighters were also resumed after 3 years of ban and Pakistan had already paid 658 million dollars into the account of peace gate IV (Fair, 2011). After all these decades of sweating blood and helping United States in the war of terrorism President Donald Trump tweets on 1st Jan 2018 that Pakistan has given us nothing but lies and

deceit. Moreover, he blamed Pakistan openly for being the safe haven of terrorist they hunt in Afghanistan (Khan, 2018).

Afghanistan war started in October 2001, right after the attacks on 11th September 2001 in US. The war on terror which is also called as “global war on terrorism” started as a military campaign by US (Schmitt, 2005). The main target organization of the war were Tehrik-i-Taliban, Al-Qaeda, the Islamic state, The Taliban, and different other groups similar to this. “War on terrorism” term was used by United States president, George.W.Bush for the first time and later on it was also used in congress. President Barack Obama however, in May 2013 said that there will be no military involvement and intelligence agencies involvement against the cause rather they will strictly focus on the groups and organizations that tend to destroy United States (Shinkman, 2013). President Barack Obama declared a timetable calling for a complete U.S. removal by the end of 2016 with the help of Pakistan but failed to do so (Nelson, 2016). One thousand US soldiers were deployed instantly after the invasion and after that the number kept on increasing and became 50 thousand in 2008 in the regime of President Bush and then rose to 150 thousand deployed additionally by President Obama (Nelson, 2016). Even after a decade of fighting with the Taliban which is said to be the longest war America has ever fought and a strong military campaign United States policy failed and they were not successful in defeating the Taliban’s and restoring stability in the region (Indurthy,2011). Pakistan has remarkably played its role in backing US and contributing in the war on. Pakistan has solely been the helping hand in Afghan-US war over all these years. Without Pakistan there could not have been effective movement against soviet and organized military operations (Weinbaum, 1991). Pakistan has been an ally to US from the time of Soviet invasion against Afghanistan to defeating Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan (Yamin, 2019). Pakistan’s then President General Pervez

Musharraf in 2001 sided with United States government and in contribution to that gave access to three air bases for operating and defeating the Taliban's (Yamin, 2015). President Pervez Musharraf back then was pressurized and given a petition by then United States President Bush to fight this war on terrorism with them and at that time aid was double and tripled and President Musharraf otherwise knew that if he refuses then it will be a loss of Pakistan (Yamin, 2015). Following this war, Pakistan Army in 2004 started a campaign in the Federally Administered Tribal Area in the Waziristan region to kill the terrorist groups. 80 thousand troops were sent to fight. Drone attacks by the United States army continue to happen in the Pakistan's area to kill the Al-Qaeda and other terrorist groups. Other than that Pakistan opened border for the approximately 3.2million Afghanistan people to find refuge and relief aid in Pakistan and be a part of Pakistan's economy (Weinbaum, 1991). Still after all the tireless efforts of Pakistan helping United States in Afghan war Pakistan is being blamed for the extension of war over there (Weinbaum, 1991). Obama in his tenure also blamed Pakistan for providing safe heaven to Taliban's from their porous border and also learned that his military has a threat by Pakistan's nuclear (Woodward, 2011). Due to this mistrust between Pakistan and United States relationship President Donald Trump undergoes shift in the Afghanistan current strategy and said that Pakistan could not be trusted against terrorism and he also tweeted on 1st Jan 2018 that Pakistan has given us nothing but lies and deceit (Fair, 2018). He also blamed Pakistan openly for being the safe haven of terrorist they hunt in Afghanistan (Fair, 2018). After continuous efforts and struggle to defeat Taliban in Afghanistan, US finally came to accept in 2010 that to this war, political reconciliation is the best solution (Semple, 2019). Also United States current President Donald Trump ending the 18 years of conflict also said that the war is too costly (Posen, 2018). The peace talks between the Afghan Taliban and United States government started by the help of

Pakistan in the midst of 2018 in September. Pakistan had been acting as a bridge and a mediator between the peace talks to reach to a peaceful settlement. “Pakistan is actively supporting Afghan reconciliation process. In the last several months, Pakistan played a productive part in struggling to bring Taliban leaders to the negotiating table,” the Pentagon told the Congress. The engagement was the Broadest carried out by Special Representative Zalmay Khalilzad spanning over nine rounds in 2019. Those talks were initiated despite tremendous opposition; from within and outside whether if US should deal directly with the Afghan Taliban and the question of if Afghan Taliban can be trusted has emerged frequently (Ansar, 2019). The boost up diplomacy follows signals that President Trump is planning to remove seven thousand troops which is about half of the total US deployment (Dombrowski, 2018). Unfortunately, when there was a hope of peaceful settlement in Afghanistan, a Taliban attack in Kabul killed a US soldier and eleven others on 6th September 2019 and the peace talks distorted (Charles, 2019). However in 2019 Afghan Taliban and U.S have exchanged prisoners who were in years of captivity and Pakistan has helped to facilitate this exchange (Kathy, 2019). Pakistan exercises some inspiration over the Taliban and has played a behind-the-scenes role in trying to resume peace talks and Pakistan is ready to help jump start this process (Dobbins, 2015). Furthermore, recent visit of Trump to Afghanistan on Friday 29th November 2019 shows that in near future there can be some peaceful settlement as Trump said “The Taliban wants to make a peace deal, and we are meeting with them and we are saying it has to be a ceasefire, and now they want a ceasefire. I believe it will probably work out that way, “To be certain, there will not be a magical peaceful resolution by the removal of US forces from Afghanistan but, neither will keeping the US forces there. In fact, the presence of US military is what fuels Afghanistan’s violence because U.S. forces are a foreign occupation force that strains bitterness with the population—irrespective of our intents,

just as would happen if a foreign military was entrenched in America (Charles, 2019). Taliban also hinted that they want to end the violence and move towards a peaceful settlement (Dobbins, 2015). After 18 months of on and off going series of negotiations between the both parties and 20 years of war, finally both parties have signed an agreement in Doha on 29th February 2020 in which United States have finally agreed to withdraw American troops from Afghanistan within 14 months which was the main demand of the Taliban's that the only way to end the violence in Afghanistan is to withdraw foreign forces (Theguardian.com, 2020). The deal was signed by the peace emissary Zalmay Khalilzad and it was the first time US cabinet member had met member of insurgency. The deal laid the following conditions applying on both the parties. The demands by United States to the Taliban's are that they will cut off ties with AL-Qaeda and other terrorist organizations, they will make peace with the current government of Afghanistan which they have always denounced as a United States puppet government (Theguardian.com, 2020). The demands by Taliban's to the United States are that they will withdraw American troops from Afghanistan and if all goes well according to the commitment, they will cut their troops to 8,600 in the next 135 days and will also close five bases built over there. Hopefully United States will exit Afghanistan by spring, 2021 (Aljazeera.com, 2020). Now, when the deal is signed there are multiple dilemmas regarding the conditions set that whether both the part be able to fulfill the conditions or not. Regarding this, the deal should be gradual and steady like the United States troops withdrawal should be directly proportional to the Taliban's ending the violence in Afghanistan, also the United States should not interfere in any infrastructure problems and the peace talks between Afghan government and Taliban however, US can assist the process because it has a working relationship on both sides (Salah Uddin, 2020). Moreover, the prison exchange between the both parties should be transparent. External actors also have a great influence over

the peace talks. Discussing Pakistan's role in this, Pakistan should not be viewed as a destabilizing factor since Pakistan has been the bridge between both the parties and still it should facilitate the peace talks and continue to support the Afghan deal by having influence over the Taliban's and it should continue to maintain a friendly relationship with the Afghan government (Salah Uddin, 2020). Pakistan should also encourage the bilateral trade with Afghanistan by keeping the international gateways open (Torkham and Chaman). This will turn out to be good for Pakistan in future as Pakistan needs energy from central Asia which is helpful for economic growth and sustainability. Eventually, when the Afghanistan peace process will lead on and this war will end, Pakistan and United States relationship will take a new direction. Pakistan should be more diversified and should not only focus on the Afghanistan war in order to have a successful relationship with United States.

1.7 Overview of thesis and organization of research:

The research is divided into five chapters. **Chapter One (Introduction)** opens up with explaining the background of the problem by underlining the facts and figures of the current situation. Furthermore, the chapter states the significant objectives and brief literature review of the problem. **Chapter two** which is "Pakistan-United States defense collaboration" talks about the two countries collaboration during the Cold war, War on terror and situation in Afghanistan which includes the era of mujahedeen, Taliban opposition and peace talk's current scenario. The chapter dives into the depth that how Pakistan has been involved and its participation in this process of war and peace for decade and has helped United States in this War on terror. **Chapter three** which is "Pakistan-United States Aid" which elaborates the Aid coming from United States till 2018 discussing about the bad and good outcomes and in what ways Aid has effected

Pakistan. Last chapter, **Chapter four** “Future relations of Pak-US relations” is a very important chapter that discusses future relationship of both countries with respect to Pakistan’s relationship with China, India, Iran and Afghanistan that how Pakistan’s relationship with all the mentioned countries will effect Pakistan’s relationship with United States in the future. **Chapter five** articulates that how a non-security based relation can be developed between Pak and US and what are the opportunities through which both countries can derive mutual benefit. It will further include the findings of the research and the conclusions which are drawn from it.

CHAPTER TWO: PAKISTAN-UNITED STATES DEFENSE COLLABORATION

This chapter focusses on the defense relationship between Pakistan and United States during phases of their relationship such as the Cold War, Soviet Afghan War, and the US-Afghan War. Pakistan is also facilitating the ongoing peace talks between the US and the Taliban. This chapter further delves into the observation and analysis of Pak-US relations in context of their mutual interests and conflict of interest that caused the lack of trust between both the countries.

2.1 Pak-US Defense Collaboration during the Cold War:

The military relationship between Pakistan and United States began early. Pakistan became “America’s most allied ally in Asia” in its strategy to contain communism during the Cold War (Khan, 1964). Pakistan joined the Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement in May, 1954. Pakistan also became member of the US led South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) in 1955. Pakistan also became a participant of the US sponsored Baghdad pact (CENTO) in 1955. These

early military alliances laid the foundation of Pakistan-United States mutual relationship (Afroz, 1994). This also changed the nature of US-Aid given to Pakistan from 1954 and onwards in the form of military and economic assistance. I will dwell more on the contours of the US aid to Pakistan in the next chapter.

Pakistan at the time of independence was in dire need to build economy, infrastructure and alliance and a credible military force because the country lacked these essential elements of a sovereign state. Friendship with the United States provided an opportunity to Pakistan to improve its military capacity. It served the United States interests in South and South East Asia to contain communism in the region (McMahan, 1994). United States' first choice was India but since it had gravitated towards the Soviet Union and the Non- Aligned Movement (NAM), the next best option was Pakistan. Its geostrategic location and willingness to become part of the US containment policy was an added advantage (Haqqani, 2013). It was a win-win situation for both. The military alliances were the overarching feature of Pak US relationship during the Cold war era (1947-1991). It was a mutually beneficial situation for both countries. Pakistan could build its defenses against India and United States wanted to enhance its influence in the area. In exchange for the military hardware, Pakistan provided United States an electronic eavesdropping station in Badaber, Peshawar to monitor Soviet and Chinese signal traffic (Hussain, 2012). The Badaber listening post became vital for CIA (Central intelligence Agency) operations. General Ayyub Khan also allowed the CIA to fly high-altitude spy mission over from the Peshawar Air base. Some missions were also flown from East Pakistan. The shooting down of a U2 aircraft over Soviet territory in 1960 became a major diplomatic scandal. The pilot Francis Gary Powers was caught alive and presented to the media. Premier Khrushchev threatened to strike Peshawar with missiles, if further flights were allowed. (Hussain, 2012). Pakistan ran an immense risk by

annoying the USSR. It was felt that the US did not respond in equal measure to satisfy Pakistan's security concerns. United States wanted Pakistan's services but wanted to keep India happy as well. Besides, India had its own value in countering China. Despite a growing sense of suspicion and mistrust, Pakistan and United States continued to forge a common path.

2.2 Soviet-Afghan War:

The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan to save its beleaguered communist allies on 25 December 1979. It soon became embroiled in a non-productive war with local armed groups, collectively known as the Mujahedeen. The Afghan resistance not only fought the Soviet forces of occupation but also the communist government in Kabul. The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan lasted ten years. The Soviet forces withdrew in February 1989.

Pakistan collaborated with the United States in defeating the Soviets forces in Afghanistan. This triggered the failure of the Soviet Union. US reviewed its policy towards Pakistan and collaborate with Pakistan to fight the Soviets in Afghanistan (Sunawar, 2015). Pakistan had repeatedly warned the United States about the increasing Soviet Union activities in Afghanistan but this advice was ignored until it became quite clear that the Soviets were aiming to reach the warm waters of the Arabia Sea. The United States only became aware of the Soviet intentions after the Russian soldiers and tanks had entered in the Afghan territory (Coutto, 2015).

Pakistan took no time in supporting the Mujahedeen to fight in the Soviet War. General Zia did not wait for international help and declared his support for those waging war against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan (Sial, 2013). President Zia's strategy to stop the Soviet forces towards the warm waters of Arabia Sea by supporting local resistance paid off. He received help not only from the US but also sympathetic gulf regimes. Once US started supporting the Afghan cause,

Pakistan also benefited because it was provided extensive military and economic aid (Sayeed, 1980). Pakistan with the help of CIA trained and equipped the Mujahedeen training camps established in the tribal areas of Pakistan. The weapons and equipment to the Afghan Mujahedeen was not only provided by the United States but also by the other countries like Britain, China and Egypt (Rana & Sial, 2013). Launching pads were provided in tribal areas in North Western Pakistan.

The fighters were not only Afghan Pushtoons but also motivated young Arabs, Central Asians, and Africans. Pakistan's military was fully involved in training these young men from all across the world. It goes without saying that without Pakistan's effort and involvement success would not have been guaranteed against the Soviets (Weinbaum, 1991). The cost of the jihad was also borne in large measure by the government of Saudi Arabia (Ostermann, 2003). In this free for all to support the Mujahedeen, many religious, welfare and charity organizations also jumped in. Many of these organizations were established by the Arabs in Quetta, Karachi, Islamabad and Peshawar (Rana et al, 2010). Pakistan acted as the middlemen between the Mujahedeen and United States in supplying aid and arms against the Soviet invasion. Pakistani leadership was very clear from the start that they had to defeat the Soviets at all cost from entering their territory. That's why Gen Zia rejected 500 million dollars offered by President Carter's office as 'peanuts' (Devries, 1981).

Pakistan began to engage with the Afghan resistance groups in an organized manner. As a first step, they invited Mujahedeen group to discuss the plans and strategies of the war. The Mujahedeen accepted the invitation and came to Peshawar to discuss the plans of the war. As part of the joint planning, Pakistan provided them bases for planning and training. One Afghan leader who particularly benefited from Pakistani support was Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, who would

become the head of Hizb-e-Islami (Pentz, 1988). Pakistan was also very clear that they would retain the operational controls over the supplies and money given to the Mujahedeen. The Soviets knew about the nature of Pakistani involvement and did not hesitate in indulging in artillery shelling and sending in aircraft in hot pursuit.

In this war, almost 90,000 Mujahedeen, one million civilians, 14,500 Soviet soldiers and 18,000 Afghan troops were killed (Taylor, 2014). Between 20 to 25 percent Afghan population before war became refugees (Collins, 1984). Pakistan received 3.2 million Afghan refugees came to Pakistan (Weinbaum, 1991). Pakistan proved to be a generous host despite a threats to its security and economic system. Problems like drug trafficking, disturbing the ecological system and societal conflicts were a natural consequence of this unchecked migration. (Hilali, 2010).

During the Soviet invasion, India openly sided with the Soviet Union. It even sent its team to attend the Moscow Olympics in 1984 that was boycotted by several other countries.

In 15th May 1988 peace negotiations labelled as proximity talks began. UN Secretary-General Javier P'eres de Cu'ellar participated in the proximity talks along with UN Undersecretary-General Diego Cordovez and Afghan Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil and Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Zain Noorani for Pakistan (McGregor, 1988). Different solutions were proposed for the future of Afghanistan. The talks concluded on 15th February 1989 (Cuellar, 1997). The Soviets demanded an interim government under Najibullah. United States wanted symmetrical cut off in aid and supplies to the government forces and those fighting against them before the withdrawal took place. At that time, President General Zia, and Prime Minister Junejo had difference of opinions about the Afghan peace. Junejo appointed Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Zain Noorani, as principal interlocutor during the peace talks. Junejo wanted to resolve the matter as quickly as possible because it was becoming a drain on the national economy (Aziz,

2016). General Zia wanted a more well thought out and long term settlement and warned Zain Noorani not to agree to on any Afghan policy except the one made by him and further warned him (Aziz, 2016). But Noorani followed Junejo's advice.

After the rejection of their demands Soviets proposed to decrease the time span of their withdrawal from one year to ten months. The Soviet Afghan war came to an end as a result of the Geneva accord, where both parties i.e. Pakistan and Afghanistan agreed with United States and the Soviet Union as guarantors that there will be no more involvement in each other's affair and both sides will normalize everything and build a peaceful environment. Under the Geneva accord the Soviet forces left Afghanistan in 1989.

The rushed settlement created problems for Pakistan. After the Soviet withdrawal, the country remained in a turmoil till 1995, when the Taliban took over. The instability in Afghanistan had the regional and international implications (Khan, 2014). Drastic changes in Afghanistan produced dangerous aftereffect, with long term implications.

Pakistan and the US collaborated in the removal of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan. Their reasons were different, but interests were the same. Pakistan worried that the Soviet Union and India together it in a nutcracker situation. It had no option but to support the Mujahedeen. The US wanted to take defeat the Soviet Union and do a Vietnam on them in Afghanistan. Together they were able to achieve that aim.

2.3 Civil War:

After the Soviet withdrawal, a civil war started in Afghanistan on 15th February 1989. Initially the Mujahedeen joined forces to remove Najibullah and after they had done that, they started fighting among themselves for the spoils. The Mujahedeen groups still had some support from

their former patrons, while Najibullah was supported by the Soviet Union, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan. On 26th September 1996, Najibullah took refuge in the UN compound in Kabul, The Taliban abducted him from the UN custody and tortured him to death and then dragged his body behind a truck in the streets of Kabul (Robert, 2013).

The infighting among the Mujahedeen groups became so bad that a new group called the Taliban entered the fray. The Taliban or students studying in madrasahs were Pushtoons from Kandahar. Under their religious leader Mullah Omar, they were able to defeat or win over groups representing various ethnicities and bring Afghanistan under their control. By September 1996 they were able to establish a government in Kabul declaring it to be the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan.

At the time of Soviet Afghan war, many religious groups, and organization joined hands to fight the Soviets. A Peshawar seven alliance formed under the seven strong religious groups battled with the puppet government of Afghanistan under the regime of Najibullah. Sibghatullah Mojaddedi's Jebh-e-Nijat-e-Milli (Afghanistan National Liberation Front) and Muhammad Nabi Muhammad's Harkat-e-Inqilab-e-Islami, Burhanuddin Rabbani's Jamiat-e-Islami, Gulbadin Hekmatyar's Hizb-e-Islami, Professor Abdul Rabb Rasool Sayyaf's Ittehad-e-Islami, Maulvi Younus Khalis's Hizb-e-Islami-Khalis, Syed Ahmed Gillani's Mahaz-e-Milli Islami (National Islamic Front of Afghanistan) were the seven parties that made an alliance under Peshawar seven (Sial, 2013). The Mujahedeen were not very happy with the current government. Pakistan did its best to help the former Mujahedeen, but peace proved to be elusive. Tensions became apparent along ethnic lines. Uzbek militia chieftain Dostum and Tajik commander Ahmad Shah Massoud, the Non Pashtuns fought with the Pashtun. They attacked the north and south Kabul until the Afghan Marxist regime fell and Najibullah sought refuge in the UN compound. (Katz, 2011).

After Najibullah's removal, the Afghans of all ethnicities and persuasion fought to gain control of Kabul. As a prelude to permanent peace a rotating presidency was created. The first president of the Islamic State of Afghanistan was Sibghatullah but he resigned after two months, after he was challenged by newly established leadership of Burhanuddin Rabbani. This incident was the main reason of the outbreak of the civil war between the different groups of Afghan mujahedeen which were under the control of Burhanuddin Rabbani and alliance of Dostum and Massoud (Sial, 2003).

2.4 The Taliban:

The various fighting groups did not rest in peace. Each group had its own interests of power and ideologies and they fought with relish. In 1994, there were five power centers in Afghan in which two of the powers were rivals and other three were neutral. One coalition group was of Burhanuddin Rabbani, who was the head of Jamat-e-Islami. He was in partnership with Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, who was the head of Ittihad-e-Islami then Ahmed Shah Massoud who had the military forces in Kabul and lastly Ismail Khan who was the head of Herat region of the country. The other group was of Engineer Gulbuddin Hekmatyar who was the head of Hizb-e-Islami supported by Abdul Rashid Dostum who headed National Islamic Movement then Ali Mazzari who was the leader of Hezb-Wahdat and lastly, Sibghatullah Mojaddedi who was the leader of Jabh-e-Nijate-e-Milli. After Najibullah's regime ended, Dostum and Ahmed Shah Massoud made alliance and governed the city of Kabul but after some time. Their relations began to worsen and their alliances ended. Dostum who had the largest army in northern side of Afghanistan at that time joined Hekmatyar's side in 1994 (Khalilzad, 1995). In order to understand the rise of Taliban and the after effects of their rise, it is important to understand the underlying reasons behind this. Both Hekmatyar and Ahmed Shah Massoud were allies of

Pakistan and were staying in Pakistan in during Soviet Afghan War. Post-Soviet withdrawal, Ahmed Shah Massoud disbelieved Pakistan and allied with chief militia Dostum. On the other hand, Hekmatyar remained ally with Pakistan to take over Kabul city. Hekmatyar had full financial, military and support of Pakistani Inter-services-intelligence (ISI) with him. When Massoud learnt Hekmatyar's plan to takeover Kabul. He outsmarted his plan and with politics and other tactics he was able to takeover Kabul's city in alliance with Dostum. He succeeded in inserting his forces in Kabul interim as a defense minister transitional authority in Peshawar. Hekmatyar was prevented to intrude in Kabul's government in the result of which Hekmatyar attacked Kabul many times with ground attacks and rocket launchers in which on rocket launcher was given to him by ISI (Lafraei, 2012). The ISI relationship with Hekmatyar and Ahmed Shah Massoud was the main reason of the imposed civil war and rise of Taliban. When ISI lost faith in Hekmatyar and found the hard way of Hekmatyar's inability to takeover Kabul, they carved a new plan which was Taliban.

General Naseerullah Babar, the then Pakistani interior minister is said to be the "Godfather of Taliban" (Maley, 2009). He played a significant role in supporting the Taliban to takeover Kabul. Taliban emerged as a group of Sunni Pushtoons alongside with mujahedeen that came from the refugees camps of Pakistan. Kandahar was the areas where movement of Taliban was originated. The main headquarter of Taliban was also there under the leader Osama bin Laden. Their goal was to bring stability and peace in Afghanistan, enforce sharia law, defend Islam in the country and disarm the population (Afsar, Samples and wood, 2008). This was a whole process of recruiting and training the Taliban which was all done and supported by Pakistan's Army under the academy teacher Mullah Omer. Students were recruited from different madrassas and were trained in North frontier region of Pakistan as well as a donation of huge

fund was given by Osama bin Laden in this process and lastly Haqqani took responsibility on teaching the new students from Pakistan on quick immediate basis (Afsar, Samples and wood, 2008). In November 1994, Taliban seized the Kandahar area completely, expanded their bases and gained additional followers under the umbrella of Mullah Omer who claimed that himself as the leader of faithful, who walked the path prescribed told by the holy Prophet Hazrat Muhammad (S.A.W) (Spear, 2014). In February 1995, Taliban was able to have full control over the vigorous arsenal left behind by Hekmatyar's Hezb-e-Islami when Taliban forced them to flee towards 25 kilometers south of Kabul in Charasyab (Afsar, Samples and wood, 2008). By 1996, the Taliban had a full control over the city of Kabul when they forced the non-Pushtoon Rabbani's government to bolt Kabul and by 1997 they finally got a hold of almost 95 percent of the country (Ebert, 2009). Now, approximately all the country was under control only anti-Taliban coalition was left behind also known as Northern Alliance. It comprised of non-Pushtoons including Hazaras, Uzbeks and Tajiks supported by Iran, Russia and Central Asian States (Spear, 2014). It was entirely because of Pakistan's support that the Taliban were able to overcome all the opposition powers and eradicating them from the southern part of Afghanistan (Rubin, 2000).

Three nations recognized the Taliban government as legitimate rulers of Afghanistan including Pakistan. The other three were United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia (Rashid, 1999). For once Pakistan found a friendly government in Kabul and supported it whole heartedly (Rashid, 1999).

After acquiring power and hold on the region, Taliban found it expedient to forge an alliance with Osama bin Laden, the Arab financier of the Afghan jihad and the creator of the Al-Qaeda. Osama bin Laden had fought during the Soviets but was opposed to the American presence in Saudi Arabia (Rashid, 2008). Al-Qaeda as we know was found to be involved in the 9/11 attacks

against the US. Al Qaeda trained about 30,000 militants all over the world in Afghanistan during 1996-2001 (Rashid, 2008).

11th September 2001, was the turning point of the relationship between Pakistan and Taliban this was the time when Pakistan realized that it could no longer support the Taliban. Its own safety and security was at stake. (Ayoob, 2005).

Many blame the United States for forsaking Afghanistan and leaving it at the mercy of Afghan groups fighting to claim the throne in Kabul. This allowed for the emergence of the Taliban and their collusion with the Al-Qaeda (Johns, 2008). If United States had stayed for some years after the Soviet withdrawal in Afghanistan to rebuild everything then, this incident would not have been happened especially when United States completely neglected the post-Soviet occupation in Afghanistan under the Clinton administration (Johns, 2008).

After 9/11 President George Bush put the world on notice. In statement in a joint session of Congress. He demanded that “Every Nation, in every region now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists (Rahman, 2003). He demanded that Taliban handover Osama bin Laden to the United States Authority and clear Afghanistan of Al Qaeda. These demands were instantly rejected by Taliban which created an immense pressure on Pakistan by the United States. Pakistan had little influence on the Taliban and their entreaties failed to produce any result (Sohrab, 2012). At this stage the United States decided to wage a war against the Taliban calling it “war on terror”.

President General Pervez Musharraf was given the choice if he was with the US or against. He had no option because in case he decided not to join the US, his country was to be bombed into the stone-age (Yamin, 2016). It decided for the safest option and renounced its ties with the

Taliban. (Ayoob, 2005). There other factors because of which General Pervez Musharraf agreed to support the United States in this war was firstly the India factor. Pakistan got fearful of the Indian influence in Afghanistan and they thought that if it did not support United States in this time then India might take advantage of the situation. Secondly, Pakistan was slowly being isolated because of the reputation they made in the support of Taliban so, Musharraf wanted to support the United States and break the isolation and tell the world that they don't support terrorism. Thirdly, Pakistan's defense and security system was at stake as they were now surrounded by the enemies (India and Afghanistan) and Pakistan knew that a great challenge is coming for them ahead as most of the Taliban were operating from Pakistan and they had access to the Pakistani border and inside (Ayoob, 2005).

This was a great opportunity for Pakistan to form alliance with the US and get rid of the tag of being a state supporting terrorism. Pakistan received military and economic assistance from US in the promise of reforms and revised Afghan policy (Haqqani, 2004). Initially with the starter, United States gave 600 million dollar financial aid to Pakistan and later on when General Pervez Musharraf visit in 2003, he made United States agreed on 3 billion aid package of five years which started in 2005 which was given to civil and military factors (Salim, 2018). United States policy towards Pakistan after 2002 changed very rapidly in good ways. United States realized that Pakistan is a true ally of United States and how badly they need Pakistan in combating this war (Siddiqi, 2012). Pakistan's main demands from United States were to support them economically and financially, to support them in nuclear capability, to help them solve the Kashmir dispute and help strengthen the security system against India (Siddiqi, 2012). United States on the other hand demanded Pakistan to stop supporting the Taliban and Al-Qaeda in the region, to stop every kind of assistance to them (aid, weapons etc.) and to cut off all kinds of

diplomatic ties with the Taliban (Harrison, 2009). Pakistan proved to be the most reliable ally of United States in the war against the Taliban and Al-Qaeda. Its intelligence operatives provided useful clues in capturing very high profile targets including possibly Osama bin Laden. Pakistan Army was sent into Swat and Waziristan to destroy Taliban bases and flush out the remnants. It lost tens and thousands of lives in these operations. (Siddiqi, 2012).

International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) was established in 2001 right after the Bonn agreement in 2001 in which it was agreed that there should be a special force designed by the United Nations Security Council to help the newly formed Afghan transitional Authority under the control of Hamid Karzai in rebuilding the government and country (Beljan, 2013). The main goal of this force was to establish peace process in Afghanistan and to train the Afghan military forces. ISAF expanded in the whole region till August 2003 with the help of NATO and Pakistan's military (Beljan, 2013). United States also wanted Pakistan to launch air attacks on the headquarters of Al-Qaeda and Taliban in Afghanistan and demanded Pakistan to give them access to the air bases which Pakistan did (Sohrab, 2012).

During all these years United States policy towards "War on terrorism" was continuously changing. After years of continuous struggle in combating the Taliban and Al-Qaeda, Pakistan was blamed by the United States for not doing enough. The repeated warnings from the highest levels caused anger and discomfiture in the country (Iqbal, 2010). Pakistan suffered more than anyone in this war and was constantly pressurized by the United States to do more. United States demands were incessant and forced Pakistan to launch search operation and checking of every tribal area from the inside to find out the hidden places of Taliban which was highly against the tradition of Pakistan army to search the inside areas of tribe and it was very difficult for law enforcement agencies also to fulfill this demand of United States (Rana, Gunaratna, 2007).

Moreover, United States always demanded more and more soldiers from Pakistan's Army in the war and border protection but in reality they were short of armies to fight in the war and control the situation (Rana, Gunaratna, 2007). Pak-Afghan border was also very porous that it was very difficult for Pakistan Army to monitor all movement, as the Taliban and Al-Qaeda members keep on coming from Afghanistan to Pakistan to create internal security problems.

There were continuous mood swings from the United States but, Pakistan's knowledge about the Taliban and Al-Qaeda and their geostrategic location was a hope for United States which kept them going. United States knew that without the help of Pakistan and they will never be capable to catch Al-Qaeda and the Taliban and demolish their bases where they hide (Iqbal, 2010).

President George Bush in his tenure was very adamant to eradicate all the terrorist from Afghanistan with the help of the help of military forces. He sent 4,500 extra US troops to Afghanistan which was in a move he called as "quiet surge" soon after there was a suicide bomb attack on Indian embassy in Kabul (www.bbc.com, 2019). By 2009 the number of US troops rose to extra 17,000. When President Barrack Obama came to power in 2009 his views and policy towards Afghanistan war were totally opposite of the Bush administration. His new strategy was mainly focused on reconstructing Afghanistan, training the Afghan forces enough to control the area and target the terrorist headquarters with the help of Pakistan. His focus was not on addition of military forces and deploying thousands of soldiers in the area unlike Bush (Sohrab, 2012). He also focused on building friendly relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan which were torn out because of a terrorist attacks on both side (Sohrab, 2012). This new strategy of Obama's administration strengthen the relationship between Pakistan and United States but this relationship also got bitter ahead when CIA launched drone attack in Pakistan to target the Taliban areas and headquarters which was highly against the sovereignty of Pakistan. United

States violated the law and went against the sovereignty of Pakistan despite of their commitment that they will not (Mazetti and Schmitt, 2010). Though they were successful in clearing many areas of Taliban including the Haqqani network but there were also a lot of innocent casualties in Pakistan (McCrisken, 2013). Among the Taliban, the Haqqani were found to be the most resilient opponent of the government in Kabul, after the Taliban were removed from power.

If we analyze the past timetable of the civil war and the relationship between Pakistan and United States, we see that there was no betterment regarding bring peace to the region and solution to the war. The situations got worsen and worsen day by day because of the difference of interests and military involvement from both sides (Taliban, Al-Qaeda and Pakistan, United States). The only solution to end this longest war was dialogue and negotiations from the start which was proposed by the Obama's Administration in his "exist strategy" that it's time they start pulling out force from Afghanistan and solve the war by negotiations and peace talks.

2.5 Peace talks:

The US war in Afghanistan has been its longest overseas war. It has created serious problems for Afghanistan, Pakistan and the United States. The US understands that peace talks are only possible with the involvement of Pakistan. For long Pakistan has tried to convince United States that military strategy is not alone the solution of the war but United States did not bat an eye. It was under president Barrack Obama's administration in 2010, United States finally started to believe that this war can only be solved by political reconciliation (Laub, 2014). President Obama agreed to withdraw its forces gradually from the region. (Laub, 2014). Karzai government was worried about this development because they could not fend for themselves. Afghans tried to solve their problems through a parliamentary Jirga (Huma Iqbal). In the lower (grand) Jirga held in 2010, 1600 people gathered to discuss a peace agreement with the Taliban

be carried out in future. Karzai proposed jobs, money incentives and removal of their names from the blacklist of UN and US for travelling and other propositions. Taliban demand was straightforward, they wanted the US troops from Afghanistan. (Giustozzi, 2010). The Taliban thought that the Jirga of the Afghan elite under the Americans was not such a great idea.

United States realized that without the help of Pakistan they will never be able to withdraw from Afghanistan. Pakistan acted as a broker making a peace deal with the Karzai government and Taliban. From 2010 and onwards there were number of peace talks between the US and Taliban which always failed due to political reasons and resistance from the other side and also there were numbers of deals between Pakistan and Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) too but they also failed. As the time passes, mistrust began to arise between the countries and United States blamed Pakistan for the extension war in Pakistan and was also blamed for providing safe haven to the terrorists (Fair, 2014).

In 2018, the Trump administration appointed special diplomat Zalmay Khalilzad to facilitate the Afghanistan reconciliation process. Peace dialogues between the US official and the Taliban took place from September 2018 till March 2019. There were five rounds of the dialogue which took place in Doha, Qatar in which the main points under discussion were US troop's withdrawal from Afghanistan, counterterrorism, Intra-Afghan dialogue and ceasefire (Behuria, 2019). The dialogue ended on a positive note and after that Zalmay Khalilzad also tweeted that the two parties were successful making dialogue but there were no final results. After that the two parties became direct in peace deal there were also a lot of suspicions about whether Taliban should be trusted or not. In all these diplomacy, President Donald Trump also announced that he will withdraw seven thousand troops out of Afghanistan which is half of US deployment in Afghanistan (Behuria, 2019). As things were going smooth the peace talks collapsed after

Taliban attacked Kabul on 6th September 2019 and killed a US soldier. This incident brought anger and rage in the US government and President Donald Trump told the reporters terminating the talks with Afghanistan that they are dead as far as I am concerned (Iqbal, 2019).

This was the time when Pakistan again tried to push-start the process as a result of which there was a prisoner exchange between Afghan Taliban and United States government who were held captive for years. Donald Trump thanked Pakistan's Prime Minister Imran Khan on facilitating the prisoner exchange between them (www.dawn.com, 2019). Other than that Pakistan influenced the Taliban again to start the peace process and end this war (Dobbins, 2015). There were also suspicions about President Donald Trump too that whether he actually wants to end the war and whether he actually wants to withdraw the troops from Afghanistan or he is just playing games (Iqbal, 2019). These incidents further led to Donald Trump's 'surprise visit to Afghanistan in November 2019 on thanksgiving in which he addressed and said that if the Taliban are willing to ceasefire and end this war then we should not have any issue and we are willing to accept their proposition of ceasefire (www.bbc.com, 2019). However, there was no response from the Taliban at that time to the visit of Trump.

Finally, on 29th February 2020 in Doha there was a peace agreement between the Taliban and the US official to end the longest war in which United States agreed to leave Afghanistan within 14 months (Aljazeera.com, 2020). It was signed in the presence of Foreign minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi. United States agreed to withdraw 8,600 troops from Afghanistan within 135 days of the agreement. Other than that the Taliban approved to cut off all the links with Al-Qaeda and other terrorist organizations, there will be peace between the Afghan government and them and finally there will be no more violence and killing in Afghanistan (Aljazeera.com, 2020). The peace agreement was signed by the peace envoy Zalmay Khalilzad and finally both the parties reached

a settlement after decades of fighting. This all would not have been possible if Pakistan would not have facilitated the talks and agreed to form alliance with United States in fighting this war on terror. One must study this intra-Afghan dialogue from three distinct angles , only having understood their actual stance can one arrive at some decisions on the outcome of the talks. These three are: what the US is looking for, what the Afghan government wants and finally what the Taliban will get. Peace is not the objective of all three (Brig Sulttan mehmud).Hence the major reason for talks is eliminated before it has begun. From the list provide by Ghani it can be seen that it is filled by an overwhelming anti-Taliban, anti peace group that will never allow any change to their current status nor give meaningful concessions to move forward. The Kabul list is made up of proxies. The Taliban will not concede on two major issues, not accept democracy and be denied the major share of Kabul if not the whole. Release of prisoners or no release makes no difference to them, they think they have sufficient manpower for the long haul. They have a complete plan to take over to my mind. Afghan government and group have delayed the talks hoping Trump will change his mind after the elections. The US will continue to push for talks despite Khalilzad tactics and double game. The US to me is not interested in what direction the talks will head to, it can take time as long as they secure, whether non essentials and reinforce through mercenaries i.e. Blackwater etc. to fill in the vacuum. Hekmatyar's recent statement is what I sensed some time ago. India will create a favorable fallback position in the North for the Punjshiri's. In the final assessment to me, unless both the Taliban and Kabul are not pushed, coerced, threatened by outside powers, this is an exercise in futility. The military stance is with the Taliban, internal tribal politics is with the Taliban as well as I see no major local uprisings against them anywhere in the country, then the question is why they would lose everything on the table.

2.6 Current scenario of the peace talks:

The aftermath of the peace agreement has been rocky. The first agreement was of American troops withdrawal from Afghanistan of which 8,600 troops have been successfully withdraw over a month. There has been also different point of views regarding the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan. In an interview with Ms. Amina Khan, Director Centre of Middle East & Africa (CMEA), is of the view that the Americans will reduce their troops but will never completely withdraw. On the contrary, Sherbaz Khetran, research fellow at ISSI believes that President Donald trump wants to withdraw all US forces from Afghanistan. There exit from the battlefield is nothing short of defeat. Looking at US wars, historically they have humiliatingly vacated the field in Vietnam, Somalia, Iraq and now Afghanistan. After the Genève Accord the US unabashedly left the Zone and all the problems to Pakistan. They will do the same now. What will they leave behind is the question. It appears similar to the 1992 period, the most horrific in Kabul. It gave rise to sectarian intolerance, ethnic brutality and warlords. Ashraf Ghani will find sponsors like India to continue, the Taliban will find excuses to kill. Whichever way one looks at the picture, the US wants turmoil to remain. Their weak admonishment to Kabul for delaying the contours of the peace talks was the signal that meant go ahead, go slow. The TPP / BLA/ PTM factors are alive and well in Afghanistan and is / will be used against us in the future.

Afghanistan's successes have always been when a strong ruler governs, Abdali, Abdul Rahman, Nadir Shah, Daud, Taliban years. Taliban will not rest till Kabul is not taken or that the majority rule is not theirs. Ghani is now in the same situation as Najibullah was, no option but to stay.

India will shake the Taliban hand but I do not foresee any earth breaking future. Khalilzad is the real serpent in the whole game. It was his idea to leave a wrench in the works by suggesting and enforcing India to be part of the Peace effort. This allows them to retain leverage at Kabul as

well as a threat to Pakistan. What Islamabad needs to do is worry about PTM and the Baluch non state players. China, Russia are not against us, Iran cannot be trusted. The more we encourage China to fill the vacuum in Afghanistan it will improve our status. The Taliban are more savvy, shifty, bloated and in the future unreliable. We must however continue to reach out to them. The Covid 19 scare is temporary. To deal with the PTM one must look at three possibilities, divide them, compromise them or isolate them. It is too late for winning them over .Ask not, explain not, Islamabad has all the right to move against secessionists. We must prepare strong Pashtun teams to counter the PTM politically .The NDS and Amrullah Saleh are working overtime on them and the TPP. Daish has lost its flavor with whoever created them, in Afghanistan.

A civil war is looming in Afghanistan, NATO and the US are not unduly worried. They want out at any cost, Afghans are not letting them, and their equipment what is left will be used by the victor, reminiscent of the Soviet withdrawal. It would be an irony if American tanks cross the same Amu Darya for ‘moth balling’ in Uzbekistan! As Moscow did! Repeat of History.

After eighteen years of war, US has spent 1.25 trillion dollars on war and bloodshed and all the baggage that war carries, the US and the Afghan Taliban finally signed a peace settlement on 29th February, 2020 amid hopes that the country returns towards normalcy. The deal itself revolves around four main issues: (a) temporary ceasefire, (b) withdrawal of foreign forces within a fourteen month period, (c) talks between the Afghan government and Taliban, and (d) assurances that the Taliban will not participate in or aid others in threatening the security of the US and its allies. In a perspective from Pakistan, Ambassador Riaz Mohammad Khan expressed his point of view that Taliban were an important and foremost part of political landscape of Afghanistan and without them there can be no peace. The recent attacks on 12th May, 2020 in Afghanistan by ISIS and Taliban on maternity ward of hospital in Kabul and attack on funeral in

Khost province can sabotage the peace deal. President Ashraf Ghani asked the security forces for action against the Taliban and ISIS. There are now more militant Islamist groups that control swathes of Afghanistan, including IS. Taliban vowed that they will not spare the Kabul govt. and they attacked the military base in Gardez killing five civilians. When a news reporter asked President Trump about the attack on hospital in Kabul, he was like that US cannot play the role of police in Afghanistan. They must build their capacity to fight with militants. The statement manifests that US has no more concern and wants to leave the Afghanistan. A major sticking point and stumbling block in the way of a peace deal has been the Taliban's refusal to engage with Afghan govt. which they regard as a puppet government of the US. After the signing of the agreement, this narrative holds no substance since the group has not only engaged with the puppet master but in fact has signed an agreement with them. Taliban's rationale for refusing to engage with President Ghani is problematic. Inclusive intra-Afghan dialogue and reconciliation is the need of the hour, particularly in the current situation, where there is political uncertainty due to the election results. President Ghani and Dr. Abdullah Abdullah simultaneously declared victory in September 2019. This development, without a doubt has further put Afghanistan's future in serious doubt.

Afghanistan's dilemma is that it is internally divisive. This stems from the lack of national and political unity. One only hopes that the political turmoil does not manifest itself in bloodshed. While the international community has stated that it is now time for Afghans to take ownership of their internal affairs, this is a recipe for disaster. For the past three decades or so, Afghanistan has suffered from internal divisions, be they political or ethnic. At this stage it would be highly irresponsible for the international community to leave it to the Afghans to solve a crisis that has been unresolved during 18-year war.

Conclusion:

Pakistan has always been the key to success in United States war whether it be Cold war, War on terror and peace talks between the Taliban. Without Pakistan's military collaboration United States would never been successful in the countering the terrorism and destroying Taliban's safe havens. However, United States history of only catering their interests and leaving all behind when their interests has been full filled has always effected Pakistan negatively and put Pakistan in doubts. Despite the tireless military participation in the US wars and assisting them in every way possible, Pakistan has always been blamed for not doing enough and threatened to stop the aid e.g. The Afghanistan war. However, it's time that United States should realize that without Pakistan's help they would never be able to solve the matter of Afghanistan and withdraw their troops.

CHAPTER THREE: UNITED STATES AID TO PAKISTAN

In the previous chapter "Pakistan-US defense collaboration", Pak-US alliance was analyzed in different war scenarios. In this chapter we will look at the Pak-US relations from a lens of aid given to Pakistan by United States and how it influenced their relations in various situations.

3.1 Trends in Aid:

Before discussing the trends in US Aid, we need to first understand the types of aid given to Pakistan by the US. There were two broad categories of aid **Military** and **Economic Aid**.

Military aid was included all the type of assistance needed like arms, weapons, logistic support etc. The economic aid covered the needs of education, agriculture, industrial sectors etc. Several

trends has been observed in aid pattern. In some situations, the aid was doubled and tripled and, in some situations, sanctions were imposed and aid was cut off. In this chapter we will be observing those aid trends and their impact on Pakistan-United States relations between 1947 till 2018 (when the aid stopped from US).

3.1.1 Aid during Cold War:

When Pakistan came into being in 1947, it was in great need of assistance because, it lacked essential infrastructure, its economy was under developed and its security system was not fully formed. Pakistan saw as a golden opportunity in developing its relations with the United States during the Cold War. Pakistan was very sure that its support to the United States against the spread of Communism would solve its security problems with India (Afroz, 1994). United States found it convenient to exploit Pakistan's geo-strategic location to contain the Soviets. It was a win-win situation for both sides. Pak-United States military relationship was laid in the time of Cold war. The important events like South East Asia treaty organization and Mutual defense agreement laid the foundation of Pakistan and United States alliance and further strengthened the alliance (Sunawar, 2015). Pakistan proved to be "America's most ally in Asia" during the Cold War (McMahon, 1994). Pakistan became a huge recipient of military aid given by United States. The amount of aid surpassed that given to its closest ally Israel (Ali, 2009). By 1981, the Pakistan and United States were conversing a \$3.2-billion aid package (Ali, 2009). In 1985, after Israel, Egypt and Turkey Pakistan was the fourth largest recipient of US bilateral military assistance. With the agreement of a \$4.02-billion economic and military aid package in 1987, Pakistan after Israel became the second largest recipient of American aid.

Pakistan US agreement and pacts made between the both countries changed the nature of Aid. Between 1955 and 1960 Pakistan received about \$400 million to \$475 million dollar aid under

the military assistance program in Pakistan and other provided sources (Afroz, 1994). Pakistan received a huge amount of military equipment and technologies from United States including aircraft ammunition, tanks, training facilities, medical facilities, ships equipment etc. The first shipment of military hardware from United States arrived in Karachi in November, 1954 (Afroz, 1994). United States made sure that Pakistan gets every required military assistance from them. At the same time, Pakistan also tried to limit the trade with countries which were a threat to United States i.e. those under the Soviet influence. Within a very short span Pakistan became totally reliant on United States military assistance. As Pakistan's military structure and capabilities improved, so did its defense capabilities against India. Pakistani military officers got exposed to American military training, technology and doctrines. Even its nuclear doctrine was based on US strategies developed during the Cold War. (Waheed, 2017). Military assistance during the Cold War stunted democratic development in the country. The military expenditure kept on raising and so did the debt burden (Sunawar, 2015).

3.1.2 Aid during the Soviet Afghan War and Nuclear Dilemma:

The Soviet Afghan war started on 1979 and ended in 1989. President General Zia found it convenient to partner with the US to defeat the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. The US aid was put to good use to defeat the Soviet militaries in Afghanistan. Pakistan was able to leverage its position as a strategic ally to funnel the US aid to the Afghan Mujahedeen. The Mujahedeen were also recruited from among students studying in religious seminaries. Their training was conducted in the tribal areas or the bordering areas with Afghanistan. The US and Saudi Arabia provided the financial resources, arms and equipment, while Pakistan trained the Afghan resistance. In addition, Pakistan received both economic and military aid The Reagan administration agreed to provide Pakistan, a five year aid package plan providing 3.2 billion

dollars (Epstein and Kronstadt, 2011). Pakistan also had to look after 3.2 million refugees, which was a huge burden on its economy (Weinbaum, 1991). The US aid could only partially cover the expense incurred on handling the Afghan refugees (Epstein, Kronstadt, 2011). Although, United States assisted Pakistan was able to defeat the Soviets, however, after the Soviet removal, US left Afghanistan fragmented and completely lost interest in Pakistan. Pakistan was left alone to handle affairs such as the rehabilitation of the Mujahedeen, reconciliation among the warring factions, and development of infrastructure in Afghanistan. Pakistan was effected badly by the instability and changed regional scenario in Afghanistan (Khan, 2014). With the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), the Cold War was over and Pakistan's assistance was no longer needed. Resultantly the United States aid dropped drastically to almost negligible economic aid and zero military aid. The volume of economic aid fell from well above \$500 million a year to less than \$100 million a year (Ali, 2009). During the Cold War, besides sufficient military assistance Pakistan was receiving huge amounts of economic aid from the US. Not only did the US provide abundant aid to Pakistan during Ayyub Khan's era but there were also about 8,000 American specialists working in different fields in the country (Ali, 2009). During the 1965 War, the military aid stopped. It was not revived during the 1971 War, when Pakistan was helping the Nixon Administration to reach out to China. United States started piling up additional pressure by alleging that having insecurities regarding Pakistan had a secret nuclear program. Since India was already pursuing a very active nuclear program, Pakistan rejected to sign the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT). After that, US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger visited Pakistan to discourage Islamabad from acquiring the nuclear bomb. He threatened to make a horrible example of Pakistan. Under US influence, France cancelled the agreement in 1978 to provide Pakistan with a reprocessing plant (Sheikh, 2002). To further

punish Pakistan, Symington Amendment were imposed during the Carter administration in April 1979, thereby cutting off most economic and military aid to Pakistan. Under suspicion was the uranium enrichment facility in Kahuta near Islamabad. In December 1979, after only a few months later Washington lifted all the sanctions against Pakistan and replaced it with generous aid.

3.1.3 Aid during the US Invasion of Afghanistan:

After 11th September 2001, the United States wanted Pakistan to help in its war effort against the Taliban and the Al Qaeda. The aid to Pakistan increased 7 times and included a US \$ 600 million immediate cash transfer in September 2001 (Khan and Ahmed, 2007). Pakistan under President General Pervez Musharraf became a front line ally to United States. When General Pervez Musharraf visited the US in 2003, the United States agreed on 3 billion aid package for five years which started in 2005. This included both to civil and military aid (Salim, 2018). Till 2014, Pakistan received 4,349 economic assistance from United States and 3,723 military assistance (Ali, 2009). Throughout the period, United States ensured that Pakistan neither helped any armed group opposed to them nor raised proxies to fights against India (Markey, 2013). Pakistan had to pay a heavy price for this aid. They had to give access to their airbases from where US drones could launch attacks on Taliban and Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. Moreover, Pakistan had to provide logistic support and intelligence support to US forces fighting in Afghanistan (Markey, 2013). The United States pushed Pakistan invading the tribal areas to root out Taliban networks. Heavy contingents of Pakistan's Army and law enforcement agencies were used to fulfil this task and it had had a very strong backlash. (Rana, Gunaratna, 2007). Pakistan also had to suffer drone attacks on its own territory. This was a clear infringement of its sovereignty (Charbonneau, 2013). There were also a lot of casualties and manly innocent people

lost their lives in the drone attacks. Pakistan Army suffered heavy casualties in these counter insurgencies, which was far in excess of the aid received. When President Donald Trump came into power, he posted an infamous tweet accusing Pakistan of numerous things for example, Pakistan providing safe haven to the terrorists, for hiding Osama Bin Laden in Abbottabad and giving nothing to United States except lies and deceit for all these years. Further mentioned are the links of the tweets attached

(<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/947802588174577664?s=20>, 2018),

(<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1064540462848098304?s=20>, 2018)

(<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1064544156960387072?s=20>, 2018). Prime Minister Imran Khan responded on twitter denying all these accusation and said that Pakistan suffered enough fighting US WOT in terms of 75,000 casualties, over \$123 bn loss to the economy and devastation of tribal areas which caused millions of people homeless. Other than that Pakistan has provided free lines of ground and air communication.

(<https://twitter.com/ImranKhanPTI/status/1064482777054220289?s=20>, 2018).

(<https://twitter.com/ImranKhanPTI/status/1064483393335898113?s=20>, 2018).

(<https://twitter.com/ImranKhanPTI/status/1064556017881686021?s=20>, 2018).

In September 2018, the Trump administration cancelled 300 million dollar aid to Pakistan.

3.2 United States Aid a blessing or a curse?

This section of the chapter will analyze the quantum of aid received for various sectors of Pakistan e.g. education, economy, agriculture, industry and military. It will examine whether the aid negatively or positively contributed to these sectors of Pakistan. It has already been discussed before of Pakistan's occupies significant geo strategic importance in the eyes of United States.

No doubt US aid to Pakistan, whether military or non-military aid has played an important role in the economic development of Pakistan but the benefits have been temporary e.g. in the educational sector the total percentage of US aid donated towards education since 2001 is less than dollar 2 per Pakistani child per year (americanprogress.org, 2008). The aid given per year is \$64 million in the name of education and still less than \$2 spent on each child per year is not a blessing but curse (Waheed, 2017). 77 million of Pakistanis (nearly half population) is deprived of the basic food necessities and only one-third of Pakistani women and children can read and write (americanprogress.org, 2008).

The reason why the literacy rate is low is and the right amount of money is not spent on the education is the corruption embedded in Pakistani education bureaucracy and lack of policies mainly (Curtis, 2007). The government of Pakistan is not much dedicated to improve the education system of Pakistan and education system of Pakistan can never be improved by an outsider aid until the government decided to focus on this sector. For example, in January 2002, the government of President Musharraf launched an educational sector reforms but found unwilling to commit substantial resourced towards the reforms (Curtis, 2007). However, over the years progress has been made in the educational sector. Agency for International Development (USAID) works with the government of Pakistan and development partners to specially focus on the economy and improving the quality of education in Pakistan. Since fiscal year 2010, USAID has done a lot of improvements like 1600 schools were repaired which includes 946 schools in the tribal regions. Other than that 18,800 students have received US-funded scholarship to attend Pakistani institutions of higher education. Tribal Districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and supported reading programs for over 1.7 million primary students. USAID has also contributed in training the teacher on how to teach and through which techniques they can improve the

quality of education. Also, introducing merit based scholarship and building research institutes is has also been invested in the educational sector. Although US aid has been a form a relief in many places but, still many people argue that providing aid and helping Pakistan to establish a sound economic system has never been a priority for United States United States concerns regarding Pakistan were always the security concerns. Never had it had an intention to eradicate poverty, invest in educational sector of Pakistan and to make Pakistan a better state. After post 9/11 these third world states were considered as a threat to international peace. This concern led United States to change their foreign policy towards weaker states that is international support to sustain domestic institutions in the developing world.

Foreign aid has become main component to counter terrorism. The counter terrorism strategy had two parts.1) to use direct military force as in case of Afghanistan 2) to eliminate the conditions that produced these terrorists sanctuary through the use of foreign assistance. United States has a view that the states which have strong institutions would be the one that would be able to deal effectively with these terrorists. It has been observed that terrorist groups have difficulty in carrying out violent activities in strong institutions of law and order. Moreover, the weak institutions and law and order situation provide opportunities to terrorists. United States policy analysts argue that Pakistan is a failed or failing state and her failure would be generating enormous uncertainties in the world that's why US provide assistance to Pakistan in the form of aid to cope up with this concern (Waheed, 2017). However, despite spending so much on Pakistan, US policy makers remain frustrated that the country has not performed well. In early 2006, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice announced transformational diplomacy initiative to support democratic states in developing world. This initiative consisted of five strategic objectives. These were promoting peace, investing in people, promoting economic freedom,

supporting just and democratic rule and providing humanitarian assistance. However, it was a failure and it quite clear that United States was least concerned about Pakistan's fragility and viewed it from a narrow security perspective focused on countering the Taliban and Al Qaeda. In 2009, a new bill called Kerry Lugar bill was passed. It was an important step to bolster Pakistan US relations. It tripled the amount of non-military assistance investing in areas like education, health, social services, and humanitarian assistance. However, it had ten-fold more conditions attached to it and Pakistan had to pay the price for this aid. It was more like treaty of surrender. Pakistan compromised long term structural progress in return for short term security arrangements. Moreover, US aid to Pakistan is a policy tool designed to serve the donor state national interests and strategic interests and has only marginalized in alleviating the conditions in Pakistan that contribute its failure. Similarly, role of foreign aid in economic development cannot be judged purely on quantity.

Pakistan has an agricultural economy and it yields a lot of surplus crop and the economy supports a large federal government and armed forces which swallow a large part of its resources, and nearly, four-fifth of all foreign assistance it has received from 1951 to 1960. The United States alone had contributed 1238.4 million dollars out of 1590 million dollars of the total aid that Pakistan received. Aid in those early days was given for various projects after being approved by International Cooperation Administration (ICA) mission at Karachi. U.S States Department Delegation of Authority 85 established ICA from 30th June 1955, pursuant to EO 10610, 9th May 1955. Its predecessor the Foreign Operations Administration (FOA) founded in 1953. Both organizations coordinated foreign assistance operations and conducted all nonmilitary security programs for the United States. ICA was abolished on September 4, 1961 by the act of Congress (75 Stat. 446) and all functions were transferred to U.S. Agency for

International Development. The ICA consisted of several departments or agencies organized by region. They included the Institute of Inter-American Affairs. The project aid was either grant or loans repayable in rupees. In case of grants, government of Pakistan was to deposit in a special account, an amount of rupee sufficient to recover the total rupee expenditure which in any case must be equal to dollar aid provided by project. ICA thus secured the right of supervision over the project as provided in agreement but has complete control over expenditure. So, the entire operation was controlled by U.S. aid mission. The U.S. government had the right to receive information about all projects on which even a small proportion of aid had been spent. In addition, American experts attached to the Pakistan planning commission were particularly in a strong position to influence our economic policy. It appears that they had a determining role for some time. No longer does Pakistan determine the pattern of development project and then seek ICA or other aid to finance it because the organization ceased operation in the year 1961

Foreign investment can only be justified if it stimulates and supports our own development. As applied, it serves only to drain our potential or growth in form of its current profit, which remain abroad. In course of economic development, profit is source capital accumulation. If all investment in our country are undertaken by foreign enterprises and all profit remitted out our growth potential will be reduced to null. It is the profit earned by utilizing Pakistan resources which are remitted out and which constitute a drain on our foreign exchange resources. Moving forward, powerful interest and pressure groups among donor countries affect the development aid given to the recipient countries.

Pakistan has always been heavily dependent on aid. From 1960 to 2002, Pakistan has received US\$ 73.14 billion. Almost half of the aid was provided by the US. Other major foreign aid donors to Pakistan were Saudi Arabia, China etc. In order to discuss the changes in US aid to

Pakistan, the Pressler Amendment and Brown Amendment must be noted. Pressler amendment banned most economic and military assistance to Pakistan unless the President certified on an annual basis that there is no risk of nuclear arms development in Pakistan (Anwar & Michaelowa, 2006). If it was not certified than no more aid was to be given. As the certification was not provided, aid to Pakistan diminished in 1989. In 1995 the Brown amendment waived the provision of this certificate.

Indian in the US diaspora do their best to exert political pressure that prevent or stop aid given to Pakistan. Different grounds are prepared such as US aid to Pakistan would be diverted to terrorists or would be used against India. Similarly if US aid is given to Pakistan, it helps the economic power of Pakistani firms in the US increases, while it will tend to decrease with the economic power of Indian firms. US aid to Pakistan is positively related to FDI of US firms in Pakistan, while it is negatively related to FDI of US firms in India. Furthermore, US aid to Pakistan is positively related to US exports to Pakistan, while it is negatively related to US exports to India (Ali, 2009). While allocating assistance to the recipient countries, the receivers ought to obey the conditions attached to it. The foreign aid policy reflects the interests of the donors and are subject to change in response to national and international events concerning the donor countries. During most of the Cold War period, democracy promotion was overshadowed by foreign policy goals and the containment of communism, especially in geo strategically important countries like Pakistan (Zaidi, 2011). The “Kerry Lugar Bill” passed on 6th of June 2009 by the US Senate and Foreign Relations Committee, provided \$1.5 billion loan to Pakistan equally for the next five years. During the initial years the loan was fine as decided but, after that when the US interests started to decline, so did the loan. Pakistan has been receiving aid from US from quite some time because of his partnership with US in so-called war on terror. Every time

the US has required Pakistan support to achieve its own geo-political goals, it has shown no hesitation in embracing military dictators. In 1998, when Pakistan conducted its nuclear tests Pak-US relation deteriorated. American aid ebbed to its lowest level, and severe sanctions were imposed on Pakistan to restore democracy. Clearly, the United States aid policy towards Pakistan has been based on the achievement of its immediate foreign policy goals. USAID's own figures indicate how far the US fell short of the lofty ideals voiced by President Truman, and indeed the rhetoric of freedom and democracy maintained by contemporary American administrations. Similarly, during Afghan war and 2005 Earthquake, on-project aid helped in overcoming the food shortages. Thus the deep analysis shows that aid has contributed both ways (positively and negatively) towards the development of Pakistan. Now, when this chapter has covered the theme of aid and the previous chapter had covered the theme of military. The succeeding chapter will look into the future and will analyze the future of Pakistan and United States relationship based on the various factors discussed ahead.

CHAPTER FOUR: PAKISTAN-UNITED STATES FUTURE RELATIONS

This chapter draws a meaningful analysis of Pakistan-United States relationship in the future and aims to find out, how it will affect Pakistan's relations with neighboring countries such as China, India, Iran, and Afghanistan?

4.1 Pak-China relationship impact on Pak-US relationship:

Pakistan and China diplomatic relations were formally established in 1951, when Pakistan recognized the People's Republic of China (PRC) (Yamin, 2020). Despite the difference of political systems, cultural differences and having no historical ties, Pakistan and China relationship flourished (Khan, 2011). Unlike Pakistan's relations with the US, its ties with PRC have only got stronger and has been only got stronger with time. Pakistan and China relationship is often described lyrically as "higher than the mountains, deeper than the oceans and sweeter than honey". The Chinese foreign minister Wang Yi has described the relationship as "close as lips and teeth" and President Xi Jinping has described it as "rock solid and unbreakable" (Yamin, 2020).

The fraternal relations between the two countries have been based on diverse themes such as military defense collaboration, economic trade assistance, energy, and development sector (Fazal-ur-Rahman, 2010). Pakistan helped China, when it was facing international isolation and opened it up to the world including the US by arranging a secret visit of Henry Kissinger to Beijing to prepare President Nixon visit to China in 1970 (Cohen, 2011). On the other hand, China helped Pakistan regarding its security concerns against India. The two countries are mutually involving building tanks and combat aircraft. The tank factory in Taxila and the aeronautical complex at Kamra, where Chinese aircraft such as JF-17 Thunder are co-produced, are living proofs of intense defense collaboration.

Free Trade agreement between the two countries was signed in 2006 and came into effect on July 2007. China is investing heavily in the various projects like Sahiwal 2x660MW Coal-fired Power Plant, Quaid-e-Azam 1000MV Solar Park (Bahawalpur), Hydro China Dawood Wind Farm (Gharo, Thatta) etc., which are initiated in Pakistan regarding the development of infrastructure.

These projects include electricity and power nuclear plants, building of roads, gold, and copper mines etc. China investment was anticipated to increase from \$ 4 billion to \$ 15 (Zeb, 2012).

China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is the flagship project of China's Belt Road initiative (BRI). It is being touted as a game changer for Pakistan's sick economy and it is expected to eradicate poverty, reduce energy deficit, and boosting economy and industry. The project will increase Pakistan's connectivity with Asian, European, and African markets. It will also, linkage Pakistan's Gwadar deep seaport to the Chinese province of Xing kiang.

The US sees China as a rising competitor and eyes Pakistan China ties suspicious. It has officially warned about a debt trap inherent in the CPEC megaproject. Lately Pakistan has been walking a tight rope in trying to balance its relations with China and the US on an even keel. CPEC and Pak-China relationship has the potential of interfering with Pak-US relationships (Roy and Khalid, 2019). U S has openly opposed the BRI project and has tried to contain China in various theaters most notably the South China Seas, where it has come up with a Quad plus partnership involving Australia, Japan, South Korea and India (Dolven and Vaughn, 2020). U S is also complicit in creating conspiracies and obstacles to stop CPEC (Siddique, 2019).

It is important for Pakistan not to become embroiled in China US strategic competition. U S has interests in South Asia which clash directly or indirectly with that of China. Most importantly, the US wants to counter and contain China by indulging in a trade war. Being the sole superpower for two decades, it is difficult for the US to tolerate china's growing influence. It also wants to decrease the growing Chinese prowess in the fields of technology, economy and industry (Siddique, 2019).

Due to all the reasons mentioned Pakistan is also facing drastic challenges in partnering with China in this full-scale economic partnership project. International Monetary Fund (IMF) fiscal policies have been tightened and restrictions imposed to delay CPEC projects. However, CPEC projects have picked up after Lt-Gen Asim Saleem Bajwa took over the Chairman of CPEC Authority on 27th November 2019. Two hydel power projects are in quick completion in Azad Kashmir and special economic zone (SEZ) that is an early sign of upgrading of the multi-billion-dollar programme. Moreover, government is also working on the CPEC Authority bill 2020 (Ramay, Ahmed, Ilyas and Baig, 2020). The first phase of CPEC has improved the energy and logistics gaps in Pakistan which was hindering the development. Pakistan has been successful in overcoming those gaps and still some developments are going on. Currently, the graduation to the second phase is in process (Ramay, Ahmed, Ilyas and Baig, 2020).

United States is supporting the Baluch separatist and other separatists so far who are having hideouts in the region of Afghanistan and are being accused of causing damage to the Chinese infrastructure and people who are guarding them (Siddique, 2019). This has been done under the protection of United States and India (Siddique, 2019). United States also cooperated with India not only to curtail Chinese freedom of action southward but also to include Indians in their efforts to continue to destabilize western Pakistan through CPEC (Brig. Azam Agha). United States had been emphasizing on the people and the Pakistani government that CPEC is a debt trap and that it will hurt the country's interests. United States is also afraid of the military defense cooperation between Pak-China. China is an important military hardware supplier to Pakistan. Both countries have done numerous military projects jointly e.g. Nuclear weapon program, A-100 multiple rocket launcher program and tanks such as VT-1A. Pakistan is also in negotiation with China to buy the longer ranged Chinese HQ-9 system, an analog to the Russian

S-300 long range SAM (the national interest). Hence, the recent advancement in Chinese Navy, the increase in capabilities and military advancement and cooperation between Pakistan and China is posing threat to United States (Siddique, 2019). Also the newly inducted AL Khalid I tank in Pakistan Army will add fire and speed to Pakistan's Army armored division. It also had Chinese and Ukrainian collaboration.

It is anticipated that the change in the Whitehouse after presidential elections can impact on Pak-China relations. Trump administration has adopted a very harsh stance towards Pak-China relations and CPEC specifically in November 2019. He has warned that it will burden Pakistan's economy, lack of transparency will cause political discontent, and increase unemployment in Pakistan and that Pakistan. With the help of media and other resources United States has spread a disinformation against CPEC. (Markey, 2020). However, the recent regional realignment and the changing dynamics in the West, Middle East, and South Asia may work in Pakistan's favor. All these situations e.g. Iran getting close to China because of US sanctions, Afghan peace process continuity despite of minor setbacks, India being undeterred by an aggressive US stance and India's compromised capacity to bother Pakistan because of the border tension with China and pandemic (Ramay, Ahmed, Ilyas and Baig, 2020). These all developments are favorable for CPEC progress and for the betterment of Pakistan's future.

Pakistan has so far has successfully managed to have a balanced relationship with both United States and China which are equally important Pakistan. However, Pakistan is still stuck in the middle of both the countries and both cannot be ignored. With the rising temperature of US-Iran and further any peace deals in the peace of process of Afghanistan, Pakistan remains central and the most important region to the United States interest which is discussed in the further headings. Also, Pakistan badly needs US support to get out of the FATF's grey list which has been delayed

and to liberate Kashmir but Pakistan has been very disappointed from the side of US to mediate on the issue of Kashmir and it's highly unlikely that US will support Pakistan against India.

On 26 July 2020, the US accused China Wuhan Laboratory on virology covertly collaborating with Pakistan's BSL -3 Laboratory in developing bio warfare weapons. Pakistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs rejected this insinuation and reiterated that Pakistan is a responsible member of the Bio and Toxin Warfare convention (BTWC0) (South and Central Asia). This is, however, a very dangerous blame game that could hurt Pakistan's image as a responsible state and its relations with China.

Very importantly, China addresses Pakistan security concerns regarding India. China is not threatened by Pak-US relations, but China Pakistan relationship is of grave concern to the United States (Khokhar, 2020).

4.2 Pak-India relationship impact on Pak-US Relationship:

Pakistan and India relations have always been rocky because of the disputed territory of Jammu & Kashmir. Three wars have also been fought between the two countries (1948, 1965 and 1971). They have clashed on several occasions of varying severity, some rooted in border disputes which includes border clashes on LOC, some in ethnic and religious issues, some in nuclear concerns and irredentist issues. (Muhammad, 2005). Siachin Glacier was occupied surreptitiously by India in 1984. (Yamin, 2019). This incident was a blatant example of India's perfidy. There always has been a mistrust among both the countries, everything is seen on the scale of suspicion which increases the element of uncertainty in the future because even a slightest factor can ignite a war between both the countries. India tries to sabotage Pakistan everywhere they get a chance e.g. exploiting the name of Pakistan on forums like the Asia

Pacific Group (APG) of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) and portraying Pakistan as a country who supports terrorism and terrorist organizations (Yamin, 2019).

United States and India relations have improved over the years. Indian policy of non-alignment and Pakistan joining SEATO and CENTO have defined the dynamics of south Asian rivalry with respect to their relationship to the two superpowers of the Cold War. (Yousaf, Adnan and Ali, 2018). US-India started to normalize, post 9/11 attacks and the US war against global terrorism. India supported US in that and after that both countries signed a ten-years defense agreement including weapons and arms trade, joint patrolling of the Indian ocean, expansion in bilateral security cooperation, civil nuclear deals and military exercises were on way. President Obama on 4th June 2010 stated that “India is one of our defining partnerships in the 21st century” (Siddiqa, 2016). During 2004 to 2008, bilateral trade between the both countries increased three times with a rapid growth from US\$36 billion in 2005 to US\$104 billion in 2014, with an aim to reach US\$500 billion in trade (Kronstadt et al, 2011). US invested a total of US\$7.7 billion in 2004, to US\$28 billion in 2017 (Khan, 2007). Currently, India and United States relations are going smooth as the economy of China is growing in the region, US wants to strengthen the relationship with India and want India to play a role of complete equal of China in the region (Yousaf, Adnan and Ali, 2018). The CPEC project has further compelled US to further enhance the strategic, economic and defense relations with India.

When comparing, Pak-India relationship with US-India relationship and seeing how Pak-India relationship will impact Pak-US relations, it is obvious that United States is highly unlikely to support Pakistan against India on any issue, let alone Kashmir. It can be deduced by taking various examples from the past where Pakistan invested blood and sweat for United States interests whether it be their war against the Soviets, Soviet invasion in Afghanistan or

eradicating and fighting the war of terror. United States interests incline towards India, whenever they get a chance. Seeing the previous incidents in the past like in the Indo-Pak war in 1965 where United States showed neutrality towards India and assured India that American weapons will not be used in the war. Other than that Pak-US cooperation in the war of Afghanistan, US considered India as a strategic partner which leads to the major developments in their relations (Yousaf, Adnan and Ali, 2018).

This does not stop there. India has repeatedly tried to damage and interfere in the relationship of Pakistan and United States. The deal which Pakistan was to sign with United States of US\$ 699 million for eight F-16C/D Block-52 multi-role fighters (2 C and 6 D models) but United States alleged Pakistan of not doing the necessary enough to end the Haqqani network. They also showed apprehensions on Pakistan's atomic program, strategic weapons and range of Shaheen III missile (Chandio, 2016). This was all done by the Indian lobby in the US capital. They also tried to influence the US lawmakers to block the aid towards Pakistan and supply of weapons like F-16s. The US congress also accused Pakistan's nuclear not safe and secure. US congress rather than blaming Pakistan's nuclear to be insecure and not safe should focus on the Indian missile's range. Furthermore, Lockheed Martin who is the developer of F-16s offered to move its production line to India to support the Modi governments "Made in India" programme (Chandio, 2016). This is an example of how international politics works and anarchy prevails.

The foremost dispute of Kashmir between Pakistan and India is seventy years old. Kashmir is the nuclear flashpoint and the most heavily militarized zone of the world and a slightest friction can result into a nuclear war (Yamin, 2019) but, when it comes to supporting Pakistan in the cause against India and mediating between the two countries United States never volunteers. United States does not realize that how important it is to solve this issue and on the other hand India

does not agree to negotiate. Prime Minister Imran Khan's visit to President Trump in July 2019 brought a little hope for the people of Pakistan that the problem of Kashmir might get solved where President Trump expressed his wish that he would love to be a mediator between both the countries and in fact Prime Minister Modi had asked President Trump to mediate in this matter (Dawn, 2019). Raveesh Kumar, the Indian Ministry of External Affairs spokesman immediately rejected the offer by saying that no such request has been made by Prime Minister Modi. He insisted that Kashmir was a bilateral issue between Pakistan and India (Aljazeera.com, 2020). Imran Khan praised Trump's offer of third party mediation on Kashmir - "global issue" between two nuclear states, a resolution would be in the interest of world peace. Moreover, he said that Pakistan will go to any lengths to resolve this dispute (Aljazeera.com, 2020). Imran Khan demanded justice (referendum) from the United Nations for the people of Kashmir and said that he would take this issue in UN General Assembly on 27th September 2019 (Aljazeera.com, 2020). Till then the issue has not been resolved because clearly US will not go against India to cater Pakistan.

The Pulwama attack on 14th February 2019 is another big example in which India again accused Pakistan. The suicide attack took place in the heart of the Kashmir valley and killed about 40 personnel and was the deadliest terrorist incident happened in Kashmir in three decades (Yusuf, 2019). Pakistan condemned the attack and rejected any involvement in the incident, but India continued to harp on the involvement of Pakistan. After the incident India waited for two weeks for "counter terrorism strike" to get a green signal from United States (Yamin, 2019). Only on getting the nod from the US, did India send its bombers into Pakistan to ineffectually throw bombs on a seminary in Jabba in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. (Indiaabroad.com, 2019).

In retaliation, on 27th February 2019, PAF shot down two Indian aircraft. (Yusuf, 2019). The pilot of a Mig 29 Bison, Wing Commander Abhinandan Varthaman bailed out and was caught in Pakistani territory. He was later returned to India as a gesture of goodwill. After the miserable failure of Indian aircraft, India wants France to expedite the delivery of 6 Rafael jet fighters. Pakistan is not letting its guards down and has operationalized the Forward Airbase at Skardu by basing a squadron of JF17 Thunder aircraft there (thenorthlines.com, 2019)

4.3 Afghanistan war impact on Pak-US relations:

Afghanistan is a common foreign policy objective for Pakistan and United States but for different reasons: Pakistan believes that peace in Afghanistan will be beneficial for improving the domestic law and order. It will reduce the cost of security in Pakistan and will end the long-drawn insurgency in Pakistan. Peace in Afghanistan is directly proportional to proportional to peace and stability in Pakistan. United States on the other hand also wants to leave Afghanistan peaceful and stable so that it no longer provide safe haven to terrorists (Yamin, 2019). In the struggle of attaining the foreign policy objective of both countries, Pakistan tirelessly helped Taliban and United States to come to tables and negotiate peacefully. Taliban at first refused to deal with Kabul, but because of Pakistan's relationship with United States, Taliban agreed to peace deal with US. This was the time when President trump accused Pakistan of lies and deceit, further blamed Pakistan for doing not enough and stopped the security assistance in early 2018 (Zaman and Magsi, 2019). Pakistan after that incident became a third key-player in initiating the peace talks. United States knew that leaving Afghanistan and making a deal with Taliban is not going to be easy if there will not be support from Afghanistan because of the Taliban's inclination towards Pakistan. After vigorous efforts finally a peace deal has been signed between the United States on 29th February 2020 in Doha in the presence of Pakistan foreign minister

Shah Mehmood Qureshi. The agreement included the following things: withdrawal of American forces from Afghanistan that includes 13,000 to 8,600 within 135 days and withdrawal of all the forces within two years. The update on this by the military officials is that withdrawal of 8,600 is completed successfully approximately a month over. Other than the withdrawal it includes U.S commitments to remove sanctions on Taliban members by 27th August 2020. Furthermore, an exchange of prisoners will also be facilitated between the Taliban and the Afghan government (Tariq, 2020). On the other side, Taliban also agreed to the following terms: the Taliban members or other associated groups like Al-Qaeda will not use the Afghan soil to threaten the United States and its allies for any activity. Furthermore, it includes that the Taliban agreed on intra-Afghan negotiations on 10th March 2020 but, no such talks have been held so far. However, prisoner exchange is in process and is not yet completed due to problems such as the escalated violence and COVID-19 pandemic (Tariq, 2020).

Referring to the current relation of Pakistan-Afghanistan, it has become very complicated because of the millions of Afghan refugees residing in Pakistan and various disputes over the shared 1,600 miles long border. However, situations have gotten soft since Muhammad Sadiq Pakistan former ambassador to Kabul has been appointed as Pakistan's special representative in Afghanistan. Also, General Bajwa's sudden visit to Kabul on 9TH June 2020 where he had a meeting with President Ashraf Ghani and Abdullah Abdullah brought positivity in Pak-Afghan relationship (Khan, 2020). The foremost problem in Afghanistan is strategic encirclement by India because of which Pakistan's security establishment is fearful. Though Delhi does not pursue to a close defense relationship with Kabul but, there is diplomatic presence in Afghanistan and being the largest regional contributor in Afghanistan alarms Pakistan's security establishment. The reason why it is more alarming is that it will have an impact on Pak-US

relationship because of US support and optimism regarding India's presence in Afghanistan (Tariq, 2020). Beside the blame game and accusations, United States realized in the past very clearly that it would not be able to affect a peaceful withdrawal from Afghanistan without Pakistan's support. They need Pakistan for the land and air access to Afghanistan, for intelligence sharing and cooperating across the border and United States still need Pakistan to be present in this whole peace deal process until United States leave Afghanistan because of now, the escalating presence of India in Afghanistan will only make Pakistan trust on Afghan militants and back off from the process (Zaman and Magsi, 2018). Therefore, US cannot afford Pakistan to become unstable over the risks that might lead to its nuclear arsenal. Also, the increasing relationship of China and Russia with Pakistan and their increasing interest in the region of Afghanistan also makes United States insecure and prevent them from losing interest in the region. Afghanistan's stability is in the interest of Pakistan as well as the US. Neither Pakistan nor the US would like Afghanistan to become a battlefield for proxy wars and a sanctuary for non-state actors. United States encouragement to India as role of a regional contributor in Afghanistan has created doubts in the security establishment of Pakistan

4.4 Pakistan-Iran relationship impact on Pak-US relations:

Pakistan and Iran's relationship goes back to 1950 when they signed a treaty of friendship. After independence 1947, Iran was the first country to recognize Pakistan. Likewise, Pakistan was the first country to recognize Islamic revolution in Iran. Pakistan and Iran were allies during the Cold war, and both countries share cultural, linguistic, ethnic, and tribal bonds with Iran. During the time of the Shah, both countries had extremely good relations. The Shah granted Iranian oil and gas to Pakistan on concessional rates. Pakistan and Iranian armies collaborated to fight Balouch insurgents. After the Islamic revolution, Afghanistan's civil war and nuclear

development, the relations soured. Pakistan's relations with Iran also became a victim of its relations with Saudi Arabia. Furthermore, Iran is also suspicious of Pakistan's relations with the US (Imtiaz, 2019). Though Iran condemned the 9/11 attacks of US still, President Bush declared Iran as part of "The axis of evil" (Raza, 2020).

Whenever talking about the relationship between Pakistan and Iran, the US factor cannot be overlooked. In 1954 United States also had a role to bring Pakistan and Iran closer when the United States helped both countries overcome their regional threats of South Asia and Middle East and in return US wanted military and strong support to contain Soviet Union. In 1965 war, Iran helped Pakistan against India and provided air bases in Zehadan and Mehrabad to Pakistan Air Force, helped in arms and weapons too despite of the pressure from US and their warnings that if Iran will continue to support Pakistan then US will ban aid to Iran (Imtiaz, 2019).

The basic and foremost tension between US and Iran is nuclear technology and oil. The two nations were close allies during Cold War. The relations took a nosedive after Iranian revolution in 1979 (Shannon, 2019). The US buried Iran under economic sanctions. US does not want the Iranian nuclear program not to succeed because, it will hurt Israel. United States wants Iran to give up on its nuclear program to protect Israel, Before Trump administration came into power, the Iranian leader Rouhani had taken measures to improve relations with the US but all this has come to an end. (Rahman, Othman, Ani and Abdullah, 2020). Trump withdrew from the 2015 multilateral nuclear agreement with Iran dubbed the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, (JCPOA). Iran also responded to US policy as "applying maximum pressure on Iran" and Iranian President Rouhani called pulling out of the nuclear deal as "psychological warfare" (Khan, 2019). The tensions mainly heightened since May 2019, when United States killed General Qasem Soleimani, the commander of the Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps-Quds Force

(IRGC-QF) in a U.S. airstrike in Baghdad on January 3, 2020. In retaliation Iran backed groups attacked US military bases in Iraq with Iranian forces also oil installation in Saudi Arabia, destroyed port facilities in the Persian Gulf, seized commercial ships, and challenged U.S. warships in the Persian Gulf (Katzman, 2019).

The current situation between US-Iran, is deteriorating rapidly. Trump is piling up pressure, while Iran is taking all safeguards. US is not letting up the pressure in Iran. Cyber-attacks have been launched against Iranian nuclear facilities such as Natanz. A US F15 fighter buzzed an Iran's Mahan airline on its way to Beirut forcing it to take quick evasive action and injuring some passengers.

Meanwhile, China is improving its relations with Iran. It has already concluded a US \$ 400 bn spread over 25-year program. India has been removed from the Chabahar – Zahedan railway project and development of the Farzad B gas field. Pakistan is negotiating with the Chinese Petroleum Bureau to help build a gas pipeline on its side which will be connected to the Nawabshah-Gwadar LNG terminal project under (CPEC) (Khan, 2020). Pakistan wants United States sanctions against Iran, so the stalled Iran Pakistan gas pipeline can be revived. (Khan, 2020). The US is reluctant to lift sanctions against Iran because it does not want it to become part of CPEC.

Conclusion

Pakistan and United States relations should not be dependent on Afghanistan only. It's time to reset the relationship in terms of state-to-state relationship based on sovereign equality and respect rather than the relationship which is only based upon one sided interests and purely personality driven or the one which is based on issues whose nature and period is indeterminate

(Aneel, 2019). Obviously, it will take time and it will be a slow process to rebuild trust and cannot be done by mere statement but working on them especially when both countries had a history of mistrust and suspicious between them. It is highly important for Pakistan to adopt a foreign policy that is based on equal interests and which does not affect its relationship with US. For both countries having bilateral ties, it is important to be clear about each other's security concerns, to realistically see the future policies acknowledging contributions made to achieve peace in South Asia.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

Pakistan US relationship has largely been based on shared security interests. The expectations out of this security-based relationship has caused a lot of heartburn on both sides. In this thesis, this relationship has been explored through various themes such as military collaboration and economic aid, and Pakistan's relationship with the other countries. By doing in depth analysis of all the themes, the purpose was to project this relationship in the period beyond America's Afghan War.

Pakistan-US security relationship is longstanding one. During the Cold War, Pakistan supported US to contain communism, so that it could build a strong defense system against India. This partnership proved shaky because the US stopped the military aid to Pakistan during the 1965 War. The US had given the weapons to be used against the Communists and not the Indians. The American interests coincided with those of Pakistan during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (1979-1989). With Pakistan's support, the US was able to defeat the Soviets. After the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, the US stopped aid to Pakistan and placed it under sanctions.

After the events of 9/11, the Americans again found it convenient to demand Pakistan's support in their so-called war against terror. There is a strong feeling within Pakistan that although it has contributed tirelessly towards US interests in matters of mutual security concern, the Americans have not kept their part of the bargain. On the flip side of the coin, the US has always blamed Pakistan for not doing enough.

There is strong reason to believe that the future contours of Pak US relations should not be based on security concerns alone. The geopolitical ground realities are fast changing. Pakistan is now part of the Chinese strategic Belt Road Initiative (BRI). The multibillion-dollar investment through the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is expected to be a game changer. US is not happy with this turn of events and has warned Pakistan that CPEC will be a debt trap, that it should avoid at all costs.

United States knows that it can't let go of Pakistan just now. They want Pakistan to play a meaningful role in facilitating Afghan peace talks. President Trump wants to withdraw his forces from Afghanistan after ensuring that there is peace in the region. Pakistan understands its pivotal position in the peace talk and would like to leverage this position to the best. Yet it is in its best interests to move out of a security alone relationship to more diversified and meaningful collaboration. There is a strong feeling in the policymaking circles in Pakistan that it should not become a 'hired gun' for the US again (Dawn, 2018). Clearly, the future of Pakistan-US relationship should be outside the pale of the US interests in Afghanistan. Such a policy should be diverse and not be based on one sided security interests. It should be a smart policy and not at the costs of its genuine national interests and existing bilateral relations with other friendly countries such as China. In future I see cold relations between the two states taking into consideration the rising power of China, which the US now fears. As Pakistan draws closer to

China and US continuing to oppose both BRI and CPEC (Alice Wells' statements), Pakistan-US relations will remain muddled with accusations and counter-accusations. Pakistan on its part, will continue to maintain its openness in ties with the US for it has more to benefit by engaging the US and being part of multilateral institutions (IMF, FATF, etc.) where the US exercises considerable influence (Dr.Farhan Hanif).

Pakistan's foreign policy objectives for the next twenty-five years should seek long term economic benefits and not be tied down heavily by security interests. It follows, therefore, that Pakistan and US should build their future relationship based on mutual and productive benefits which will be discussed ahead in this chapter.

5.1 Trade Opportunities, SEZ's and coastline mutual benefits:

US is Pakistan's largest export market. The trade relations between the US and Pakistan continue to grow. The US Government supports this relationship by funding business conferences, exchange of trade delegations, technical assistance, and business outreach. The major investments of US government over the past two decades in Pakistan have been in chemical energy, consumer goods, agriculture, business process out-sourcing, transportation, and communications (International Trade Administration). Pak-US trade in 2019 was \$6.5 billion (US department of State). During their visits to Pakistan of the US Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross in February 2020 and US International Development Finance Corporation CEO Adam Boehler in July 2020 met with senior officials. They discussed how to further deepen the trade and future trade opportunities and developmental projects. There are certain areas in which Pakistan needs improvements so that US firms can operate and invest in the country. Some of the issues include weak intellectual property protections, regulatory barriers, and discriminatory taxation (U.S department of State). Pakistan has improved recently by being ranked 108 in the World Bank's Ease of Doing Business rankings in 2019, a 28-slot improvement

from 2018 but has still a long way to go. However, the main reason of Pakistan to attract FDI is a local market of 207 million people, with a growing middle class.

The challenges which Pakistan faces is late as a growing balance of payment and trade deficit. The Rupee-Dollar disparity and high inflationary pressure on essential consumer products has further slowed down the economy of Pakistan and the GDP rate has dropped to 3.29 percent from 5.8 percent in 2019 (Trade.gov). Pakistan's economic growth rate has contracted and gone into the negative due to COVID19 pandemic. One can hope that it will rebound after the situation returns to normal and this would be period of accelerated trade with all countries including the US.

Despite all the factors American businesses have a strong presence in Pakistan. Currently, there are more than 80 US subsidiary firms registered with the Karachi-based American Business Council (ABC) and the Lahore-based American Business Forum (ABF). ABC is associated with the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FPCCI), the US Office of Commerce (USCC), Washington D.C and Asia-Pacific Council of American Chambers of Commerce (APCAC). ABC has a working relationship with the US Pakistan Business Council, Washington which is a part of the USCC. Other forums, which entertain US companies with business and investment interests in Pakistan are the US-Pakistan Business Council, an affiliate of the Washington D.C. based US Chamber of Commerce. Thousands of local firms represent US companies in Pakistan such as McDonald's, Pizza Hut, KFC, Domino's Pizza, P.F. Chang's, IHOP, Teradata, Abbott Laboratories, Oracle, Microsoft, 3M, Dell, IBM, Caterpillar, DuPont, Pepsi-Cola, Coca-Cola, Exxon, Honeywell, NCR, General Electric International, Procter and Gamble and Pfizer. The US corporate members have a major role in uplifting Pakistan's economy by maintenance of global standards of corporate governance e.g. the ABC companies claim to collectively invest over \$1.5 billion in Pakistan and their cumulative annual revenue is

about \$4 billion. ABC and ABF members also contribute towards the national treasury by paying direct and indirect taxes annually (International Trade Administration).

It is good to note that despite economic and governance issues, security threats and intellectual property rights issues, Pakistani market is attracting trade and investment from US.

Pakistan's market has few shareholding restrictions (beyond a few sensitive industry sectors), the movement of capital for foreign companies, no technology transfer requirements, simple work permit rules and eager entrepreneurial class. Pakistan and the US signed a Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA) in 2003, which provides a platform to discuss bilateral trade issues. The last TIFA meeting was held In May 2019. This meeting highlighted investment opportunities for US in Pakistan's market to derive mutual benefits (International Trade Administration).

The most important factor which will shape Pak-US relationship in a different manner in future is the investment China is making in Pakistan. Pakistan can adopt smart strategies to strengthen its relationship with US in future which will be highly beneficial for Pakistan e.g. ports such as Karachi, Gwadar, and Bin Qasim roads and SEZ's will provide Pakistan unexpected revenues once they are widely used. US should offer Pakistan private investments that could compliment China's investment in CPEC (Khokhar, 2020). Pakistan can provide even more opportunities for US in terms of investment and trade in Special Economic Zones (SEZs), providing attractive terms of investment through measures like tax amnesty/leniency.

Other area of investment is Pakistan's long coastline and vast Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) that covers an area of about 240,000 sq. km. The projects in CPEC also align with US and will provide opportunity to US to invest in Pakistan e.g. providing employment, producing electricity,

building infrastructure, creating prosperity and assuring stability are the things US wants for Pakistan (Khokhar, 2020).

There are hundreds of opportunities for US to invest in onshore and offshore projects. The coastline offers investment in different ventures e.g. tourism and recreational national parks and sea sports like snorkeling, scuba diving, fishing, and boating. Many places are of ecological importance like Indus Delta, Rann of Kutch, Sea Turtle Nesting Beaches, Gwatar Bay, Coastal and Marine Islands have a variety of marine life having endangered animal like green turtles which have ecological significance. Urban and Industrial Development projects have many attractive opportunities. The land and weather are very favorable for coastline agriculture e.g. Thatta and Badin districts in Sindh province. Hub, Sonmiani and Phore areas produce crops such as cotton, banana, wheat, rice, pulses, vegetables, fodder, and fruits. Here, US investors can employ cheap Pakistani labor to produce quality agricultural goods for American consumers at competitive prices.

Opportunities are unlimited and despite the worldwide meltdown due COVID-19 pandemic, investments from the US can be attracted.

5.2 Automotive industry and marketing opportunities:

Another area that can be explored is Pakistan automotive industry. There is no US presence in the Pakistani car market. After the pandemic subsides, there is a likelihood that the automotive industry may witness a revival.

Pakistan not only has an automotive industry, it also has a very big used car market. Vehicle makers and sellers used to make a handsome profit until a skewered rupee dollar parity slowed

down business. There is a need to craft an imaginative auto manufacturing and import policy and instead of just targeting Japanese markets, open up to the US markets as well.

Currently, the vehicle business in Pakistan is experiencing a sharp decline because of shutdowns and closures. This downward trend in car production and sales of new and used cars needs to be arrested by inviting foreign investments and broadening the market by including the US car market. The US cars have not entered the Pakistani markets for decades now because of their high costs. However, the US auto industry can be asked to produce cheaper cars for countries like Pakistan.

The automobile sector provides employment to 3.5 million people and plays a pivotal role in promoting the growth of the vendor industry. After the petroleum industry, the automobile business area in Pakistan is the second biggest growing business in the nation. Presently three Japanese companies rule the car market in Pakistan i.e. Pak Suzuki Motor Co. Ltd, Indus Motors (Toyota) and Honda Atlas Motors. Pak Suzuki Motor Co. has a practically complete restraining infrastructure in the little vehicle section. Toyota began locally assembly of its car Corolla. Also, United Motors turned over first Pakistani locally made vehicle Ghandhara Nissan began creation of Isuzu d-max in Pakistan. Time is ripe to consider introducing the US cars in the Pakistani market.

Pakistan large and growing population can be any car producer's dream market. Its young population of 180 million people want transport for mobility. Most of them buy motorcycles because they cannot afford cars. The motorcycles that they buy are either Japanese or the cheaper Chinese version. There was little else one could have expected than the circumstance we have now, the taxes are very high and Pakistan is dependent mainly on the import duties. At the point when we go to the neighborhood business, the raw material and parts are costly because of the

dollar rising. Government extract obligation is forced on the completed items at that point that is trailed by deals charge which makes the general value high. The solution through which cars can be cost effective in Pakistan is if we start making the parts and metals sheets locally, by doing so the price will fall drastically and through this people will also get employed for it. In the event that we compare and follow the Chinese model or even the case of India or some other nation, the vehicles manufactured there are stamped by the nation's name. Though, anything that has a made in Pakistan stamp on it is consequently taken as doubt (profit.pakistantoday.com). Some plants in Pakistan are joint ventures with China and Japanese. Pakistan with its cheap labor market can be an ideal place to manufacture American cars. Elon Musk the Tesla manufacturer has already moved his car making plants out of the US. The government announced a policy to introduce electric cars in November 2019 to cut air pollution and curb climate change. The policy aims to encourage the production of a million electric cruisers and carts, along with 100,000 electric cars, transports and trucks in the duration of five years ([dawn news](http://dawnnews.com)). The government wants to have 30 per cent of all vehicles running on electric power by 2030.

American car Tesla has made an incredible mark on the car market with their pioneering electric vehicles. Similarly, the labor available here in Pakistan is cheap through which US can benefit and employing labor from Pakistan in the automotive industry.

The Federal Minister for Science and Technology has already asked Tesla, to establish a vehicle plant in Pakistan ([Thenews.com](http://thenews.com), 2020).

The US is interested in investing in energy in Pakistan. The question of US investing in Pakistan is dependent on how autonomous Pakistan is in taking its own economic decisions despite closeness with the Chinese. In a fair estimation and going by developments in 2016-7, whereby Germany, France, South Korea were and are still interested in the Pakistani market, Pakistan will

chart a similar course and invite investments from any country in the world. American investments in Pakistan will continue but these will be overshadowed in numbers by Chinese investment (Dr.Farhan Hanif).

There is another marketing opportunities which, Pakistan can benefit i.e. Apple Inc. America's multinational technology which is the world's most valuable mobile telephone brand. Just like Huawei, the Chinese company, which has official stores and sellers in Pakistan, there can be opportunities to partner with US and launch Apple stores here. Factories and assembly plants for Apple products can also be established in Pakistan. Pakistan might also refuse to purchase 5th generation technology 5G from Chinese company Huawei which is going to cease online freedom of Pakistan. 5G from China will lead Pakistan to adopt an authoritarian digital model internet governance and increased digital surveillance. If Pakistan takes strict action against this issue with China, it will help to gain political and diplomatic support from US and possibly obtain more financial investments (Khokhar, 2020). Other than that, big corporations, retailers like Walmart can be asked to establish their chains in Pakistan. India has already done that, and we can follow the same model. Supermarkets can replace discount department stores, and grocery stores and become an avenue to strengthen Pak-US relations. There has been a surge of online grocery shopping during the COVID19 pandemic and an established large-scale grocery store like Walmart has huge marketing opportunities in Pakistan.

The US Government wants the trade relations with Pakistan to improve. The recent creation of the US International Developmental Finance Corporation (DFC) and implementation of the Better Utilization of Investment Leading to Development act aimed at encouraging private sector investments in low-income countries like Pakistan (Khokhar, 2020). Pakistan should make the most out of these situation and create a healthy business environment that can encourage more

American companies to invest in Pakistan and do business. Strong business and bilateral ties will strengthen the relationship between Pak and US. A long term and strong approach would be for American companies to invest in the areas where there has been no investment previously like infrastructure projects in tribal belt of Baluchistan.

5.3 Agricultural sector and private sector opportunities:

USA is the biggest trading partner of Pakistan with exchange volume \$6.7 billion. The major exports to the United States include surgical goods, leather and finished leather products, textile, cotton yarn, garments, carpets, and rice. Pakistan's primary imports from United States are electrical machinery, equipment, medicines, dry fruits, perfumes, coffee, dates, and other food items (profit.pakistantoday)

Agriculture provides Pakistan its economic backbone. It contributes about 18.9 percent to the GDP and employs about 42 percent of the labor force in Pakistan. During the 2018-19 monetary year, the part developed 0.85 per cent in contrast with 3.8 percent development a year ago.

US Office for International Development (USAID) and World Bank have been the significant benefactors for the national horticultural exploration arrangement of Pakistan. The help of Canada, Australia, Japan, Switzerland, and Italy have likewise been considerable. (PARC) Pakistan Agricultural Research Council fills in as the fundamental channel to the Pakistan's national horticultural examination arrange for access to CGIAR's framework (PARC). Agrarian Linkages Program (ALP) set up under an understanding marked between Government of Pakistan and USA in 1999, gave 200,000 tons of wheat at US \$ 23.222 million as an award to Pakistan. Out of this, Rs. 1.3 billion was affirmed as Agricultural Research Endowment Fund (AREF) by the ECC for usage of its pay by PARC for financing research all over Pakistan.

PARC as the focal point of farming exploration is working and will keep on working as a course for trade of information, abilities and specialized materials between commonplace, government, and worldwide examination associations to invigorate the agrarian advancement.

The U S-Pakistan Partnership for Agricultural Market Development (AMD) — an association between the USAID and various Pakistani collaborators in Punjab and Sindh – include activities e.g. giving agricultural gear and specialized help to farmers associations like Pakistan Agricultural and Dairy Farmer Associations, Pakistan Cotton Ginners Association and horticultural organizations. The program added more than 29,000 employments in Pakistan and produced about \$84 million dollars in private interest in the horticultural segment. The objective of the task was to enable Pakistani rural items to access greater markets and to offer help for global advertising and deals endeavors.

Pakistan should strive to create a self-sufficient agricultural sector, one that can give food security to its 212 million individuals as opposed to depend on different nations to meet its food needs. The Pakistani meat market can produce quality products for the American markets. Americans are fond of steaks, most of which they import from Latin America. Investment in cattle farming and meat factories can help Pakistan take a slice of that market. Joint ventures in meat production is another business idea that needs to be explored (dawnnews.2019).

To attract US markets, Pakistan needs to demonstrate a creative mind and grasp mechanical development to help its ailing agriculture sector, which contributes around 25 percent of the nation's local economy. Pakistan can learn from China by organizing assets devoted to innovative work in the agriculture sector. The government should have a separate and a more prominent bit of the national financial plan for its Ministry of Agriculture, which should then put resources into colleges directing exploration on agronomic, biotechnology, agribusiness, and

food security. Pakistan can also practice diplomacy in its foreign policy just like China. Pakistan can improve the quality of crops and types of wheat by protecting the crops and importing pesticides from America. Similarly, per acre yield land can also be increased by adding good quality fertilizers.

There can be a positive productive future for Pak-US relations if Pakistan improves its economy and upgrade its technology to attract the US market. Moreover, countries like Japanese and China which are investing in Pakistan whether it be a car industry or private sector, Pakistan can also provide opportunities to the US market for a better future relationship.

5.4 Reconstruction of Afghanistan:

For nearly two decades Pakistan and Afghanistan relationship has been based on two tactical goals: countering terrorism in Afghanistan and political settlement between the parties. Now, that the deal has been signed and American troops are slowly withdrawing from the region the US strategic interest is to ensure that the Afghanistan region does not again become a base for terrorist and start attacking US (Khokhar, 2020). Pakistan has assured US that the Taliban or any other terrorist group will not attack US and will not use Afghanistan as a base for terrorism but despite the assurance to the US from Pakistan, US is still doubtful and wants to maintain a minimum amount of military troop and their bases in Afghanistan but, it is unlikely that the American troops will remain in the region according to the agreement signed on Feb, 2020. This situation can indeed turn out to be favorable for Pakistan as it will strengthen the Pak-US relations in future because, in the absence of troops US would be needing Pakistan's help to provide stability and peace in the region (Khokhar, 2020). Despite of US being fearful about the peace and stability in Afghanistan, they will eventually pull out their forces for the war has dragged on for far too long and has been very costly for the Americans. The entire purpose of the

peace process is to ensure American military withdrawal. As for peace, I personally fear a repeat of the 1990s where the Taliban attempted to take control of the entire country with opposition ranging from the Northern Alliance and other actors. Hence, the prospects for peace are slim for it is not clear if the Taliban accept the Afghan constitution and agree to play according to the rules of democracy, tolerating the opposition and the various social and cultural freedoms that come with it (Dr.Farhan hanif).

The importance of Pakistan will remain consistent and long term for the US policy because of Pakistan's cultural, economic, historical and geographical ties with Afghanistan other than countering terrorism. Afghanistan peace process and eliminating terrorism from the soil is the accelerator of Pak-US scope in future. A peaceful Afghanistan is still the main strategic interest of US for which it will be needing Pakistan's assistance. If US also wants to maintain bases in Afghanistan, US needs Pakistan's assistance for the peace to prevail in the region after reconstruction of Afghanistan. Pakistan is already eliminating terrorism from the soil of Afghanistan by putting efforts for Afghan government and Taliban to come on table for peaceful negotiations. The United States is ready to expand economic and defense ties if Pakistan uphold its end of the bargain as reflected by Prime minister Imran khan when he was invited to the White house and US ambassador Alice Wells' recent testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Pakistan can help to upgrade the road between Torkham and Jalalabad. We can see the active involvement of Islamabad in gathering the Taliban leadership and the sitting Afghan regime along with other stakeholders including USA, on the same table in Qatar and this Afghan Peace process is gaining momentum despite all odds. So having said this, I strongly believe that importance of Pakistan to the sole superpower of the world will not decrease in the region even after their withdrawal from Afghanistan. Unfortunately Pakistan has

not benefitted in its true essence from this partnership with the US, yet we need to play our cards carefully as our importance in the region has increased manifold amidst emergence of new Sino-Russian block and influence of Turkey and Iran on the central Asia. US would never like to give clear run to these emerging alliances and would surely look towards strengthening its ties with Pakistan to remain relevant in the region (Military officer from Army).

The key principles of Pakistan's policy towards Afghanistan include strengthening people-to-people contacts, deepening trade and transit ties, undertaking joint connectivity and energy projects for enhanced economic integration, working together for bringing peace in Afghanistan, non-interference in the internal affairs and not allowing respective territories to be used against each other. Building close cooperative relations with Afghanistan is a high priority of Pakistan's foreign policy and a vital component of our vision of a "peaceful neighborhood." Pakistan continues its efforts for forging a friendly and good-neighborly relationship with Afghanistan, on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity. Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi undertook his maiden foreign visit to Kabul highlighting the importance that Pakistan attaches to its relations with Afghanistan.

In pursuance of its policy of attending all international forum geared towards bringing peace, stability and development in Afghanistan, Pakistan participated in the meetings of Kabul Process-I&II, RECCA, Moscow Format on Afghanistan, SCO Contact Group on Afghanistan, International Contact Group on Afghanistan, Six Party Talks and others.

In June last year, Pakistan's development assistance to Afghanistan reached US\$ 1 billion. The country's development assistance is geared towards investment in infrastructure, education,

health, agriculture and capacity building of Afghan professionals. Pakistan has setup healthcare facilities in Afghanistan including three hospitals, i.e., 200-bed Jinnah Hospital Kabul, 80-bed Nishtar Kidney Center in Jalalabad and 100-bed Naib Aminullah Khan Logar Hospital. Jinnah hospital Kabul and Nishtar Kidney center have been handed over to Afghanistan. Pakistan's infrastructure projects in Afghanistan include Torkham-Jalalabad Road (75 Km), Torkham-Jalalabad Additional Carriage way (73 Km), 15 Weigh Bridges, donation of road construction machinery, construction of internal road in Jalalabad and donation of telecom and electricity system.

Besides providing scholarships to almost 4000 Afghan students, Pakistan has constructed Rehman Baba School and Hostel in Kabul, Allama Iqbal Faculty of Arts at Kabul University, Sir Syed Science Block at Nangarhar University Jalalabad and Liaqat Ali Khan Engineering Block at Balkh University in Mazar-e-Sharif. Pakistan is also providing 3,000 fully-funded scholarships to Afghan students. Selection test of the first batch of the Afghan students for 3,000 scholarships was conducted last year. Responding to demand from Afghanistan, we have added categories of Masters and PhD programs of 3000 students was made in Pakistan has pledged US \$ 2 million for the Afghan students to pursue business management degrees at the Lahore University of Management Science (LUMS). Around 50,000 Afghans who studied in our educational institutions are currently serving their country.

Pakistan is also assisting Afghanistan in capacity building in the fields of agriculture, banking, railways, military and diplomacy. The government initiated capacity building projects for Afghan healthcare professionals, under which 59 Afghan medical professionals including doctors, nurses, and technicians successfully completed their training in 2017. In addition, 42 Afghan healthcare professionals have started training at Institute of Kidney Diseases, Peshawar.

Pakistan's main goal in relation with US in future should be to increase economic growth, stabilize the economy, increase employment for the young people and protect society from radicalization. It is productive in regards of both countries that the US shifts its policy of Pakistan from Afghanistan to a wider prospective and potential role Pakistan can play in the wider Asian region.

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