



Pak-U.S Relations Re-defined after 9/11

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Abstract

This paper evaluates the present standoff in the relations between Pakistan and United States, which stayed burdened with bitterness and captive to the insistency of Washington over Islamabad with the demand of doing more to eliminate the network of terrorist armed groups, Al-Qaida and Taliban, who are operational from the tribal areas of Pakistan and committing terrorist activities inside and outside the Pakistan. Argue is that the two partners in this worldwide war against terrorism, have different regional tactical concerns. For the U.S, the war against the terror was destined to restrain the worldwide terrorism led by Al-Qaida and penalize the performers of the attacks of 11th of September 2001, assault on the soil of U.S. In contrast, Pakistan joined this war unwillingly desired to provide the security to its benefits, regional and domestic and by keeping away from the fury of U.S. Another argue is that both the partners, Pakistan and U.S require to perform the re-defining of the on hand stage of relations amongst them and effort jointly for achieving superior objectives, that were defined in the war against the terror. If they failed to do so, it might endanger the armed forces operations to counter the terrorism in edges of Pakistan and Afghanistan. In result, this region along with the world in general would carry on to face the terrorism threat.

Keywords: Al-Qaida, Taliban, Terrorism, War, 9/11

Introduction

In spite of this type of collaboration and mutual interests, the relationships between the Pakistan and U.S in the war against the terror did not remain without the resistances. Debatably, the Pak-U.S relationships, since the war against terror had launched, stayed burdened with bitterness and captive to the firmness of Washington on Islamabad with the demand to do more to eliminate the network of terrorists forces, Al-Qaida and Taliban, apparently operational from the tribal regions of Pakistan and committing terrorism related activities around the border areas. Furthermore, the recurrent use of drone strikes by U.S in Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan, pressure of Washington on Islamabad to be decisive in opposition to the network of Dr. Qadeer Khan for its participation in propagation of nuclear programs and deal regarding nuclear system between India and U.S are the main fundamental reasons of the disagreement between Pakistan and U.S.

On 2nd of May 2011, secret action of the U.S Navy Seals in Pakistan's territory with the objective to target the Al-Qaida leader Osama-bin-Laden was too much to smear a fresh age of concentrated government of U.S inspection of a now tense and yet antagonist relations¹. In this regard, this paper performs the analysis the Pak-U.S relationships by with giving the arguments that in spite of collaboration by them in the war against the terror in the, the basics of the Pak-U.S coalition are extremely fragile and brittle. Another argue is that in incoming few years will untie whether Pakistan sustains the status of being partner

of America and the collaboration in the war against the terror carries on or being forced out of the circle of U.S allies.

This paper is distributed into four segments. In the first segment, critical examination is presented related to Pak-U.S relations just after the 9/11 incident took place, where both countries had set up a tactical coalition to confront the terrorism of the world with no any assurance of long duration based of U.S versus Pakistan. In the subsequent segment of this paper matters of conflict between Pakistan and U.S are dealt by performing the examining the fundamental reasons of disagreement between these two main strategically allied countries in the war against terror. Third part of paper attempts to do the analysis around the outcomes of damaged relations and as conclusion deficiency of collaboration in this war between Pakistan and U.S. The conclusive segment highlights upon re-definition of the relationships between Pakistan and U.S in order to eradicate the terrorist groups' infrastructure of to attain the defined objective in this war. These groups include Al-Qaida and all related groups.

Pak-U.S relations after 9/11 incident

The incident of 9/11 became the reason for Pakistan and U.S to become strategic allied for the third time². On 20th of September 2001, when U.S President George Bush was addressing the Congress' joint session, he gave warning that every country, belonging to any region, they all have to decide either they are going to stand with U.S or in they have to make it clear that they are with the terrorists. He further said that from here on, any

country that carry's on to port or provides support to terrorists will be reckoned as the aggressive government by U.S. This message was pretty clear for a state such as Pakistan which had been playing active performer of the internal politics in Afghanistan.

In accordance with statement of Lawrence Ziring, to challenge the U.S in the result of the terrible incident of 9/11 would be to put the Pakistan in straight connection with the acts of Al-Qaida. Furthermore, at this occasion there was no unraveling Al-Qaida from the Taliban and Pakistan was strained to pick between being considered as a co-conspirator with the named group of terrorists or union the U.S call for the cutting of binds to the Mulla Umar's regime. U.S also forced Pervez Musharraf to think carefully regarding the decision to defuse the majority of militant groups associated with different Islamist organizations being operated from Pakistan³.

The support by Pakistan in the war against terror had needed Islamabad to supply Washington with blanket over flight and corridor privileges for conducting all required armed and intelligence actions, together with the utilization of naval posts of Pakistan, tactical positions on boundaries, air bases, closing of the diplomatic relationships with government of Taliban and help the U.S to obliterate the network of Al-Qaida⁴.

In this respect, four airports were provided to U.S forces by Pakistan for logistic assistance along with Dalbadin, Pasni, Jacobabad and Shamsi (Kharan).⁵ Likewise, U.S also got help from Pakistan to engage in spying activities that included employing of planes for spying activity in North and South Waziristan, Chain of Mountains in Hindu Kush, Zhob, Chitral and hilly zone between Afghanistan and Baluchistan and Kandahar of Pakistan. Devices used to track also employed on various locations to perform the monitoring the activities in the border regions⁶.

One more liability assigned to Pakistan in this war was to assist the U.S to eradicate the network of Al-Qaida. For this, Pakistan not only detained various leaders of Al-Qaida and cadre and them handing them over to U.S but also participated actively in prevention of various terror schemes. In the month of August, 2006, with the assistance of information provide by lively intelligence of Pakistan, a terror scheme, aiming to target the aircrafts moving between U.S and U.K was blocked. Accordance with the statement of the Foreign Office spokesperson Ms. Tasnim Aslam, Pakistan did some arresting in collaboration with arrests done in U.K to block the scheme. She stated that the arrests in U.K are result of the lively support of the intelligence amongst Pakistan, U.S and the U.K.⁷

Point to be noted that 9/11 incident also offered a chance to Pakistan to gather the advantages because of their support and collaboration with the U.S in the war against the terror. Though, argument is there that these benefits had not revealed any commitment of U.S in longer terms to form practical and strong

relationships with Pakistan. These gains had shape of political favor to the armed administration, the funneling of U.S financial and armed support and the U.S lively help to normalize the Pak-India relations.

Political support for armed administration of Pervez Musharraf

When the 9/11 incident occurred, at that time Pakistan was going through the Military rule. Armed establishment of Musharraf going through the isolated stated in the international arena owing to causing the downfall of Mr. Nawaz Shari's elected civilian government in the month of October 1999 and it was in terrible necessity of getting the legitimate status worldwide. There was also a serious worldwide force they had to face to do the restoration Pakistan's democracy. Though, the scenario turned around completely subsequent to joining of Pakistan to the war against terror which was led by U.S. It gave Musharraf the status as one of the popular leader of the world as many notables started visiting Pakistan and giving assurance of their full support to the regime of Musharraf. These notables included Mr. Tony Blair, Prime Minister of U.K, Mr. Gerhard Schroeder Chancellor of Germany, Mr. Colin Powell Secretary of State for U.S, Mr. Donald Rumsfeld Secretary of Defence for U.S and French and Turkish Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Paradoxically, the cooperation between Islamabad and Washington in this war was at the cost of Pakistan's democracy. Concerned to given the legitimate status to his position as the President of Pakistan and to secure the business gains of the military regime of Pakistan it could have been in danger in a U.S-led operation in confronting the worldwide terrorism, Pervez Musharraf agreed quickly to all the demands put up by U.S in front of him. In that way, a very significant signal was sent to the U.S which meant that If U.S going to help Musharraf, he will do same for U.S in return. Temporarily, this tactic worked for him. Just about instantly, Musharraf got the transformation from being the democracy of Pakistan's usurper and the Kargil's villain who hell-curved on extorting Kashmir out of the India into a firm collaborator of the independent world that was a main ally in this war⁸.

By giving the complete support, Administration of Bush, equally, abstained from doing the criticism against Musharraf to reinstate the Pakistan's democratic process. Furthermore, when in December 2004, Musharraf was visiting the U.S, Administration of Bush even refused to question of flaking his military chief's uniform. In its place, Bush articulated his all types of support and praised the Musharraf to giving strong support and cooperation with U.S and focusing over the efforts to confront the terror⁹.

By giving the complete support, the Administration of President Bush undoubtedly stated that it there is no any perception to look at the Pakistan without the Gen. Pervez Musharraf in the form of its President. While given an exclusive interview to the

newspaper *The New York Post*, Condoleezza Rice, State Secretary openly said that it has been seen dramatic change in the direction of the country post 9/11 incident and also Musharraf has made determination to eliminate the extremism possible. In the shape of this specific leader of Pakistan, it has been found a person who is trying to cut down the roots of extremism that took place in Pakistan specifically post defeat by Soviet Union in Afghanistan...who can be considered a supportive and sincere partner in the war against the terror¹⁰.

Even though Pakistan's political scenario turned around post elections of year 2008 that was concluded with the emergence of Pakistan Peoples Party was witnessed as the leading organizations and Government was created led by PPP, but still the key segments of foreign policy are controlled by armed establishment. These segments include Pak-U.S relations and also relations of Pakistan with Afghanistan, Kashmir, India and nuclear program.

Military and Financial aid by U.S for Pakistan

Fact is that the brittle financial scenario in Pakistan was also one of the bases to assist the U.S in the war against the terror. Pakistan already had been going through tough period in terms of the sanctions over financial and military departments that were enforced by U.S and other contributor countries after Pakistan conducted nuclear tests in the month of May 1998 and disrupting of smooth democratic process by armed establishment in October 1999 had urgently wanted support to run the state matters smoothly.

Along with the expansion of cooperation by Islamabad in this war, the U.S Congress not just elevated those sanctions but also dispensed a substantial military and financial relief to Pakistan. In the light of report by CRS (Congressional Research Service) submitted in May 2012: Till the ending of year 2011, amount of around \$15.3 billion was appropriated by Congress in obvious support for next decade, that includes in excess of \$8.3 billion in growth and gentle aid and almost \$7 billion for the plans correlated to security¹¹.

Likewise, by giving the acknowledgment to the contribution of Pakistan in the war against the terror, in year 2004 the government of U.S delegated Pakistan as a key ally amongst all the countries that were not the NATO member and a position in which a state had exemptions from the deferment of the military related support by U.S and that also meet the criteria to be given extra material related to defense from U.S stocks¹².

Though, no any commitment on the basis of long term duration produced to continue the Pakistan's aid immediately after the war against terror has ended. The egotism of U.S versus Pakistan was clearly visible throughout the current argument between them. The U.S not just dangled the compensation of the dues of Pakistan lying under Support Fund for Coalition however also suspended \$33 million funds to Finance the

Foreign Military section as a response to giving of around 33 years captivity by Judge of the court to Doctor. Shakil Afridi. Doctor Shakif Afridi was given imprisonment because he played suspected job and helped U.S to trace Osama-Bin-Laden with the help of conducting a fake campaign for vaccination.

Discussion

Currently, the relations between Pakistan and America are going through tough era. Being the allies in the war against the terror, Pakistan and U.S both can not afford to fraction their ways. Requirement of sanity is to mend the barriers and to build regular relationships founded on accepting needs and obligations of each other. As both Pakistan and U.S need support and assistance of each other, even though for the reasons are diverse, but the vital question arise here that how to convince Pakistan to complete the demands by Washington.

Ex official of U.S Department of State under the Administration of Bush Mr. Daniel Markey express that issuing pressure utilizing sticks and receptiveness on Pakistan is exactly the incorrect loom. Such approaches are supposed to valve into doubt about the intensions of U.S, worsen the insecurities of Pakistan regarding U.S desertion and raise inducements of Pakistan to enclose.¹³ Likewise, for Pakistan it will be proved as an excessive failure if this coalition of forces led by U.S be unsuccessful in Afghanistan. Consequently, Pakistan might go through isolation in region and as well as in the world. So as to attain the wanted goals of this war, the re-defining of the current relations between Pakistan and America become further significant with the objective of to conclude this war successfully. To achieve this, under given measures should be adopted by both countries:

Distrust lessening

It is commonly supposed that the rising distrust between Pakistan and US in latest years is major reason to sabotage the wanted objectives of the war against the terror. The distrust is established on both countries. In the view of the U.S, Pakistan does not have any seriousness to uproot the terrorist infrastructure of armed groups, predominantly the Haqqani network based in North Waziristan, which is linked with Al-Qaida and the Taliban. In contrast, a prevalent opinion prevails in Pakistan is that the U.S is not a dependable collaborator, for that the latter has for all time employed the previous for helping to gain its benefits in the area and by no means assisted Pakistan during crucial times. It precisely came about throughout the first coalition between U.S and Pakistan in opposition to Communism during the period of 1950s and 1960s.

In spite of protest by Pakistan, the U.S of provided military related support to India; while the Sino-Indian war of 1962 was in progress. Alike, during the war of 1965 between Pakistan and India the U.S forced military related sanctions that brutally left

impact over Pakistan as it turned out the main receiver of weapon of U.S. Conversely, there was the continuation by India to receive the supply of weapons from the former Soviet Union. Likewise, having the status of forefront partner of the U.S throughout the 1980s' Afghan War; Pakistan left isolated and helpless in year 1988 by the U.S when they removed Soviet forces out of Afghanistan. In spite of contribution of Pakistan in this battle, deterrents associated with nuclear propagation lying under the Pressler Amendment¹⁴ had forced to impose over Pakistan. Being globally cut off, there was no any other option left for Pakistan than to do the arrangements with the Afghanistan after the withdrawal of Soviet lone way with no any global demands.

The formation and development of Taliban groups in mid 1990s exemplifies regional insecurities by Pakistan which even did not finish after Islamabad became fore front partner of U.S in the war against the terror post 9/11 occurrence. Pakistan is going through the fear that after the conclusion of this war the U.S would not just depart leaving Pakistan ignored but also surrender the liability of the safety of Afghanistan and handing over this to India, who is semicircle opponent of Pakistan. To support this point, there a case exists in the shape of India-Afghanistan security agreement signed in year 2011. Furthermore, the current signing of an accord between New Delhi and Washington on to hold regular tri-lateral discussions with Kabul has more fortified the doubts of Pakistan¹⁵.

While keep in view the history of occurrence of its relationships versus each other, Pakistan and U.S; both are showing reluctant approach to belief over each other. In a result, the preferred goals of this war seems mainly been affected. Thus, it is relevant for Pakistan and U.S to lessen the deficiency of trust versus over each other and convince the mutual objectives in the war against the terror.

Pakistan's worries related to Security

Worries of Pakistan, related to security, to be specific versus India, are the main obstruction in efficiently compressing below opposite to the armed groups that, by Pakistan, were reckoned as tactical features to provide its tactical benefits related with Afghanistan's region and the region of Indian Occupied Kashmir. In case of Pakistan again being isolated, the way it happened post removal of the troops of Soviet off the Afghanistan in year 1988, hence Pakistan would more fortify its binds with the armed groups, on which immensely being invested by Pakistan since the incursion of Soviet of Afghanistan¹⁶.

The main complaint by Pakistan versus the U.S exists is the latter has by no means rewarded attention to the former's duration of long period regional safety worries. The argument raised by Islamabad is that in spite of its coalition with Washington, both the time whilst the Cold War was in progress and the joint venture after the occurrence of 9/11 incidents, the

U.S has for all time handled Pakistan with discrimination. Even though India is the country that was liable for South Asian nuclearization since nuclear weapons' tests in 1974 were performed by India¹⁷, the U.S has been frightening of the nuclear program of Pakistan. Furthermore, the U.S is unwilling to contribute as intermediary between Pakistan and India in resolving the conflicting issue of Kashmir, which has come up as South Asian nuclear flashpoint in addition to a main cause for regional terrorism as it supplies a validation to the armed organizations for giving the wages to the Jihad to confront the killing of India on the citizens of Kashmir. Thus, U.S requires attaining benefit of its influence over India and putting pressure in resolving the issue of Kashmir, and reduces the security related worries of Pakistan in the region so as to conclude the war against the terror in successful manner¹⁸.

Democracy Support in Pakistan

The U.S should recognize that if it will continue to prioritize the military establishment over the Pakistan's civilian democratic forces is established devastating for either of the countries. In result, the Pakistan's democratic forces are too feeble to declare their power and autonomously prepare the policy related to the affairs of domestic and foreign aspects of the country. The argument is that there is no any other form but a democratic Pakistan would guarantee the peace for region, world and also for Pakistan internally as well. Thus, it is relevant for the U.S to greatly spend in the institutions of civil and democratic system. The deteriorating of moderate democratic forces might cover the way for Islamists organizations to conquest of nuclear Pakistan. In case of this scenario being created, it will certainly come up as a frightening for the citizens of U.S.¹⁹.

Conclusion

At present, the relationships between Pakistan and U.S are going through a significant stage. Reality is that the both Pakistan and U.S had set up the coalition post 9/11 tragic incident from two diverse angels: Islamabad and Washington had need to commence assaults against Afghanistan, that was under the ruling of groups of Taliban who were covering another terrorist group Al-Qaida, supposedly mixed up in terrorist assaults against the U.S on September 11, 2001; in contrast, for Pakistan, the reason of the coalition was to keep itself safe from the anger of U.S and gather financial and military related gains from U.S and from other western authorities; it is owing to that the collaboration in the war against the terror between the Pakistan and U.S stayed wobbly and captive to their particular tactical gains in the region. As a result, the goals that were desired to be achieved from the war against the terror have not attained and the relationship between the Pakistan and U.S has arrived at the lowest fade from the time when this war was launched. There is an argument that the worsening in relationships between the Pakistan and U.S would have grave outcomes for the war against the terror which had aim to eliminate the infrastructure of Al-Qaida, Taliban and the

other armed groups functioning in the tribal areas of Pakistan. This is a peak time for Pakistan and U.S to sensibly evaluate their collapses and achievements in this war, recognize segments of junction and work jointly in order to secure the entire from the threat of terrorism.

As much as concerning of Pakistan is related, it requires discarding its double part of operating with the hunts. There is need that Islamabad revisits its foreign policy, mainly versus Afghanistan and India that are two key states of this region around which foreign policy of Pakistan has up till now rotated. For this, to do away alongside the idea of fascination of India ought to be Pakistan's vital main concern. Such a policy, as a result, would not only reduce the doubts of Pakistan regarding the role of Afghanistan and India but it will also force Islamabad to gravely initiate onslaught on the armed and terrorist groups. Having the status of single Super power, the U.S should value to the autonomy and liberty of the states that are weaker than U.S like Pakistan, which also happen to be the main partner in the war against the terror. In this respect, the U.S should be responsive to the complaints of Pakistan and honestly tackle its panics of sending it in the isolated state in this area. Discarding the Pakistan, who is nuclear force, will be an immense blunder on the U.S' part. The rising feelings of being insecure might force Pakistan to depend more on its nuclear potential and therefore the region of South Asia will be facing a race of nuclear arms between India and Pakistan. Furthermore, if Pakistan adopts the U.S course, it would without restraint follow its tactical gains in the region, specifically in India and Afghanistan by utilizing armed groups, which are still reckoned as tactical assets by Islamabad. To evade this type of scenario, where Pakistan might board upon its customary policies versus Afghanistan and India in the wake of its timidities, the U.S should play an lively and dedicated part in two key segments that is to plan a method to resolve bilateral quarrels between Pakistan and India; that includes Kashmir and other segment needs to be addressed is helping to support the budding democratic institutions in Pakistan, since a powerful democratic system would be an sentimental instrument to battle the threat of terrorism in the region.

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