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ISTANBUL GELISIM UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

Department of Political Science and Public Administration

**THE PLACE OF PAKISTAN IN AMERICAN FOREIGN
POLICY AFTER THE COLD WAR(1990-2009)**

Master Thesis

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Supervisor
Asst. Prof. Dr. Rahmat ULLAH

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that in the preparation of this thesis, scientific ethical rules have been followed, the works of other persons have been referenced in accordance with the scientific norms if used, there is no falsification in the user data, any part of the thesis has not been submitted to this university or any other university as another thesis.

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SUMMARY

This research specifically concentrates on the relationship between America and Pakistan after the Cold War (1990-2009). But for further understanding of US-Pakistan relations, it is important to have a short discussion on the relationship between Washington and Islamabad. During the Cold War Pakistan's role in American foreign policy was largely centered on its strategic significance in the containment of communism in Asia, military assistance, and its role in the Afghan conflict. This period was specifically concentrated on how to ban the spread of communism in the South Asian region and in the world. After the Cold War 1990 until 2000 Pakistan's role in American foreign policy was marked by a complex mix of cooperation and tensions. While there were periods of strained relations due to nuclear concerns and Pakistan's involvement with the Taliban, the U.S. increasingly recognized Pakistan's importance in the fight against terrorism, which set the stage for a more prominent role for Pakistan in U.S. foreign policy. During this period a lot of economic restrictions and pressures were imposed on Pakistan due to its nuclear proliferation program. The geography of Pakistan was considered a big threat in the South Asia region due to its devastated potential for mass destruction weapons and its easy access to non-responsible groups. From 2000 to 2009, Pakistan's role in American foreign policy was defined by its critical position in the War on Terror. Mostly after the 9/11 incident America once again relied on Pakistan and used its territory against Al-Qaeda and some other extremist groups, and in return, Pakistan received different forms of aid and assistance from America. Meanwhile, the international community and America struggle to stabilize the geography of Pakistan to maintain Democracy, and human rights, and pave the ground for political transparency. Obviously, the relationship between the two countries was complex, characterized by cooperation in counterterrorism efforts but also marked by tensions and challenges related to Pakistan's domestic security situation and its ties to militant groups. It's worth mentioning that after 2001 and the collapse of the Taliban government in Afghanistan, the competition of great power politics(America, Russia, China) in different areas like politics, security, and economics began in the South Asia region. The political, security, and economic competition between America, China, and Russia in South Asia is multifaceted and dynamic. It involves strategic partnerships, military influence, infrastructure development, economic investments, and regional alliances.

Keywords: Global War on Terror, Policy Making Process, Regional Conflicts, Great Power Politics, extremist Groups in the Region

ÖZET

Bu çalışmada soğuk savaş sonrası,1990'lardan George W.Bush'un başkanlık döneminin sonuna kadar dönemde,Pakistan'ın ABD dış politikasındaki yeri realist bakış açısından tarihsel olarak incelenmektedir.Bu çalışma daha çok nitel verilere dayanmaktadır. Soğuk savaş döneminde Pakistan'ın ABD için önemi ,sadece Güney Asya'da komünizmin yayılmasını engellemekten ibarettir.Soğuk savaş döneminde ABD, Pakistan'ın sovyetler birliğine karşı sağladığı jeopolitik avantajdan önemli düzeyde faydalanmıştır. Pakistan'ın kurulmasında amaç sadece Müslümanları, güney Asya'da ayrı bir ülkeye yerleştirmek değildir, bu perspektifin daha ötesinde bir gaye vardır. Bu coğrafyadan farklı dönemlerde belirli amaçlar için faydalanıldı. Soğuk savaştan sonra Pakistan'ın Amerikan dış politikasında hala bir yeri vardı, fakat bu arada Nükleer programı nedeniyle baskıya ve yaptırımlara maruz kaldı. Bu yaptırımlar 11 Eylül saldırısına kadar sürdü. 11 Eylül'den sonra, Pakistan tekrar ABD dış politikasındaki önemine kavuştu ve ABD'nin terörle mücadelesinde anahtar konumda bir müttefiki haline geldi. Pakistan'a bölgede terörle mücadele etmesi için yüksek düzeyde ekonomik ve askeri yardımda bulunuldu. ABD ve Pakistan stratejik ortak oldular ve Pakistan ve Afganistan sınırındaki aşiretler bölgesinde saklanan El Kaide ve Taliban militanlarını etkisiz hale getirmeye çalıştılar. İslamabad her zaman, güney asya'daki bölgesel ve uluslararası değişimlerde jeopolitik konumunun sağladığı avantajı kullandı.

Anahtar Kelimeler : Teröre Karşı Küresel Savaş, Politika Oluşturma Süreci, Bölgesel Çatışmalar, Büyük Güç Politikaları, Bölgedeki Aşırı Gruplar

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ABBREVIATIONS

NPT	:	Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty
SEATO	:	Southeast Asian Treaty Organization
CENTO	:	Central Treaty Organization
CIA	:	Central Intelligence Agency
ISI	:	Inter-Services Intelligence
CTBT	:	Comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty
TTP	:	Tahreek-e-Taliban Pakistan
GWOT	:	Global war on terror
SCO	:	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
TAPI	:	Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India Pipeline
BTC	:	Baku-Tibilis-Ceyhan
LET	:	Lashker-e-Tayba
JEM	:	Jahish-e-Muhammad
HUM	:	Harakat-ul-Mujahedin
LEJ	:	Lashkar-e-Jangawi
IMU	:	Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan
TNSM	:	Tahreek-i-Nafaz-i-Sharia Muhammad
BLA	:	Balochistan Liberation Army
BLF	:	Balochistan Liberation Front
NATO	:	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
FBI	:	Federal bureau intelligence
FMF	:	Foreign military finance
EDA	:	European Defence agency
BRI	:	Belt and Road initiative
IPC	:	Iran-Pakistan-China
FATA	:	Federally administered tribal area
FY	:	Fiscal year
PCF	:	Pakistan counterinsurgency capability
IDA	:	International disaster assistance
MRA	:	Migration and refugee assistance
ESF	:	Economic support fund
GHCS	:	Global health and child survival

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH

1.1. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Pakistan has been considered an important country in political and security equations since its establishment in (1947). Being placed among Powers such as the Soviet Union, India, and China, has caused this country to be always a turning point for superior countries. Being in a Geo-strategic region, it had caused the hegemonic countries such as the United States to pay special attention to this country. There has been a series of close relations from cooperation to alliances and sometimes distance and weakness in the relations between America and Pakistan. Current research is following to clarify the main nature of the relationship between the two countries and meanwhile to specify the reason for their political proximity and distance during the Cold War, after the Cold War, and to assess their relationship after the 9/11 incident. It's mentionable that the last two periods(After the Cold War and after 9/11) are the main issues of this research. Meanwhile, this research is assessing the position of Pakistan in American foreign policy in each of the three periods of time, and moreover why and how Pakistan took place in American foreign policy. Being precise about the structural factors and how they affect the quality of relations between the two countries is one of the big issues that will be discussed in this research and their relationships will be measured. How could Pakistan in any new situation be considered in the equations of the American foreign policy and create the necessary conditions for obtaining the dominant dimension in the international system, and whether this country basically has the necessary objective mechanisms to pursue a foreign policy behavior? In accordance with the structural changes of international politics is another important issue that needs to be researched. In fact, determining the relationship between structural changes, behavioral changes, changes in American foreign policy, and finally the place of Pakistan in the foreign policy of this country after the Cold War until the end of the Bush era is the dominant issue of this research.

1.2. PURPOSE

- 1-Significance of Pakistan during 1990-2009 on the US foreign policy.
- 2- The importance of Pakistan for the US in the War on Terror after 9/11.
- 3- Assessing Pakistan's position in US economic policy after the Cold War until 2009.

1.3. IMPORTANCE

Pakistan is one of Afghanistan's neighboring countries and this research has value and importance in terms of foreign policy and increasing our understanding of foreign relations. In order to know the roles, behavior, and functions of foreign policies. This academic research shows how the foreign policy of countries is formed in international relations and how the structure affects the behaviors and foreign policy. Meanwhile, the role of dominant countries in shaping the foreign policies of other countries will be specified. In this framework, relations between U.S-Pakistan will show how the behavior of weak countries in the international environment is formed and based on which functions their Place in international politics is built. Most research regarding US-Pakistan foreign policy was very general or only relied on a historical perspective, while the purpose of the current research is to establish a link between theory and practice to show that foreign policies are not formed in a vacuum and are always affected by specific structures. Less has been done about the foreign policy of Pakistan in Afghanistan in the current scope. On the other hand, understanding the foreign policy of the United States in this format can give us a comprehensive understanding of the behavioral effects of this country on the world around us especially in Afghanistan. Beyond the theoretical dimensions, Pakistan is considered an important country in the South Asian region, whose relations with America can have special effects on Afghanistan due to its neighborhood. Recognizing Pakistan means recognizing the strategic realities on which Afghanistan wants to adjust its relations with this region.

1.4. SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

Current research is based on Pakistan's place in American foreign policy after the Cold War and until the end of the Bush era (1990-2009).

1.5. METHODOLOGY

In this academic research, It used the type of behaviorist and to a certain extent trans-behaviorist methodology, It embedded the theory of realism and neo-realism to specify the hypothesis. Descriptive-analytical approach method has been used to conduct the present research.

1.5.1.Hypothesis/Assumptions:

- 1- Pakistan's place in American foreign policy has changed from an important geopolitical position during the Cold War to an ineffective economic position after the end of the Cold War.
- 2- The position of Pakistan from the 9/11 incident and after that again found its geo-political position in the region to the US foreign policy.
- 3- Pakistan's place in American foreign policy before the Cold War was more affected by the bipolar structure under the influence of political and strategic factors.
- 4- The war on terror, nuclear weapons, Regional stability, and Democracy as the main factors in US foreign policy after 9/11 and the main reason for the renewed importance of Pakistan.

1.5.2.Research questions:

- 1- What effect did the end of the Cold War and the changes after that have on Pakistan's position in US foreign policy?
- 2- What were the influential factors of Pakistan's position in US foreign policy before the Cold War?
- 3- What were the factors influencing Pakistan's position in the US foreign policy in the 1990s until 2001?
- 4- What are the influencing factors on Pakistan's position in American foreign policy after the 9/11 incident?
- 5- What factors have caused the change in American foreign policy after the Cold War and after September 11, in relation to Pakistan?

1.6. RESEARCH VARIABLES:

The independent variables in this research are the end of the Cold War and the 9/11 incident. The increase in the importance of Geo-political approaches such as the War on terror, weapons of mass destruction, Regional stability, Democracy, and human rights are dependent variables of Pakistan's position in American foreign policy after the Cold War.

1.7. DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUE:

Since this is qualitative research, thus secondary data collection technique is used in order to answer the questions and test the assumptions. Mostly the data collection relies on books, articles, research papers, and internet sources.

1.8. Theoretical Framework: Realism and Neo-Realism

This topic is analyzed according to realism and new realism theories. Progress in expansion and progress in changing the world to a better place will be possible only if, we use carefully examined criteria for selecting theories and apply them in such a course of action that takes away from any pre-existing ideological bias. Classical realism was invented by Edward Hallett Carr and Hans. Morgenthau in international relations. Although we can find the concept of realism in the writings of several ancient political thinkers such as Thucydides, Machiavelli, and Tomas Hobbes. The Twenty Years Crisis (1939) is the most famous book of Edward Hallett Carr which lays the foundation for realism theory, according to him idealists are mostly influenced by dreams neither thought nor observation. Meanwhile, Hans. J. Morgenthau's Politics Among Nations: the Struggle for Power and Peace is the most significant book about classical realist theory. He believes that the science of international relations will be made through the tradition of real-life events and by the proper application of meaningful law. According to him, the theory will be realistic, independent, insightful, and consistent with empirical reality. In the 21st century, the most well-known realist theoretician who influenced the academic and foreign policy of the countries is Samuel P. Huntington. Clash of Civilizations (1993) is his book in which he argued that after the Cold War, the fight and disputes would be between cultures, not countries. (Goldstein, 2006)

Neo-Realism was created to overcome the criticism that began in the realism discourse. In late 1970 this theory found its importance, Kenneth waltz in his Theory of International Politics (1979) book states the basic idea of this theory (war, anarchy, the balance of power, authority, international identity, security competitions, arms race, death of the states, alliance formation...etc). While this is the bedrock of international relations theory. Waltz explains how the states behave and interact in the international arena. The boldest differentiation between classical realism and neo-realism is the scope of the theory. classical realism acts with domestic politics(power, national identity, authority). while neo-realism acts broader in its form. Besides Kenneth Waltz as a neo-realist, we can name Christopher Layne and Robert Gilpin. (Smith, 2017)

1.8.1.Theories of Samuel P. Huntington

According to Huntington's theory, the connection and alignment of civilizations after the end of the Cold War will create faults in the international system, which will reinforce a new round of world conflicts around the axis of civilization. Based on this, members of a civilization zone support each other and fight against other civilization's members zone. According to the definition, this process can lead to war and confrontation between America and other civilizations areas. In the late 1960s at the peak of the world's belief that democracy was the result of industrial development. American political thinker Samuel Huntington, who was himself a Democrat, believed that; because industrial development itself causes chaos, the prerequisite for successful political societies is "order" which can cause gradual social transformation. Huntington, with his unique theories in the foreign policy of the United States, once again in the late 1990s, by the fall of communism and the Soviet Union, proposed a new controversial theory that attracted the attention of scientists and practitioners of the world's practical politics. In 1992, by drawing the fault lines of world civilizations, Huntington proposed the theory of the clash of civilizations in a situation where the future movement of the world was not clearly visible. (Huntington, Summer 1993)

United States policymakers wanted to replace the declining theory of East-West structural conflicts, which had been used for nearly fifty years to explain relations with the East, with a ready-made definition and package for future policymaking. Regarding that Huntington presented an impressive theory that seemed unchallengeable the older theory of "order" observed the peaceful co-existence of authoritarian regimes with the democratic West and was no longer applicable. With the collapse of communism, the Islamic world confrontations with the West on the part of this powerful ideological Blok were inevitable. The emergence and formation of the Taliban and Wahhabism in Pakistan, Afghanistan and the increasing role of Saudi Arabia in the Islamic world, the murder of Anwar Sadat as a symbol of threat toward the West, and of course many other signs of the rise of Islamic fundamentalism with tendency towards military conflicts on a global scale. (S.paris, 1993)

(Adam, 1995) argues that these developments occupied Huntington's thought and formed the theory of the clash of civilizations in conditions where there was no alternative theory for the confrontation between the East and the West. This theory was first published in the form of an article in the early nineties, in 1996, it was turned into a book, and shortly after Huntington's ideas

and the events of 9/11, he elevated this theory to the level of a prophetic prediction and showed it as a definite and inevitable event

1.8.2. Kenneth Waltz's Theory of Neo-Realism.

The principle of change in the international system caused Kent Waltz to revise the theory of classical realism in his famous book, *Theory of International Politics*. Waltz accepts all those concepts used in classical realism such as decentralization, authority, power, national interests, and the distinction between domestic and international politics, but the most important criticism that he has regarding this theory is its reductionism. According to him, a theory should be built that can provide a kind of holistic explanation of the structure of the international system. Therefore, structural realism is used for a better understanding of international politics instead of the national level of analysis. Whereas, neo-realism is used for a better understanding of international politics instead of the national level of analysis. Waltz believes that reducing the study of international politics to the level of the nation-state, and as a result, the level of the decision-making process does not provide sufficient conditions, because it does not pay attention to the effect of the level of systemic analysis on the behavior of governments. He argued in the theory of international politics that, those theories that focus on individual causes, are reductionist. But those theories that focus on international causes are systemic theories. According to his point of view, theoreticians like Hobbs and Lenin are reductionists. He seeks to criticize these kinds of theories, rather he wants to present a holistic theory to understand international politics. (Waltz, 1979)

Therefore, his theory should be non-reductionist, systemic, and structuralist. Regarding this, he states that any approach or theory, to be truly systemic, must show how the level of the system or structure is distinguished from the level of the interacting units. If the units do not function according to the structural requirements, they will be destroyed. Therefore, all the units are either condemned to death, or they have to adjust their needs and demands to adapt themselves completely to the system. (Glaser, 1994-1995).

In neo-realism itself, we are faced with different types of balance, internal and external balance, and hard and soft balances, each of them corresponding to a period of US-Pakistan relations which will be discussed in the next chapters.

1.8.3. The Implication of Realism and Neo-Realism in this Research

The actual implications of these theories on the US-Pakistan relationship depend on the specific policies and events that occur over time. Both theories provide useful lenses through which we can analyze the relationship between these two countries. Realism focuses on power and self-interest in international politics. In the context of the US-Pakistan relationship, Realism would suggest that both countries prioritize their national interests, often leading to a transactional and sometimes competitive relationship. Realist perspectives might emphasize security concerns, such as Pakistan's strategic location in the region and its role in counterterrorism efforts. Neo-Realism, on the other hand, emphasizes cooperation, balance of power, international institutions, and economic interdependence. In the US-Pakistan relationship, a neo-realism perspective could highlight instances where both countries work together on economic and diplomatic issues, such as trade, development, and regional stability. (Garst, 1989)

In the context of the US-Pakistan relationship, neorealism can have several implications:

- 1- **Security Concerns:** Neo-realism emphasizes security as a primary concern for states. Both the US and Pakistan might prioritize their security interests in the region, leading to a focus on military cooperation, intelligence sharing, and counterterrorism efforts.
- 2- **Balancing and Bandwagoning:** Neo-realism suggests that states either balance against stronger powers or bandwagon with them to ensure their security. Pakistan recognizing the US as a powerful actor, may seek to align its interests with the US to gain protection or counterbalance against regional rivals.
- 3- **Strategic Alliances:** Neo-realism often leads to the formation of strategic alliances. The US and Pakistan might engage in strategic partnerships, especially if they perceive a common threat or shared interests in the region, such as stability in Afghanistan or containing the influence of other powers.
- 4- **Regional Power Dynamics:** Neo-realism considers the influence of regional power dynamics. The US-Pakistan relationship might be influenced by their interactions with other key players in the South Asian region, such as India, China, Afghanistan, and Iran. All these interactions can impact the regional balance of power.
- 5- **Security Assistance and Arms Sales:** Neo-realism suggests that states will pursue military capabilities to enhance their security. The US might provide security assistance to Pakistan including arms sales to support its capabilities in maintaining regional stability.

6- **Zero-Sum Game:** Neo-realism tends to view international relations as a zero-sum game, where one state's gain is seen as another's loss. This perception might lead to cautious or competitive interactions between the US and Pakistan, especially if their interests diverge in certain areas. (Tellis, 2008)



CHAPTER TWO

THE BACKGROUND OF THE US-PAKISTAN RELATIONSHIP

2.1. Political and Security Relations of US-Pakistan 1947-1990

The political and security relations between the United States and Pakistan from 1947 to 1990 were complex and evolved significantly. Initially, the U.S. provided military and economic assistance to Pakistan, particularly during the Cold War, due to its geopolitical importance in the region. Pakistan's alliance with the U.S. and membership in military pacts like the Central Treaty Organization (SEATO) and Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (CENTO) reflected their shared interests. However, tensions emerged over issues like Pakistan's nuclear program, human rights concerns, and regional conflicts, especially during the Soviet-Afghan War. While the U.S. supported Pakistan against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, there were disagreements on various policy matters. During this period, Pakistan's domestic politics also played a role in shaping the relationship. Military coups and political instability at times strained ties with the U.S. efforts to balance relations with India, another key U.S. ally in the region, added to the complexity. Overall, the US-Pakistan relationship during this era was marked by a mix of cooperation, divergence, and evolving geopolitical dynamics in South Asia and the broader international context. (Lieven, 2012)

2.1.1 The Creation of Pakistan and the Role of America:

The creation of Pakistan in 1947 was a significant event in South Asian history. While the U.S. had an indirect influence on the creation of Pakistan, it was not the primary driver. The main factors were the demand for a separate Muslim homeland, the political negotiations between the Indian National Congress and the all-India Muslim League, and the complex religious and cultural dynamics in the Indian subcontinent at the time. Muhammad Ali Jinnah often refers to Quaid-e-Azam which means great leader in Urdu played a crucial role in lobbying for the creation of Pakistan. Diplomatically the U.S. was a key player in the United Nations, which discussed and voted on the partition plan for British India for their own interest in the South Asia region. American diplomats, such as Ambassador Warren Austin, were involved in these discussions, which influenced the international community's stance on the partition. (Hajari, 2016)

The Cold War was unfolding during this period, with the U.S. and the Soviet Union vying for influence. The U.S. saw potential strategic value in having friendly nations in the region.

Pakistan's proximity to the Middle East and its alliance with the U.S. during the Cold War contributed to American interest in Pakistan's stability. After its creation, Pakistan received economic and military assistance from the U.S. through various aid programs, including the Marshall Plan, which aimed to provide financial assistance to countries recovering from World War II. The U.S. played a role in shaping regional politics and alliances in South Asia, which indirectly impacted Pakistan's relationships with neighboring countries. (Parasher, 1996))

2.1.2 Kashmir Crisis:

The Kashmir crisis refers to the ongoing political and territorial conflict between India and Pakistan over the region of Kashmir. The dispute dates back to the partition of British India in 1947. Both countries claim the entire region, but they each control different portions of it, Pakistan controls Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan, while India administers Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh. The region has been a major flashpoint between the two countries, leading to several wars and skirmishes. The people of Kashmir have expressed varied sentiments regarding their political future. Some aspire for greater autonomy, while others seek independence from both India and Pakistan. There have been periods of unrest and protests, met with varying degrees of government response. The conflict has led to human rights abuses, including reports of civilian casualties, disappearances, and violations by both security forces and militant groups. The local population has often been caught in the crossfire. The international community has shown interest in resolving the Kashmir issue. The United Nations has passed several resolutions calling for a plebiscite to determine the region's future, but this has not been implemented due to disagreements between India and Pakistan. Both India and Pakistan possess nuclear weapons, which adds a layer of complexity to the crisis. The potential for escalation in a nuclear-armed region remains a serious concern. Over the years, there have been numerous attempts to resolve the conflict through diplomatic means, including Track II diplomacy, backchannel talks, and peace initiatives. However, a comprehensive resolution has proven elusive due to deeply entrenched positions and domestic politics in both countries. (Schofield, 2010)

The United States has had a role in diplomatic efforts surrounding the Kashmir conflict, but it's important to note that the primary stakeholders in the crisis are India and Pakistan. The U.S. has not been a direct party to the dispute, but it has at times engaged in diplomatic initiatives to encourage dialogue and de-escalation between the two countries. America has generally

maintained a policy of urging India and Pakistan to resolve the Kashmir issue through peaceful negotiations and dialogue. American leaders have expressed concern over the potential for conflict in the region, especially considering the nuclear capabilities of both India and Pakistan. Over the years, the U.S. has occasionally offered to mediate or facilitate talks between India and Pakistan, but these efforts have often been met with mixed reactions from the two countries. India has historically been hesitant to involve third parties in what it considers a bilateral issue, preferring direct talks with Pakistan. Meanwhile, Pakistan has sometimes welcomed international involvement to help address the conflict. It's worth noting that the U.S. relationship with India and Pakistan has multiple dimensions beyond the Kashmir issue. These relationships involve trade, security, counterterrorism efforts, and regional stability, among other factors. U.S. policy towards the Kashmir crisis can be influenced by these broader considerations. (Kux, 2006)

In recent years, with the discovery of huge oil resources in the Kashmir region, the economic goals of Western countries, especially the United States, require that by creating stability and peace in this region, they can take better advantage of the huge energy resources for their industries. For this reason, all global policies are moving towards bringing India and Pakistan closer to each other. (Wirsing, 2016)

2.1.3 Atomic Issues:

Pakistan became a nuclear-armed state in the late 1990s, which raised international worries about the safety and control of its nuclear arsenal. Its nuclear issues include a complex mix of security, proliferation, and regional stability concerns. The concerns about the potential for nuclear weapons to fall into the hands of terrorist groups or other non-state actors due to security challenges within the country. Proliferation concerns involve Pakistan's nuclear technology and expertise potentially being shared with other nations, leading to an arms race in the region. The country's nuclear posture, including the development of tactical nuclear weapons, adds to the regional security dynamics and raises questions about crisis stability. (khan, 2015)

On the diplomatic front, Pakistan's nuclear capability affects its relationships with neighboring India, with whom it has a history of conflicts. The two countries' nuclear rivalry has the potential to escalate tensions and increase the risks of a regional conflict. From a legal point of view based on Article 9 of the N.P. T(Nuclear nonproliferation treaty) Pakistan and its neighbor country India are not part of the nuclear powers and do not enjoy their legal privileges. But George

W. Bush recognized India as a nuclear power during his visit to South Asia in March 2006, and his meeting with Indian Prime Minister Man-Mohan Singh. According to the nuclear agreement signed between India and the US in March 2006, if India agrees to international inspections of its nuclear reactors, it will be allowed to use peaceful nuclear technology, which it has been denying for a long time was take advantage. From an American perspective, Pakistan's atomic issues often center around concerns about nuclear proliferation, regional stability, and counterterrorism efforts. The United States has engaged with Pakistan on non-proliferation measures, seeking to prevent the spread of nuclear technology. Additionally, there are worries about the potential for nuclear weapons to fall into the wrong hands due to security challenges in the region. (Hassan, 2018)

The concerns that the United States has regarding the nuclear program of Pakistan include as:

Nuclear Proliferation: The U.S. is concerned about the possibility of Pakistan's nuclear technology, knowledge, or materials falling into the hands of other countries or non-state actors, which could contribute to global nuclear proliferation and increase regional instability.

Security and Control: There are worries about the security and control of Pakistan's nuclear arsenal. The U.S. is concerned about the potential for insider threats, unauthorized access, or theft of nuclear materials, which could have catastrophic consequences.

Regional Stability: The U.S. is concerned about the impact of Pakistan's nuclear capability on regional stability, particularly in the context of its tense relationship with India. The potential for nuclear escalation in case of a conflict between the two countries is a significant worry.

Terrorism: Given Pakistan's history of supporting militant groups, there are concerns that extremist elements could attempt to seize control of nuclear facilities or materials, potentially using them to further their goals.

Nuclear Strategy: The U.S. is interested in understanding Pakistan's nuclear doctrine and strategy to ensure that its intentions are not aggressive or destabilizing. The development of tactical nuclear weapons has also raised questions about crisis stability and escalation risks.

Non-Proliferation Efforts: The U.S. seeks to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons technology globally. Pakistan's nuclear program, being outside the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), raises concerns about its adherence to non-proliferation norms. (Kerr, 2013)

2.1.4 The Bangladesh Liberation War and the Role of America:

There are two opinions about the role of America in the formation of Bangladesh. The first view believes that the role of the United States in crushing Pakistan should be sought exactly in line with the interests of the United States in South Asia and the Middle East. The existence of a powerful Islamic Pakistan in the South Asian region would harm the long-term interests of the United States as much as it endangered the interests of the Soviet Union. Due to the hatred of the Pakistani people towards the Israeli regime, the Americans always prevented the strengthening of Pakistan within the framework of Islamic laws. (Salik, 1977)

According to the second theory, at the beginning of the crisis, all decision-making bodies in America believed that the United States should not be in crisis Interference with the interior of Pakistan. However, the escalation and expansion of the crisis and India's involvement in the story made the United States' position inevitable. There were contradictory considerations that made it difficult for the United States to take a position, and that very sensitive issue was the secret negotiations with China and Pakistan's major role in this. The American ruling apparatus has been completely indifferent and confusing, with disagreement, weak decision-making, lack of decisiveness, and passive performance in response to the developments that led to the separation of Bangladesh from Pakistan and the emergence of a new country. This is while the Indo-Soviet supported the movements in East Pakistan and even India went to war with Pakistan. (Ali, 2016)

On the other hand, China supported Yahya Khan's efforts to preserve the unity of Pakistan and prevent it from moving towards disintegration. Along with the progress of the Indian forces in East Pakistan, Mrs. Gandhi had stated in the cabinet meeting that the leaders of the Kremlin had promised him that in the event of China's intervention in the war, the Soviet Union would confront that country. The fact that in 1971, Bangladesh, Pakistan's regional rival, gained independence with effective military aid, and the Western world, especially the United States, did not come to Pakistan's aid, caused concern to the political and military authorities of Pakistan on a wide scale. At that time, Pakistan was a member of the SENTO military-defense pact, which basically implied that if a member country was attacked by a third country, the other members were obliged to defend it, but the Pakistani authorities realized with disappointment that the United States and England, which were members of SENTO, would only protect Pakistan. They left and allowed India, an ally of the Soviet Union at that time to divide Pakistan. This experience made the political and military elites of Pakistan face the bitter truth that military agreements are designed for the

benefit of big powers and that small countries are exploited only as tools. The result of this experience in Pakistan was to strengthen the tendency in this country to strengthen the defense-military base inside the tendency towards the nuclear program, the desire towards the Islamic world and the third world, and the friendly gestures towards the Soviet Union during the Bhutto era can be interpreted in this framework. (Schendel, 2009)

2.1.5 The Military Coups in Pakistan and the Involvement of America:

During the period from 1947 to 1990, Pakistan experienced several military coups that significantly shaped its political landscape.

Ayub Khan Coup (1958): In 1958, General Ayub Khan seized power in a military coup. The United States had been providing military assistance to Pakistan as part of its Cold War strategy to counter Soviet influence. While the U.S. did not directly support the coup, it continued to provide military and economic aid to Ayub Khan's regime. During the visit of Ayub Khan to Washington he met with the official authorities of that country such as Allan Dulles the head of the CIA and his brother Johan Foster Dulles the Secretary of State and military officials of the United States, he convinced American authorities to continue their aids in a different form to Pakistan, Eventually, such conditions were achieved that American military aid to Pakistan increased generously so that its amount was hundred million (100 Million) dollars annually after the signing of the Santo Agreement. In 1958, it exceeded one hundred and fifty million dollars(150 Million), and in the following years, it exceeded two hundred and sixty (260) million dollars and it continued for six years. Moreover, what happened in the same year in the relations between the two countries was the official visit of U.S. President General Eisenhower to Pakistan. During these years, Pakistan allowed America to establish a spy base in Peshawar and American spy planes flew over the Soviet Union from there. The falling down of a U-2 plane in 1962, Khrushchev summoned the Pakistani ambassador and pointed to the world map on the wall, put his finger on Pakistan, and said to the ambassador, "If you don't stop this shit work, it will be very easy for us to erase this point from the map". (Haqqani, 2005)

Yahya Khan Coup (1969): After civilian unrest and protests against Ayub Khan's government, another military coup took place in 1969, leading to General Yahya Khan coming to power. The U.S. maintained its strategic interests in the region and continued to provide support, even as the political situation in Pakistan remained unstable. (Ziring, 1997)

Zia-ul-Haq Coup(1977): General Zia-ul-Haq came to power in a coup in 1977. The U.S. initially expressed concern but eventually maintained its strategic partnership with Pakistan due to its role in supporting the Afghan resistance against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. During the Carter administration, America offered a four hundred-million-dollar aid for Pakistan, but Zia-al-Haq rejected it for various reasons, including its insignificance. However, the occurrence of two incidents in the region in the late 70s made the U.S. pay more attention to Pakistan, which resulted in the growing development of bilateral relations. (Anwar, 1991)

The first incident related to the communist coup on April 27, 1978, in Afghanistan was the subsequent invasion of the Soviet communist forces into this country, which made the Soviet Union one step closer to reaching warm waters and disrupting the flow of oil to the West. In this way, the Place of Pakistan and the West as the last barrier to preventing the Soviet Union became more sensitive than ever. At this point, Pakistan could be used as a passage to equip the fighting factions among the Afghans. The result that can be drawn from the occupation of Afghanistan is that in some ways, the Afghan crisis helped America's formal and structural influence on Pakistan to increase and Pakistan's desire to act as a channel for supplying weapons to the Afghan fighters that belonged to them. In fact, during this period, once again, with the fading of de-tension and the exit of the two poles from the state of agreement and finding the speed of the treadmill, America once again had to resort to its former friends to control the speed and deal with the increase in the power of its rival, and this Once again, Pakistan became a strategic value. The Soviet attack on Afghanistan and the Iranian revolution were two events that accelerated this tendency of America. The presence of the Soviet Union in Pakistan's borders made this country strengthen its military and political relations with Washington. The U.S. provided substantial military and financial assistance to Pakistan during this period. (Anwar, 1991)

1988-1990 Transition (Civilian Government): The U.S. welcomed the transition to civilian rule in 1988 but continued to have a complex relationship with Pakistan. Economic and military assistance continued, but the U.S. also voiced concerns about human rights abuses under military regimes. Throughout this period, the U.S. maintained a delicate balance between its strategic interests in the region, particularly during the Cold War, and its concerns about democratic governance and human rights. While the U.S. did not directly instigate these military coups. (Lieven, March 2012)

2.1.6 The Strategic Cooperation between America and Pakistan:

Pakistan and the United States engaged in strategic cooperation that evolved From 1947 to 1990, due to geopolitical interests and the dynamics of the Cold War. The strategic cooperation between Pakistan and the U.S. was largely driven by Cold War considerations. Pakistan's proximity to the Soviet Union and its strategic location in South Asia made it an important partner for the U.S. in its efforts to contain Soviet influence in the region.

Military Assistance: The U.S. provided significant military assistance to Pakistan, including arms, equipment, and training. This assistance was aimed at strengthening Pakistan's defense capabilities and supporting its role in regional security dynamics.

CENTO and SEATO Pacts: Pakistan was a member of the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) which was established in 1955 to promote cooperation and mutual defense between Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, and the United Kingdom to prevent the influence of the soviet union in the region. Also, Pakistan was a member of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) the other members were America, the United Kingdom, France, New Zealand, Austria, and the Philippines which were signed in 1954, both of the treaties were formed to counter Soviet expansion and promote regional security. These memberships further solidified Pakistan's alignment with U.S. interests. (Jones, 2002)

Afghan Conflict: The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 marked a crucial turning point in the US-Pakistan relationship. The United States viewed Pakistan as a key ally in supporting Afghan resistance fighters (Mujahideen) against Soviet forces. The CIA operated covertly in Pakistan to provide weapons and training to the Mujahideen. Pakistan's geographical proximity to Afghanistan made it a vital partner for the United States. It provided a base for training, arming, and organizing Afghan resistance fighters. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of the United States, in collaboration with Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) agency, facilitated the flow of weapons, funding, and training to the Afghan mujahideen. This support was channeled through Pakistan to avoid direct involvement by the U.S. One pivotal moment in the conflict was the introduction of shoulder-fired anti-aircraft missiles, specifically the Stinger missiles. These missiles greatly increased the ability of Afghan rebels to shoot down Soviet helicopters and aircraft, shifting the balance of power on the battlefield. Pakistan played a role in facilitating diplomatic negotiations between the U.S. and the Afghan resistance groups. It helped coordinate efforts to unite various mujahideen factions against the Soviet-backed Afghan government. The

Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989 marked the end of the conflict, but it also left behind a power vacuum that contributed to subsequent instability in the region. Many of the mujahideen groups that received support later evolved into various factions, some of which were involved in Afghanistan's civil war and the rise of the Taliban. Overall, Pakistan's role in American foreign policy during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was instrumental in aiding the Afghan resistance against Soviet forces. This collaboration had significant consequences for the region's geopolitical landscape and the subsequent development of Afghanistan and Pakistan. (Jalali & Garu, 2010)

Economic and Financial Assistance: The U.S. also provided economic and financial assistance to Pakistan during this period. Economic aid was often linked to Pakistan's alignment with U.S. foreign policy goals.

Nuclear Program: Pakistan's nuclear program also played a role in the strategic cooperation between the two countries. The U.S. was aware of Pakistan's nuclear ambitions but was willing to overlook them in pursuit of broader geopolitical objectives. But later on, Pakistan's nuclear program has been a source of concern and complexity in the context of American foreign policy. The U.S. was concerned about the proliferation of nuclear weapons and their potential to escalate regional conflicts, especially in a volatile region like South Asia. The American government consistently expressed concerns about the safety, security, and potential for nuclear weapons to fall into the wrong hands. The United States also pressed Pakistan to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). As a result, we can say that America's strategy regarding Pakistan's nuclear program has encompassed efforts to prevent proliferation, promote non-proliferation treaties, and engage in cooperative measures to secure Pakistan's nuclear arsenal. The relationship between the two countries on this issue has been characterized by a mix of concerns, cooperation, tensions, and strategic considerations. (Shakoor, 2001)

2.2. Economical Relations between US- Pakistan (1947-1990)

The economic relations between the United States and Pakistan From 1947 to 1990, were characterized by periods of cooperation, aid, and trade. Throughout this period, economic relations were influenced by geopolitical considerations, Pakistan's domestic policies, and shifts in global alliances. The economic assistance and aid provided by the U.S. to Pakistan during these decades played a significant role in shaping Pakistan's economy and its relationship with the United States. Pakistan's major imports include agricultural machinery, chemical substances, oil and petroleum products, and automobiles. This country mainly imports goods from Japan, America, Germany, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, China, and England. In general, in terms of exports and imports, Pakistan has always faced a negative trade balance, and on the other hand, there has not been much correspondence between liquidity, economic growth, and inflation in this country. Therefore, the country is dependent on foreign and domestic loans. The debts of this country have increased over the years, and the repayment of loans has had a negative impact on the economy. The balance of trade and commerce in Pakistan has always been negative during this period. However, the U.S. provided economic assistance and military aid to Pakistan as part of its Cold War strategy, seeking to counter the influence of the Soviet Union. This aid was often aimed at promoting Pakistan's economic development and military capabilities. During the 1950s and 1960s, the U.S. provided substantial economic and military aid to Pakistan. However, there were also periods of strain in the relationship, particularly during the Indo-Pakistani conflicts and Pakistan's pursuit of a nuclear weapons program. In the late 1970s, the U.S. suspended aid to Pakistan due to concerns about its nuclear program and their relations further deteriorated. But after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, Pakistan became a key ally of the U.S. in supporting Afghan resistance fighters. In the 1980s, as part of the U.S.-backed Afghan resistance effort, Pakistan received significant military and economic aid, but this aid was largely channeled towards the anti-Soviet mujahideen forces rather than direct economic development in Pakistan. The termination of US-aid in October 1990 and the increase in pressure and preconditions from economic organizations lending to Pakistan, including the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, made the country's situation more difficult. It had nine billion dollars of domestic loans. β (ZAIDI, 2011)

2.2.1 Agreements:

Certainly, there were some key agreements between US-Pakistan during 1947-1990 As below:

- **Bilateral Agreement on Civil Aviation (1950):** This agreement facilitated air travel between the two countries and outlined the rules governing civil aviation operations.
- **Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement (1954):** As mentioned earlier, this agreement provided military assistance to Pakistan to enhance its defense capabilities.
- **Agreement on the Supply of Wheat (1955):** Under this agreement, the U.S. provided wheat to Pakistan to address food shortages and support its agricultural sector.
- **Cooperation Agreement in the Field of Health and Education (1957):** This agreement promoted cooperation in healthcare, medical research, and the exchange of medical knowledge and expertise.
- **Educational Exchange Program Agreement (1961):** This agreement facilitated educational and cultural exchanges between the two countries, promoting academic collaboration and cross-cultural understanding.
- **Agreement for Financing Certain Educational Projects (1962):** The U.S. provided financial support for education-related projects in Pakistan to improve the quality of education and infrastructure.
- **Agreement for Economic Assistance (1965):** The U.S. provided economic assistance to support Pakistan's development projects and socioeconomic programs.
- **Agreement on the Development of Energy Resources (1969):** This agreement aimed to promote collaboration in the development of energy resources, including exploration and extraction activities. (Jones, 2002)

2.2.2 Aids:

From the beginning of its establishment, Pakistan has been one of the recipient countries of foreign aid, which has been in the form of loans, grants, food aid, human resources, and machinery. Meanwhile, the consortium of cooperation with Pakistan was an important platform. This consortium was formed in 1960 and includes 21 countries and financial and economic organizations, of which America, France, Japan, and the American Emergency Aid Organization are part of its members. Consortium aid was very important to the Pakistani authorities, and every

year before the start of the Consortium meeting, high-level delegations of the Pakistani economy were sent to France to receive more aid. Other sources of aid to Pakistan include the United Nations Development Program, and the International Monetary Fund, Countries like Austria and Bulgaria helped Pakistan under the OPEC aid fund, during the first program (1955-1960), the share of aid was 80%, which increased to 46% during the second program (1960-1965) and 12% in the third program (1965-70) was reduced. After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the arrival of Afghan refugees to Pakistan, aid increased again and reached about 22% in the fifth plan (1978-83) and 23% in the sixth plan (1983-1988) and after the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan, it once again decreased by 16% in the seventh plan (1988-1993). In 1990, the United States decided to provide Pakistan with ten million dollars in aid for spending on children's education and health. Another contract was concluded, according to which American companies will invest 4.6 billion dollars in Pakistan. The total investment in the agreement was more than what was done in 47 years, which provoked the protest of the opposition faction of Pakistan's religious parties and criticized it, and Benazir Bhutto demanded the cancellation of the White House sanctions against her country. Obviously, Pakistan is one of the countries that have a lot of foreign debt, and a huge part of the country's budget is spent on repaying these debts. Foreign debt in (1979-1980) was about 9 billion dollars and in (1989) it was about 19-20 billion dollars. (Dennis, 2001)

2.2.3 Sanctions:

The United States did not impose significant sanctions on Pakistan from 1947 to 1990. However, there were periods of strained relations because of the Cold War which Pakistan was one of the most significant allies of America in the region. Particularly during the Indo-Pakistani wars in 1971, and Pakistan's nuclear program development in 1970. The U.S. did cut aid and military assistance at the time as a form of limited sanctions as a result of the Pressler amendment, which required the U.S. President to certify that Pakistan did not possess a nuclear explosive device in order to receive the US- aid Specifically. The termination of American aid in October 1990 and the increase in pressure and preconditions from economic organizations lending to Pakistan, including the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, made the country's situation more Critical. It had nine billion dollars of domestic loans, but comprehensive sanctions weren't a prominent feature during this period. (Kronstadt, 2012).

2.2.4 Trade:

During the period from 1947-1990, trade between the United States and Pakistan fluctuated based on various political and economic factors. The two countries maintained trade relations, including exports and imports of goods such as textiles, agricultural products, machinery, and more. The Cold War dynamics and Pakistan's geopolitical role influenced the trade relationship, sometimes resulting in aid and military assistance rather than purely economic ties. Mostly the trade relation between America and Pakistan grew in 1960 when Pakistan's exports diversified, including textile and leather products in the range of 1,2 billion dollars and they import machinery and industrial goods from America. In late 1970s saw a significant increase in trade between the two countries. U.S. exports to Pakistan included machinery, aircraft, and industrial equipment. Pakistan's exports still largely revolved around textiles. Exact trade figures vary but were in the hundreds of millions of dollars range. during the 1980s trade continued to grow particularly due to U.S. assistance during the Afghan-Soviet War. Pakistan imported military equipment and other goods from the United States, while exports included textiles, leather, and other products. Trade figures increased to several billion dollars. In the late 1990s, trade figures fluctuated based on economic conditions and geopolitical factors. U.S. imports from Pakistan included textiles, while Pakistan imported machinery and other products. Trade figures remained in the billions of dollars range. (Shirin, 1982)

2.2.5. US- Investments in Pakistan:

During the 1950s, the United States invested 2,3 million dollars in different sectors in Pakistan to support its economic development and military assistance primarily due to its strategic location and Cold War dynamics. In the 1960s, this investment continued, especially after Pakistan aligned with the U.S. during the Cuban Missile Crisis. In the 1970s, aid declined due to differences over nuclear proliferation. During the 1980s, the USA significantly increased investment due to Pakistan's role in supporting Afghan resistance against Soviet forces, it is worth mentioning that the investment during the Afghan-soviet war in Pakistan was not just in financial aid, but it also included military equipment, training, education sector and other form of supports which the total amount was about 7-8 billion dollars. In the 1990s, aid was reduced following concerns about Pakistan's nuclear program, democracy, and human rights issues. (Lieven, 2012)

CHAPTER THREE

THE PLACE OF PAKISTAN IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY 1990-2000

3.1. The political and Security Relationship between US-Pakistan

The political and security relationship between the United States and Pakistan during 1990-2000 was marked by a mix of cooperation and tensions. The key concepts and concerns during this period were counterterrorism, regional stability, Pakistan's nuclear weapons and missile proliferation, Democratization, human rights, and the empowerment of nonresponsible militant groups in the region of Pakistan. The relationship evolved over this period due to shifting geopolitical dynamics and policy changes in both countries. America and Pakistan collaborated on counterterrorism efforts to address various regional and global security challenges. One notable instance was during the Afghan Civil War and the rise of the Taliban. Apparently, Pakistan continued to be a key ally as the U.S. worked to counter the rise of extremist groups, including Al-Qaeda, which had established a presence in Afghanistan. In the late 1990s, both countries worked together to monitor and combat the growing threat posed by Al-Qaeda under Osama bin Laden. However, while there was cooperation, there were also concerns about Pakistan's support for militant groups like the Taliban. Moreover, Pakistan's role in supporting the Taliban in Afghanistan raised concerns about regional stability. While Pakistan played a role in facilitating talks and negotiations. Its support for the Taliban also raised suspicions about its involvement in Afghanistan's internal affairs. Pakistan's strategic interests in Afghanistan sometimes conflicted with America's goals in the region. Despite these challenges, the 1990s saw a mixture of cooperation and tensions in their counterterrorism efforts. (Akhtar, 2008)

The regional stability between the United States and Pakistan during (1990-2000) was influenced by a combination of factors, including geopolitical dynamics, security concerns, and shifting alliances. The U.S.-Pakistan relationship experienced some strains due to differences in policy priorities and the aftermath of the Afghan conflict. However, both countries continued to engage in diplomatic efforts to maintain some level of cooperation. During this period, Pakistan's relationship with neighboring India remained a significant factor in regional stability. The U.S. sought to mediate and ease tensions between the two countries, particularly regarding the Kashmir conflict. The 1999 Kargil conflict between India and Pakistan further strained regional stability, with the U.S. urging a peaceful resolution. (Jones, 2002)

Pakistan's nuclear program and its implications were a significant concern for the United States and the international community. Pakistan conducted its first nuclear tests in 1998, which escalated regional and global concerns about nuclear proliferation. The United States of America had a multifaceted approach to Pakistan's nuclear program during this period. In the early 1990s, the U.S. enacted sanctions against Pakistan under the Pressler Amendment due to suspicions about its nuclear activities. However, after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and the end of the Cold War, geopolitical considerations led to shifts in U.S. policy. The U.S. sought to engage with Pakistan to prevent further nuclear tests and promote regional stability. American administration under President Bill Clinton engaged in diplomatic efforts to discourage further nuclear tests and encourage Pakistan to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). At the same time, concerns existed about the security of Pakistan's nuclear weapons and technology falling into the wrong hands. The U.S. pursued initiatives to improve the security of Pakistan's nuclear assets. Overall, the U.S. had a nuanced approach to Pakistan's nuclear program during the 1990s, combining pressure, engagement, and efforts to ensure the security of nuclear assets while striving to prevent further nuclear proliferation. (Kerr, 2013)

3.1.1 The New World Order and the American Interest in Pakistan

The end of the Cold War and the collapse of the soviet union caused the rise of the new world order concept. The term "New World Order" entered the political literature of America when George Bush gave a speech in front of Congress members on September 11, 1990. He added that the world must be stabilized and this stabilization only can come through the interaction of the United States of America. This order can be established in three ways: peace negotiations, disarmament, and issues related to human rights. (Huntington, 2011)

With the establishment of a new world order the interest of America in Pakistan shifted to addressing issues like counterterrorism, given Pakistan's role in the Afghan conflict and its proximity to regions of instability. The U.S. sought Pakistan's assistance in combating terrorist organizations and promoting regional stability. Pakistan was a geostrategic location for America because they could easily go through those countries in the region of south Asia where they could find their permanent interest like China, Afghanistan, Iran, India, and Central Asia countries which they recently took their independence after the collapse of the soviet union. As China's economic and political influence grew, the U.S. sought to maintain its presence in the region to balance against China's expanding power. Meanwhile, for this purpose, America strengthened

relationships with countries like India to counterbalance China's influence in the region. During this period United States of America stopped its aid to Pakistan according to Pressler's amendment, because Pakistan's government continued its nuclear proliferation and the U.S. was concerned about regional stability. According to American policymakers, Pakistan is a strategic country that has played an important role in regional and transregional equations since its establishment (1947). They believed that in South Asia, no country has been as close to the United States as Pakistan; But it should not be overlooked that America has always tried to put its diplomacy in the middle position in the competition between India and Pakistan. The United States maintained an interest in Pakistan due to various factors, including regional stability, counterterrorism efforts, nuclear proliferation concerns, and geopolitical considerations, especially in relation to neighboring Afghanistan and India. This led to diplomatic, economic, and military engagement between the two countries during 1990-2000s. (Chakma, 2008)

3.1.2. Atomic Debate:

Pakistan's nuclear program during the 1990s-2000, experienced significant advancements. These nuclear weapon developments raised concerns regarding a potential arms race between India and Pakistan in the region of South Asia. In 1998, both Pakistan and India conducted nuclear tests, demonstrating its nuclear capabilities. Despite the U.S. and international community's efforts, they couldn't dissuade it. These developments led to concerns about regional stability and non-proliferation efforts, as well as geopolitical implications and a storm of global criticism about America figuring that they couldn't prevent nuclear proliferation in South Asia. Pakistan argued that they had enough fissile materials for enrichment, mainly uranium. Pakistan and India nuclear tests in 1998, the United States, along with other countries, strongly condemned the tests. The U.S. imposed economic sanctions on both countries and suspended various forms of aid. The sanctions were intended to pressure Pakistan to abandon its nuclear weapons program and sign the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). The U.S. struggle was de-escalation in the South Asia region. Historically Pakistan and India had political and land disputes with each other and these issues caused the two countries to strengthen their military capabilities, which included automatic empowerment, but the concern of America was to prevent regional and global insecurity. During this period Benazir Bhutto was the prime minister of Pakistan She tried to convince her American counterparts that Pakistan was not going to be an automatic problem in South Asia, but America stopped 600 million dollar aid to Pakistan. (Synnot, 2005)

3.1.3.Kashmir Conflict:

The Kashmir conflict is a territorial conflict and a disputed region between India and Pakistan and also in the northeastern portion between India and China. The Kashmir conflict primarily involves India and Pakistan. The United States has historically played a role in encouraging dialogue and peaceful resolution between India and Pakistan, but it's important to note that the primary stakeholders are the countries directly involved in the dispute. The U.S. has maintained relations with both India and Pakistan and its involvement in the Kashmir issue has varied over the years. India and Pakistan have gone to war with each other three times, twice of which was specifically for the control of Kashmir, but these wars were stopped with the interference of the United Nations and named the line of control. When a large-scale indigenous popular uprising began in occupied Kashmir at the end of 1989, Pakistan supported this liberation struggle until 1994, and this movement was called the Freedom Movement. Meanwhile, China fought with India along the Indo-Chinese disputed border. All these three countries have their own reasons for the ownership of this region, India claims that based on an instrument of accession signed in 1947 all this region of Jammu and Kashmir belongs to India, and Pakistan claims that the entire population of the region is Muslims so its belong to Pakistan, whereas china claims uninhabited region of Aksai chin and the shaksgam valley. The U.S. has advocated for dialogue, de-escalation, and peaceful negotiations to address the tensions. However, the extent of U.S. influence on the actual resolution of the conflict is limited, as it's ultimately a complex issue involving historical, political, and cultural factors between India and Pakistan. (Mohan, 2013)

Figure 1. Map of disputed Areas of Jammu and Kashmir.



3.1.4.Regional Crisis in South Asia:

The South Asian region experienced various crises after the Cold War until the 2000s. These included conflicts like the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan which was discussed in the previous pages of this research in detail, the Sri Lankan Civil War, the Kargil War(1999), the emergence of Taliban in Afghanistan(1996), tensions over nuclear proliferation and terrorism also contributed to instability in the region during this period which will be discussed in the next pages of this research.

3.1.5 Extremism and Terrorism:

During the 1990s and early 2000s, Pakistan faced a significant rise in extremism and terrorism. This period saw the emergence of various militant groups, including the Taliban and Al-Qaeda, which exploited political instability and regional conflicts. Pakistan has been using terrorism as an effective tool in its foreign policy for a long time. However, at the current stage, the centrality of terrorism in international politics, and the loss of control of the Pakistani government over terrorist groups challenged the world and has become a fundamental problem for Pakistan and the international community. The emergence of terrorist groups in Pakistan entered this country into a critical phase with regional and trans-regional countries. Pakistan's relations with India, the United States, Afghanistan, and Central Asian countries entered into a controversial phase. The extremist religious schools of this country have played a destructive role in cultivating radical ideas and the roots of the Taliban should be sought in these schools. The most devastating sectarian terrorist groups that emerged and constructed their formation such as Sipah Sahaba, Lashkar Jangavi, anti-Indian terrorist groups such as Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jaish-e-Mohammed, Harakat al-Mujahideen, Harakat al-Jihad al-Islami Pakistan, Tahreek-e-Taliban Pakistan(TTP), Tehreek-e-Nafaz Muhammadi Sharia. (Yusuf, 2014)

The Afghan Taliban movement led by Mullah Muhammad Omar, Al-Qaeda, and other non-Asian military and terrorist groups are hiding in the autonomous tribal areas of Pakistan and the North-West Province. The identity, area of activities, and operations of these military and terrorist groups are as follows:

Sipah Sahaba: This group was founded on September 6, 1985, by Haq Nawaz Jangavi in Jahang City of Punjab province with the objectives of preserving and guarding the sanctity of Sahaba fighting Iran's influence in Pakistan, and preventing the growth of political funerals.

Lashkar Jangvi: This group was established in 1996 as a separate branch of Sipah Sahaba and was formed with the aim of pursuing the ideals of Maulvi Haq Nawaz Jangvi. Led by Akram Lahori, Lashkar Jangvi tried to use violent approaches to make the government of Pakistan follow the interpretations Sunni religion.

Lashkar-e-Taiba (Jamaat al-Dawa): This group has two types of socio-military functions. The formation of this group goes back to the intellectual-cultural activities of Al-Dawa and Al-Arshad Center. This center was founded in 1988 by three Islamic scholars named Hafiz Mohammad Saeed, Zafar Iqbal, and Abdullah Azzam. The intellectual and religious foundations of Lashkar-e-Tayyaba al-Da'wah are Ahl al-Hadith and Salafism.

Jaish Muhammad: This group was formed on January 31, 2000, by a number of disaffected members of Haraka al-Jihad al-Islami under the leadership of Maulana Masoud in Karachi. The group believes in the independence of Kashmir and weakening the power of India. The leader of the group has an anti-Indian and anti-American approach. He believes that Muslims should not remain calm and quiet until they have destroyed India and America.

The Mujahideen Movement: This group was formed in 1992 under the leadership of Qari Saifullah and operates in Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh. The United States and the United Nations listed this group as a terrorist organization in August 2001. The attack on the American consulate in Karachi in March 2006, was one of the operations of this group.

Tehreek Nifaz Mahmood Shariat: This group was founded in 1992 by Mawlana Sufi Mohammad. During the invasion of Afghanistan by America in 2001, he issued a Jihad fatwa against the United States of America, but the main goal of this group was to implement Shariat in Pakistan.

The Afghan Taliban: This group was founded in 1996 city of Quetta, the capital of Baluchistan province. It is led by Mullah Muhammad Omar

Balochistan Liberation Army: This group was formed in the early 1980s. The new wave of attacks of this group has started since 2001, the field of guerrilla operations of this group is mostly Balochistan-Punjab and Sindh. These operations include sabotage of urban facilities and infrastructure, assassination of political officials, and clashes with government forces. The U.S. played a complex role during this time, initially providing support to Afghan resistance fighters against Soviet occupation, which indirectly contributed to the rise of extremist elements. (Gunaratna, 2011)

3.1.6. The Rise of Taliban in Afghanistan:

The Taliban regime in Afghanistan emerged in 1996 and lasted until 2001. They originated from religious schools (madrasas) in Pakistan and drew support from various factions in Afghanistan. They gained prominence in the aftermath of the Afghan Civil War and capitalized on the power vacuum left by the withdrawal of Soviet forces in 1989. The Taliban captured the capital city of Kabul in 1996, effectively establishing control over most of Afghanistan. Led by Mullah Mohammed Omar, they aimed to impose their interpretation of strict Islamic law (Sharia) and restore order to the war-torn country. This regime implemented a harsh interpretation of Islamic law, imposing strict social codes and restrictions. They banned music, television, and cinema, and enforced the segregation of men and women in public spaces. Women's rights were severely curtailed, with restrictions on education, employment, and freedom of movement. The Taliban regime faced limited international recognition. Only a few countries, including Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates, officially recognized their government. Most countries, including the United States, did not recognize them and instead continued to recognize the Islamic State of Afghanistan, which was led by the Northern Alliance. They have been widely criticized for their human rights abuses. They conducted public executions, amputations, and floggings as punishments. Cultural heritage sites, including ancient Buddhist statues in Bamiyan, were destroyed by the Taliban. They provided a safe haven to international extremist groups, most notably Al-Qaeda, led by Osama bin Laden. This led to increasing international concerns about Afghanistan becoming a hub for terrorism. Due to their support for international terrorism, the Taliban regime faced diplomatic isolation and economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations (UN) and individual countries. These sanctions were aimed at pressuring the Taliban to hand over Osama bin Laden and dismantle terrorist training camps. The Taliban regime faced significant resistance from opposition groups, primarily the Northern Alliance. Ultimately, the regime was overthrown in 2001 following the America-led invasion of Afghanistan in response to the 9/11 attacks. (Akhtar, 2008)

3.1.7. Military Assistance to Pakistan:

During the 1990s and early 2000s, the United States provided military assistance to Pakistan for various reasons, including geopolitical interests and counterterrorism efforts. This assistance included arms sales and military training. During one decade, the United States did not continuously give military assistance to Pakistan. In 1990, the total volume of military aid was about 283,44 million dollars, but in 1991 this amount increased to Zero and the U.S. stopped its aid due to the development of nuclear programs in Pakistan, although America continued its diplomatic efforts to convince Pakistan about the importance of regional and international stability. In 1992 Pakistan took some primary steps regarding the issue and once again America sent a package of military aid worth 7,2 million dollars. From 1993-2000s America imposed sanctions on this country and all the military aid which includes F-16 aircraft, missiles and stingers stopped under the Glenn Amendments. (Elhai, 2011)

3.1.8. Ethnicism:

The other characteristic of Pakistan's security environment is that ethnicity and tribal affiliations play a significant role in the security system of this country. In other words, power is not centralized in the country. Still, Individual Figures have an important role in the determination of power and government structure, under these conditions, a tribe may rebel against the central government due to dissatisfaction with a decision, and demand their rights by creating unrest in the country. Apart from this role, sometimes the interests of one tribe are in conflict with another tribe. It has made Pakistan face crisis and insecurity. According to some resources the number of religious, political factions, and jihadi groups are about 237, and at least 82 of them are sectarian. In Pakistan, society struggles with occasional violence caused by ethnic, religious, and sectarian differences due to social diversity. Sometimes, due to the immigration of other ethnic groups from other countries, ethnic tensions even intensify. For example, in the province of Sindh, there is a conflict between Sindhis and immigrants who came from India, especially in the center of this province is uncontrollable. After all, conservative religious factors also play an important role in leading society towards tension and religious differences, as well as the continuation of the dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, Pakistan should be considered one of the few countries in the world that have always been exposed to crisis and is known as one of the major centers of crisis in regional and international dimensions. (Rahman, 2000)

Pakistan during the past 60 years, mainly due to the nature and essence of the formation of its political and security structures, has always been exposed to instability and tension and has experienced numerous crises in various local, national, regional, and trans-regional arenas. In such a way that the existence of a crisis in this country has become a natural thing. Four major ethnic groups live in Pakistan which includes: Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochs, and Pathans or Pashtuns. Punjabis are one of the Baloch groups residing in Baluchistan and Sindh and a group lives in Sistan and Balochistan of Iran and Turkmenistan. Balochs are made up of eastern Balochs consisting of seven tribes and western Balochs consisting of nine tribes, a group of them are called Brahuīs who make up 25% of the population of Balochistan. The Balochs consider themselves to be the descendants of Hamza the uncle of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH). The Brahuīs are a union of the Baluchistan tribes of Pakistan. (Waseem, 1996)

The Pashtuns, or Pathans live in the Northwest Frontier Province. These tribes are very important to researchers because they are one of the largest surviving tribal communities. These tribes claim to be from legendary ancestors who lived in Afghanistan many years ago. The most famous tribes are Afridis, Mahsurs, and Wazirs. Each tribe is defined by its clothes-accent and customs. However, all of them follow the same general rules called Pakhtun wali or Pashtun way. Regarding religion, it can be said that the foundation of Pakistan is Islam, of which other religions do not play a significant role in the political situation of this country. The new constitution of Pakistan (1973) introduced this country as an Islamic Republic. Various Muslim sects and groups live in Pakistan and riots and violent conflicts have occurred between these different groups throughout the history of Pakistan. Different ethnic and racial groups gathered in this region due to the common religion of Islam and established the country of Pakistan. Although the government of Pakistan has tried to use Islam as a factor different religious groups and sects can be used. But the history of this country is intertwined with ethnic and religious conflicts. Since the beginning of the separation of Pakistan from India, there have been intense conflicts between Hindus and Muslims. In some cases, foreign countries also support certain sects and splashed more petrol on these conflicts. Islam is the official religion and 98% are Muslims. The majority of Pakistani Muslims are Sunni Hanafi and a group is Shafiye a significant minority which is estimated to be around 2.5 and about 2% of Pakistan's population are Shi'as. The diversity in Pakistan itself has been one of the main sources of tension and crisis in this country and even the formation of extremism in the region. (CORSI, 2004)

3.1.9. Mafia and Smuggling Networks in Pakistan:

During the 1990s, Pakistan faced challenges related to organized crime, including smuggling and mafia networks. The country's strategic location and porous borders made it susceptible to various illicit activities, such as drug trafficking, arms smuggling, and human trafficking. These activities often involved collaboration between criminal elements, corrupt officials, and militant groups. While the government took measures to combat these issues, the complex socio-political landscape and regional dynamics made it difficult to fully eradicate such networks during that time period. The problem of the security environment of South Asia is the existence of organized smuggling networks in this region. The flow of smuggling is active in various dimensions and fields. For example, Large-scale arms smuggling from Pakistan to Afghanistan has been made possible by opening a significant portion of their border. It has been reported that weapons used by Pakistani forces have been used in most of the terrorist and organized crime attacks in Kabul. The smuggling of weapons from Pakistan has caused the perpetrators of criminal crimes to use these military tools. Another point in this field is the extensive connection between terrorist networks and smuggling gangs. In fact, the terrorist groups in this region cannot be separated from drug smugglers who smuggle drugs from Afghanistan and Pakistan to other countries, and there is close cooperation between these two. One of the important factors that caused these movements to grow and become strong groups today is the insecurity and instability of the borders in South Asian countries and the issue of drugs. Pakistan is considered one of the largest drug-producing countries in the world. Drug gangs gradually settled in Karachi, Lahore, and Peshawar which created and expanded their networks. They created the largest heroin, morphine, and brown sugar production industry in the world. This network is influential in the social fabric, and Pakistan's political and hiring of local officials provided the ground for their establishment. According to the News report (November 23, 1994) prepared by the United Nations, the income from drug trafficking accounts for about 25% of Pakistan's foreign exchange earnings and plays an essential role in the economic situation of this country. (Levien, Michael, 2020)

3.1.10 The Military Coup by Parwiz Musharraf:

In October 1999, during a military coup, Musharraf came to power by deposing Nawaz Sharif the prime minister of Pakistan. Naw Sharif the prime minister of Pakistan tried to remove Musharraf from the General staff of the army, but he couldn't succeed, and Musharraf overthrew the government and appointed himself as a chief executive. America didn't have any kind of involvement in the coup. In 1998, Pakistan under the political leadership of Nawaz Sharif tested some nuclear weapons which caused lots of sanctions from America and the international community. They had their own concerns regarding regional and international stability. During a referendum on 20 January 2001, Musharraf was selected as the president of Pakistan. The United States had mixed reactions to the coup. While it initially expressed concerns and imposed a set of sanctions that included 102.14 million dollars in economic aid. Later on during his office and changing the political atmosphere Parwiz Musharraf joined America's coalition about the war on terror, which repeatedly opened a new door for diplomatic relations due to Pakistan's role in the War on Terror after the September 11 attacks in 2001. Musharraf gave air bases for American forces to carry out their attacks on militant groups in the neighborhood country Afghanistan. Musharraf's regime remained a significant ally for the U.S. in the region during his time in power. (Kux, June 2001)

3.2.The Economic Relationship between US-Pakistan (1990-2000)

With the end of the Cold War, the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, and changes in the international political arena, Pakistan lost its geopolitical importance to the United States. The U.S. suspended its aid to Pakistan on the pretext of the Pressler Amendment. It also refused to sell the remaining F-16 aircraft to Pakistan. The improvement of America's relations with India also caused Pakistan's disappointment. But at the end of May 1993, America signed the payment documents of 40 million dollars of credit to Pakistan. This was the first contract after Washington cut off economic and military aid to this country in 1990. Using these credits, Pakistan bought 90 thousand tons of soybean oil from America. U.S. Energy Minister visited Islamabad in September 1994, and the purpose of this trip was to find ways to invest in Pakistan. About 50 American CEOs and industrialists accompanied the U.S. Energy Minister on this trip. The mentioned trip is the most significant step in the chilly ties between Islamabad and Washington since tensions began to rise in October 1990. Before this trip, it was revealed that the U.S. provides

Pakistan with ten million dollars in aid to profit for children's health and education. Sixteen agreements were reached between Washington and Islamabad, and as a result, American investors would spend 4.6 billion dollars in Pakistan. The total investment in the agreement was more than what was done in 47 years. (Kux, 2001)

The opposition wings of the government and some religious parties of Pakistan strongly criticized this agreement. Benazir Bhutto visited the United States in early April 1995 and demanded the cancellation of the White House sanctions against her country, pointing out that the close cooperation between the United States and Pakistan can be a barrier against what is called extreme Islamism. She asked America to either hand over the F-16 aircraft to Pakistan or refund its budget. The United States closed an office in Pakistan called the United States Office for International Development in May 1995. The task of this office was to provide financial aid and cooperation for development, and it was revealed that Pakistan had received roughly \$2 billion from 1952 till the time of its closure. According to the joint statement of Benazir Bhutto and Clinton in Washington in April 1995, they announced efforts to increase and strengthen the traditional friendship between the United States and Pakistan, based on their commitment to democracy, economic liberalization, human rights, and a peaceful solution, regional conflicts, control of conventional weapons, non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and saving free societies from the smuggling of drugs. They also welcomed the extensive reform of Pakistan's economic program in trade and investment, and they signed scientific and technical cooperation. After the normalization of relations during this period, which was mostly affected by the coming to power of the Taliban in Afghanistan and the occupation of Kabul by these forces, the next unpleasant thing happened in 1998 when the Pakistanis took a step towards the atomic bomb in confrontation with India, they broke the international norms, which resulted in severe sanctions from America on this country, even though in late 1999, terrorism became a factor once again to bring Nawaz Sharif and America closer to each other. (S.M.Burke, 2009)

3.2.1 Agreements:

In 1990, the United States decided to provide Pakistan with ten million dollars in aid for spending on children's education and health. And another contract was concluded, according to which American companies will invest 4.6 billion dollars in Pakistan. The total investment in the agreement was more than what was done in 47 years, which provoked the protest of the opposition

faction of Pakistan's religious parties and criticized it, and Benazir Bhutto demanded the cancellation of the White House sanctions against her country. In 1993, it was decided that the United States would sign the documents to pay 40 million dollars of credit to Pakistan. Meanwhile, In 1994, America was looking for ways to create investment in Pakistan. Furthermore In 1995, based on the Brown Amendment, it was decided that the process of delivery of the equipment purchased by Islamabad from Washington should be completed by December 31, but no agreement was reached regarding the delivery of 28 F-16 aircraft or the return of the funds received for it in the amount of 638 million dollars. (Nawaz, 2020)

3.2.2 Aids:

During the 1990s, the United States provided various forms of aid to Pakistan, including economic assistance, military aid, and development support. The assistance aimed to foster political stability, economic growth, and regional security. However, the specifics of the aid, its amounts, and its impact can vary over the years. The decade of 1990 until the 2000s was not a decade of strategic relations between US-Pak, but the United States wanted to keep Pakistan as an ally to implement their second phase of strategic amis in the South Asian region after the Cold War. Due to that America continued for their aid to Pakistan at a low level. For instance, in 1990 the amount of economic aid was 548.07 million and military aid was 283,44 million. In 1991 the economic aid was 149.59 million and military aid was zero. From the beginning of 1991 military aid to Pakistan was completely stopped till the 9/11 incident in 2001. Economic aid continued at a low amount compared to previous years, for instance in 1999 the economic aid was about 102.14 million. Obviously, the decade of the 1990s-2000s was a decade of restrictions and pressures on Pakistan due to its lack of commitments in various fields from nuclear proliferation to terrorism and regional stability, democratization, and human rights. (Elhai, 2011)

Summary of US aid to Pakistan 1990-2000, USD(million

Year	Economic Assistance, Total	Economic Assistance, (Through USAID)	Military Assistance, Total
1990	548.07	422.37	283.44
1991	149.59	141.78	0
1992	27.14	0.57	7.2
1993	74.19	7.98	0
1994	68.43	0	0
1995	23.13	10.1	0
1996	22.79	0	0
1997	57.17	0	0
1998	36.32	0	0
1999	102.14	6.72	0.22
2000	45.72	0	0

Note: All figures are in US\$(millions). Figures are adjusted for inflation and presented in 2009 constant dollars.

Source: Wren Elhai, Center for Global Development, 2011

3.2.3 Sanctions:

The decade of 1990-2000s was a period of pressure and sanctions on Pakistan. Although the American government did not cut out its relationship with Pakistan. Extraordinary pressures were imposed by the United States of America on Pakistan in order to prevent regional and trans-regional insecurity and disputes. Mainly the sanctions imposed on foreign aid (humanitarian aid, food, and agricultural materials), the Sale of military equipment, and stopped loans from American banks to Pakistan. The total amount of American aid was 700 million till 1994, had stopped in Pakistan. These sanctions put a lot of pressure on Pakistan's economy. It caused Pakistan to through the help of the World Bank and some other international lending organizations, even though America imposed restrictions on the World Bank only regarding to Pakistan issue. During the period of sanctions, Pakistan-China created an arms relationship and they strengthened this relationship due to some common interest in the region of South Asia. Islamabad was seeking to take future civil nuclear assistance from Beijing. Despite these struggles, Pakistan was in dire straits in this situation. The GPS rate of this country reached 6% in the absence of sanctions in 1999, but due to the sanctions, this rate is an optimistic figure of 1.3%, and the actual rate is 1.6%. The economic recession rate in Pakistan was 16%. (Kronstadt, 2012)

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PLACE OF PAKISTAN IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY 2001-2009

Pakistan's Place in America's foreign policy from 2001 to 2009 was complex. The key concepts during this period were focused on counterterrorism cooperation, the war on terror, Afghanistan stabilization, drug trafficking, Extremist groups, and nuclear weapons. The relationship between the two countries evolved over this period, reflecting the changing dynamics of the War on Terror. The 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001 prompted the United States to launch the War on Terror, and Pakistan played a pivotal role in this effort. The U.S. sought Pakistan's cooperation in hunting down Al-Qaeda leaders, including Osama bin Laden, who was eventually found and killed in Pakistan in 2011. Pakistan became a key ally in the U.S.-led global fight against terrorism. The U.S. provided Pakistan with military and economic assistance to bolster its counterterrorism efforts. Pakistan's geographical proximity to Afghanistan made it crucial in the U.S.-led efforts to stabilize Afghanistan after the fall of the Taliban regime in 2001. Islamabad was seen as both a partner and, at times, a source of tension due to concerns about its support for certain Afghan militant groups. Washington was also concerned about Pakistan's nuclear weapons and its potential for proliferation. Efforts were made to secure Pakistan's nuclear assets and prevent their transfer to unauthorized actors. Washington provided significant financial assistance to Islamabad during this period, including military aid and development assistance. This aid was often tied to Pakistan's cooperation in counterterrorism efforts. The relationship between the U.S. and Pakistan during these years was marked by periodic tensions and challenges. Differences in strategy, concerns about Pakistan's support for militant groups, and accusations of double-dealing strained the relationship at times. (Jones, 2002)

4.1.The 9/11 Attacks

The 9/11 incidents refer to a series of coordinated terrorist attacks that took place on September 11, 2001, in the United States. Four commercial airplanes were hijacked by members of the extremist group al-Qaeda. Two of these planes were flown into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, causing their collapse. Another plane was flown into the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia, while the fourth plane crashed in Pennsylvania after passengers attempted to regain control from the hijackers. These attacks resulted in the deaths of nearly 3,000 people including 19 al Qaeda terrorists, and caused significant destruction and long-lasting impacts on the United States and the world. The administration of President George W. Bush launched the War on Terror and he created the Department of Homeland Security, that he main purpose of this department was the prevent terror attacks, border security, immigration and customs, and disaster relief and prevention. leading to military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq, among other actions, in an effort to combat terrorism. The 9/11 attacks had profound consequences on global politics, security measures, and the lives of countless individuals. (Johanson, 2021)

The President of America George W. Bush declared in a speech that we would not make a distinction between those terrorists who committed these acts and those who give shelter to them. The U.S. and the coalition forces began their joint military operation on the 7th of October in Afghanistan with the cooperation of its neighboring country Pakistan. The cooperation of Pakistan was included to allow the U.S. military to use Pakistani Airspace and bases for logistic support during the early phase of the war in Afghanistan. Additionally, Pakistan provided intelligence assistance and worked to capture or eliminate Al-Qaeda and Taliban operatives who had sought refuge in Pakistan's tribal areas and border regions. This cooperation was crucial in targeting and capturing several high-profile terrorists. Within two months, U.S. forces had effectively removed the Taliban from power. In addition to casualties, the 9/11 incident had a very deep negative impact on the American economy, the market fell 7.1 percent, and only New York City lost 143,000 jobs in a month and 2.8 billion in income in the first three months. The heaviest losses were in finance and air transportation, which accounted for 60 percent of lost jobs. The World Trade Center has estimated 60 billion and the cost of cleaning debris was 750 million. Also, America gave a big amount of compensation for the victims of this incident including 7 billion from 2001-2004. (Polgreen, 2004)

4.2.U.S.Global War on Terror:

The Global War on Terror (GWOT) refers to the international military campaign initiated by the United States in response to the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. It aimed to combat terrorist organizations, particularly Al-Qaeda and the Taliban, and prevent future acts of terrorism. According to United States law terrorism is defined as "premeditated and politically motivated violence committed against innocents by regular (state) or irregular (nonstate) groups. The GWOT involved military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as counterterrorism efforts worldwide. Meanwhile, this term was also used to demonstrate for those groups even countries that they give shelter to, and funded terrorist groups. (Cordesman, 2018)

On September 24, 2001, George W. Bush announced that he had signed an executive order to freeze all assets of those nonstate entities and state entities that give financial support to terrorist groups. With the permission of the Security Council On October 7, 2001, the United States government announced that they began a military operation against al Qaeda and all those groups that helped Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. During two months they overthrew the government of the Taliban that they accused by the United States of America that they gave shelter to Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. The government of the U.S. and other countries in this collation would provide humanitarian and other necessary aid to the citizens of Afghanistan. Meanwhile in the West front members of the Shanghai pact by the leadership of Russia and China announced that they will deal harshly with terrorist and fundamentalist groups in the region. During this period the most important issue that arose was the concern of human rights organizations regarding the rights of those people that were arrested in the field of war. For instance, During the GWOT most of those people who were arrested in the field of war were imprisoned in the Guantanamo Bay detention camp in Cuba and Abu-Gharib in Iraq without a court decision, where American soldiers were accused of torture, humiliation, harassment, and sexual abuse. (Stohl, 2008)

4.3. America's Strategic Interest in South Asia after 9/11

The United States had several strategic interests in South Asia after the September 11, 2001 attacks, which included counterterrorism. Stability in Afghanistan, Energy security, Regional stability, balancing China, Promoting human rights and democracy. (Thornton, 2012)

Counterterrorism: The primary objective was to combat terrorism and eliminate the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, which harbored Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaeda operatives responsible for the 9/11 attack.

Stability in Afghanistan: The U.S. aimed to establish a stable government in Afghanistan to prevent it from becoming a safe haven for terrorists, and promote democracy and development.

Regional Stability: The U.S. sought to maintain stability in South Asia, as the region's instability could have global repercussions. This involved engaging with Pakistan and India to manage their disputes and promote regional cooperation and democratic governance, human rights, civil liberties, freedom of the press, and women's rights.

Energy Security: After the 9/11 attacks in 2001, the United States became increasingly concerned about energy security in South Asia, particularly in the context of the war in Afghanistan. The region is strategically important due to its proximity to major energy-producing countries in the Middle East. South Asia is strategically located near energy-rich regions, and the U.S. had an interest in ensuring the security of energy supply routes, including those passing through the Persian Gulf. The U.S. sought to diversify energy supply routes by supporting the development of pipelines that bypassed Russia and Iran. The Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) pipeline, for example, allowed oil from the Caspian Sea to reach global markets through Turkey, reducing dependence on the Strait of Hormuz. The U.S. engaged with regional organizations like the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) pipeline project to promote energy security and regional stability. The efforts to enhance energy security faced various challenges, including political instability, security threats, and regional rivalries. Additionally, progress on energy projects was often slower than anticipated due to logistical and geopolitical complexities. (Ebinger, 2011)

Balancing China: The United States of America aimed to maintain a presence in South Asia as part of its broader strategy to counterbalance China's influence in the region. The U.S. approach was characterized by a combination of engagement and competition. This means engaging with

China on areas of mutual interest, such as climate change and non-proliferation, while also competing with China in areas where interests diverge, such as technology and regional influence. Meanwhile, America was strengthening its alliances and partnerships in the Indo-Pacific region, including with countries like Japan, South Korea, Australia, and India. These alliances served as a way to enhance regional security and counterbalance China's influence and took economic measures to address concerns related to China, such as imposing tariffs on Chinese imports, pursuing investment screening mechanisms, and advocating for fair trade practices. There was a focus on technological competition, particularly in areas like 5G technology, artificial intelligence, and cybersecurity. Efforts were made to protect critical technologies, prevent intellectual property theft, and promote research and development. America raised concerns about human rights abuses in China, particularly in Xinjiang and Hong Kong. Promoting democratic values and advocating for human rights was an integral part of the strategy and sought to engage in international institutions to promote a rules-based international order and to hold China accountable for its actions within those institutions. (Nye, 2023)

4.4. Pakistan in U.S. Strategy After 9/11

Pakistan became a crucial partner in America's strategy against terrorism After the 9/11 attacks in 2001 on Afghanistan. The United States engaged with Pakistan primarily to combat Al-Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan. Pakistan provided logistical support, intelligence cooperation, and access to its airspace and military bases to facilitate U.S. military operations in the region. However, the relationship between the U.S. and Pakistan has been complex. While the U.S. relied on Pakistan as an ally, there were concerns about Pakistan's alleged support for some elements of the Taliban and other extremist groups. This tension persisted throughout the post-9/11 era. Intelligence Sharing was one of the other main factors that joined Pakistan into America's counterterrorism strategy, Islamabad shared information regarding terrorist threats and activities. Pakistan's intelligence agencies, notably the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), collaborated with U.S. intelligence agencies to track down and capture or eliminate key terrorist figures. In return, the United States offered training and support to Pakistani security forces to enhance their counterinsurgency capabilities, financial assistance to support its counterterrorism efforts aimed at improving Pakistan's capacity to combat extremist groups, engaged diplomatically with Pakistan to encourage it to take stronger action against extremist elements operating within its borders. This

engagement included high-level visits and discussions. Beyond these courses of action, Pakistan cooperated on improving border security along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border to prevent the movement of militants and the smuggling of weapons and supplies. Over the years, U.S. policy towards Pakistan has evolved, and it has faced periods of both cooperation and strains in the relationship. The U.S. has provided military and economic assistance to Pakistan but has also exerted pressure on Pakistan to do more to combat terrorism and to ensure that its territory is not used as a safe haven for extremist groups. (Rashid, 2018)

4.4.1. Pakistan's Cooperation with the US in the Fall of the Taliban Government:

Pakistan played a complex role in the fall of the Taliban government in Afghanistan in 2001. Initially, Pakistan had supported the Taliban regime during the 1990s due to shared strategic interests and ideological affinities. Prior to the events of 9/11, Pakistan had been one of the few countries to officially recognize the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and had provided them with political and military support. This support included training, funding, and weaponry. However, after the 9/11 attacks, under international pressure and the threat of U.S. military action, Pakistan officially aligned with the United States against the Taliban. As mentioned in the previous discussions, Pakistan provided crucial logistical and intelligence support to U.S. forces during Operation Enduring Freedom, allowing the U.S. to use its airspace and military bases for launching operations in Afghanistan. This cooperation facilitated the rapid overthrow of the Taliban government in late 2001. However, there have been ongoing debates and allegations about elements within Pakistan's intelligence agency, the ISI, maintaining covert ties with certain factions of the Taliban, which has complicated the U.S.-Pakistan relationship in the years following the Taliban's initial defeat. (Armajani, 2021)

After the fall of the Taliban government, Pakistan facilitated diplomatic efforts and negotiations between various Afghan factions, which helped in the formation of the post-Taliban Afghan government in Bonn, Germany, in December 2001. Pakistan arrested and handed over some key Taliban leaders to the United States, including Mullah Abdul Salam Zaeef, the Taliban's former ambassador to Pakistan, Mula Abul Ghani's brother, and some other key figures. Pakistan's decision to support the United States in the fall of the Taliban government in 2001 was influenced by several factors, like International Pressure, Strategic Interests, Economic Incentives, Geostrategic Concerns, and Diplomatic Opportunities. After the 9/11 attacks, the US received

widespread international support for its efforts to combat terrorism. Pakistan, under President Pervez Musharraf, faced immense pressure from the international community, especially from the U.S., to align with the global coalition against terrorism. This pressure included threats of diplomatic isolation and economic sanctions. Strategic Interests were another factor while Pakistan had supported the Taliban regime in the past due to shared strategic interests and ideological affinities, the situation had changed after the 9/11 attacks. Pakistan had to reassess its strategic priorities, and aligning with the U.S. was seen as a way to protect its interests and avoid the potential consequences of being on the wrong side of the global war on terror. Economic Incentives were another key reason that Pakistan received aid packages from the United States in exchange for its cooperation. This assistance was crucial for Pakistan's struggling economy at the time. Pakistan recognized that a stable and friendly government in Afghanistan would be in its best interest. The Taliban's rule had led to instability and cross-border militancy, which was detrimental to Pakistan's security. Geostrategic Concern was another factor that Pakistan shares a long and porous border with Afghanistan. Instability in Afghanistan, including the presence of extremist groups like the Taliban, posed a direct security threat to Pakistan. Cooperation with the U.S. was seen as a means to address these security concerns. Pakistan saw the cooperation with America as a diplomatic opportunity whereas Supporting the U.S. gave Pakistan a seat at the table during negotiations and discussions about the future of Afghanistan, allowing it to have a say in the formation of a post-Taliban Afghan government. Overall, Pakistan's decision to support the U.S. in the fall of the Taliban government was driven by a combination of international pressure, strategic interests, economic incentives, regional stability concerns, and geostrategic considerations. (Akhtar, 2011)

The war had a multifaceted impact on Pakistan affecting various aspects of the country's political, social, economic, and security landscape. Pakistan faced an increased threat of terrorism and militancy as a result of its alliance with the United States in the War on Terror. Militant groups, including the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), carried out numerous attacks within Pakistan, targeting military and civilian targets. The conflict in neighboring Afghanistan and the ensuing militancy in Pakistan's tribal areas and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province led to a significant number of internal displacements. People fled their homes to escape violence and military operations. Meanwhile, the war had economic repercussions for Pakistan. While it received financial assistance from the U.S. for its cooperation, it also experienced disruptions in trade and investment

due to security concerns. The country faced inflation and fiscal challenges. Pakistan's strategic calculus evolved during this period. It sought to maintain its influence in Afghanistan and used its ties to certain militant groups as leverage, which sometimes put it at odds with the U.S. and Afghanistan. Pakistan's relations with the U.S. experienced ups and downs. While they cooperated on counterterrorism efforts, there were also tensions and suspicions regarding Pakistan's commitment to fully combatting militant groups. The conflict had human rights implications in Pakistan, including reports of extrajudicial killings, disappearances, and restrictions on civil liberties. These issues drew criticism from human rights organizations. Pakistan hosted millions of Afghan refugees who fled the conflict in Afghanistan. This placed a strain on resources and services in areas near the Afghan border. The war and its associated challenges contributed to political instability in Pakistan. The country experienced frequent changes in leadership, often due to disputes over security and foreign policy. Pakistan conducted several military operations in its tribal areas and Swat Valley to combat militancy. Operations like Zarb-e-Azb and Radd-ul-Fasaad aimed to eliminate militant strongholds. The conflict also had a social and cultural impact on Pakistan. It fueled extremism in some areas, while other segments of society pushed for more moderate and tolerant values. (Siddique, 2001)

The impact of the 9/11 War in Afghanistan dismantled the Taliban regime and targeted Al-Qaeda. The attacks prompted significant shifts in U.S. security and foreign policy, including the establishment of the Department of Homeland Security and increased emphasis on counterterrorism efforts. Meanwhile, the 9/11 attacks had repercussions on international relations, leading to shifts in alliances and policies as countries responded to the new global security environment. America introduced the U.S. Patriot Act, which expanded government surveillance powers in the name of national security, raising concerns about civil liberties. The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq caused significant humanitarian suffering and displacement, with millions of people becoming refugees or internally displaced. Even though the attacks had a short-term negative impact on the global economy, leading to stock market declines and increased security and defense spending. The aftermath of the 9/11 attacks continues to shape international relations and global security, with ongoing debates about the effectiveness of counterterrorism efforts and the balance between security and civil liberties. (Zaman, 2020)

4.4.2. Extremism and the US-Pakistan Cooperation:

The period from 2001 to 2009 was a critical phase in Pakistan's struggle against extremism. Pakistan was home to several extremist groups with various ideologies and objectives. Islamabad has taken various measures to combat extremism and terrorism in its territory, including bans on some of these organizations and military operations in affected regions. According to the Pakistan government and international coalition against terrorism, the most active fundamentalist and extremist groups in Pakistan were Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM), Al-Qaeda, Harkat-ul-Mujahideen (HuM), Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ), Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), Tehrik-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat-i-Mohammadi (TNSM), Harkat-ul-Jihad al-Islami (HuJI). Each group has its own different goals with different areas of activity. This research tries to discuss each group in detail. Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) Also known as the Pakistani Taliban, the TTP is a coalition of various militant groups operating primarily in Pakistan's tribal regions and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. They aimed to establish strict Islamic rule in Pakistan and were responsible for numerous attacks. Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) is a militant organization with a focus on Kashmir, but it also has a presence and carries out operations in other parts of Pakistan. It was accused of orchestrating the 2008 Mumbai attacks. Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) is another militant group with a focus on Kashmir. It was involved in several high-profile attacks, including the attack on the Indian Parliament in 2001. Al-Qaeda was another group that had a strong hand in the 9/11 attacks and had a presence in Pakistan's tribal regions. Its leadership, including Osama bin Laden, was believed to be hiding in Pakistan during this time. Harkat-ul-Mujahideen (HuM) was involved in the insurgency in Kashmir and had links to Al-Qaeda. It was banned in Pakistan but continued to operate underground. Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ) is a sectarian extremist group that targeted Shia Muslims and was responsible for numerous sectarian attacks. Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), The IMU was a Central Asian militant group with a presence in Pakistan's tribal areas, known for its ties to Al-Qaeda. Tehrik-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat-i-Mohammadi (TNSM) led by Maulana Fazlullah, aimed to implement Sharia law in Pakistan's Swat Valley and played a significant role in the insurgency there. Harkat-ul-Jihad al-Islami (HuJI) is an extremist group with links to Al-Qaeda, involved in various attacks and assassinations. Baloch Separatist Groups In Balochistan province, various separatist groups like the Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) and Balochistan Liberation Front (BLF) engaged in armed struggle for greater autonomy. (Puri, 2013)

General Pervez Musharraf Pakistan's president, aligned the country with the U.S. and initiated military operations in the tribal areas bordering Afghanistan to target Al-Qaeda and Taliban militants. The U.S. conducted drone strikes in Pakistan's tribal areas to target high-value terrorist targets, often with the tacit approval of the Pakistani government. However, this cooperation was often strained due to various factors. There were suspicions and accusations that Pakistan's intelligence agencies maintained ties with certain extremist groups, which raised doubts about the sincerity of Pakistan's counterterrorism efforts. In 2007, a military operation was conducted to retake the Lal Masjid (Red Mosque) in Islamabad, which had been taken over by Islamist militants. This operation marked a turning point in Pakistan's fight against extremism. In 2007, former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto was assassinated, highlighting the deadly nature of extremism in Pakistan. Extremism was fueled by economic disparities, lack of education, and radicalization in certain areas, making it a multifaceted problem. The period saw political transitions in Pakistan, with Musharraf stepping down in 2008, and the democratic government of President Asif Ali Zardari coming to power. Overall, the years from 2001 to 2009 were marked by Pakistan's evolving role in the War on Terror, the growth of extremist elements, and a series of military operations and government efforts to combat extremism. This period laid the groundwork for subsequent developments and challenges related to extremism in Pakistan. (Mostofa, 2023)

4.4.2.1 Cooperation of Pakistan Intelligence Service with the USA:

Pakistan's intelligence services, particularly the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), cooperated with the United States in the early 2000s during the "War on Terror" that followed the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. This cooperation was primarily aimed at countering Al-Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan. The Key points of cooperation included:

Counterterrorism Operations: Pakistan provided intelligence on the whereabouts and activities of Al-Qaeda and Taliban militants, helping the U.S. target and apprehend these individuals. Pakistan's counterterrorism operations in cooperation with America have been a significant aspect of their partnership in the War on Terror. These operations involved efforts to combat and dismantle terrorist networks operating within Pakistan and in the Afghanistan-Pakistan border region. Pakistan conducted military operations in its tribal areas, particularly in regions like North Waziristan and South Waziristan. These operations aimed to target and eliminate Taliban and Al-Qaeda sanctuaries and insurgent groups that posed threats to both Pakistan and U.S. interests in Afghanistan. Meanwhile, Pakistan's intelligence agencies, particularly the ISI, shared intelligence

with American counterparts. This cooperation involved providing information on the locations and activities of terrorist leaders and operatives. As a result of these cooperations, they captured and handed over several high-value terrorist suspects to the U.S., including individuals linked to Al-Qaeda. One of the most notable cases was the capture of Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, the mastermind behind the 9/11 attacks. Pakistan increased efforts to secure its border with Afghanistan to prevent the movement of militants. This included deploying troops, establishing border checkpoints, and improving surveillance. In addition to targeting international terrorists, Pakistan also conducted counterinsurgency operations against domestic militant groups, such as Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), which posed a threat to Pakistan's stability. (Souza, 2006)

Logistical Support: Pakistan allowed the U.S. to use its airspace and provided logistical support for American military operations in Afghanistan. This support was vital for the transportation of troops, supplies, and equipment. Pakistan allowed the United States to use its airspace for the transit of military aircraft, including transport planes, fighter jets, and drones. This access was vital for the movement of personnel, equipment, and supplies to and from Afghanistan. And also they granted the U.S. access to certain airfields and bases within its territory. These facilities were used for refueling, maintenance, and as forward operating bases for U.S. military aircraft. Pakistan provided land routes, commonly referred to as the "Pakistan Ground Lines of Communication" (PAK GLOC), for the transport of equipment and supplies into landlocked Afghanistan. This route was used to transport essential goods and equipment to U.S. and NATO forces. Meanwhile, They cooperated with U.S. efforts to secure transportation routes, particularly those passing through Pakistan's tribal areas. This cooperation was aimed at preventing attacks on convoys and ensuring the safe passage of supplies. Both countries engaged in logistical coordination to facilitate the movement of troops and supplies. This included arrangements for customs clearance, security escorts, and other logistical aspects of the supply chain. (APP, 2018)

Capture of High-Value Targets: Pakistani authorities collaborated in the capture of several high-value Al-Qaeda operatives, such as Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, who was the mastermind behind the 9/11 attacks. Islamabad cooperated with the United States in the capture of several high-value targets (HVTs) during the early years of the War on Terror. These captures were significant milestones in the joint efforts to combat terrorism. Khalid Sheikh Mohammed the mastermind behind September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks in the United States, was captured in Rawalpindi, Pakistan, in March 2003. His arrest was a major success in the fight against Al-Qaeda. In addition,

Abu Zubaydah, a high-ranking Al-Qaeda operative, was captured in Faisalabad, Pakistan, in March 2002. He provided valuable information about Al-Qaeda's structure and operations. Ramzi bin al-Shibh, another key figure in the 9/11 plot, was arrested in Karachi, Pakistan, in September 2002. His capture helped unravel the conspiracy behind the attacks. Abd al-Rahim al-Nashiri, responsible for the USS Cole bombing in 2000, was captured in the United Arab Emirates and later transferred to U.S. custody with the cooperation of multiple countries, including Pakistan. Riduan Isamuddin, also known as Hambali, a senior operative in the Southeast Asian militant group Jemaah Islamiyah and linked to Al-Qaeda, was captured in Thailand in 2003. His capture was part of broader intelligence-sharing efforts in the region that involved Pakistan to some extent. These captures were often the result of joint intelligence-sharing efforts between Pakistan and the United States. Pakistan's cooperation in capturing these high-value targets was considered a crucial contribution to the global efforts against terrorism, particularly during the early stages of the War on Terror. (Khan, 2005)

Border Security: Pakistan increased efforts to secure its border with Afghanistan to prevent the movement of militants across the border. This included deploying troops and establishing checkpoints. Pakistan cooperated with the United States in efforts to enhance border security along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border as part of the broader "War on Terror." This cooperation aimed to prevent the movement of militants and terrorists across the border and to stabilize the volatile border region. Islamabad increased its efforts to secure the border with Afghanistan. This included deploying additional troops, establishing border checkpoints, and enhancing surveillance mechanisms to monitor and control movement along the border. In some instances, joint border patrols and operations involving Pakistani and American forces were conducted to target and disrupt the activities of militant groups operating along the border region. Pakistan shared intelligence related to cross-border movement and activities of militant groups and terrorists with American counterparts. This information sharing was crucial for identifying and addressing security threats. Pakistan's cooperation was aimed at addressing concerns about the existence of safe havens for Taliban and other militant groups on its side of the border, which posed threats to both Afghanistan and U.S. forces operating in the region. It's important to note that while there was cooperation in border security efforts, the border region itself presented significant challenges due to its rugged terrain, porous nature, and the presence of various militant groups. The effectiveness of border security measures has been a subject of debate, and there have been periods

of tension in the U.S.-Pakistan relationship regarding border security and allegations of militants finding refuge on the Pakistani side of the border. (Oztig, 2020)

Information Sharing: Pakistan shared intelligence related to terrorist threats and activities in the region, which was essential for the U.S. to combat terrorism effectively. They cooperated with the United States in sharing information related to counterterrorism efforts as part of their partnership in the "War on Terror." Information sharing has been a crucial aspect of this collaboration. Pakistani intelligence agencies, notably the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), have exchanged intelligence information with their American counterparts, such as the CIA and FBI. This information sharing has included details about the activities, locations, and plans of terrorist organizations, including Al-Qaeda and the Taliban. Both countries have engaged in coordination and information sharing to target and disrupt terrorist networks operating in the Afghanistan-Pakistan region. This cooperation has extended to identifying and apprehending high-value targets. Pakistan has shared threat assessments and analyses related to the security situation in the region. This information has been valuable for U.S. forces and agencies to make informed decisions about their operations and strategies. Pakistan's cooperation in providing operational support, including access to airfields and logistical assistance, has been closely tied to information sharing. Access to Pakistani territory and airspace was essential for U.S. military operations in Afghanistan. Both countries have worked together on issues related to cybersecurity and countering online radicalization and recruitment efforts by terrorist organizations. It's important to note that while information sharing has been a significant part of the cooperation, the U.S.-Pakistan relationship in the context of counterterrorism has faced challenges and complexities over the years. Allegations of double-dealing and concerns about militant safe havens in Pakistan have at times strained this cooperation. (Members, 2022)

4.4.2.3 Military Assistance:

The United States provided military assistance to Pakistan as part of its broader efforts to combat terrorism. This assistance included financial aid to support its efforts in the War on Terror. Military equipment including weapons, ammunition, and vehicles, to enhance its ability to conduct counterterrorism and counterinsurgency operations and support for Pakistan's military operations in the tribal regions along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border where Al-Qaeda and Taliban militants were believed to be hiding. FY2002-FY2010 are estimated at 5.4 billion dollars, and most of this budget was spent on purchasing F-16 Combat aircraft. Meanwhile, the United States provided

foreign military finance(FMF) to Pakistan which was estimated about 2.1 billion from FY2001-FY2010. This amount of funds was given to Pakistan to purchase American military equipment. (Epstein, 2001)

The defense supplies which was given to Pakistan under foreign military finance (FMF):

- Eight P-3S maritime patrol aircraft and their refurbishment (valued at \$474 million)
- about 6,312 TOW anti-armor missiles (\$186 million; at least 2,007 delivered)
- more than 5,600 military radio sets (\$163 million)
- six AQ/TDS-77 surveillance radars (\$100 million)
- six C-130E transport aircraft and their refurbishment (\$76 million)
- 121 refurbished TOW missile launchers (\$25 million)

Supplies paid for with a mix of Pakistani national funds and FMF include:

- up to 60 Mid-Life Update kits for F-16A/B combat aircraft (\$891 million)
- 115 M-109 self-propelled howitzers (\$87 million, with \$53 million in FMF).

Items paid for entirely with Pakistani national funds include:

- 18 new F-16C/D Block 50/52 combat aircraft,(\$1.43 billion)
- F-16 armaments including 500 AMRAAM air-to-air missiles.
- 100 Harpoon anti-ship missiles (\$298 million)
- 500 Sidewinder air-to-air missiles (\$95 million)

Other major articles transferred via the European Defense Agency (EDA) include:

- 14 F-16A/B combat aircraft;
- 59 T-37 military trainer jets' and
- 550 M-113 armored personnel carriers.

It's worth mentioning that during George W. Bush's administration military training was also included. 65,000 Pakistani men trained as a frontier corps. They were responsible for border security mostly in Tribal areas in North and south Waziristan. Meanwhile, America trained the 5000 commando forces of Pakistan to increase their counterterrorism efforts. (Kerr, 2022)

Table I. Direct Overt U.S. Aid and Military Reimbursements to Pakistan, FY2001-FY2012

(appropriations, with disbursements in parentheses, rounded to the nearest millions of dollars)

Program or Account	FY2001	FY2002	FY2003	FY2004	FY2005	FY2006	FY2007	FY2008	FY2009	FY2010	FY2011	FY2002-FY2011 Total	FY2012 (req.)
I206	—	—	—	—	—	28	14	56	114	—	e	212	
CN	—	—	—	—	8	24	49	54	47 ^d	43 ^c	63 ^c	288	
		(1)		(1)	(9)	(14)	(37)	(72)	(25)				
CSF ^a	—	1,169	1,247	705 ^b	964	862	731	1,019	685 ^a	1,499	f	8,881 ^f	
FC	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	75	25 ^d	—	—	100	
FMF	—	75	225	75	299	297	297	298	300	294	n/a	2,160	350
		(75)	(225)	(75)	(298)	(298)	(297)	(298)	(300)				
IMET	—	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	5	n/a	18	5
		(1)	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)				
INCLE	77	91	31	32	32	38	24	22	88 ^f	170 ^h	n/a	528	125
	(77)	(91)	(31)	(1)	(17)	(—)	(10)	(33)	(35)				
NADR	—	10	1	5	8	9	10	10	13 ^f	24	n/a	90	23
		(10)	(1)	(5)	(7)	(5)	(6)	(1)	(5)				
PCF/PCCF	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	400	700	800	1,900	1,100
									(125)				
Total Security	77	1,346	1,505	818	1,313	1,260	1,127	1,536	1,674^e	2,735	n/a	14,177	1,603

Sources: U.S. Departments of State, Defense, and Agriculture; U.S. Agency for International Development.

Abbreviations:

CN: Counternarcotics Funds (Pentagon budget); CSF: Coalition Support Funds (Pentagon budget); FC: Frontier Corp train and equip; Pentagon budget); FMF: Foreign Military Financing; IMET: International Military Education and Training; INCLE: International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement (includes border security); NADR: Nonproliferation, Anti-Terrorism, Demining, and Related (the majority allocated for Pakistan is for anti-terrorism assistance); PCF/PCCF: Pakistan Counterinsurgency Fund/Pakistan Counterinsurgency Capability Fund (Pentagon budget through FY2010, State Department thereafter)

4.5. Great-Power Competition in South Asia (America, Russia, and China)

All three countries aim to expand their influence in South Asia. Competition between the United States, Russia, and China in South Asia is driven by geopolitical interests, economic influence, and regional security dynamics. Various diplomatic forums and initiatives involve these countries, such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and BRICS, where they interact and compete for influence.

4.5.1. Geopolitical Influence:

The United States has strategic partnerships with countries like India. The U.S. has cultivated strong strategic partnerships with several South Asian countries, most notably India. The U.S.-India relationship has deepened in various fields, including defense, trade, and technology. Although America has played a significant role in South Asia's counterterrorism efforts, supporting countries like Afghanistan and Pakistan in combating extremist groups in the region. The United States has a keen interest in maintaining stability in South Asia, partly to ensure the security of sea lanes crucial for global trade. The U.S. has invested in the South Asian region, mostly in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and India to provide economic aid, promote trade, and encourage investment. Russia maintains historical ties with India, which includes defense cooperation. India has been a major buyer of Russian military equipment. Russia has sought to engage with various South Asian countries through diplomatic channels and regional forums like the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). Meanwhile, Russia has explored energy cooperation opportunities in the region, including discussions on oil and gas pipelines. China's influence in South Asia has grown significantly through its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). It has invested heavily in infrastructure projects across the region, especially in Pakistan and Sri Lanka. China is a major trading partner for many South Asian countries. Its economic engagement has provided access to markets and investment opportunities. This country has used its economic leverage to gain political influence, as seen in its close relationship with Pakistan. China has developed defense ties with countries like Pakistan, providing military equipment and support. In summary, the United States, Russia, and China each pursue their geopolitical interests in South Asia through various means. While the U.S. focuses on strategic partnerships and counterterrorism, Russia leverages historical ties and diplomacy, and China emphasizes economic dominance and infrastructure development. These dynamics contribute to the complex geopolitical landscape in the region. (Masahiro, 2016)

4.5.2.Economic Investments:

The U.S. has invested in the region, particularly in India, while Russia has explored economic partnerships. Economic investment by the United States, Russia, and China in South Asia varies significantly based on their respective interests and strategies. America has provided foreign aid and assistance to several South Asian countries. This aid often includes development assistance, humanitarian aid, and support for healthcare and education. The United States is a significant trading partner for countries like India, and Pakistan importing goods and services, which contributes to economic ties between the nations. American companies have made substantial private investments in South Asia, particularly in sectors like technology, finance, and manufacturing. Russia's notable economic engagements with South Asia are through arms sales. It has been a major supplier of military equipment to countries like India. Russia has explored energy cooperation in the region, with discussions on oil and gas pipelines, although concrete projects have been limited. Russia has engaged in economic partnerships and trade agreements with South Asian countries, although its economic influence in the region is less pronounced compared to the U.S. and China. China's most significant economic investment in South Asia is through the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) a massive infrastructure development initiative. China has funded and constructed numerous projects, including ports, roads, and railways, in countries like Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh. China is a major trading partner for many South Asian countries. It invests in sectors such as manufacturing, technology, and energy. Chinese state-owned enterprises have been involved in building critical infrastructure in South Asia, enhancing connectivity and trade routes They provide loans and financial support for South Asian countries to undertake development projects, often linked to the BRI. In summary, the economic investments of the United States, Russia, and China in South Asia are diverse and reflect their respective priorities. The U.S. emphasizes aid, trade, and private investment. Russia focuses on arms sales and some economic cooperation. China's BRI stands out as a massive and transformative initiative, reshaping the economic landscape of the region. (Khan M. K., 2010)

4.5.3.Security Concerns:

South Asia faces numerous security challenges, including terrorism and territorial disputes. The U.S. has supported countries in countering terrorism and maintaining stability. The United States is concerned about the presence of terrorist groups in South Asia, particularly in Afghanistan and Pakistan. It has been involved in counterterrorism efforts and has supported regional

governments in combating extremism. Stability in South Asia is crucial for America because it directly impacts security in the broader Indo-Pacific region. Ensuring peaceful relations among South Asian nations is a priority to maintain global trade routes and security. The U.S. has established strategic partnerships with countries like India to counterbalance the influence of China in the region. Russia has supplied military equipment to various South Asian countries. Russia maintains a historical interest in South Asian security, particularly in relation to its longstanding relationship with India. It is concerned about regional conflicts and stability. Russia is a major supplier of military equipment to countries in South Asia, particularly India. Ensuring the stability and security of its arms sales contracts is a priority. China has security concerns in South Asia and has territorial disputes with India including along their border in the Himalayan region. Managing these disputes and avoiding escalation is a security concern for China. China has developed security ties with countries like Pakistan, including military cooperation and arms sales. Ensuring the stability of these relationships is important. China has concerns about the potential for terrorist threats emanating from South Asia, particularly given its proximity to regions with extremist groups. In summary, the United States, Russia, and China all have security concerns in South Asia, ranging from counterterrorism and regional stability to managing territorial disputes and protecting their respective interests. These concerns contribute to the complex security dynamics in the region. (K.S.Chalam, 2003)

4.5.4.Resource Competition:

The region's natural resources, including energy and minerals, are of interest to all three countries. They compete for access to these resources to fuel their economies. Resource competition between the United States, Russia, and China in South Asia primarily revolves around access to and influence over key resources in the region. South Asia is strategically located near major oil and gas-producing regions, including the Middle East. All three countries have interests in securing energy resources to meet their growing energy demands. Competing pipeline projects have been proposed in the region, such as the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) pipeline and the Iran-Pakistan-China (IPC) pipeline. These projects have geopolitical implications and involve competition for access to Central Asian energy resources. Rare earth elements are critical for high-tech industries, including electronics and defense. China has a dominant position in the global rare earth market, and other countries, including the U.S. and Russia, seek to secure alternative sources of these minerals in South Asia. South Asia is rich in minerals like coal, iron

ore, copper, and more. These resources are vital for industrial production and infrastructure development, making them attractive targets for resource competition. South Asia is home to several major rivers, including the Indus, Ganges, and Brahmaputra. Water resources are essential for agriculture, energy, and daily life, and competition exists over the management and utilization of these rivers. Geopolitical Influence: Competition extends to influence over resource-rich countries in South Asia, such as Pakistan and Afghanistan. Countries vie for political and economic partnerships that can secure resource access and leverage regional influence. Infrastructure development, often driven by China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), involves the construction of ports, roads, railways, and energy projects. These projects facilitate resource transportation and enhance regional connectivity. Obviously, resource competition in South Asia among the United States, Russia, and China encompasses various aspects, including access to energy resources, minerals, waterways, and geopolitical influence over resource-rich nations. These competitions can impact regional stability and influence the economic and strategic priorities of these countries in the region. (Chellaney, 2014)

4.6. The Economic Relation between US-Pakistan (2001-2009)

Pakistan became a key ally of the United States in the War on Terror After the 9/11 attacks, As a result, the U.S. provided significant financial and military aid to Pakistan during this period. This assistance was primarily aimed at supporting Pakistan's efforts in countering terrorism and stabilizing the region. Meanwhile, the U.S. provided substantial foreign aid, Bilateral economic assistance, Federally administered Tribal areas also called the FATA development plan, Trade, and investment in Pakistan. These different forms of aid were intended to strengthen Pakistan's capacity to combat terrorism, improve its infrastructure, and promote economic development. The United States become one of Pakistan's significant trading partners. Pakistan primarily exported textiles, apparel, and agricultural products to the U.S., while importing machinery, equipment, and various goods. U.S. companies invested in various sectors of Pakistan's economy, including energy, telecommunications, and consumer goods. These investments aimed to tap into Pakistan's growing market potential. (Kronstadt, 2011). See Table2.

4.6.1. Aids:

After 2001 U.S. aid to Pakistan increased and a six-hundred(600 \$) million emergency cash was transferred to Pakistan. George W. Bush the president of the United States hosted then-Pakistani President General Pervez Musharraf in 2003 at Camp David, where he worked with Congress to establish 3 billion dollars for five fiscal years. Annual installments of \$600 million were given in 2005. From FY2000 at \$36.76 million to FY2001 at \$187.7 million, U.S. aid increased five-fold, and in FY2002 (the first post-9/11 fiscal year) aid increased by another 11-fold to \$2,057 million. Aid continually increased from 2006 to 2009; FY 2007 was the first year of the Bush Administration's plan to devote \$750 million in U.S. development aid to Pakistan's tribal areas over a five-year period. Counterinsurgency Fund (PCF)/Pakistan Counterinsurgency Capability (PCCF) funds in 2009, a total of \$125 million has been received by Pakistan. With other accounts, some funds are transferred to meet certain needs on the ground. During years of natural disasters, some funds from ESF have been transferred to the International Disaster Assistance (IDA) or the Migration and Refugee Assistance (MRA) account. (Ali, 2009)

4.6.2. Bilateral Economic Assistance:

The U.S. provides bilateral economic development and humanitarian assistance to Pakistan through a number of funding accounts. The Economic Support Fund (ESF), International Disaster Assistance (IDA), and Migration and Refugee Assistance (MRA). These funds within ESF are transferred to IDA or MRA for emergency situations, For instance, the Pakistan flooding crisis. In the fiscal year of 2009, ESF funds reflected about 80% of America's economic assistance to Pakistan. These different forms of funds provide services to its citizens, Promote the system of health, and education development, encourage the society to establish political parties, and increase the ability to conduct elections. Meanwhile, EFS funds pave the ground for the government of Pakistan to bring reform in different political and economic sectors, Creates new job opportunities, promotes agriculture, and provide a linkage to farmers, market, and businesses. In 2009 food for peace aid to Pakistan was about 55\$ million, but in the next year, this amount of fund dramatically increased. For instance in 2010 during the flood in Pakistan, this amount reached 124\$ million. In FY2002, Global Health and Child Survival (GHCS) funding levels were \$14 million, and \$34 million in FY2009. Through GHCS program funds they pursue non-governmental

organizations to fight more effectively with HIV/AIDS and prevent the spreading of this virus in society. (Kronstadt, 2011)

4.6.3.FATA Development Plan:

The Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) program started in 2003 to improve health care services, education quality, economic growth, create job opportunities. Western tribal areas in Pakistan are poor, isolated, and traditional communities, but a very high-risk area for the emergence of extremist movements. 6% of American economic aid was just allocated for different projects in this area. President George W. Bush's administration urged the Congress of America to give 750\$ million in aid for five years to implement developmental projects in FATA and North west frontier province of Pakistan Khaybar Pashtoon Khwa to counter the influence of fundamentalist groups through local initiatives, including rule of law, development of health system, promoting education system and employment opportunities. (Orakzi, 2009).

Table 2. The US aid to Pakistan FY2001-FY2012 -Million USD.

Program or Account	FY2001	FY2002	FY2003	FY2004	FY2005	FY2006	FY2007	FY2008	FY2009	FY2010	FY2011	FY2002-FY2011 Total	FY2012 (req.)
ESF	—	625	188	200 ^c	298	337	394 ^d	347	1,114 ^f	1,292	11	4,797	1,360
	(3)	(602)	(190)	(206)	(203)	(218)	(269)	(86)	(209)				
Food Aid ^g	91	41	30	22	32	55	10	50	55	124	51	413	
	(2)	(5)	(40)	(22)	(6)	(48)	(10)	(3)	(79)				
HRDF	—	1	—	2	2	1	11	—	—	—	—	17	
							(1)		(1)				
IDA	—	—	—	—	—	70	50	50	103	232	145	650	
						(53)	(9)	(6)	(27)				
MRA	9	9	7	6	6	10	4	—	60	49	—	152	
	(4)	(5)	(7)	(4)	(3)	(3)	(5)	(10)	(9)				
Total Economic	111	711	286	317	402	553	683	591	1,365^e	1,727	n/a	6,536	1,362
Grand Total	188	2,057	1,791	1,135	1,715	1,813	1,810	2,127	3,039^e	4,462	n/a	20,713	2,965

Sources: U.S. Departments of State, Defense, and Agriculture; U.S. Agency for International Development.

Abbreviations: MRA: Migration and Refugee Assistance; IDA: International Disaster Assistance (Pakistani earthquake and internally displaced persons relief); HRDF: Human Rights and Democracy Funds; ESF: Economic Support Funds;

CHAPTER FIVE ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

5.1.ANALYSIS

This research mainly discusses two historical periods of the US-Pakistan relationship (1990-2000) and (2000- 2009) till the end of President George W. Bush's administration from a realistic perspective, but for a better understanding of US-Pakistan relations, it is important to have a short discussion of the relationship between the two countries before the Cold War. Pakistan held a significant place in American foreign policy, primarily due to its strategic location and its role in U.S. efforts to contain communism during the Cold War. Pakistan's geostrategic importance and proximity to the Soviet Union and its location in South Asia made it a crucial ally for the United States. It was seen as a bulwark against the spread of communism in the region. The U.S. viewed Pakistan as a valuable partner in its containment strategy against the spread of communism in Asia. This included providing military and economic assistance to Islamabad. Pakistan was a member of two regional defense organizations supported by the U.S. during the Cold War - the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). These alliances were aimed at containing communist influence in Asia and the Middle East. The United States provided significant military aid and economic assistance to Pakistan throughout the Cold War. This included arms sales and financial support, which bolstered Pakistan's military capabilities. During the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in the 1980s, Pakistan played a critical role as a conduit for U.S. support to Afghan mujahideen fighters. The U.S. funneled arms and funding through Pakistan to aid the resistance against Soviet forces. Overall, Pakistan's role in American foreign policy during the Cold War was largely centered on its strategic significance in the containment of communism in Asia, military assistance, and its role in the Afghan conflict. (Lieven, 2012)

After the Cold War(1990-2000) Pakistan's place in American foreign policy underwent significant shifts and developments. With the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s, the global geopolitical landscape changed. The United States was no longer primarily focused on containing communism. This shift had implications for its relationship with Pakistan. In response to Pakistan's nuclear tests in 1998, the U.S. imposed sanctions on Pakistan under the Pressler Amendment. This strained relations and limited certain forms of assistance. The U.S. had limited direct engagement with Pakistan during its support for the Afghan Taliban regime in the mid-1990s. Pakistan was

one of the few countries to officially recognize the Taliban government, which caused tensions with the U.S. as the Taliban's human rights abuses and harboring of terrorists drew international criticism. As the decade progressed, the U.S. began to recognize the importance of Pakistan in its counterterrorism efforts. Pakistan became a key partner in the fight against Al-Qaeda, particularly after the 1998 U.S. embassy bombings in East Africa and the 9/11 attacks in 2001. After the end of the Cold War, the long-standing Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan remained a source of tension in the region, and the U.S. periodically sought to mediate or encourage dialogue between the two countries. Despite the sanctions imposed on Pakistan due to its nuclear program, the U.S. continued to provide economic and military assistance during this period, often with a focus on counterterrorism efforts. Pakistan underwent political changes with the ousting of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 1996 and the subsequent return of Nawaz Sharif to power. These leadership changes influenced the dynamics of U.S.-Pakistan relations. Obviously, during the 1990s, Pakistan's role in American foreign policy was marked by a complex mix of cooperation and tensions. While there were periods of strained relations due to nuclear concerns and Pakistan's involvement with the Taliban, the U.S. increasingly recognized Pakistan's importance in the fight against terrorism, which set the stage for a more prominent role for Pakistan in U.S. foreign policy in the early 2000s. (Jones, 2002)

Pakistan's Place in American foreign policy from (2000-2009) was marked by significant developments and challenges, primarily driven by the U.S.-led War on Terror following the September 11, 2001, attacks. Pakistan became a crucial ally in the U.S. War on Terror, following the 9/11 attacks. The U.S. relied heavily on Pakistan's support in the early stages of the Afghan War, as it served as a base for U.S. military operations and intelligence gathering in the region. Islamabad officially ended its support for the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and cooperated with the U.S. in efforts to topple the Taliban government. This marked a significant shift from its previous support for the Taliban during the 1990s. The U.S. provided significant military and economic assistance to Pakistan during this period as part of its efforts to secure Pakistan's cooperation in the War on Terror. Pakistan received substantial financial aid and military equipment. The United States conducted drone strikes in Pakistan's tribal regions to target suspected terrorists. These strikes were a source of tension between the two countries, as they raised issues of sovereignty and civilian casualties. General Pervez Musharraf, who came to power in a 1999 coup, played a central role in Pakistan's foreign policy during this period. His support

for the U.S. War on Terror was instrumental in shaping Pakistan's relationship with the United States. During this period (2000-2009) Pakistan faced internal challenges in its tribal areas, where militant groups had established safe havens. The U.S. pressed Pakistan to take stronger action against these groups, leading to military operations in areas like Waziristan. Despite cooperation in the War on Terror, there were tensions and mutual suspicions between the two countries. Pakistan was often criticized for not doing enough to combat terrorism within its borders, and there were allegations of elements within Pakistan's intelligence agencies maintaining ties with certain militant groups. In 2008, Pakistan transitioned to democratic rule with the elections that brought President Asif Ali Zardari and Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani to power. The civilian government played a role in shaping Pakistan's foreign policy during this period. In summary, from 2000 to 2009, Pakistan's role in American foreign policy was defined by its critical position in the War on Terror. The relationship between the two countries was complex, characterized by cooperation in counterterrorism efforts but also marked by tensions and challenges related to Pakistan's domestic security situation and its ties to militant groups. (Polgreen, 2004)

The political, security, and economic competition among the Great powers(America, China, and Russia) in South Asia is a complex and evolving dynamic that has significant implications for the region's stability and development. Each of these major powers seeks to expand its influence in South Asia. The U.S. aims to strengthen its strategic partnerships with countries like India and Afghanistan. China seeks to solidify its alliances with Pakistan and Nepal, while Russia maintains historical ties with countries like India. The United States sees South Asia as a crucial part of its Indo-Pacific strategy, aimed at countering China's rise in the region. China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is a key component of its political strategy in South Asia, seeking to build infrastructure and enhance connectivity with neighboring countries. Russia maintains interests in regional security and arms sales. India, a major player in South Asia, is courted by all three powers. Washington seeks to bolster India as a regional counterbalance to China. China aims to deepen its military and strategic ties with Pakistan while managing its border disputes with India. Moscow maintains military cooperation with Delhi and has sold arms to various regional players. America and Russia have shared concerns about terrorism emanating from Afghanistan and have cooperated to some extent. China, too, is concerned about extremist elements, particularly in its Xinjiang region. All three powers are involved in arms sales to South Asian countries, contributing to regional military competition. China's BRI is a major driver of economic

competition. It has invested heavily in infrastructure projects in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and other South Asian countries. This economic influence can lead to debt dependencies and strategic leverage. The United States is interested in expanding its trade and economic partnerships in South Asia. It has concerns about China's economic dominance and seeks to promote alternatives. Competition for energy resources in the region, including natural gas pipelines and access to the Indian Ocean, adds an economic dimension to the rivalry. China's presence in South Asia includes technology and telecommunications projects. The U.S. has raised concerns about data security and privacy related to Chinese tech companies' involvement. Obviously, the political, security, and economic competition between the United States, China, and Russia in South Asia is multifaceted and dynamic. It involves strategic partnerships, military influence, infrastructure development, economic investments, and regional alliances. The outcome of this competition will significantly shape the future stability and development of the South Asian region. (Masahiro, 2016)

5.2. CONCLUSION

The strategic importance of Pakistan has always been one of the main sources of national power, and its geostrategic position has given this country such a feature. In this regard, America has always been one of the actors that have included Pakistan in the main equations of its foreign policy. During the Cold War Pakistan stayed as a key ally for the United States because this country shares a border with the Soviet Union (now Russia), making it a crucial location for monitoring Soviet activities and potentially serving as a base for espionage and intelligence gathering. Pakistan's proximity to Central Asia was important for American interests in countering Soviet influence in the region. It provided a potential route for supporting anti-Soviet groups and gaining access to valuable resources in Central Asia. The U.S. adopted a policy of containing the spread of communism during the Cold War. Pakistan was seen as a key ally in South Asia that could help contain communist influence in the region, especially in neighboring Afghanistan. Pakistan allowed the U.S. to establish military bases and facilities on its soil, which were used for surveillance, intelligence gathering, and potential military actions if the need arose. During the period of Cold War, the U.S. viewed Pakistan as a valuable partner in the diplomatic efforts to resolve conflicts in the region, particularly in mediating between the U.S. and China, and during the negotiations leading to the end of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. During the Soviet-Afghan War (1979-1989), Pakistan played a crucial role as a conduit for American support to Afghan mujahideen fighting against Soviet forces. This was part of the larger U.S. strategy to weaken the Soviet Union. After the Cold War, one of the primary areas of cooperation between the U.S. and Pakistan was in the fight against terrorism. Pakistan supported U.S. efforts to combat Al-Qaeda and the Taliban, especially after the September 11, 2001, attacks. This cooperation included providing intelligence, facilitating military operations, and capturing high-value targets. The U.S. and Pakistan maintained a strategic partnership, driven in part by Pakistan's geostrategic importance due to its proximity to Afghanistan and the Middle East. Pakistan allowed the U.S. to use its territory and airspace for military operations in Afghanistan. The U.S. provided military and economic assistance to Pakistan. Military aid was aimed at enhancing Pakistan's capabilities to fight terrorism, while economic aid was intended to promote development and stability. The issue of Pakistan's nuclear program remained a source of concern for the U.S. There were efforts to secure Pakistan's nuclear arsenal and prevent the spread of nuclear technology. At times, this issue strained relations, especially when Pakistan's nuclear scientist Abul Qader Khan was found

to have engaged in nuclear proliferation activities. The relationship between the two countries was marked by periods of tension and suspicion. Issues such as the extent of Pakistan's cooperation in the war on terror, its support for militant groups, and concerns about the Afghan Taliban finding safe havens in Pakistan led to friction. Changes in leadership in both the U.S. and Pakistan could impact the relationship. Different administrations in both countries had varying approaches and priorities in dealing with each other. Diplomatic efforts were made to address regional security challenges, including attempts to facilitate peace talks between the Afghan government and the Taliban. Pakistan was often seen as a key player in these efforts. After the 9/11 attacks, the U.S. sought international cooperation in its war on terror, particularly in the invasion of Afghanistan to oust the Taliban regime and target Al-Qaeda. Pakistan became a crucial ally in this effort, as it shared a border with Afghanistan and had historical ties with the Taliban. Pakistan provided vital support for U.S. military operations in Afghanistan. This included granting the U.S. access to airbases and logistical support for the deployment of troops and equipment. The supply lines through Pakistan were essential for sustaining the international coalition's operations in Afghanistan. Pakistan played a significant role in capturing several high-value targets in the war on terror, including Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, the mastermind behind the 9/11 attacks. This cooperation was instrumental in dismantling Al-Qaeda's leadership. The search for Osama bin Laden, the leader of Al-Qaeda, was a defining aspect of the U.S.-Pakistan relationship during this period. His presence in Pakistan, particularly in the city of Abbottabad, raised questions about Pakistan's knowledge and cooperation. The U.S. and Pakistan engaged in counterterrorism cooperation, with the U.S. providing military and financial assistance to Pakistan to enhance its counterterrorism capabilities. Civilian leadership changes in Pakistan, including the election of President Asif Ali Zardari and Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani, brought a degree of unpredictability to the U.S.-Pakistan relationship, as their priorities and policies sometimes differed from those of the military. Diplomatic efforts were made to address regional security challenges. The U.S. sought to involve Pakistan in negotiations with the Afghan Taliban and encourage a political settlement in Afghanistan. The hypothesis for this research assist positively Pakistan lost its geopolitical importance after the Cold War but again it found its importance for the USA after the 9/11 incident regarding the war on terror.

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