## **Contemporary Pak-US Relations in Post 9/11 Scenario**

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#### Abstract

The paper is an effort to examine the political analysis of contemporary Pakistan-US relations in post 9/11scenario. A background of relations between the two countries is summarized to understand the historical aspect. Seventy years of history witnessed many ups and downs in these relations regarding different situations since independence of Pakistan in 1947. The areas in post 9/11 scenario like Global War On Terror (GWOT), China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and new policies of Donald Trump is the main focus of this paper. The policy options for USA towards Pakistan and Pakistan's towards USA considering global realities in different aspects is also discussed. This study will be helpful to understand the fact that good relations between both the countries are necessary for both countries in order to achieve the stability, especially in Afghanistan and generally in South Asian and rest of the related world.

Key Words:9/11, GWOT, CPEC, South Asia, Trump Factor, Mistrust

#### **Historical Background of Pakistan-USA Relations**

Pakistan achieved independence on August14, 1947 from Britain as a result of political struggle. The relations between Pakistan-USA established soon after independence. At that time, Pakistan had the options to join United States of America or Soviet Union and Pakistan opted for USA. First prime minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan visits USA and met President Harry S Truman. In early years many Pakistani officials visit USA to strengthen the ties including: Commander-in-Chief Ayub Khan, Foreign Minister Zafrullah Khan, Foreign Secretary Ikramullah, Finance Minister Ghulam Muhammad, Defence Secretary Sikander Mirza and Special Envoy Mir Laiq Ali (Dawn, 2012).

Indian Prime Minister also visits USA and was given a warm welcome. USA considers India as strategic partner against China and Russia but Nehru disappointed USA by presenting its reservations. On the other hand Pakistani Prime Minister, Liaqat Ali Khan offered friendship with a request for economic and military assistance for Pakistan's security (S.M. Burke, 1973). Pakistan became American ally when it joined SENTO (South Asian Treaty Organization) and CENTO (Central Treaty Organization) for peace and stability in South Asia and Middle East (Chaudhri, 1958). During this period Pak-US relations improved because of American regional interests against USSR. In this improvement of relations Pakistan attained favours like military training and assistance. Dwight Eisenhower requested Prime Minister of Pakistan Suhrawardy for a lease of Peshawar Air Station, this request was accepted. Pakistan played its role to diffuse the silent tension between China and USA. Due to this facilitation United States President Richard Nixon made his first visit to China (Dawn, 2012).

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Pak-US relations took a huge turn when USSR invaded Afghanistan and Pakistan had to accept and host a huge flood of Afghans. In this situation, interests of USA and Pakistan matched, so this period is considered as the golden period in Pak-US relations. USA selected a battlefield far away from its homeland with the help of a devoted non-paid Pakistani army to defeat its rival and established a unipolar world. With the defeat of USSR, cold war ended and USA emerged as a sole super power (Hussain, 2016). Pakistan played main role during Afghan War but USA ignored it after war. This period was extremely difficult for Pakistan. After Afghan war, economic assistance of Pakistan continued but all military and new economic aid attached with certain conditions like roll back of nuclear programme. The situation became worse when Pakistan had to face severe situation after nuclear tests on May 28, 1998.

# Pakistan-USA Relations after 9/11, an Introductory Perspective

September 11, 2001 was the most significant event which transforms the world politics into a new shape. Whole world condemn these attacks and gave their strong affirmation to eradicate this menace. USA accused Osama Bin Laden and Al Qaeda for these attacks. At that time Al Qaeda leadership was in Afghanistan. UN General Assembly stressed upon its members to help in fight against terrorism and not allow the terrorists for such activities. USA and its allies targeted Taliban, who were hosting Osama Bin Laden in Afghanistan. Feeling the mood of international community, Pakistan joined "Global War On Terror" by taking U-Turn in its Afghan policy.

Pakistan allowed allied forces to use bases and other facilities for attacking Taliban in Afghanistan. In response to these services, Pakistan received economic and military assistance from USA and Allies (Kayani, 2011). Pakistan, being frontline state, became able to have grants, aids and grace periods from other institutes like World Bank, IMF and Paris Club. USA declared Pakistan a major Non-NATO ally and lift sanctions earlier imposed (Dawn, 2012). As per policy makers and analysts by joining GWOT, Pakistan became able to protect its strategic interests of territorial security, missile and nuclear programmes, support on foreign policy issues and economic development.

# Analysis in Post 9/11 Scenario

Pak-US relations in post 9/11 contemporary scenario is analyzed by keeping in view the following points:

- 1- Pre 9/11 attacks
- 2- Policy options for Pakistan and USA
- 3- Pakistan's Response to USA
- 4- USA response to Pakistan
- 5- Role of Pakistan in GWOT
- 6- Allegations and Misunderstandings
- 7- Indian factor
- 8- CPEC
- 9- Trump Factor
  - What need to do?
  - 1- USA Need to Assess Real Ground Realities
  - 2- Pakistan Need to Follow National Interest Policy

3- Confidence Building Measures
A: Short Term
B: Long Term

# 1-Pre 9/11 attacks

Until 9/11 attacks; relations between the two countries undergo many changes. These changes were due to the change in global trends and American interests. Whenever United States of America (USA) had to undergo an adventure in South Asia, Pak-US relations boost and when this adventure accomplished relations became dormant. The relations cannot be claimed as bilateral or based upon equality rather it always dominated by the American interests. The reason for this peak of relations was Afghan War, when Pakistan played an important role against a super power by supporting another super power. After completion of mission, USA left Pakistan alone to face the most threatening situation in the presence of millions of Afghan refugees who brought with them Arm and Drug culture (Hussain, 2016).

### 2- Policy options for Pakistan and USA

After 9/11, Pakistan join Global War On Terror as frontline state and took a turn on past Afghan policy. In this situation, both countries had some options. USA decided to attack Afghanistan; it had an offer from India to use its territory for war against Taliban. If USA used this option, its fighters had to cross Pakistan. Secondly, the cost of war may be double. Second option for USA was an old and long term ally Pakistan. USA officials contact with General Pervez Musharraf and he accept all demands of USA and allies in Global War On Terror (Dawn, 2012).

#### **3-Pakistan's Response to USA**

On the other hand, Pakistan under the rule of dictatorship had no option except to say "yes" to USA. History of Pak-US relations depicts that military rulers are more loyal than democratic. By this "yes", Pakistan secure its economic development, nuclear and missile programmes, and territorial integrity especially Kashmir issue (Dawn, 2012). Through another view, if USA left this mission in the way, it will be a suicide for Pakistan. In this situation, Pakistan has to face the fury of Afghans on one side and India on other side.

# **4-US Response to Pakistan**

As a result of joining Global War On Terror (GWOT), USA granted aid to Pakistan as economic and military support. This aid was distributed under the banner of Coalition Support Fund, Security Assistance, and Development Aid. Soon after 9/11, USA demanded access to Pakistani air and land bases, action against terrorists and pro-terrorism elements in Pakistan, action against direct and indirect support of Taliban, stoppage of cross border movement across Pak-Afghan border, freezing the assets of Al-Qaeda and the Taliban, intelligence sharing with the help of Pakistani intelligence agencies, and future facilitation for USA missions. US led Global War On Terror was aimed to eliminate international terrorism in all its forms and punish the culprits of 9/11 incident. To achieve success in this set goal, USA need a strong regional ally around Aghanistan. Pakistan was the best choice in this scenario. Additionally, Pakistan was best option because of its geographical location, ethnic affiliation and its role in Afghan Jihad 1979 against the USSR. After affirmation, Pakistan was selected as the front line state Non-NATO

Ally in GWOT (Kayani, 2011). Pal-US relations needs to be based on mutual interests but US always demand do more without assessing resources of Pakistan (Awan, 2018).

# 5-Role of Pakistan in GWOT

The Global War On Terror (GWOT) was launched to free Afghanistan from Taliban. International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) was established with the help of 33 countries. Pakistan has an important geographical location, so USA need its logistic support, intelligence sharing, land, air and naval bases to win this war. To enhance capability of USA and NATO operations against terrorists, Pakistan provided support as demanded by the USA such as access to air, naval and land bases. Pakistan help USA and Allies to counter the elements supporting Taliban directly or indirectly. When USA demanded support from Pakistan, former President, Pervez Musharraf, accepted all the US demands without any hesitation with remarks that "the US will react like a wounded bear and it will attack Afghanistan." Pakistan was preferred by USA over India due to two reasons: geographical location of Pakistan and equipment of Indian Army with Russian weapons and training. Pakistan took significant steps after 9/11 including: cooperation with USA and Allies, measures to control the movement of potential extremists, action against extremist organizations and groups, arrest of extremist leaders, banning Jihadi organizations, and reformation and regulation of madrassahs (Khan, 2013).

In addition to this, Pakistan Army launched many major operations to counter terrorism including: Operation Rah-i-Haq-I in Swat valley and Shangla district (2007), Operation Rah-i-Haq-II in Swat valley and Shangla (2008), peration Sirat-i-Mustaqeem in Khyber Agency (2008), Operation Sherdil jointly launched with Frontier Corps in Bajaur Agency (2008), Operation Rah-i-Haq-III in Swat valley and Shangla (2009), Operation Black Thunderstorm in Buner, Lower Dir and Shangla district (2009), Operation Brekhna in Mohmand Agency (2009), Operation Rah-i-Rast, commonly known as Swat Operation, (2009), Operation Rah-i-Nijat in South Waziristan (2009), Operation Zarb-i-Azb in North Waziristan along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border (2014), Operation Radd-ul-Fasaad across the country (2017) to destroy extremists and terrorists elements alongwith their hideouts. This war is continue and can only be win with dignity when regional and international powers support cooperation, dialogue and a sincere effort to solve the ground realities causing terrorism (Dawn, 2017).

### 6-Allegations and Misunderstandings between USA and Pakistan

In current scenario both countries are prey of mistrust and levied allegations on each other. Pakistan is worried about past track of USA while USA is concerned about the allegations that Pakistan has been supporting Taliban and misusing aid taken under the concessions of GWOT. Michael Kugelman, the Deputy Director of Asia Programme and South Asia Senior Associate at Wilson Centre told *The Express Tribune* that, "There is a serious mistrust on official levels between Pakistan and the United States as both sides believe the other is always tricking the other or trying to undercut its interests". Attending the fourth round of Track II diplomatic talks between Pakistan and the US in Islamabad, Kugelman assessed position of both sides as, "The Americans, for example, believe that Pakistan provides support to the militants that threaten US interests and lives in Afghanistan. While Pakistan believes that the US doesn't care about Pakistani concerns—from Kashmir to the presence of anti-Pakistani terror groups in Afghanistan—and only calls on Pakistan to "do more" to help promote US interests." He added that if US use its options like expansion in drone war, sanctioning of the Pakistani military officials or other possibilities then Pakistan could retaliate by closing down NATO supply lines. Regarding US-India relations perspective he said that, "So when it comes to this notion that India is destabilizing Pakistan, there are few takers in Washington". Commenting on US Defense Secretary James Mattis statement about CPEC, he said that US government has not formally condemned CPEC, despite Mattis's comments but White House may formally opposed to CPEC. He noted that the Trump administration is strong supporter of a deeper US-India partnership, so "What better way to garner more Indian trust than to formally position itself in the anti-CPEC camp?" (Haq, 2017). GWOT looks a long term venture, so both allies should solve the misunderstandings in order to achieve success.

USA is continuously blaming Pakistan for not doing enough but Pakistan rejecting these allegations. Most of the allegations are based on misunderstandings. The main allegations are: first allegation is that Pakistan is not serious to eliminate Taliban existence from its territory, second allegation is that Pakistan is harbouring Taliban for launching operations against Afghanistan and third allegation is regarding Pakistan providing space to China (Awan, 2018). It is assumed by analysts that at the withdrawal of American troops from Afghanistan, Taliban would be valuable for Pakistan (Iqbal, 2017).Director General (DG) Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR) Maj Gen Asif Ghafoor has stressed that misunderstanding between both countries may harm regional situation mainly Afghanistan. Ghafoor added that without accepting Indian supremacy we shall continue our positive role for the betterment of peace situation in the region (Nation, 2018). USA President through his twitter account on January 1, 2018 declares a shift in policy towards its ally Pakistan. As a result of this shift a cut in aid of \$ 225 million confirmed by White House. A \$ 1.3 billion aid cut is also approved against Pakistan (Shah, 2018).

After partition of sub-continent, there arises conflict between Pakistan and India over muslim majority state of Jamu and Kashmir. There is a Line of Control (LOC) which divides Kashmir into two parts controlled by Pakistan and India. The conflict of Kashmir results in death of soldiers and civilians on both sides of the border (Shah, 2018). As per estimate given by Centre for Global Development, USA gave nearly \$ 67 billion to Pakistan during 1951 to 2011(Shah, 2018). Announcement of new policy given by Donald Trump increase the intensity of bitter relations between Pakistan and USA. He accused Pakistan of providing safe heavens to terrorists. James Mattis during his visit to Pakistan stressed to do more against anti-Afghanistan terrorist groups. He added that both countries should find out common grounds to defeat terrorism (Ahmed, 2017). Trump view Pakistan as part of the problem; different from former presidents Bush or Obama (Ahmed, 2017).

# **7-Indian Factor**

Indian factor is also leaving an impact on Pak-US relations. India has an advantage of good relations with USA, so it is creating hurdles for Pakistan with the help of USA. Commenting on the emerging role of India as global power, CNN Bureau Chief New Delhi, Ravi Agrawal said that India's progress across several indicators: economic growth, life expectancy, toilets in schools, and electricity in schools. He added that less positive trends for the future are: weak job creation, climate-related heat waves, rising religious polarization and its impact on India's management of diversity. Though, India still has much to do at home but it becomes a much larger factor in foreign and international economic policy around the world. India's economy is the world's third largest in purchasing power parity terms and is powering the expansion and

modernization of the country's military capabilities. India still has to do much at domestic front to accomplish the aspirations of its constitution in order to make sure justice, liberty, equality and fraternity for all its citizens (Ayres, 2017). Director General Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR) said that Pakistan will resist Indian hegemony supported by US in the region. We are committed to establish and promote peace in the region (Dawn, 2018). United States should concentrate on unresolved issues of the region to establish peace in the region. Pakistan will continue its efforts for peace in Afghanistan (Dawn, 2018). US supported India played anti-Pakistan role to support terrorism in Pakistan territory from Afghanistan (Dawn, 2018).

Pakistan should look other options because now and in near future India is a strong ally of USA (Iqbal, 2017). Ghafoor pointed out that past role of India in Afghanistan depicts negativity, where India used Afghan soil against Pakistan. An Indian Navy officer Kulbhushan Jadhav who caught re-handed is proof of Indian terrorism (Nation, 2018). Actions and behavior of USA depicts very clearly that it is "keen to facilitate India's rise". In this region USA also investing in war on terror to keep hold on in Afghanistan. Janjua warned the possibility of a nuclear war in South Asia on Kashmir dispute due to USA policy to support India against the miseries of Kashmiris (Shah, 2018). According to Tony Dalton, co-author of Not War, Not Peace: Motivation Pakistan to prevent Cross Border Terrorism said that due to changes in relations of Pakistan and USA like to be a neutral outsider in case of any future crisis (Shah, 2018).USA stresses Pakistan and India to solve the Kashmir dispute bilaterally through meaningful dialogue. The dispute cost the lives of 70,000 civilians in last three decades. Current wave of freedom struggle attract the attention of young blood (Shah, 2018). In 2017, Modi gave a slogan, "not the gun, nor bullets" but an attack on Indian Army Camp again put the things on past track. Indian Defense Minister accused Pakistan for this attack. The situation of Kashmir in history shows that outsider power did not influence fruitfully towards the solution of Kashmir dispute (Shah, 2018). The current economic context of ties in the region between Pakistan-China, and between India-USA shows that economic interests have changed the course of foreign policy among these countries. USA will likely to pay no more active role if any incident like Kargil happened between Pakistan and India. In this situation the future role of USA in Kashmir conflict is not clear (Shah, 2018). US authorities have warned Pakistan of depriving from status like non NATO ally. Indian favoured recent US policy option is also a reason for increase in tension between the two countries. In recent scenario, to satisfy the USA demands; Pakistan need to modify its policy about security (Ahmed, 2017).

Regarding India-US relations, Henry Kissinger said much earlier: "The world faces four major problems — terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the movement of the centre of gravity from the Atlantic region to Asia and the impact of a globalised economy on the world order. The US and India have compatible, indeed overlapping, vital national interests in all four areas." Former President George W. Bush portrays India as a significant factor to compete the rise of China (Ali, 2018). The current India-US relations encompass larger areas and sectors of bilateral interests including: trade, investment, defence, security, education, science and technology, cyber security, energy, space technology, environment, agriculture and health. A segment of US officials suggest that United States, India and Pakistan should work jointly to win the war against terror based in Pakistan and Afghanistan (Ali, 2018). US may support Indian participation in economic development of Afghanistan but may not ignore Pakistan's complaints about Indian involvements against Pakistan. The relations between US-India looks long term understandings on bilateral, economic and straight ties but things are not so simple as Indian

lobby portray it in USA (Naseer, 2018). There are regular statements by responsible authorities from both sides about use of nuclear weapons in case of war. Other allegations which levied on Pakistan are: facilitation in terrorism on Indian side. Whereas Pakistan objects India-US alliance in Afghanistan is against Pakistan. This allegation became stronger by US President Donald Trump's New Year tweets (Naseer, 2018). If relations between Pakistan and India are normalize then Pakistan may concentrate on other issues like economic, political, and infrastructure. Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) is also a reason of unpleasant relations between Pakistan and India. When Lahore High Court released LeT leader Hafiz Saeed on the basis of lack of evidence India was outraged. USA also supports Indian position on Hafiz Saeed. India viewed LeT a terrorist organization which involve militancy in Kashmir. India accuses Hafiz Saeed and LeT for many terrorist attacks including Indian Parliament attack in 2001 and Mumbai attacks in 2008. President of Pakistan General Musharraf banned LeT in 2002 which reemerged as Jamaat-ud Dawa (JuD). In 2014, USA declares it a terrorist organization. India blames Pakistan for harboring LeT and JuD (Naseer, 2018). Afghanistan issue is another troublesome factor between Pakistan and India. Pakistan is accusing pro-India government in Kabul facilitating India for sponsoring terrorism in Pakistan. This tense situation between Pakistan and India in not only destructive for this region but for the globe at large. Pakistan should focus on internal political stability and try to engage India and USA for constructive dialogue on all issues which are reason of the conflict (Naseer, 2018).

# 8-CPEC

As per official website related to China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), it is a part of One Belt One Road project of China. It is a framework of regional connectivity which will be beneficial not only for China and Pakistan but also for its neighbours and the region. CPEC will improve road, rail and air transportation system with public connectivity. CPEC is a key to enhance understanding through academic, cultural and regional knowledge and culture. CPEC is a project of trade and businesses, energy production, and will result in regional connectivity, integration of shared destiny, harmony and development in the globalized world (Official website, 2018). Tump and Modi era started with the ever best ties between the USA and India. These relations weaken US trust towards Pakistan and vice versa. India is continuously using its strong relations with USA to damaging Pakistan's international image. India is directly and indirectly propagating negativity about Pakistan's economic activities. Pakistan considers CPEC vital for its progress and development, so India not only trying to damage it itself but also convincing USA to criticize it. Pakistan clearly conveys its message to USA through its officials that it should not see CPEC from Indian Perspective rather CPEC is advantageous for the whole region. The officials added that USA should deal with Pakistan on its own merit, instead of tagging it to other states and issues in the region. While responding to US Defense Secretary James Mattis, who said that CPEC passes through disputed territory and we cannot ignore this fact, Interior Minister of Pakistan Ahsan Iqbal during his visit to USA said that, "CPEC is not a conspiracy against anyone. It is not a security plan but a plan for economic prosperity, which is bringing investment in the energy, infrastructure and other key sectors". Ahsan added that, "So, I think, the US should not look at CPEC from the Indian perspective, but as a source for peace, stability and prosperity in the region. CPEC can bring the much-needed stability to a region that has suffered from war for the last several decades." (Iqbal, 2017). In recent global context China emerged as a hope for under developed world. Its Belt and Road project worth \$900 billion investment. Its part CPEC is a joint venture of Pakistan and China. China has been a time tested friend of Pakistan (Awan, 2018). China is a time tested friend of Pakistan, so Pakistan is providing space to china for economic flourishing which is against American interest (Awan, 2018). Currently our region is the pivot of power struggle among big powers. USA wants to contain China in its economic rising, so it is conspiring against CPEC. Chinese investment in CPEC is around \$60 billion. CPEC passes through the part of Azad Kashmir controlled by Pakistan whereas India opposes CPEC due to its position on Pakistan administered Kashmir (Shah, 2018).

#### 9-Trump Factor

Donald Trump won 2016 Presidential Elections and elected as President of USA. In electoral campaign Donald Trump used racial and anti-muslim sentiment, claimed to counter Radical Islam if won. After winning the presidential election, Trump banned six muslim majority countries (BBC, 2017). At this time US-India relations are at highest level of trust as never in the past. In order to please India, Trump criticized Pakistan, support a cut in financial and security aid to Pakistan. Trump Administration is continuously saying that in order to achieve targets in Afghanistan every effort would be made. The officials convey to the Pakistani counterparts and in media openly to increase drone strikes, cut in military and development aid, and downgrading its status as Non-NATO ally. On the other hand, Pentagon spokesman Adam Stump said that, "The United States and Pakistan continue to partner on a range of national security issues" (Dawn, 2017). USA President and other US officials warn Pakistan regarding nuclear assets. USA officials warns Pakistan that it can take action at its own if Pakistan will not cooperate against terrorists in tribal belt (Iqbal, 2017).

United States President Donald Trump in his first tweet of 2018 blame Pakistan for not doing enough against terrorists, who are responsible for instability in Afghanistan. He added that we are giving aid to Pakistan over the last 15 years for no return. Trump clearly closed the doors for Pakistan. Prime Minister of Pakistan Shahid Khaqan Abbasi respond the anti Pakistan tweets of US President, and remarks of US leadership as irresponsible, against facts, negation of sacrifices by Pakistan. He added that these remarks will only harm the trust between Pakistan and USA. Trump said that in response to \$ 33 billion aid, Pakistan only make us fool. Foreign minister of Pakistan Khawaja Muhammad Asif responds US accusations by saying that we have told USA that we will not do more. He added that Pakistan is ready to provide details of aid given by USA during Afghan War. Defence Minister of Pakistan Khurram Dastagir vow to defend sovereignty of Pakistan. Foreign office of Pakistan replied US accusations and said that allies should respect each other and stress to pay attention on establishment of peace and reconciliation (Aziz, 2018).

President of United States of America, Donald Trump on first day of 2018 tweet that his country is changing the policy towards its ally Pakistan. Very next day after tweets White House informed regarding \$225 million cut in military aid. This cut is followed by a further \$1.3billion cut to South Asian nuclear power (Shah, 2018). The frustration between India and Pakistan opened up opportunities for India and USA. Dhruva Jaishankar, a fellow in foreign policy at the Brookings Institution's India office in New Delhi, comment on Pakistan–India relations, "Many in Pakistan believe they have a new form of support from Beijing, which has emboldened Islamabad in its engagements with both Washington and New Delhi. Whether there are

substantive reasons for this newfound confidence remains to be seen". A former diplomat Arif Kamal takes Trump era as destructive for both Pakistan and USA relations (Shah, 2018)

### What need to do?

- 1- USA Need to Assess Real Ground Realities
- 2- Pakistan Need to Follow National Interest Policy
- 3- Confidence Building Measures
- 4- Short Term and Long Term Actions

# **1-USA Need to Assess Ground Realities**

This is an accepted and understood reality that democracy can promote tolerance in the society. On the other hand democracy is the voice people. In current situation, USA is confused regarding ground reality and its national interest. History of USA campaigns abroad shows that it has achieved its goals mainly through non democratic rulers like Husni Mubarak, Kings of Arab World and Generals of Pakistan. USA has to decide whether to promote democracy for all or just use it for vested interest. In this entire situation a question arise that USA attacked Iraq to liberate its people from dictator who was an indispensable past friend. Why USA not did this in Pakistan to pressurize the General Musharraf to step down.

### 2-National Interest Policy of Pakistan

Pakistan should follow policy of national interest while dealing with USA. Since creation of Pakistan, USA used Pakistan time by time in the need of hour but left alone at the mercy of bad time after completing her mission. So, Pakistan must keep in mind welfare of its people, national integrity, serve for some good cause if unavoidable, and saving good relations with the neighbours and regional countries.

# **3-Confidence Building Measures**

To promote building confidence between the two countries, they must keep in mind the ground realities. The basic problems of Pakistan are illiteracy and non democratic rulers. The non democratic rulers are sheltered by USA for their own national interest. These rulers never consider themselves answerable to the Pakistani public, so they have their own priorities. This trend need to be change because public think that a dictator cannot rule without the help of USA. Illiteracy is the second major problem of Pakistan. Education system in Pakistan is divided in three categories: English medium private, Urdu medium or public schools and Madrassa system. All three systems are producing different types of students. An education system responsive to all three categories is needed to avoid any social conflict. USA may assist in solving these problems to tighten the seven decades old relations between the two countries.

#### **4-Short Term and Long Term Actions**

In order to bring Pak-US relations on track, USA should fulfill its promises with Pakistan in the hour of need. On the other hand, Pakistan should act against all forms of fundamentalism, extremism and terrorism by conducting arm operations or financial actions against individuals, groups or organizations. In long term USA should invest in Pakistan's education, health, welfare and development sectors. While Pakistan should strive to develop a documented economy, promote religious and social tolerance through all platforms: religious, social and political.

## Conclusion

The paper concluded that Pakistan has to assess the demands of USA in its internal and external perspective and then respond accordingly. No doubt that Pak-US relations are recently depends upon Global War On Terror (GWOT) but both countries should open new doors for long term trustworthy relations. Since the establishment of relations between the two countries, Pakistani people never thought that relationship between the two countries is on the basis of equality but it looks like Patron-Client relationship. There is a need to clear this misunderstanding by promoting ties among both governments and nations. Anti American or Anti Pakistan sentiment is not in favour of any one. USA should seriously think that why Muslim world including Pakistan hate her. USA should promote justice in the world as her responsibility and not try to impose her policies. To tackle the problem of extremism and terrorism there is a need to enlighten them with education. Secondly, democracy is the cure of many social problems. These two factors should be applied in the ongoing situation. Through war, we can kill others but cannot win their hearts. This can only be done by providing justice, education and democracy to the deprived ones.

While playing role in Global War On Terror (GWOT), it is quite clear that Pakistan has put its integrity at risk. Pakistan has lost its trusted and loyal unpaid soldiers in FATA, destroy its tourism industry by conducting operations in areas like Swat, and increase its enemies intentionally or unintentionally. Many analysts and public opinion consider it the war of others who choose the battlefield far away from their homeland. Pakistan has paid too much for this war even more than the USA and Allies. Secondly the effects of this war are negative for our society. Due to this war, our society is dividing more and more; some are in favour of war and some segments of society are opposing it. USA is losing dollars or few soldiers in GWOT but Pakistan had to face long term loss in monetary and social sense.

Now both countries should look ahead of GWOT and situation in Afghanistan. Both countries must put their focus on welfare, health, development and strive for society having tolerance in all segments of society.

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