



## Advance Social Science Archives Journal

Available Online: <https://assajournal.com>

Vol.2 No.4, Oct-Dec, 2024. Page No. 603-619

Print ISSN: [3006-2497](#) Online ISSN: [3006-2500](#)

Platform & Workflow by: [Open Journal Systems](#)



### PAKISTAN-UNITED STATES STRATEGIC RELATIONS: AN UNDERSTANDING OF FORMATION OF ALLIANCE WITH PAKISTAN IN US PERSPECTIVE

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#### ABSTRACT

After the inception of Pakistan, a newly formed country was facing severe challenges in economic, military and infrastructure sectors. Apart from these challenges India has posed vital threats for its survival. After independence Pakistan opted for the policy of non-alignment which meant Pakistan will not align itself with any power bloc in the world but it will remain active participant in promoting global peace, harmony and cooperation. The domestic bottlenecks and Indian aggressive stances made Pakistan to reconsider its policy from non-alignment to form alliance with a country which can provide support in protecting its sovereignty and boost its economic and social sectors. For this purpose Pakistan joined SEATO and CENTO to gain international support in its technical interventions. She formed alliance with the United States of American to protect each other's national interests. The main reasons for Pakistan to form alliance with USA were purely based on its fundamental needs in each sector for its survival in domestic and global environment. On the other hand USA policy makers were eying to spot trustworthy ally in this region who can fight their war against Communist school of thought. USA started its containment intervention after the WWII and they found an supportive ally in shape of Pakistan to provide them their desire support and assistance. Throughout the history the global world has witnessed many ups and downs in the relations of the both countries. During the 1965 and 1971 war between both India and Pakistan the relations of the both countries were at its low. When USSR invaded Afghanistan in late 1970's, it was Pakistan who supported USA in defeating USSR in Afghanistan. It was the support of Pakistan which curtailed the interventionist ideas of USSR in Afghanistan. During these times Pakistan received heavy Aid and other military assistance during this era. Despite the assistance provided by Pakistan USA has always opposed the nuclear generating capacity of Pakistan. She has imposed Pressler amendment on Pakistan which banned military and economic assistance to Pakistan. After the disintegration of USSR, USA abandoned Pakistan. It was the attack on twin towers which brought both countries close together to fight the global war against terrorism in 2001. The regional and international community has witnessed many ups and downs in the relations of Pakistan and USA during WoT. The sovereignty of Pakistan has been disturbed many times, she has lost more than 70,000 precious live and economic, social and political fronts have been badly affected. The realist school of thought has been implemented to dig out th

**Keywords:** Strategic Alliance. Cold War. Geopolitics. Military Aid. Counterterrorism

### **Introduction**

Since independence Pakistan has faced many issues from internal and external sources as India throughout the history posed vital threat for Pakistan. After independence Pakistan opted for the policy of non-alignment which meant Pakistan will not align itself with any power bloc in the world but it will remain active participant in promoting global peace, harmony and cooperation (Sohail, 1991). The confrontation in 1948 between Pakistan and India over Kashmir produced syndrome of insecurities in Pakistan, there were imminent threats from India to invade Pakistan as it did in Kashmir (Johnson, 2005). The potential threats and insecurities prompted Pakistan's top leadership to reconsider their non-alignment policy and to look in global perspective because she couldn't survive without economic assistance, political support and latest defense equipment. On the other side USA after the WWII played important role to stabilize Europe through Marshall Plan in which US\$15 billion were allotted to Europe to reconstruct their cities, boost their industry and infrastructure (Gimbel, 1976). Their focus towards the Asia was to maintain balance of power and containment of communism in the region. During 1950's Pakistan agricultural sector collapsed and the US offered Pakistan to join western bloc to strengthen its economy, energy, agricultural and security sectors. This dependency of Pakistan (economy, energy, agricultural and security problems) and the US (containment of communism) forced both countries to enter into an alliance. Therefore, Pakistan joined Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) in 1954 and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) in 1955 (Bajwa, 1996).

### **Background of the study**

The 9/11 terrorist attacks on the soil of US and the US announcement of global war against terrorism and extremism, the international and regional politics experienced sudden transformation. This incidence has let the US military troops to invade Afghanistan and the US accusations of plotting the 9/11 attacks under the leadership of Al-Qaeda, Osama Bin Laden. Since the establishment of Al-Qaeda training bases and shelter homes in Afghanistan during the Taliban Regime. The Taliban has been considered the brainchild of Pakistan during the USSR invasion of Afghanistan. The assistance and integral support of Pakistan was imperative for the US interventions in Afghanistan's territory. The decision for Pakistan to act as front line ally in war against terrorism was difficult in which the goals and objectives of Pakistan were on high-stake, on the other side America under Bush Administration has declared this war vital for American existence and global security. The Bush Administration has to choose one amongst three decisions in his foreign policy goals: Killing and rounding up the terrorists who plotted 9/11 attacks, to have firm grip on spreading of nuclear weapons or to promote democracy in the region as well as in global politics. The Bush Administration directly opted for the killing and rounding up the terrorist at the expense of other two options purely on the basis of the significant role of Pakistan can offer in war against terrorism (Kosterlite, 2004).

The 9/11 incident totally refocused and reshaped the US foreign policy towards Pakistan which was discontinued after the disintegration of USSR in early 90's. Pakistan has gained a lot of attention in Bush administration and they were openly saying that "They have informed Pakistan about the dangerous consequences of Al-Qaeda terrorist activities in the world. The appeals have been made towards Pakistan to kick out terrorist elements from the soil of Afghanistan to maintain global peace and security. The Bush Administration knew that without the proper support and assistance of Pakistan they would never attain their goals in Afghanistan. Famous writer and Academician Amitab Acharya explains this point, "Pakistan, a Muslim country has proved to be the most important bridge in the logistics chain which played vital role for America in dismantling Taliban"(Acharya, 2002). The importance and critical role of Pakistan has been praised and acknowledged by global community on several occasions quoting that "without the support and assistance of Pakistan goals and objectives against Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan would be far much difficult than expected" (Fazal-ur-Rehman, 2003). During the pre-9/11 era the US intelligence agencies has failed miserably in curtailing Osama Bin Laden without proper assistance of Pakistan's intelligence agencies. The American initial plan was to capture or kill Osama bin Laden while he was travelling from Kandhar to Tarnak, which was considered as his primary residence. It was bound to happen with the local tribesmen of Afghanistan (Kean and Hamilton, 2004). The US expeditions of taking down Osama has failed badly on several occasions which automatically enhanced the importance of Pakistan because of the credible intelligence information of Pakistan regarding Taliban and Al-Qaeda leader Osama Bin Laden. Many mainstream journalists and people from Academia considered "The United States knew it could not proceed without Pakistan's assistance" (Kosterlite, 2004).

The important and the most significant role of Pakistan can also be evaluated that throughout the early phases of the WoT the support and assistance of Pakistan was vital; it was the presidential elections of 2004 in which Pakistan provided enough support to Bush Administration by making strategic interventions during the war against terrorism. At one point it seemed like President Bush has lost all of his advantages for his reelection campaign. ABC News and The Washington Post has conducted a very famous survey discovered that his main opponent John Kerry was carrying the narrative of effectively handling the war against terrorism. The deteriorating situation in Iraq war resulted President Bush to lose 21 points in his presidential elections polls (Yousafzai, 2022). In order to secure public confidence Bush Administration started to pressurize Pakistan to capture or kill Osama Bin Laden, Ayman Al-Zawahiri and Mullah Omer. They believed that these most wanted people have been hiding in Tribal belt of Pakistan. High level American officials including George Tenet CIA Director, Colin Powell Secretary of State, Christina Rocca Assistant Secretary of State, Cofer Black State Department Counter Terrorism Chief, important CIA South Asia Officials visited Pakistan and urged General Pervez Musharraf Government to apply more energies and efforts in war against terrorism. According to Pakistan's top intelligence agency named Inter Service Intelligence (ISI) sources, "The

government of Pakistan is keen to eliminate Osama Bin Laden and his friends on the immense pressure created by the US top officials. His elimination would play crucial part in the upcoming US elections". On other hand sources from Pakistan's Ministry of Interior has explained, "Musharraf presidency has the habit of securing Bush administration on multiple occasions, now his administration wants him to provide them the leverage and upper hand before the upcoming elections" (Sunawar, 2014)

### **Pakistan US Alliance before 9/11**

Pak-US alliance has its deep roots due to the South Asia Regional Politics and Cold War in 1950s. The concerns of the US regarding former Soviet expansionism in this region and Pakistan concerns about their security indulged both countries to enter in defense agreement in 1954. The United States of American interests till WW2 in South Asian affairs were minimum. After the WW2 US started to penetrate in South Asian affairs to curtail USSR influence in the region, main reason behind this penetration in South Asia was to build strong alliance to minimize the influence of Communist bloc (Khan, 1984). During that era the South Asian territories were mainly dominated by China, United States of America and Russia. When US spotted the influence of Communists in South Asia they approached India to counter the influence of Russia and China, for these purpose official invitations were extended to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to pay official visit to United States of America. During the initial phases US completely ignored Pakistan but after the Russian invitation for official visit US extended their invitation to Prime Minister Liaqat Ali khan in sheer courtesy. Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan visit to US in May 1950 provided a perfect opportunity to describe and explain the main goals and objectives in forming new country in front of global leaders. Nehru policy was totally opposite to Pakistan he stated that the main reason behind his visit was to support US in discovering Pakistan (Burke, 1990). During 1958 when Pakistan realized that it has lost many strategic opportunities for development because of its policy of military alliance. Pakistan policy shifted from policy of alignment to policy of partial alignment and extended its friendship with China. The ambitions of US President Kennedy to make India powerful leader in South Asia made Pakistan suspicious. Pakistan government strongly opposed the aid provided to Indian Government during Sino-Indian war. Their narrative behind this opposition was that India will fulfill their long lasting "cherished dream of Asian leadership" if powerful countries of the world keep on supporting them. This aid will directly disturb Balancing of the Strength in South Asia's territories and can be potential threat for Pakistan Survival (Dasgupta, 2004). When Ayub Khan took charge as President of Pakistan it became most reliable ally with US in South Asia. The relations between the both countries prosper during the second term presidency of President Eisenhower. Furthermore, President Ayub Khan was in favor to develop strong diplomatic and military ties with USA, for this purpose Pakistan allowed the surveillance flights of the US to monitor Soviet Union from Bud Beer airport, a local place located in Peshawar (Sattar, 2010). Pakistan and US agreement of cooperation, Pakistan

received \$700 million in military grant aid from 1955 to 1965. The clashes of 1965 between Pakistan and India, USA abandoned military aid to both countries, which disturbed the relations of both countries. Pakistan was not happy after seeing the attitude of US during Pakistan-India war in 1965 being close ally. (Yousafzai, 2022). In 1979 President Carter administration again suspended aid for Pakistan due to its nuclear program which was resumed in 1974. President Johnson after imposing ban on all sort of aid to Pakistan and took neutral stand in many issues and challenges in Pakistan context. It created a very negative image and anti-west sentiments in Pakistan public and government and the demands to withdraw from west alliance were rising from different forums. During Nixon Presidency, he lifted the ban on Pakistan in 1971, but the situation changed dramatically during 1971 war again US cancelled aid to Pakistan and started to adopt the policy of neutrality (Hussain, 2012). The presence of seventh fleet located at Bengal bay totally changed the mindset of Indian soldiers which kept them away from Pakistani soldiers. During 1971 Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto demanded defense support to combat Indian aggression and threatened the global leaders to support Pakistan in arms otherwise Pakistan will start working on nuclear weapons. This statement worked in favor of Pakistan and USA again started supporting Pakistan in arms supply. It was May, 1974 after Indian nuclear explosion in Pokhran, Pakistan started to seek nuclear capabilities in order to stop Indian aggression and to equal balance of power in South Asia (Khan, 1985). During 1976 Pakistan made rapid strides in acquiring nuclear weapons and entered a deal with French government for nuclear reprocessing plant. This situation was uneasy and alarming for the administration of USA. They threatened Pakistan to stop working on nuclear program by cancelling aid to Pakistan by banning the supply of bombers A-7 to Pakistan (Samad, 2012). Sanctions and cancellation of American aid continued during the Presidencies of Carter and Ford. In reply Pakistan threatened the US administration to withdraw from CENTO and developed friendly relations with Russia and China. During the cold war era of 1980's, there was huge amount of resistance against the Soviet Union brutal attack on Afghanistan which has challenged the American supremacy to great extent. This invasion has opened opportunity to both Pakistan and United States of America to minimize the differences and space created before. Pakistan acted as front line state to curtail Communism during this era which lasted till 1990. Pakistan has successfully promoted US interests in this region and helped American cause to curtail Communism in this region. Pakistan has received total USD 1.625 billion economic assistance and USD 1.5 billion for the period of six years due to her crucial role in Afghan Jihad (Noel, 2012). The Soviet Union attack on Afghanistan directly threatened the US Strategic and diplomatic interests in this region for this purpose US again under the presidency of Carter lifted the ban on Pakistan. They declared Pakistan as front line state to curtail Soviet Union expansionist policies. The US in their covert action in 1979 made CIA involved to provide support to Afghan Mujahideen to fight Soviet Union troops. President Carter in 1980 signed USD 400 million to support Pakistan's militarily and economically. President Ziu Ul Haq rejected the offered aid and called it "Peanuts" (Kronstadt, 2013). He told the American

administration to provide USD 2 billion in order to build Pakistan's armed forces to combat expansionist and aggressors in the region. When President Regan took the charge as President of US the lifted ban on Aid, equipped Pakistan with F-16 fighter jets, modern tanks were transferred to Pakistan, Anti-Tank technology was provided to Pakistan, latest helicopters and technological advance radar system was installed in Pakistan (Javaid, 2016). Despite the close partnership US imposed Pressler Amendment in 1985 due to Pakistan nuclear program. In 1990 under President Bush Senior the relations between Pak and US went cordial because of the provisions of Pressler amendments. After the withdrawal of former USSR from Afghanistan and its disintegration in 1990s Pakistan and the US relations were on normal terms, the US was concerned about Pakistan's nuclear program till 1998. The incident of 9/11 and the strong alliance of Pakistan and the US on war against terrorism revived the relations of both countries, which provided new ways and dynamics to both countries relations and cooperation (Kronstadt, 2009).

During the 1988 elections Benazir Bhutto became the first female head of the government of Pakistan. After elections US supported Pakistan by giving USD 600 Million Aid. The US interests has shifted dramatically from South Asia towards Middle East because of USSR defeat in Afghanistan (Mazari, 2008). During 1996 Pakistan efforts had brought some successful results in establishing and supporting Taliban government. The Administrations controlling the US government initially welcomed the peaceful steps taken for the stability and peace in Afghanistan. Later on US started to criticize the Taliban government because according to them they are fundamentalists and violators of basic human right. Pakistan faced new sanctions during 1990's due to her nuclear program and the weak economy of Pakistan; it once again came under severe pressure (Ahmed, 2004). After the attack on US embassy in Kenya by Osama Bin Laden owned organization, US once again approached Pakistan to influence Taliban to stop challenging US authorities in the world. Taliban refused to talk with Pakistan and new tussle between US the sole super power in the world and Taliban emerged regionally and internationally (Hassan, 2004).

### **Pakistan US Alliance after 9/11**

The September 11 attacks had disturbed the dynamics of the global politics especially the relations between the countries. During the Presidency of General Pervez Musharraf Pakistan was moving slowly but surely towards been declared as "Failed State". The policy makers in Washington were concerned about the nuclear technology and advancement of Pakistan missile arsenal. They were propagating the ideology of non-proliferation in the global politics. After the incident of 9/11 President Bush called the whole world to take decisive decision in siding with US or the terrorists (Mustafa, 2016). The increased strategic alliance between India and US after the disintegration of former USSR worried Pakistan administration despite India's nuclear explosions in 1998. The growing ties between India and US have raised many questions in Pakistan camp. The foreign policy makers were feeling like in corridors of uncertainty in combating the external situation in terms of security in Pakistan. During September 2002 when the US National Security Paper was made publically available, the shift in

strategy in terms of foreign policy was quite evident which was clearly favoring India (Scott, 2008). After the adoption of such security policy in 2002 when Pakistan played front line role in eradicating Terrorism. It made Pakistan uncomfortable because of Indo-Pak history of rivalry. The Arms deal of India with United States of America was deep shock for Pakistan which had the potential of disturbing the balance of power in the region. The relations between Pakistan and US were on low terms after the Indo-US military cooperation in early 2000's. The arms deals and military cooperation were asking questions for the security purposes of Pakistan (Nayak, 2005). After the increased foreign policy goals and objectives in Afghanistan, US started to give attention to Pakistan in order to protect her national interests. The eradication of terrorism from every corner of the world brought the two countries together. The ups and downs in the relations give new dimensions to form fresh relations in combating terrorism in the world; Pakistan sided with US to protect its national interests in Afghanistan. Pakistan geostrategic location played a very important role in reviving these relations. The strategic objective of US to control terrorism, peaceful Afghanistan, monitoring of nuclear arms in South Asia, stabilizing South Asia and to provide check on China could only be achieved through Pakistan involvement. According to US administration the normalization of Pakistan and India ties would play vital role in the promotion of democracy and human rights related matters in the global world. The foreign policy of United States of America towards Pakistan has addressed many issues like increasing religious extremism, to counter terrorism in Afghanistan and inside Pakistan (Akhtar , 2012).

### **Theoretical framework and Methodology**

While examining the foreign policy of US towards Pakistan, different theories of International Relations have to be studied and examined. Hence, the focus of the particular research study is foreign policy and foreign policy analysis of the Bush and Obama administrations. While examining the administrations and style of the foreign policies of both presidents the theory of "Realism" is one of the formidable theories which can explain the personal behavior in all dynamics of the leader and it simplifies and examines the strategic policy of a country towards the specific country along with global community as well. Through policy the political actions in global environment are carried out through a well-directed and well-coordinated strategic policy. The adoption of foreign policy is done to safeguard and protect the national interests of the state. The basic reason is that individuals and states formulate the foreign policy which has the blend of being state-centric and perceive the paradigm of the realist school of thought (Hill, 2003). The nature and scope of this research is qualitative in nature, analytical and descriptive method of qualitative research will be applied during this research in order to answer the research questions.

### **Literature review**

Zahid Hussain in his book *"No-win War: The Paradox of US-Pakistan Relations in Afghanistan's Shadow 2012"* Has explained and explored the relations of Pakistan and the United States of America after Pakistan went into alliance with US in 2001. The

book has explained the points of divergence between the government of Pakistan and USA on certain issues.

Hussain Haqqani writes in the book *"Magnificent Delusions: Pakistan, the USA and an Epic History of Misunderstanding"* has wrote the concise history of Pakistan and US relations. This book has covered many aspects of Pakistan and US relation like a) events b) reasons of alliance c) achievements and success during both countries strategic relations. The author has explained the main ups and downs in the relationship of both countries throughout the history.

James Lutz and Brenda Lutz in her book *"Global Terrorism 2019"* have provided the students of international relations and politics the basics phenomenon of global terrorism. It has explained the historical perspectives, political mind set and strategies devised by the terrorists in modern and earlier terrorist organizations. It has explained role of terrorist activities across the globe.

Zamir Akram in his research work *"Pakistani-U.S. Relations after 9/11: A Pakistani Perspective"* argues that 9/11 incident has totally transformed the relationship of Pakistan and USA. After Pakistan joining the war against terrorism it has provided new dimensions in the relations of the both countries. This article has critically analyzed the foreign policy of the United States of America towards Pakistan and how it has shaped the foreign policy of Pakistan both regionally and internationally.

Zafar Iqbal Yousafzai in his book *"U.S.-Pakistan Relations under the Taliban's Shadow 2021"* has made remarkable analysis of the Taliban government and how they created mistrust and misbalance between the relations of Pakistan and USA after the incident of September 11. This book has explained the strategic policies of the US towards Taliban government and the critical role of Pakistan as front line state to fight the war against terrorism with USA.

Daniel S. Markey, *No Exit from Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad (2013)*. The author has discussed the different events occurred after 9/11 with context to Pakistan and USA relations. Daniel has beautifully discussed the internal instability, nuclear weapon, growing relationship with China and India in context to Pakistan. This research work explains the sentiments of a society which is anti-American from 1947 to 2001 and evaluated the design of US foreign policy after 9/11.

### **Understanding the Formation of Alliance with Pakistan in US Perspective**

#### **Pakistan Geo Strategic Location**

After the disastrous incident of 9/11 which increased the role of Pakistan in US foreign Policy to a great extent. According to Napoleon's famous quote that "foreign policy of a state is determined by its geographical location" Following points will explain how Pakistan became significant partner with US in no time. When Bush Administration decided to launch full fledged attack on Afghanistan, they were facing the challenges in how to reach and access Afghanistan to conduct proper interventions. It was similar situation which US faced after the USSR invasion of Afghanistan in late 1970's. This constraint in pursuing US strategic global security agenda forced Bush Administration to conduct "Virtual about-face in their dealing with Pakistan. For these reason the US ambassador in Pakistan Ryan Crocker stated Pakistan in strategic terms holds



important position from cold war till WoT" (Woodward, 2002). Thus both US and Pakistan were drawn into cooperative relationship with each other in war against terrorism.

This close cooperation between both countries was because of the American realization that in order to fight successful war against terrorism in Afghanistan, Pakistan will play vital role in their success as other countries in the region like China, India, Iran and Central Asian countries cannot offer the assistance as compared to Pakistan in their cause. According to Talat "Pakistan is the only country which in the eyes of Americans is considered as smooth route to access Taliban" (Talat, 2002). It is very important to mention that old rival of Pakistan, Indian immediately offered its assistance to US in war against terrorism, but it was all impossible for India to provide the desired support to America because of the hurdles in geographical linkages with Afghanistan's territory. Another important point was that Indian security agencies were well equipped with Russian weapons and training capabilities. So Bush administration opted for Pakistan despite India offerings (Fazal-ur-Rehman, 2003 pp 65-68).

The routes available for US intervention via Central Asian countries were available but their strategic significance was much lower than what Pakistan was offering. They didn't have proper connections or practical experiences with Taliban regime in Afghanistan. They were just limited to support the same ethnic groups in Afghanistan (Chari et al, 2009). All central Asian countries as compared with Pakistan were weak and fragile due to Russian influence. Pakistan on other hand was in more dominant position, they have installed Taliban regime in Afghanistan previously. They had expelled 90% of the Northern Alliance; they were attaining heavy support from Central Asian Countries, Russia and Iran. The geostrategic location of Pakistan made US expenditure almost to half in war against terrorism. Other options like India and Central Asian Countries were not feasible for their intervention because of non-availability of basic infrastructure, landlocked and instability. All these factors decreased the dependency of US on other states (Cheema, 2005).

Moreover, another importance of Pakistan geostrategic importance is having nearest seacoast with Afghanistan. The US forces were deployed at different locations at Gulf States and Indian Oceans from there they would easily access Pakistan then Afghanistan (Jones, 2003). It proved to be the vital aspect because Pakistan shares long border with Afghanistan from where they can easily access the Afghanistan major cities. These cities included Khost which is near to Miranshah, from here movement from both sides can be easily conducted. The Mohmand district of KP shares proximity with Jalalabad city of Afghanistan. Some of the banned organizations then flew from Afghanistan and got permanent shelters in these areas of Pakistan. Some people in Pakistan in Tribal Areas had deep sympathies with the people of Afghanistan due to prolong wars in Afghanistan, they would settle into Pakistan with ease and transfer of money and people was relatively easy. The American administration wanted to stop the flow of people and money that's why they approached Pakistan for assistance (Jetly, 2012).

Similarly, the Geographic location of Pakistan at Southern and Eastern borders with Afghanistan made it crucial for the American troops to reach out to Afghanistan. It is very important to note that American would never access Afghanistan without Pakistan's assistance. According to Colin Powell discussion with President Bush "Pakistan is important because of its actions, all goals would not be possible without the support of Pakistan. So it is important for us to put Pakistan in noticeable position" (Bruijn, 2006). It was because of Pakistan strategic importance that President Bush consulted Secretary of State Donald Rumsfeld to prepare "Military Plan" against terrorists in Afghanistan. Beside military plan political strategy was also planned during that process. Donald Rumsfeld then requested Pakistan government to cut off all ties with Taliban's and Al-Qaeda freezes the strategic assets of Taliban. These points were approved during the National Security Meeting (Krause, 2004). For this purpose, Pakistan offered her Air bases to US troops in Rawalpindi and Jacobabad to hit Taliban's. The coalition of Pakistan and US in war against terrorism proved to be vital intervention as US after 9/11 "was in desperate need of armed support by Pakistan, the most essential and tactical neighbor of Afghanistan" (Wanandi, 2002).

### **The Strategic Association of Pakistan with Taliban**

The association of Pakistan with Taliban proved to be the significant reason which pressed Americans to avail Pakistan in fighting the global WoT. The prolong experience of Pakistan military in dealing with Taliban was perceived to be very beneficial for the Americans to implement their strategic interventions both politically and militarily. The close association of Pakistan political and military entities has certain factors; first one was the widespread of same ethnicity "Pashtuns" on both sides of the border. Majority of Pashtuns population is settled in KP and Balochistan provinces of Pakistan (Rashid and Hoover, 2002). The Pashtuns living on both sides of the border shares same ethnicity, culture and norms even marriages have been conducted with one other across the border. Second most important aspect was that majority leader's within Taliban have received religious education from leading religious Madrassa's of Pakistan. The Taliban enjoyed the support of Pakistan intelligence agencies and on political side they were heavily supported by Molana Fazalur Rehman party Jamiat Ul Ulema Islam (JUI-F) (Cohen, 2004). The second important cause was based on Pakistan strategic interests; Pakistan military believed that Afghanistan is the only country which could provide them advantage in their war against India if it occurs anytime that's why Pakistan Intelligence Agencies kept on supporting and maintained friendly relations with the Taliban Regime. Moreover, on the other side insurgency during 1990's in Kashmir, Pakistan needed friendly government in shape of Taliban where mujahedeen fighting in Kashmir could be trained (Zeb, 2002). Third, Pakistan needed to access Central Asians Countries for trade in order to boost its economy. Trade in goods and energy resources remained their primary goals. In order to achieve economic goals through Central Asian Countries Pakistan needed friendly and peaceful Afghanistan to allow them to transit routes. Pakistan also extended its support to the Northern Alliance which had the history of pro Indian sentiments (Zeb, 2002 p-17).

Forth important aspect was the historical Durand Line issue of Pakistan and Afghanistan. Pakistan maintained friendly relationships with Taliban regime so that Durand Line conflict could not be revived. Which can be very dangerous for both Pakistan and Afghanistan, the friendly and supportive attitude of Pakistan with Taliban was imperative to secure its western border (Ziring, 2003). For this purpose, Pakistan did not only help Taliban in many issues but established firm links by recognizing them through diplomatic means. It is very important to mention that Pakistan support for Taliban has not been made without US consents. American was interested in Afghanistan because they considered her operational asset against the Iranian government (Kukreja, 2003). It proves that Bush Administration already knew that Pakistan has been deeply connected with the Taliban regime in Afghanistan.

Americans were fully convinced that Pakistan played integral role in Taliban power and support and they were continuing to extend the same assistance. They cut off Pakistan support to Afghanistan because they thought that it is imperative to discontinue Pakistan's support to dismantle Taliban and terrorists, without help of Pakistan they could not achieve their desire goals and objectives (Woodward, 2002 p-58). Moreover, in the eyes of military establishment and intelligence agencies Taliban's were so dear to them, on October 12, 1998 this factor played vital role in overthrowing Nawaz Sharif government. The main reason behind this action was the fear that Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif could change the policies towards Afghanistan through American pressure. Soon after overthrowing Nawaz Sharif Government, General Pervez Musharraf immediately cancelled the US plan to capture Osama Bin Laden with help of Pakistan (Frantz, 2001).

Another historical evidence of close alliance of Taliban with Pakistan has been seen during the Taliban withdrawal from Kabul during the Americans war against terrorism, Pakistan tried "to outline out sensible Taliban eager to unite with new dispensation." Pakistan stretched support did not stop here, during the civil war in Afghanistan Pakistan Air Force conducted several strike and Pakistan Military conducted several operations on behalf of Taliban. Due to this Pakistani troops including several officers got trapped in Afghanistan when after US invasion of Afghanistan, for this purpose President Musharraf has to request President Bush for their safe evacuation (Meher, 2004).

Furthermore, Bush administration was familiar with the above mentioned factors and he has made his mind that without Pakistan alliance their interventions in war against terrorism cannot be successful. Hence Pakistan has provided strength to Taliban, they were equipped with critical information and were the only medium of support to strengthen Taliban regime in Afghanistan. The US administration proved to be correct when Pakistan abandoned its support from the Taliban regime they quickly withdrew from Kabul. According to a prominent Western diplomat "We did not fully know the importance of Pakistan's role in propping up the Taliban until their guys withdrew and things went really bad for the Talibans" (Meher, 2004 pp 18-24)

### **Cashing Pakistan's prolonged experience in Dealing Afghanistan and Terrorism**

It was an additional decisive factor for the Bush Administration to seek Pakistan's assistance in war against terrorism. The experience of Pakistan, having good diplomatic relationships and tackling terrorism proved to be vital. Since the creation of Pakistan in 1947, it has dealt Afghanistan in some serious issues in 1970s when Afghan ruler Sardar Daud raised the issue of greater Pashtoonistan, Pakistan's Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto dealt him with effective policy. He supported his counterparts Gulbadin Hikmatyar and Ahmed Shah Masood with the help of Gen. Naseer Ullah Babar to counter Sardar Daud's narrative. After this incidence, Pakistan's experience with Afghanistan doubled when USSR attacked them in late 1970s. Pakistan allied with US to counter the USSR invasion of Afghanistan during Cold War era. During the 1990s when US after the completion of US mission in Afghanistan, US left Pakistan helpless and Afghanistan issue produced severe impacts on Pakistan's Infrastructure, Economy and Security. These compulsions led Pakistan to administer Afghanistan issue with close lenses (Fazal-ur-Rahman, 2003 pp 65-69)

Another fruitful advantage for US regarding Pakistan's experience was dealing with Terrorism. Pakistan has been suffering from the issues of terrorism and extremism for a long time. The experience of Pakistan security forces and common public caught the attention of US to ally Pakistan in war against terrorism. Therefore according to Lawrence Ziring , "internal hostility within Pakistan had been a fact of life from the moment the country achieved freedom from the British". Further in his research work he has discussed the causes of the problem as "the independence of Pakistan, its inchoate nature, its sustained turmoil, its numerous struggles within itself, as well as with its neighbors, brought a new dimension to the subject of terrorism" (Ziring, 2003 pp 262-266)

The events occurred in Afghanistan and in the region had impacted Pakistan to a greater extent. The civil war in Afghanistan and Iranian revolution during 1979 brought sectarian violence in Pakistan. People started fighting over "Sunni" and "Shia" issues and in some parts of Pakistan the same issues still exist. During the course of this time both Kingdom Saudi Arabia and Iranian government tried to influence both Government of Pakistan and common public at the same time. The power play of these ideologies created rift between the masses and Pakistan got heck of experience while tackling the issues. Pakistan also faced onslaught on Indian interference over Pakistan's strong support of Kashmir. Their involvement in different terrorist activities has proof across Pakistan especially in Balochistan and Karachi. To deal with such challenges Pakistani security enforcing has built their capacity for many years (Fazal-ur-Rahman, 2003 pp 69-71).

The terrorist elements and the involvement of terrorist activities against US territory and their civilians have been seen after the USSR disintegration. During 1990s they had faced the terrorist attacks in World Trade Center resulting in loss on many precious lives. The US missions has been bombed in Saudi Arabia, Kenya and Tanzania. US troops and civilians has been targeted across the globe on many occasions. The common goal to curtail terrorism and safeguard each other civilians brought Pakistan and US to fight the common cause of terrorism (Fazal-ur-Rahman, 2003 p 66).

### **The Nexus of Pentagon and Pakistan Army**

Looking at the global world where terrorism has been transformed as internationalized phenomenon and the military attacks linked with invasions has gained utmost popularity in tackling this threat. It has increased the role of Military Establishment and intelligence agencies to greater extent. The Bush Administration after the incidence of 9/11 favored military government of Gen. Pervez Musharraf rather opting for any other civilian government. According to Anato Levein, "within Pakistan, the army will have to be treated once again as the United States" a critical and important partner in war against terrorism. They considered Pakistan army as of the most effective, powerful and modern institution of Pakistan, which is the backbone of unity and security of Pakistan. This is the main reason we have seen mutual understandings between the armed forces of both countries. The mutual cooperation of both countries during USSR invasion in Afghanistan built understanding between military establishments. Therefore, whenever US felt the dire need of Pakistan assistance they exploited her through military link (Lieven, 2002).

The US-Pakistan relations in military context started in early 1950s when Pakistan joined Western Bloc to curtail communist threats in the region, this alliance was sponsored by the US. Pakistan needed economic and military assistance for the same reason it has received half billion USD worth defense related assistance under "the enhancement of the army's political influence" (Kux, 2001). This flow of military aid established firm links between Pakistan and Pentagon and Pakistan's military survived terrible times when it was out of the American radar for US policy makers. The extensive and prolonged contacts between the senior military officials of the both countries and the link of Pakistan's military with Jihadi organizations enlisted Pakistan in US-sponsored war against terrorism. It is very important to mention that it was Colin Powell former secretary of State who pushed Bush administration to take advantage of Pakistan's experiences in the region, he convinced President Bush to seek Pakistan's cooperation in fighting the war against terrorism. The main reason behind Collin Powell narrative was that he was himself retired four-star general in US Military. He had deep links with Pakistan's military and preferred Gen. Musharraf regime to cooperate with US in fighting war against terrorism (Woodward, 200 p-58).

American high command military officials, government officials and leading think tanks favor to Pakistan army is proof that there is deep understanding at strategic level between the armed forces of the both countries. For example, the Americans blamed the civilians of Pakistan in failure of democracy rather than criticizing military establishment (Kux, 2001 p 363). The tension between Nawaz Regime and Military establishment in 1999, Zinni explains "The military found itself between a rock and a hard place. If they let the situation continue, the rot could grow bad enough that the country would collapse – a very real possibility" furthermore, he stated that "The coup did not play well in Washington, and I was ordered to cease communications with Gen. Musharraf. Though I thought the order was stupid, I complied" (Clancy et al. 2004 p-348)

According to Americans, Pakistan army is the only institution which can do things with lot of ease. Therefore, they have always maintained good relationships with Pakistan's military establishment right from the word go. On the particular topic Stephen Cohen has written "Pakistan is likely to remain a state in the possession of a uniformed bureaucracy even when civilian governments are perched on the seat of power. Regardless of what may be desirable, the army will continue to set the limits on what is possible in Pakistan" (Cohen, 2005). They also knew that wishes for American connection remains between the English speaking elites in the US remains strong actually they are the rulers who runs the country and they are top ranked military officials too. President Musharraf brother a US citizen has built close links with military officials in US, which played vital role in connecting the military establishments (Kux, 2001 p-364). Furthermore, Dennis Kux explains "In contrast, the proverbial American "man in the street" hardly puts Pakistan high on his list of overseas concerns. Nonetheless, there have been extensive contacts over the years between the two countries" people, in different spheres and at various levels, especially between the military, intelligence, economic development, and business community" (Kux, 2001 p-365).

Moreover, another example of US and Pakistan military links is the personal contacts of Gen. Pervez Musharraf with American General Tony Zinni. He has admired the honesty, capability and vision on numerous occasions he recalled his meeting with Gen. Pervez Musharraf "It was a great meeting, despite the chill cast by our sections. As I was leaving, we both agreed to stay in close touch (we exchanged our home telephone numbers). Our friendship would later prove to be enormously valuable to both our countries" (Clancy et al. 2004 p. 346-347).

These particular relations between the two countries nourished, the US has always admired the professionalism of Pakistan army. Zinni, Pakistan Army on UN mission in Somalia he wrote "I was greatly impressed by the competence and professionalism of the Pakistani unit" (Clancy, 2004 p-346). Pakistan Army has been proved cheaper than US Marine when it is compared on the basis of expenditure. Pakistan army during the Cold War cost them 10 USD as compared to their marines which cost them 100 USD per soldier (Clancy, 2004 p-295). The highs and the extreme lows in Pakistan and US relations did not affect the military relation of the both countries. To elaborate this statement Gen. Zinni writes "the relationship of our two militaries remains strong, in spite of the strained relationship elsewhere" (Clancy, 2004 pp 58-59). Even during the declined relations, the Pakistani Army defended American interests through UN Peace keeping missions throughout the globe. During the mission in Somalia Pakistan military lost 24 personnel, 57 wounded and 6 missing during the attack (Clancy, 2004 p 279).

It is very important to mention that the military relations between both countries remained strong since 1950. However, the big questions regarding the impacts of political decisions and strategic policies have to be answered in a proper manner. From the above statement two recent incidences can be quoted to explain the basic concept of the impact. After the Indian nuclear test were conducted Strobe Talbot, the assistant

secretary for the region, Rick Inder fourth and General Zinny quickly scheduled visit to Pakistan (Talbot, 2010). They were planning to meet Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif and to convince him not to conduct nuclear test. When these people were ready to depart to Pakistan from their designated locations Pakistan PM Nawaz Sharif refused to meet them. They tried every possible way through their embassy to meet PM Nawaz Sharif but all in vein. Secretary Talbot was approached by General Zinny and he suggested him to use backdoor channels and the reply for his suggestion was "go ahead". General Zinny writes "When I called general Karamat, he promised to take care of the problem". General Karamat then pressurized Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and he agreed to meet with the delegation (Clancy, 2004 p 335-336).

Second example of penetrating into the politics is that it was COAS General Pervez Musharraf who constantly encouraged Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to withdraw from Kargil Third and most relevant example is the influence of Collin Powell to indulge Pakistan support in war against terrorism. Hence it has proved that military relations have played vital role in combining both the countries to form strong alliance in global war against terrorism (Clancy, 2004 p 334).

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