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## Convergence and Divergence of Interests in Pak-US Relations after 9/11

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### ABSTRACT

United States of America remains one of the first countries to have established diplomatic ties with Pakistan. The relationship of both states dates back to Oct 20, 1947 which was based on economy and military assistance. During the 1950s the official visit of Pakistani Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan towards United States gradually improves their bilateral relationship and he stress upon Fundamental Human Rights and Equality of Opportunity. Pakistan signed Mutual Defense Agreement with United States and successively became member of SEATO and CENTO. Pakistan holds strategic importance not only in South Asia but also on International arena. After the 9/11 attacks and United States invasion in various countries to eradicate and destroy terrorist hubs brings both states in to same platform. Pakistan becomes one of the most important ally of United States in his ongoing campaign to destroy Taliban and Al-Qaeda Network. The purpose of this qualitative research is to analyze the Pak-US relations after the incident of terrorist attack on World Trade Centre that directs United States towards Pakistan and launched war on terrorism in Afghanistan for the maintenance of world peace.

**Key words:** Pak-US Relations, SEATO, CENTO, 9/11

### Introduction

In the International system states tries to augment their power capabilities by pursuing their strategic interests. In international politics all major powers establish their policies and develop their relations with other states according to their national interests. The desire to get more and more power and to change the balance of power between developed and under-developed countries directs them into wrong direction that leads them towards conflicts rather than peace and cooperation. This research work will comprehensively elaborate the convergence as well as divergence of policies and perception of Pakistan and Americatowards south Asia and other regions only for the accomplishment of their own national interests. The strategic importance of Pakistan for US-led War on Terror plays a significant role to destroy the Al-Qaeda networks or Taliban. The research work is conducted to analyze the economic and military relationship between Pakistan and United States after 9/11, and to investigate the anti-American sentiments in Pakistan due to the US drone attack strategy. This work will also highlight the US's strategic policy towards Pakistan and Afghanistan after the end of war on terrorism. To understand or analyzed the ups and downs of bilateral cooperation between both states data will be qualitative and collected through secondary resources like books, journals, articles, newspapers etc. Furthermore, the concepts and results will be explained and discussed qualitatively.

The first phase includes the theory that has applied to understand the nature of relationship between Pakistan and United States. The third part of material and methods analyzed the convergence and divergence of interests between both countries after the incident of twin tower terrorist attacks. The fourth portion covers a wide range of material about the bilateral collaboration of both states especially during the tenure of Pakistani President Musharraf and US president Barak Obama, D. Trump and J. Biden.

### Hypothesis

It was the US war on terror that provides a rationale for Washington to reengage with Islamabad from the beginning of 21<sup>st</sup> century.

### **Research methodology**

To understand or analyze the ups and downs of bilateral cooperation between both states data will be qualitative and collected through secondary resources like books, journals, articles, newspapers etc. Furthermore, the concepts and results will be explained and discussed analytically.

### **Theoretical Framework**

Gaining maximum power is become the significant interest of every state and this necessity or desire to get more power is the outcome of anarchical international associations. International relation takes place in anarchical situation unlike the internal politics. It cannot say that the system is characterized by chaos or disorder. Anarchy is an ordering principle which means that there is no dominant power that stands above states. The contradictory or opposing side of anarchism is hierarchy, and hierarchy is an ordering principle of domestic politics (John, 2010).

Thucydides wrote the explanation of 'The Peloponnesian War', between Athens and Sparta. The reason behind the war according to Thucydides was the progression of Athenian power and fear cause by this rising power in Sparta (Nawaz, 2016). Therefore the Security Dilemma remains an everlasting constant of interstate relations; applying this theory Realism clarifies how United States of America has interacted with Pakistan. The Innenpolitik (who believe that interest groups of any state have stakes and say in country's foreign policy) are of the view that states should have to determine their position in international system before formulating decision regarding their foreign policy (Mirza & Shamil, 2020). US war against terrorism in Afghanistan forced Pakistan to collaborate with America; this collaboration was significant because both states consider it vital for the accomplishment of their foreign and security goals in Afghanistan.

### **Pak-US Relations in Historical Perspective**

United States of America remains one of the first countries to have established diplomatic ties with Pakistan. Before the independence of Pakistan American President Truman wrote a letter to the first governor general of Pakistan Muhammad Ali Jinnah, in which he said that I wish to assure you that the new domain embarks on its course with the strong and stable friendship and benevolence of the United States of America (Jabeen & Mazhar, 2011). A visionary leading light Muhammad Ali Jinnah replied positively as he predicted the crucial need of military tools and equipment for the armed forces.

The first representative of Pakistan to Washington Mirza Abul Hassan Ispahani spoke to American President Truman that the Pakistanis were decedents of great Muslim rulers from Central Asia and the Caucasian Mountains. Since the Caucasian Mountains was original home of the America, both countries shared common ancestry or lineage (Ispahani, 1979). Truman answered confidently saying that we are ready to assist Pakistan in all appropriate ways which might be naturally helpful or beneficial for the both states and as well to the world, and we have profound hope and courage for long lasting peaceful, beneficial and productive collaboration between Pakistan, her sister domain and other states (Jabeen & Mazhar, 2011).

### **Convergence and Divergence of Interests in Pak-US Relations after 9/11**

After the withdrawal of soviet troops from Afghanistan, the policy of convergence of interests changes into the policy of divergence of interests and perceptions between the relationship of Pakistan and United States. The divergence of concepts was also initiated by the communication gap between the both states Pakistan and the United States that rose after 1990s. But soon after the incident of terrorist attack on World Trade Center in Washington, and the launching campaign of United States War on Terror once again brought up both states into collaboration.

### **Convergence between US and Pakistan after September 11:**

The incident of Terrorists attack on World Trade Centre on 2001 in United States is known as 9/11 attacks, 19 militants hijacked a series of airlines and committed suicide attacks linked with the extremist group Al-Qaeda against their specific target on the soil of United States (Rabbi, 2012). The attacks on Twin Tower against Washington, D.C and New York City, caused a massive amount of death and destruction and triggered a considerable U.S. efforts to eradicate terrorism (Bergen, 2018). Through divergence, Soviet departure from Afghanistan essentially destabilized Pakistan's ability to gain American supports and resulted in Pakistani separation. The attacks on the Twin Tower and Pentagon once again brought Pakistan into the interest of United States.

After the terrorists attack on World Trade Center Bush administration offered an unembellished choice to the nations of the world, "stand with us against terrorism or face the certain prospect of death and destruction" (Wiarda, 2011). That would be the ration through which everything would be evaluated in the coming years. On the same day, Secretary of State Colin Powell proposed that the United States would rip the terrorist network of Bin Laden up and when we are over and done with that network, we will continue with a global mugging on terrorism. And no state would be invulnerable (Engelhardt, 2010).

On September 14, a senior governmental official met with fifteen Arab representatives and conveyed a rigid "with us or against us" message, that join us on international collaboration to combat terrorism or pay the price (Levy & Scott-Clark, 2005). There would be no safe docks. The choice as Richard Armitage would report to Pakistan's intelligence manager after the September 11 attacks was simple, "Join the fight in contradiction of Al-Qaeda or be ready to be destroyed. Be prepared to go back to the Stone Age" (Engelhardt, 2010).

To combat terrorism the United States asks Pervez Musharraf for help in order to track down the Al-Qaeda network and overthrow the Taliban from power. Immediately after the terrorist attacks, Pakistani head of state and government Pervez Musharraf looked for a strategic exchange with the United States. The president of Pakistan establishes some conditions in return to support American campaign War on Terror: firstly, Pakistani security forces should not participate in actions outdoor Pakistan's boundaries like Iraq and Afghanistan. Secondly, the Coalition led by United States should seek out to minimize incidental injury to Afghan non-combatant. Thirdly, any post-Taliban administration should be responsive to Pakistan with

the Pashtun bulk equally represented. Fourthly, the struggle for the self-government of Kashmir should not be describe as terrorism or well-thought-out part of a wider clampdown on terrorism. Fifthly, there should be no move by the United States to disarm Pakistan's atomic and projectile defenses (Gardner, 2005). Resultantly Pakistan converted into a dynamic supporter in the anti-terrorism allianced by United States aiming to target Al-Qaeda network and Taliban in Afghanistan.

Pakistan adopted U turn policy towards United States after the incident of September 11, and terminated to support Taliban administration in Afghanistan. American President Bush in response relinquished sanctions enforced after the nuclear tests in 1988 and the military takeover of October 1999 (Javaid & Fatima, 2012). So Pakistan once again became a recipient of huge amounts of US aid and assistance, this time allotted for counterterrorism collaboration.

For the State Department, it was all-important to involve Pakistan in this campaign because of its geostrategic and ambassadorial affiliations with Afghanistan. For Pakistan, in the words of then Gen. Pervez Musharraf, it was crucial and in the benefit of Pakistan to support the United States in order to survive its territorial reliability, being an economically feeble state, Pakistan could not accept any assault or financial sanctions (Olson, 2013). Moreover, it was a time for Pakistan to washout all the Indian propagandas against the Kashmir agenda of Pakistan, the nukes and the efforts to discolor the image of Pakistan in the international community as a terrorist state.

### **War on Terrorism and the Role Played by Pakistan**

The unlawful use of violence is not a new phenomenon. In the past two to three decades before, terrorism was normally arisen due to local problems and led by small groups, because they wanted to draw consideration to their root cause through extremist acts. It was originated to execute a small number but capture the consideration of large audiences. Now, Terrorism has becomes an ideologically inspired phenomenon, its program is not restricted to one state, it is universal in character. The universal nature of terrorism has directed the governments to implement new policies and improve cooperative regional efforts. The incident of twin tower changed the complete scenario of international politics, United States changed its policy to deal with the terrorist threats and make it the most important aspect of their policy.

Without the collaboration of Pakistan the intervention of United States in Afghanistan could not be accomplished easily as said by an American journalist: Powell had already told Bush that we could not achieve our desired results without the support of Pakistan, whatever action he took, it cannot be fulfill without Pakistan's collaboration. So the Pakistani had to be put on top priority (Khan H. , 2013). During the war on terrorism United States made numerous demands to Pakistan like to use Pakistani air, naval, and landbases to crush those internal elements that are supporting terrorism and endangering the peaceful environment of the region (Akhter, 2012). Pakistan accepted all these demands without any hesitancy.

After the attacks of September 11, Afghanistan turn into the first battleground where the War on Terrorism was initiated which was later renamed as Global War on Terrorism (GWOT). As a significant partner Pakistan carried out various military operations to counter militants hiding in Federally Administrative Tribal Areas and neighboring areas (Khattak & Mushtaq, 2015). On October 7, 2001, military action was started to counter the Taliban, blasting on Taliban armed forces and Al-Qaeda extremist training camps (Javaid & Fatima, 2012). The specified purpose of attacking on Taliban by American forces was to end the capacity of Taliban for providing shelter to Al-Qaeda, because United States wanted to stop Al-Qaeda from using Afghanistan's territory as a base of actions for terrorist activities.

The United States and coalition powers inaugurate Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) to protect Americans from another incident like 9/11. Pakistan also cooperates with the United States and supports the other alliance forces in Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) (Khan H. , 2013). An official report of US Central Command, Effects of Operation Enduring Freedom on Economy of Pakistan, published in September 2005, mentioned that Pakistan's cooperation with Operation Enduring Freedom, badly affected the economy of Pakistan (Rabbi, 2012). Civil aviation, tourism, investment and shipping sectors were severely affected due to increased rates of indemnity. In short, Pakistan's economy was severely affected after joining the US led war on terrorism. It faced political instability, belligerency, terrorism in society that spread fear among the investors and had traumatized the stock markets.

It is generally recognized that without the sincere partnership and active contribution of Pakistan in War on Terrorism, the wanted outcomes in terms of destroying the Al-Qaeda network could not be accomplished. Americans also recognize the importance of Pakistan and both states were pinched into an intensive obliging affiliation. Instead of Iran, India, China and Central Asia, Pakistan turn into the frontline partner in abolishing Al-Qaeda and its network, as Ayaz Amir said, "in American point of view the road to the Taliban goes through Pakistan" (Khan H. , 2013). Pakistan has a long border with Afghanistan and a long coastline as well, which has a great importance for US armed forces.

### **US-Pak relations in Musharraf Era**

Pakistan turns on its earlier Taliban allies and captures Al-Qaeda leaders. After the September 11, the United States launched its campaign war on terror, initially using the extensive support from its neighboring allies particularly in Europe. This took the formula of a considerable military action and operation in Afghanistan envisioned terminating the Taliban rule and destroying the Al-Qaeda group that was supposed to be responsible for the twin tower terrorist attacks.

In 2007, Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) was launched in Afghanistan with allied air strikes to target or destroy the Taliban and Al-Qaeda networks. The United States associates these terrorist attacks on twin tower with the Al-Qaeda network, Al-Qaeda is a group that operates under the shelter of Taliban regime in Afghanistan (Haqqani, 2013). To destroy or remove Al-Qaeda operators was the key purpose behind the invasion of United States forces in Afghanistan. The United States struggles hard to remove the extremists but they re-establish and rise as a major power in the most parts of the Pashtun areas. Pakistan actively assists the coalition forces during the Operation Enduring Freedom by installing a great number of troops on the boundary line of Afghanistan. On the other hand, the supporters of Taliban and Al-Qaeda secretly re-assemble in the tribal

areas regarding Pakistan and Afghanistan. Due to the significant role of Pakistan in war against terrorism US achieve their desired results to kill and capture many top leaders of the Taliban, Al-Qaeda and other extremist groups.

After Operation Enduring Freedom in 2001, the great number of militants connected with Al-Qaeda, Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), and East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM) Taliban, relocated in tribal areas of Pakistan for protection (Khattak & Mushtaq, 2015). This was frightening and disturbing situation for Pakistan. The head of state and government Gen. Pervez Musharraf ordered to launch a military operation official named Al-Mizan against these militants in tribal regions. The key aim of this operation was to track, trace and destroy the militants hiding and operating in South Waziristan Agency (Shiekh, 2014). It was the first important operation launched by Pakistani army against those Al-Qaeda linked militants who are working to endanger the security of Pakistan.

In these years Pakistani army undertook a wide range of joint Operations against terrorism that includes, Operation Rah-e-Haq, Sher-e-Dil, Zalzal, Sirat-e-Mustaqeem, Rah-e-Raast, Rah-e-Nijaat, Koh-e-Sufaid, and Operation Zarb-e-Azb (Khattak & Mushtaq, 2015). Pakistan paid a heavy price to eradicate terrorists and their networks. The Commander of the US Central Command, Gen. Abizaid said in January 2004, that Pakistan had done more for the United States in its battle against al-Qaeda than any other state, and the United States declared Pakistan as its crucial ally and upgraded it in June 2004 as a "major non-NATO ally" (Khan H., 2013).

By 2009 the Taliban entirely controlled the tribal agencies in the Federally Administrative Tribal Areas and their temporary restraining order extended into the expanses of the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), almost up to the gateways of provincial capital Peshawar (Haqqani, 2013). Furthermore, they also controlled the northern area of Swat, whose luxuriant valleys and towering mountains had once been one of Pakistan's most important and prominent tourist destinations. Pakistan's collaboration with the United States on their war against terrorism campaign had severe security impacts or repercussions for Islamabad.

The government launched numerous operations in Federally Administrative Tribal Areas to destroy Al-Qaeda network, extremism and belligerency. Due to these operations the government confronted serious security problems within the country, while suicide attacks and bombing across the country resulted in thousands of civilian death and destruction of public property (Bergen, 2011). Pakistan paid a heavy price on military side by joining the US led campaign against terrorism. Thousands of Pakistan's armed forces were installed on western boundary with Afghanistan, and hundreds of warriors had lost their lives which were more in number than the total allied combatants died in Afghanistan. Thus belligerency and terrorism increased in Pakistan which disturbed the environment and contributed to political instability with serious security problems and complication for Pakistan.

Although Pakistan has provided all possible support to the United States led war against terrorism, there is an extensive suspicion in the United States that many Al-Qaeda members may be hiding out in the tribal belt along the Durand Line with Afghanistan. Pakistan faces serious challenges due to the violation of its boundaries by the allied forces, and that challenges posed threat directly to the national security and integrity of Pakistan (Rabbi, 2012).

Pakistan's economy was severely affected after joining the US led war on terror and faced many problems like political instability, extremism, terrorism that spread fear and distress among the investors and stakeholders. Resultantly, Pakistan faces economic crisis with its poor economic growth even the US aid could not stabilize the economic disorder of the country and did not indicate the wanted improvement, instead the situation become more worsen.

### **Pak-US Ties in Obama Era**

Obama tried hard to enhance or further strengthen Washington's relations with Islamabad. The Obama administration came into office expecting to transform the relationship between both countries from a transactional, security-focused agreement into a deeper, strategic partnership but his efforts could not achieve the beneficial and fruitful results. When Obama took office, he was interested to direct more attention to the war in Afghanistan, which he believed had been neglected by the previous administration.

US aid presented Kerry Lugar Bill to improve the relationship with Pakistani residents, to overcome the anti-American sentiments and to make sure the right utilization and proper application of US aid. In November 2009, President Obama signed a five-year based Kerry-Lugar-Berman Act, under which United States offered Pakistan a \$7.5 billion in civilian support (Khan, Khan, & Makhdoom, 2014). At the ministerial level strategic dialogue both the United States and Pakistan agreed to establish a long-term partnership in the areas of energy and water, defense and security, and science and technology. The passage of this bill has apparently regenerated old wounds in the already subtle United States-Pakistan relationship. The bill gives emphasis on the highlighted development challenges facing Pakistan and the need to support a vigorous ally. It is a well-designed document that makes no secret of its underlying purpose the recreation of the United States interests in the region (Ashraf, 2009).

### **Drone Attacks Strategy**

The use of Drone airstrikes were considered as influential part of modern Counter-Terrorism Policy by the United States, therefore, Musharraf permitted limited drone airstrikes inside Federally Administrative Tribal Areas. During his tenure, there were 35 Ariel drone attacks and the drones used to take wing from Shamsi airbase to counter militants in the tribal areas of Pakistan (Khattak & Mushtaq, 2015).

In the duration of his two terms in office, Bush authorized a total of 48 drone airstrikes in Pakistan. After taking his office in January 2009, President Barack Obama almost instantly made drone airstrikes as one of his important national security tools (Minhas & Qadir, 2015). These drone airstrikes have targeted a number of militant groups in the tribal areas of Pakistan, supposed to be connected with Al-Qaeda and its allied groups, Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), and the Haqqani Network (Johnston & Sarbahi, 2015).

This strategy was ultimately go wrong and proved to be catastrophic for Pakistan. Despite the fact, the United States killed many members of Al-Qaeda and TTP along with innocents in drone airstrikes. These airstrikes disturb the internal peace of Pakistan. Due to these drone airstrike, the relations between the locals and Pakistani security armed forces were deteriorated which eventually turned into a battle in Federally Administrative Tribal Areas.

Drone attacks by United States of America on the Pakistani territory are one of the reasons that worsened relations between these two countries. Since August 2008, in 30 drone attacks, 263 people were killed including the militants, and these drone strikes are directly targeting the sovereignty of Pakistan (Akhter, 2012). According to US administrators, Pakistani President Musharraf secretly permits United States for airstrikes to destroy the militants where they are suspected on Pakistani soil (Minhas & Qadir, 2015). According to one report till January 2012, a large number of airstrikes was done by United States in which 2692 individuals were killed along with the innocent residents of Pakistan (Khan & Rehman, 2014). It is not essential that these strikes were only to target the militants many civilians were affected by these air strikes which gave rise to the anti-American sentiments in Pakistanis.

The administration characters were also double-faced. Pakistan publically condemned the US policies and criticized their drone strikes but secretly permits United States to use their air bases Jacobabad and Shamsi to run and operate the drone airstrikes. On 4th October 2008 it was conveyed by Washington post that these airstrikes are with the approval of Pakistan but that approval was obtained secretly (Akhter, 2012).

### **Phase of Divergence between US and Pakistan**

Pakistan's engagement with United States continued through strategic dialogues. In March 2010, the first ever strategic level talks between two states at the ministerial level were taken place in Washington (Sial, 2011). Two rounds of strategic dialogues conducted in the same year. The main purpose of Washington behind these strategic level negotiation was that they wanted to find a way for a safe exit and honorable departure from Afghanistan through Pakistan's collaboration and also to make sure the regional security and confidence, whereas Pakistan also wants assistance from the United States to stabilize its economy, Pakistan mainly wanted to make sure that India would not use Afghan territory to propagate against Pakistan.

The relationship between Pakistan and United States improved since the incident of twin tower terrorist attacks but crack in relations was instigated in 2011 because of some incidents. It was a particularly unfortunate year that began with the incident of Raymond Davis in January 2011; a CIA contractor, shooting two Pakistani civilians in the city of Lahore. The Obama Administration confirmed the rumors that Raymond Davis was a former U.S Special Forces officer working as a contractor for the CIA (Markey, 2013). On 16th March 2011 after closed door dialogues, \$ 2.3 million was compensated as blood money to victim families and Raymond Davis was deported to United States (Jetly, 2011).

After this United States conducted operation Geronimo on Pakistani land to capture or slay Al-Qaeda leader Osama Bin Laden. On 2nd May at 1am of Pakistan Times, that year came the incursion by the American Navy Seals of the United States Naval Special Warfare Development Group, also well-known as DEVGRU that drove the Neptune Spear into, factually, the heart of its associations with Pakistan (Rafique, 2015). The one-sided raid resulted in the assassination of Osama bin Laden; the most wanted supreme leading light of Al-Qaeda in the Pakistani city of Abbottabad, and an important military cantonment located 110 miles from the capital city of Islamabad (Schmidle, 2011).

The United States act to kill Osama Bin Laden without any Pakistani involvement is going to create further gaps between the relationships of both states and will make wider the trust deficit on both ends. The incident of Osama Bin Laden in Abbottabad has damaged the trust between the two states. Both nations are at the cross roads of aggravation to each other. Obama administration is coming inflexible on Pakistan after presence of Osama Bin Laden in Abbottabad (Soherwordi & Khattak, 2011). On the other hand Pakistani general public and leaders are very grumpy over the secret operation by United States about the killing of Osama Bin Laden on its territory without any preceding notice to political or military leadership of the state.

### **Salala Incident and its Impact on Pak-US Relationship**

On May 2011, Al-Qaeda operators attack on Mehran air base to take the revenge of Osama Bin Laden's death in which four main officers were killed and nine were injured (Akhter, 2012). Then in November 2011, two NATO Apache helicopters, fired upon the armed forces of two check posts in Salala range of Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) Pakistan, this airstrike of NATO on Pakistani check posts, well identified in the media as the Salala incident or Salala attack, in which 24 soldiers of Pakistani defense forces were killed together with the two officers and 13 were injured (Gulati, 2013).

This NATO airstrike on Pakistani check posts was harshly condemned and criticized by Pakistan and resultantly Pakistan got the Shamsi airbase vacated by the United States and got its control. Pakistan severely reacted towards this incident and immediately closes all NATO's Pakistan Ground Lines of Communications (PGLOCs) to Afghanistan (Balachandran & Pattanaik, 2012). The relations between United States and Pakistan were deteriorated because of US drone strikes on Pakistani territory without its consent and many other happenings that are producing mistrust or complications also endangering civilian lives.

In July 2012, the US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton offered an official apology in a telephonic conversation with Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Hina Rabbani Khar, confessing their mistake to attack on Pakistani check posts at Salala range that caused the loss and injury of precious lives, but without asking for forgiveness Clinton said "We are sorry for the losses of lives and harms faced by the Pakistani military, to prevent this from ever happen again We are committed and loyal to working closely with Pakistan and Afghanistan" (Rafique, 2015).

Anti-Islamic propaganda was another cause that becomes the barrier between the smooth relationship of United States and Pakistan. United States considers Islam as extremist religion but the fact is that it is a religion of peace and prosperity. Among these factors the most importantly United States always prefers aid to Pakistan rather than to establish a chain of work with

Pakistan. In political tactics and strategies, aid is used as a tool to subdue other states. United States always prefers India for trading matters rather than Pakistan in the South Asian region. These types of policy perceptions and happenings developed by United States are the leading causes that are the obstacles and barriers behind the establishment of smooth and friendly bilateral relations.

Pakistan accepted apology of United States regarding the NATO attack on Pakistani airbases, and after the seven months of Salala incident Pakistan Ground Lines of Communications (PGLOCs) for NATO supplies to Afghanistan were thrown open by Pakistan. In the intervening time, policymakers from both republican and democratic parties accept the deal in which they would not only support the forces of United States in Afghanistan but would also help to remove the barrier for the further development of their relations with Pakistan (Gulati, 2013).

In November 2012, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Hina Rabbani Khar, declared that Pakistan and the United States had reestablished full military ties, and relationships between the two states had moved from a difficult patch into a positive trajectory by moving in the direction of a recommencement on the Strategic Dialogue between them, including a move towards increasing common positions on a responsible conversion in Afghanistan (Rafique, 2015). Success of relationships between nations must be measured in terms of palpable improvements. After the Salala incident the joint statements offer a framework of improved bilateral relationship, and cover the essential parameters of future engagement between the US and Pakistan in the advancement of shared goals of peace, security, and socio-economic development in South Asia.

To take stock of the reorganized, the Strategic Dialogue process in the second decade of 21<sup>st</sup> century has restored the regularity in the bilateral relations by not only emphasizing and reaffirming a strong and durable partnership, but also offering a multidimensional partnership in a range of non-traditional areas. The working groups on energy; security, strategic stability, and non-proliferation; the defense consultative group; law implementation and counter-terrorism, economics and finance; and education, science and technology have already been laying the ground for enhanced mutual cooperation.

Besides the main purpose of these strategic level talks, the significant outcome of these US-Pakistan negotiations is that both states are agree for the establishment of US-Pak Knowledge Corridor. Previously in 2016, joint MOUs were signed between Higher Commission of Pakistan and US Educational Foundation which will support 128 further PHDs scholarships or loans for the students of Pakistan under Fulbright for five years (Sohail, 2016). Initiation of Pak-US Center for Advanced Studies appreciated by the both states, and it will work on the areas of energy, agriculture for academics, policymakers, water, industry and climate change.

### **American Foreign Policy towards Pakistan in Trump Presidency**

to judge Donald Trump's approach for formulating relationship with other countries, ever since the President has never held any public office before. It wasn't clear enough that how Trump was going to tackle with the developing country like a Pakistan (a border state with Afghanistan). However, among senior officials of America there were two kind of views related to the Pakistan; one was that for war on terrorism Pakistan is not a reliable or dependable ally and the other one was that US won't be successful for the deployment of troops and to draw strong actions against terrorists in Afghanistan without the help of Pakistan. American President decided to pressurize Pakistan and adopt strict policy like to end of military and economic aid and the demand to crush terrorist groups within her territory those who are supporting Taliban in Afghanistan.

During the campaign of election, Trump was focused and stressed the decreasing of overseas US military commitments, time and again he reiterated that under his administration overseas intervention and chaos will end (Abbas & Khan, 2017). America under the administration of Trump was seeing India as a strategic partner in Afghanistan. American officials warned Pakistan related to the destruction of reservation of terrorists otherwise America will do it unilaterally in adjacent areas with Pakistan. Due to the security advisors Trump was convinced that American military's hasty withdrawal from Afghanistan will severely damage their regional as well as global interests, so he revised his aforementioned stance related to the presence of US military forces in Afghanistan, moreover he increase American military troops in Afghanistan for the support of Afghanistan security forces to deal with Taliban with the rationalization that hasty withdrawal from this region will create vacuity that would be fill by al-Qaeda and ISIS (Naz, Masood, & Wadood, 2019). MAGA (Make America Great Again) a slogan of campaign captures populism of Trump; giving voice to the part played by observed fears to individuality and status in the development of foreign policy, the earlier Tea Party movement and makes America great again labeled as populist. Mudde and Kaltwasser argue that populism pits the 'people' against the 'corrupt elite' (Steff & Tidwell, 2020).

In January 2017, in his tweet Trump said that it was an unwise decision by the previous presidents to give approximately \$33 billion aid to Pakistan from the last fourteen or fifteen years and they got nothing instead of lies and cheat, in return the government of Pakistan also conveyed the message to America that her call to do more will be answered with no more in combating terrorism (Naz, Masood, & Wadood, 2019). The divergence of relationship between America and Pakistan under the administration of Trump was due to his aggressive nature policies.

### **American Foreign Policy Towards Pakistan during Joe Biden Regime**

There wasn't any significant exchange of friendly gestures between Pakistan and America, since the open blame by the Trump towards Islamabad administration for supporting and providing safe heavens to terrorists. But the next American administration under Joe Biden resumes dialogue with Islamabad for the achievement of mutual interest like stable peace in Afghanistan, after that there observed continuity in American policies in Pakistan and Afghanistan which are likely constant and smooth. New American administration replaces the dominating security directions with more comprehensive dealings. Somehow Pakistani influence on America is eroding with the withdrawal of American forces from Afghanistan. Biden is also putting pressure on Pakistan to crack down on funding related to terrorists, Human rights violation and money laundering related issues and he is not going to restore economic assistance as well.

Former ambassador of Pakistan to the US Husain Haqqani, says that President Biden has acknowledged that billions of dollars US aid did not changed strategic status of Pakistan about Afghanistan or its strong commitment to China and which is unlikely to happen in near future as well. Biden is not going to ignore the close ties between Pakistan and China regardless of Chinese lack of democracy and human rights violation in Uyghur against Muslim Community (Baqi, 2021).

### Conclusion

Pak-US relationship and the uncertain future are highly influenced by a war-torn country Afghanistan. United States as power maximizing country increases its power through creating danger and fear in others whereas Pakistan define its strategy in Afghanistan during war on terrorism in viewpoint of security requirements. It is observed that the terrorism in Afghanistan has badly affected the relationship ties between Pakistan and America because US believed that Pakistan is providing safe heavens to terrorists on its territory. The war on terrorism in Afghanistan has severe implications for the relationship of Pakistan and Afghanistan because Pakistan was supporting America during this campaign. Washington's demand to completely dismantle the terrorist's hub on its territory or would be facing harmful results, but Pakistan denying the claims that there are no safe places for terrorists on Pakistani soil. So, these contradictory or conflicting claims are the stressing points between the both countries. American dissatisfaction with the steps and measures taken by the security forces of Pakistan against the terrorist groups operating in Pakistan perhaps lead towards the Pakistani stance to do no more. Pressurizing Pakistan to do more and the allegations like to counter Indian influence in Afghanistan, Pakistan is reluctant to take strong steps against the terrorist network which are not the direct or strong threat to Pakistan but are for Afghanistan and India are the hurdles to achieve peace in Afghanistan. Pakistan is strongly defending her stance that they have already destroy all the terrorist groups without any discrimination operating in Pakistani territory and denying all these allegations or charges. Pakistan wants to restore strategic cooperation and to have longer and smooth partnership with both countries and the changing nature of international politics is posing challenging situation for the developing country like Pakistan. Mutual understandings were the reason for the convergence of interest of Pakistan and US in Afghanistan but drifting into another phase of anarchy cannot guarantee the long term cooperation.

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