

Implications of 9/11 for Pak-US Relations

Ejaz Khana

Department of Political Science, Hazara University Mansehra.

Quaid Alib

Department of Political Science, Hazara University Mansehra.

Keywords

USA, Pakistan,
Economic Assistance,
Development,
Afghanistan, Post-9/11.

Abstract

Afghanistan remained an unstable state throughout the history because of its weak government, geography, foreign attacks. As a neighboring country of Pakistan, the wars in Afghanistan have always serious repercussions on Pakistan. At the time of 9/11 Pakistan was facing severe external economic difficulties. It was unable to pay its short-term loans. There were sanctions on it as it was under the rule of the military. So, it was not in a position to continue its relations with the government of Taliban in Afghanistan. Resultantly it joined the American coalition against Taliban present in Afghanistan. This paper describes the impacts of 9/11 on Pakistan. It also attempts to describe Pak-USA relations after 9/11 and the inflow of American to Pakistan.

I. Introduction

The incidence of 9/11 brought many challenges as well as opportunities for Pakistan. Pakistan, besides Saudi Arabia, was the only country that recognized Taliban government in Afghanistan despite their hard and radical policies regarding women and girls' education which had earned for them wide spread criticism worldwide. On the other hand, due to military rule in the country and nuclear tests, Pakistan was facing sanctions from the US as well. When the 9/11 occurred, Pakistan was asked to decide whether it was with the US in their war on terror or otherwise. It was decided by Pakistan to join the American coalition and dissociated itself from the Taliban. This decision, no doubt, brought new opportunities for Pakistan but at the same time it also posed many challenges.

The US diplomacy was very quick to mobilize international support to fight terrorism. Besides taking NATO along with it, the US passed very strong resolutions both from General Assembly and Security Council on the next e.g.12 September 2001. After that, the United States got a more specific and action oriented UN Security Council resolution in a period of almost two weeks to launch an offensive against the terrorist while a UN counter terrorism committee was formed to monitor all the processes. Broad based diplomacy was also initiated by US Secretary Powell clearly explained to the allied states and other nations that they cannot be silent or remain neutral in fighting the war on terror. Pointing to every nation across the globe that in their relationship with the US. The option was very clear. Pakistan was on the special focus due to its previous record of having relations with the Taliban Government who were harboring al-Qaida and its

leaders like Osama to freely work and carry out their activities in Afghanistan. The message received in Pakistan was a tough one. According to The New York Times, the US will take action for abolishing the refugees, the system of support and those countries supporting terrorism.” Joseph Biden, who was the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was also reported to have asked Pakistan to choose to be a friend or an enemy”.

In another report, this was mentioned that the Bush Administration had clearly said to Pakistan that, for the US mere condolences shall not be sufficient from Pakistan. Musharraf, the then Pakistani President was the first in the world leaders contacted and informed that any refusal from support with America in its war against terrorism, Pakistan will be at a collision course with the US. It is said that Mr. Colin Powell, while in a telephonic communication to Musharraf on 12th of September, asked for participation of Pakistan in the war against terrorism. It was a call from one general to another in which the later, Mr. Musharraf immediately accepted the call and agreed to jump into the war on terror as wanted by the Americans.

A huge pressure was there on Pakistan to accept what the US wanted of Pakistan like hunting Osama and cutting off overt or covert relations with Taliban. An international coalition and consensus under the leadership of the US had already come to existence which was difficult for Pakistan to overlook. Gravity of the situation was as much as it made it pushed Pakistan to abide because any reluctance could have dangerous consequences like additional economic sanctions on an already weak economy or even military or security problems for the country.

The last option, for a country under military rule, which it could afford, was “defiance”. There was also a possibility that the coalition forces may also go for use of force against terrorist hideouts in Pakistan. Certainly, Pakistan did not have a third alternative. It could only be targeted or to be a companion in war. There was no choice to be a friend of Osama but of that of USA. The then military ruler soon felt that besides serious domestic and regional confrontations and problems, he received a vibrant gesture from America that if Pakistan fails in cooperation, it may also become a target of the war on terror. Soon, it soon became clear for policy-makers in Islamabad that Pakistan had no choice of preserving their strategic interest in Afghanistan at the cost of US. They were left with no choice but to welcome the US intervention.

Regional Situation

In the region, after the terrorist attacks on the parliament of India on 13 December 2001, Indo-Pak ties were already at the lowest ebb. In spite of instant and strong condemnation of those attacks by Islamabad, relations of Pakistan with India suddenly tensed up when the Indian public started demanding its accounting. The Usual services of buses, trains, and air services were halted. It was followed by military build ups of armies of the countries while Indian government called back its High Commissioner from Pakistan after 1971 war for first time. Pakistan was accused by India for supporting those Kashmiri militants, who it was blamed for those attacks. Under such circumstances, Indian proclamation of supporting and extension logistic facilities to US troops unconditionally, further aggravated the situation for Pakistan.

Two days later of the event of 9/11, Mr. Powell announced readiness of the US to go ahead for their war against the terrorists, their gangs and groups and their

supporters, no matter wherever they were. President Bush appreciated Pakistan for its decision to be a partner in the US coalition and said that they were giving Pakistan a chance to participate in punishing those who were responsible for the 9/11 attacks. However, the decision of Pakistan to support USA in the war and its “U-turn” in its Afghan policy was without an institutional approval because at that time there was no elected Parliament in the country or any sort of democracy. There were no consultative bodies except the selected people or technocrats to discuss the issue while the military rulers did not bother to take steps for taking political elites or politicians in their consultation at any level. President Musharraf in his presidential address “9/11 came as a thunderbolt” claimed the both opportunities and acute challenges were presented before him. Musharraf, keeping in view the external pressures as well as leading opinion of the people, re-adjusted policies of the country according to the new circumstances. He opted, and rightly so, to ride the tide while avoiding the wrong choice of confronting an angry superpower with a big number of other allies like NATO, etc. and became a non-NATO frontline ally of America.

It was then time for Pakistan to choose and change the priorities of its Afghan policy and of becoming a friend and partner of the US and NATO coalition instead of becoming otherwise president Musharraf met his ministers and senior military commanders and then addressed the nation Musharraf also explained that his country was asked to share intelligence about terrorists, allowing the coalition forces to use its air space and to provide logistical support.

Demands from Pakistan

In actual terms, Pakistan was needed even more than what is mentioned above. Pakistan had to close its border with Afghanistan, cut off supply lines of Taliban and put a full stop to all activities of Al-Qaida fighters as well. Following were the demands placed before Pakistan:

Operation the border of Pakistan must be stopped, arm shipment through Pakistan must be intercepted and logistic support for Usama must be seized.

Unrestricted over-flights and facilities for landing American airplane.

Entrance to the borders, air-bases and naval bases of Pakistan.

Speedy immigration and intelligence information.

Curbing of all internal means of help involving in terrorism against USA, and its allies.

Cutting off the supply to Taliban and stopping volunteers from Pakistan to part with Taliban in Afghanistan.

Breaking of diplomatic ties with Taliban and support American destroying in destroying the network of Usama and Al-Qaeda.

The U-turn of Pakistan in its policy surprised the Americans because of its reversal from the long time established strategies and policies. Pakistani Military ruler did not take much time in becoming a frontline partner of the US and NATO coalition in Afghanistan. The military junta called it something done in the “national interests”. Initially, Pakistan was not easy with stationing foreign troops on its soil and allowing them to use the bases but later on, the situation changed and the Americans were granted permission to for what they wanted from Pakistan.

To help the coalition forces, Pakistan untied its bases in the provinces of Baluchistan and Sindh to provide logistic support against the targets i.e. the Taliban, who were sometimes back allies of it in the region. At the beginning of October, American

troops moved into Pakistani bases at Jacobabad and Pasni and started their combat operations in Afghanistan.

Image of Pakistan

The importance of Pakistan increased at the international level because of its new and a pivotal role in the war against terrorism besides showing a determination to be eliminating hideouts of terrorists on its soil. Before September 11, 2001, Pakistan was facing various sanctions that were imposed by the United States due to the nuclear tests that were conducted by Pakistan on May 28th, 1998. There were other sanctions that Pakistan was facing and that was because of the military dictatorship in the country. There were sanctions on Pakistan related to missile technology and components that they suspected Pakistan was receiving from China and therefore, any business with Pakistan in field of missile parts, space and upper atmosphere were also banned. These sanctions were imposed on Pakistan under various American laws.

Pakistan got waiver from all that sanctions after US Congress granted, on September 22, waiver authority to president of America, George W Bush. Sanctions like that on imports exports, credits and banking were also removed. Some sanctions related to democracy missile issues were left for future. USA and Pakistan signed an agreement enabling Islamabad to get its Burdon of debt rescheduled. An amount of 379 million dollars of Pakistani arrears were rescheduled. This different environment made it easy for Pakistan to proceed with its negotiations about 2.5 to 3 billion dollars program with IMF for three year. In the context of the newly emerging situation and according to their need, both the US Houses approves a law that allows the president remove or waive off sanctions on Pakistan including that related to the military rule in Pakistan if he deems it to be important in their march against the terrorists. Japan also lifted its own sanctions it had imposed following the US precedence and which it was saying are subject to the signing of CTBT and democracy but it followed the US footprints again in removing them.

During their meeting in Washington, President Bush praised Mr. Musharraf and Pakistanis choice for cooperation with America and the allied forces. He assured Musharraf of working together with the congress to approve about \$ one billion as a relief in debt for 2003. The Bush administration increased quota for Pakistani textile products of about 142 million dollars.

After their meeting in Camp David, Mr. Bush declared that the America will give an aid package of 3 billion dollars to Pakistan in five years but it shall be conditional with the continued support of Pakistan in the combat against terror, restoration of democracy and non-proliferation of nuclear technology. An agreement of trade and Investment Framework was also reached between the two countries.

Sanctions from Pakistan were lifted because of its support and cooperation it provided to America in the war against terror that started from the attacks on the World Trade Center on September 11. The Americans were of the view that: “they will support those who will support them, and that they were intended to work with the governments who work with them in the war against terror”. Boucher, the spokesman, was reported as saying that lifting of sanctions from Pakistan will a long way in perusing our goals in that area. This will also enable us to work better with a better Pakistan in the fight against terrorists.

The lifting of sanctions from Pakistan was a step forwards for the Americans themselves also because of having a more close interaction and cooperation with more focus on the war against terror. The sanctions related to nuclear issues dated back to 1979 at that time these sanctions were aimed at stopping Pakistan from investing in nuclear capability. After the tests in 1998, these sanctions were not so useful but were still used for pressurizing Pakistan. Due to these nuclear sanctions all US aid regardless of economic or military sectors. The waiver was the solution to get allowed all of the aid to proceed. The sanctions related to the restoration of democracy in the country that was imposed in 1999 military's takeover were left somehow pending because the American law does not allow aid to the dictatorships. Sanctions about missile technology, missile and space assistance, technology transfer, spare parts etc. were all another cause of sanctions on some of Pakistan's entities especially from china. That sanctions which were imposed on Pakistan because of the military government were not prohibiting sales of commercial military spare parts or due to US support, the lifting of sanctions also resulted in a positive behavior of the world financial institutions like World Bank, IMF and Asian bank etc. in the loan cases to Pakistan.

The Americans were aware of the situation that non availability of spare parts to the military had a great impact on its capabilities which undoubtedly was a serious concern. A Presidential certificate would be required to removing the coup sanctions showing that there is democracy or Pakistan is moving towards democracy. When George Bush failed to submit the certificate to the congress, the sanctions also could not be removed. Congressional sources were quoted as saying that the congress would have given the waiver authority to president if he wanted because the congress was fully cooperative after the 9/11 attacks.

Inflow of US Aid to Pakistan

Just a month later when the 9/11 happened and Pakistan joined the US coalition funds as promised by the US started under various heads and for various sectors. One program was of direct assistance including education, health, food, and democracy, and counter narcotics, elimination of child labor, border security and enforcement of law. In the direct benefits trade and trade, preference was also included. Various international financial institutions also helped Pakistan due to US support in providing grants, loans, and rescheduling of debt.

A report submitted to the US lower house revealed that Islamabad has got 25.91 billion dollars so far for its military and economy since September 2001. Pakistan was provided with around 17220million dollars as military and 8680million dollars in financial help. It was the biggest source of mutual assistance of Washington to Islamabad. The break-up of the aid received by Pakistan reveals that between 2002 and 2012 in the Coalition Support Fund she received 10.68 billion dollars, in external army aid 2.75 billion dollars, as a fund countering insurgency it got 2.35 billion dollars. In addition, for equipment and global training, it got 1012 million dollars; from the funds of Pentagon for countering narcotics it received 265 million dollars. Similarly, for the control of International disasters it got 27 million assistance, and Anti-terror help it received 115 million dollars.

The main points of financial assistance under various fields indicates that Islamabad received 8.868 billion dollars from various funds under different heads. A

descriptive appendix written with this report revealed that, US lower house authorized Islamabad to utilize the fund issued to the year 2003 and 2004 for repayment of 1.5 billion dollars in debt to the USA. In addition, USA also provided about 1.3 billion dollars as financial aid to Islamabad for the year 2010. Under the Enhanced Partnership Bill the US intends to provide above 1.5 billion per year as provided in the bill of 2009. Approval was given by the Congress in this bill, to three times development aid to Pakistan up to 7.5 billion dollars in the next five years for improving governance in Pakistan, to support its economy and economic activity in the country and to invest in its people.

Foreign Military Sale agreement of Washington with Islamabad is also shown in the report amounting to 5.4 billion dollars from 2002 to 2010 (major part of it was for the sale of F-16). USA provided approximately 2.1 billion dollars to Pakistan since 2001 as FMF grant. The fund is to be used to buy military equipment from USA for long-term modernization efforts. The main post-2001 defense equipment provided or to be given under FMF included eight P-3C Orion maritime patrol aircrafts and their renovation; 6,312 TOW anti-air missile; six AN/TPS-77 surveillance radar (\$100 million), more than 5,600 military radio sets (\$163 million); 6, C-130 planes and their renovation (\$76 million); 20 Cobra helicopters (\$48 million for renovation); and 121 TOW refurbished missile launchers (\$25 million).

Military Training and Law Enforcement

The USA started to use its funds for training and to equip the FC in 2007. Moreover, the involvement of American Special Operations Command was also increased to assist counterterrorism efforts of Pakistan. Elite Special Service Group commandos of Pakistan were also engaged by US to train them with an aim to double the size of that force to 5,000. Under the administration of Obama, these efforts continued. The American program of training paramilitary forces of Pakistan was reportedly hampered by reluctance of the later to deploy troops who are required for urgent actions elsewhere. It was claimed that only the military personnel of USA can efficiently train the soldiers of Pakistan. A comparison was made in the report between the aid given by USA to Pakistan and that it is receiving from China. China is having close bilateral and friendly terms with Pakistan. One of its reasons is unfavorable ties between China and India. China assisted Pakistan in the past but not as much as USA before 2015.

The ADB planned to provide an average loan amounting to \$1.5 billion per year up to 2011, since 2001.

The fall out of War in Pakistan

Despite the above mentioned figures, most of the people of Pakistan are of the view that war against terror in Afghanistan was not in fact the war of Pakistan rather it has been pushed into that war. Instead of finishing the terrorism in Afghanistan, it has further expanded and interred into Pakistani territories. In this war, it's the Pakistanis who have suffered more than anyone else.

Till 2015, above 70,000 including politicians, government employees, civilian population and around 4000 security personnel from sipahi to high ranking officers have lost their precious lives and the statistics show that in the Afghan war against terrorism number of Pakistanis who sacrificed their lives are more than even the US itself who started and wanted the war. Latest statistics provided by the economic survey of Pakistan 2014-2015 shows that Pakistan not only suffered human losses but \$ 107 billion

financial direct and indirect losses in the last 14 years of the conflict. It was almost impossible for Pakistan to be safe from the fall out of the war in Afghanistan. Similar impacts were on the economy, economic growth and activity, employment, production and manufacturing, infrastructure, social sector development and activities.

A large number of people in Pakistan also believe that due to our siding with the US and supporting it against the Taliban, we have earned their enmity and provided them a justification by targeting us here in our own places. The death of former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, an ANP Minister Bashir Bilor, a Punjab Interior Minister Shuja Khanzada along with many other top leaders and elected representatives of the relatively left oriented parties, security personnel and soldiers and the general public at large were all ruthlessly targeted. In the 2013 general elections, the Taliban openly announced that they will target the entire leftist and would not allow them to participate in the elections. Besides this, suicide attacks were made repeatedly against Awami National Party leader Asfandiyar Wali Khan, Aftab Khan Sherpao, Molana Fzulur Rahman and many others but they could very narrowly escape from the deadly attacks.

Clearly, it does not easy calculate the losses or benefit of a war but some arguments and data and information cannot be overlooked. Pakistanis made tremendous sacrifices and are making but on the other hand, there is an apprehension that the terrorists who live in Afghanistan and from there come attack Pakistani areas and go back to Afghanistan with full impunity either by the Afghan government or the US forces stationed there.

Mullah Fazlullah, who was escaped to Afghanistan from Swat after a widespread operation launched against him is peacefully stationed in Afghanistan. He is living in the neighboring Province Kunar of Afghanistan and is freely operating from there against Pakistani security forces but after repeated requests by the Pakistani government to expel him from Afghanistan or hand him over to Pakistan, the Afghan government or the US do not take any notice of it. Recent Media reports indicate that they are further facilitated to open up more camps in Kunar against Pakistan while Indian RAW is suspected to be working in the background.

Change in the Government in Kabul

When Dr. Ashraf Ghani took over power in Afghanistan, he preferred to first visit Pakistan. He came to Islamabad and in the first instance went to the GHQ of Pakistan Army in Rawalpindi where he was warmly welcomed by General Raheel Sharif, the Army Chief. He met the Prime Minister and other top political leadership of Pakistan and a hope was created as if the environment of traditional mistrust between Pakistan and Afghanistan will be improved. In the same context leaders of Pashtoon Nationalist and secular parties like Asfandiyar Khan, Mehmood Khan AchackZai, Aftab Khan Sherpao, Senator Afrasiab Khattak also visited Kabul to cement bilateral ties between the two countries but due to some unfortunate happenings in Kabul like attack, an Afghan Parliament shattered the confidence building process.

Rising Doubts and Change in Plea of Kabul Government

Dr. Ashraf Ghani, like his predecessor Hamid Karzai, changed his plea and said we don't want Pakistan to facilitate dialogue between Afghan Government and Taliban, rather, we want Pakistan to close their hide outs on its soil. After that, he seems to be diverting his attention towards India which he initially had ignored. There is no doubt

that Pakistan is also skeptical about India's involvement in creating problems for Pakistan in its Baluchistan Province as well as in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa through Afghan territory.

Pakistan has been severely affected by the newly emerging global security environment especially with reference to south Asia and the increasing role of the US and other world powers in this region. It was important for Pakistan to secure, economically, politically, strategically and from the security point of view also. The pro-Taliban policy was, therefore, abandoned and new agreements were made with new partners in the new ventures. Pakistan also made efforts to eliminate militant groups and their networks from its soil and extended a friendly hand of cooperation to the Afghan government.

Supporting US war against terrorism in Afghanistan was for Pakistan's own security also in the context of its fragile economic conditions, standoff with India on Kashmir Issue, the Stake of its nuclear program, etc. Foreign policy was readjusted to the new realities with new threat perceptions. War on terrorism was and currently is, the top priority within the region and in the US Pakistan relations. The war against terror which was launched in Afghanistan in 2001 had its consequences for Pakistan. Taliban extended its activities in the Pakistan tribal areas as well as cities. There started a nonstop series of bomb blasts, suicides attacks and kidnapping etc. in Pakistan. To safeguard its border with Afghanistan and deal with Taliban Militants, in the year 2002, for the very first time in the history of the country, Pakistan deployed around 80,000 soldiers in the Federally Administrated Tribal Areas (FATA) in order to monitor Al-Qaeda and Taliban.

The US had also been complaining that Taliban are attacking Pakistani areas or after attacking US Afghan forces in Afghanistan, they escape to Pakistan where they have their hide outs. In the year 2004, under the American pressure, Pakistan started military operation in South Waziristan, a tribal agency in FATA. Resultantly, a tribal warfare was unleashed in the area. Two years later Pakistan held a peace agreement with the militants in North Waziristan, another agency in the FATA. The United States was continuously insisting on an operation in the North Waziristan where according to them the most dangerous militant group Haqqani network and other jihadi were stationed. As long as General Kayani was Chief of Pakistani Armed forces, such an operation was avoided with a view that if North Waziristan was attacked, the Taliban militants will spread in the cities of Pakistan making the situation even worst.

US Pass New Law for Pakistan

In 2008 US congress passed a law that would require state department and Pentagon to certify, prior to the release of aid, that Pakistan is committed in its fight against terrorism. Due to the mistrust and contrasting interests between the two countries skepticism also flourished day by day. In the year 2011, 2012, Military aid to Pakistan was suspended by USA and once again relations between the two countries become adversarial. From the US side, there was a demand for... Do more, while the Pakistanis were arguing that they were doing enough already.

A widespread anger arose in Pakistan when an American CIA operative or diplomat Raymond Davis killed two Pakistan civilians in May 2011 in Lahore. He was arrested by the Pakistani Police and presented before a court of law. Before the court proceeding could reach its logical end, a compromise deal was made with the aggrieved families and Raymond was returned to the United States.

Another big event of the war was the finding and killing or handing over Osama USA. Apparently, both the US and Pakistan were working together for this cause because for the US he was the most wanted terrorist in the world and Pakistan was frontline ally of the US in its search of Osama. In May 2011, US Special Forces found Osama in a compound near Abbottabad cantonment area and killed him. Pakistanis were unhappy because of the unilateral attack of the US Special Forces in its area without its consent. It was said that Osama had spent six years in Pakistan. This also created, rather increased the element of mistrust among the US and Pakistan.

The Taliban, in retaliation to Osama murder, attacked Mehran Air base causing huge losses to the base and some air crafts there. Another surprising event of the war against terrorism and the partnership between Pakistan and the USA and NATO was NATO's attack on a Pakistani check post at Salala in FATA area in November 2011 for unknown reasons killing around two dozen Pakistani personnel and soldiers. It was a tragic news for all of the Pakistani Nation who have been standing along with the US and NATO for years in their war in Afghanistan. Pakistan Blocked NATO supplies for many months for that unfortunate and unfriendly behavior of the US NATO forces.

When General Kayani retired and the charge were taken over by General Raheel Sharif as Chief of Pakistani Army, in June 2014, he launched operation Zarb e Azab in North Waziristan. It was on the one hand due to increasing pressure from the US and also due to the increased sabotage activities of Taliban in Pakistan especially against its security forces and whatever targets they wanted to choose. In December 2014, US congress restricted most of American military assistance to Pakistan in 2015 which was supplied through the defense and state departments, unless, the administration certify that Islamabad is taking enough steps, including measures to stop supporting the Haqqani network and similar other groups. The same Administration might use a national security waiver the assistant except for 300 million dollars in Pentagon funded coalition support funds.

Finally, in February 2015, the US Defense Department has requested an expected 1.3 billion dollars financial assistance to Pakistan via coalition support fund for financial year 2016. There still exists a misunderstanding in some American circles about Pakistan that it is sincere in its cooperation with the American led coalition fighting against terror. This skepticism has been a factor in establishing a smooth coordination between the two countries.

According to the New York Times, when they asked the ex-ambassador of Pakistan to the United States, Hussain Haqqani, about a biggest misconception of Americans about Pakistanis he said, "they can bend somehow Pakistan to their will by the leverage of aid" He also pointed out that most of it goes to the military. He further adds in his report in 2011, the bulk American aid of \$20 billion which Pakistan has received since 2001 was taken by the military of Pakistan. Another analyst is of the view that Pakistan is fully aware of the fact that to keep the money coming in, they must be looking busy in the war against Taliban because if they really and whole heartedly fight and defeat Taliban, the flow of money will dry up. Therefore, instead of fighting a real war, they play a double and duplicitous game.

In 2005, the leader of the Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam, Fazlur Rehman, was reported to have said in the parliament that "We would have to expressly convey the world if we

want to help mujahidin or are fighting them. It will not be easy now to play a double game anymore.

US Chief of staff, Mike Mullen has already declared the network of Haqqani as actual limb of the Inter-Services Intelligence agency of Pakistan. Another analyst Saima Waheed who was advisor to the US Agency for International Development and also a consultant to the Pakistani government has expressed her experience in her book and titled it as “so much aid, so little development”.

For satisfaction of the donors and their result orientation, Pakistanis build schools, health centers, other service delivery centers but all that happen in papers not on ground. If a few of that facilities exist in physical form then they are unused and are either empty or utilized by someone for his own purpose. There are equipment's purchased but no one has the expertise operate them or due to lack of electricity/energy for its operation, they are left idle to rotten. The donors are usually in a hurry to go to the next project and in that way, they fail to see the problems related to development from institutional and social point of view. Their previous work is left to burry in the files in order to get ready for the new adventures.

Many analysts like Oliver Williams are of the belief that whatever aid is provided to Pakistan is not spent in the desired sector or activities. He laments that the Pakistani People were very jubilant when they tested an atom bomb. He says that after the tests, one minister of the government said that Pakistan is now a nuclear state; no one can look at it with jaundiced eye. He also pointed out that many billions of dollars have been spent on it while more will follow. For them, it proves right because the country finds sufficient money to expand its nuclear weapons program with fast growing arsenals in the world while dollars are received.

According to a report, constituted by general Musharraf revealed that if tax revenue does not increase considerably, it will make Pakistan unable to run as a state while there shall be no resources for essential services to deliver. The report concludes that the single most important reform in the economy is to broaden the tax base and bring more taxable incomes into the tax net. Foreign aid never solves the problem it can only help temporarily. Foreign aid did not assist in curbing extremism, could not become a stimulant for the economic growth, and did not help in winning hearts and minds.

This is how they perceive their contributions to Pakistan but fail to recognize the sacrifices made by Pakistan in becoming their frontline ally in terms of human, social, economic and infrastructural losses and damages.

The story of “Do More”

The story of doing more does not finish here. When the US announced to get out of Afghanistan by the year 2015, it again required Pakistan to ensure a safe passage for them from the region. It also requires Pakistan to make sure that it should convince Taliban to come to the table and talk to the Afghan Government installed by them. Pakistan has repeatedly reiterated that it can facilitate such talks but cannot force Taliban to accept the Afghan government.

After continuous pressure of the US, Pakistan took an initiative and hosted the first ever direct talks between Taliban and Afghan government in Murree, a nearby town of Islamabad in which both American and Chinese representatives also participated. But after first round of the talks, news was released by some quarters that the Taliban Ameer

Mulla Muhammad Omar has already died two years ago. By that news, the second round of talks was cancelled by the Afghan government and the situation went to a standstill again. After the news of Mulla Muhammad Omar's death, his Deputy Mulla Akhter Mohammad Mansoor took over as the new Taliban Ameer and announce that jihad in Afghanistan will continue till the time foreign troops vacate Afghanistan. He launched new offensives and, in many areas, defeated Afghan forces and captured many areas and big cities. The US and NATO forces had to come to the rescue of Afghan forces who were badly incapable of fighting with new Taliban attacks.

A propaganda was launched against Mulla Akhter Muhammad Mansoor that he was elected by the Quetta Shura which is said to be a setup of Taliban in the provincial capital of Baluchistan province of Pakistan harbored by the Pakistani Intelligence Agency ISI or Inter-Services Intelligence which is always been denied by Pakistan.

Pakistan has started CPEC, a mega project, with Pakistan. America is not happy over this agreement of Pakistan with China. It has claimed that this project will be a burden on the economy of Pakistan. US wants that Pakistan must not continue this project with China.

Trade and Business between USA and Pakistan

At the outset of war against terror in Afghanistan, the even more important factor for Pakistan was the already fragile condition of its economy. Pakistan's association with Taliban was strategic rather than economic. While Pakistan had many dependencies on the America and various international economic organizations such as World Bank, IMF etc. was indispensable. Those dependencies were not only in the social and development sectors but in the security sector as well, especially our air force largely depends on US made air crafts, spare parts etc. In 2013, trade wise, Pakistan was 62nd largest trading partner of USA with \$5.3 billion in total goods trade. Goods exported by Pakistan amounts to \$1.6 billion; the number of goods imported by it was \$3.7 billion. In 2013, the trade deficit was \$2.0 billion.

Exports

In 2013, Pakistan was 69th largest goods export market for America. The exports of American goods to Pakistan were \$1.6 billion in 2013. It was around \$117 million from 2012, and up to 95% from 2003. In 2013, the major exports include Machinery (\$298 million), Aircrafts (\$133 million), Fabric and Cotton Yarn (\$185 million), steel and iron (\$174 million) and Electrical Machinery (\$112 million). In 2013, Pakistan imports of agricultural products America totaled \$374 million. The major items were seeds of plants (\$37 million), dairy products (\$38 million) and cotton (\$185 million).

Imports

In 2013, in the import sector, Pakistan was the 56th largest supplier of goods to USA. In the same year, USA imported goods having value \$3.7 billion from Pakistan. There was a 1.6% increase from 2012 and up to 46% from 2003. The major goods imported from Pakistan in 2013 included: Textile Products (\$1.3 billion), Knit Clothing (\$954 million), Cotton and Yarn Fabric (\$114 million), Woven Wear (\$543 million) and Leather (\$107 million). In 2013, the import of agricultural goods from Pakistan by USA totaled \$121 million. Rice was the major commodity (\$33 million). For just as an example, the following

tables show the trend and magnitude of Pakistan US trade in the current and the previous 4 years.

Table 1. Pak-US Trade Statistics (in millions USD)

Exports	2010	2011	2012	2013	% Change*
US import from Pakistan	3,490	3,809	3,630	3,687	1.6%
Pakistan import from US	1,866	1,967	1,529	1,647	7.7%
Total Trade	5,357	5,777	5,159	5,334	3.3%

Source:

II. Conclusion

To sum up this discussion, the implications of war on terror after 9/11 in Afghanistan, although posed serious challenges to Pakistan at the same time helped it in many ways. Lifting of sanctions, writing off of debt, rescheduling of its loans and payment to the world financial institutions, huge funding to the social as well security sector strengthened Pakistan's economy while provided an opportunity to show the world that it was with the international community in their concerns regarding global terrorism. Nonetheless, Pakistan paid huge social, political, human and infrastructural costs and suffered countless damages and it cannot be predicted as if how long it will continue because the war in Afghanistan, instead of ending, is further escalating. After death of Mullah Muhammad Omar, the Taliban has divided within themselves which is further aggravating the situation. This seems, in the near future, that under the new law passed by the American Congress regarding Pakistan that it must help Afghan government in its stabilization and reconciliation with the Taliban otherwise the routine funding to Pakistan can be withheld. This may affect Pakistan's economic calculus once again, but as a dependent nation on the US, IMF, WM, ADB etc. we will have to be still good partners in the war against terror which has not yet come to its end.

References

- UN Security Council Resolution 1373 (2001) (23 September 2001). *The New York Times*, 14, 13 September 2001 & 25 June 2003.
- Sohrab, W., & Chaudhary, I. A. (2012). *Pak-US Relations in 21st Century: Challenges and opportunities for Pakistan*. *Berkeley Journal of Social sciences*, 1-16.
- Zainab Ahmed, Anwaar-ul-HaqKharal, "Pak-US relations post 9/11: Impact of aid, irritants and regimes in Pakistan (2001-2013)", *Journal of Politics and International Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1, January –June 2015, pp.14– 23
- Address to the Nation by President Musharraf on 19 September 2001.
- Timeline: Story of Pakistan February 2003
- Financial Times*, 24 September 2001
- Dr. Hidayat Khan, "Pakistan's Contribution To Global War On Terror After 9/11", *IPRI Journal XIII*, no. 1 (Winter 2013): 37-56
- Murad Ali, "U.S. Aid to Pakistan during the Tenures of Democrat and Republican Administrations", *IPRI Journal XVI*, No.2 (Summer 2016): 31-48
- White House Fact Sheet, 13 February 2002.
- International Trade Reporter*, 11 October 2001, 1607.

- Yomiuri Shimbun, 27 October 2002; BBC Monitoring, 29 October 2002.
Richard Bucher, White House spokesman, press briefing, December 24, 2011.
Epstein, S. B., &Kronstadt, K. A. (2013). *Pakistan: US foreign assistance*. Washington: Congressional Research Service.
SASSI. (2011). *US Economic aid to Pakistan-Policy Brief 3*. South Asian Strategic Stability Institute.
Daily The Nation June 27, 2013.
Rafique, N. (2012). *Rethinking Pakistan-US relations*. Institute of Strategic Studies, 124-153.
Akhtar, S. (2012). *Dynamics of USA-Pakistan relations in post 9/11 period: Hurdles and future prospects*. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 205-213.
Oliver Williams. Aug. 26, 2014
Abu Al Hassan Imam, "Getting CPEC Wrong", the daily Aaj, January 25, 2020.