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**USA ATTITUDE TOWARDS PAKISTAN AFTER 9/11: AND
HOW U-TURN POLICY AFFECTED PAKISTAN TO 2008**

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Abstract

First time in the history of USA, the Americans were shocked from the terrorist attack on their busy centers of New York City. The 60 minutes starts from 8:45am attack on World Trade Center and to 9:45 am Pentagon attack changed the history of the United States America. The new phase of the world initiated through this incident that "War against Terrorism". These attacks creating an alarming situation not only for America but also for Pakistan. The attacks of 9/11 create a division of two, one was ally group and another was non-ally group. Pakistan chose first one and being stood as supporting actor towards USA. But he has face

more negative image than positive. The United states America declared the Al-Qaeda was the main organization behind the 9/11 incident. After declaring that it was identified that Afghanistan was main center of the Al-Qaeda group. USA decided to use the territory of Pakistan as an instrumented to Afghanistan. The USA policy for Pakistan created a security challenge and day by day the situation was worse. The main purpose of this paper was to discussed the policy of George W.Bush towards Pakistan and how General Pervaiz Musharaff took U-Turn.

Introduction

The September month of 2001 was seen as the dark month of the United States America. Hijacked airplanes hit the tallest building of New York City, World Trade Center and military HQ, Pentagon. Almost 3000 peoples were killed and 6000 were injured. No any hesitation to write that at least 10-billion-dollar infrastructure and damage property were seen as the little mountains. It was considered as the deadliest attack in the human history.¹USA unanimously declared Al-Qaedawas the main suspect behind the incident of 9/11. It was announced the war against terror and invaded Afghanistan to search out their master mind, Osama Bin Laden.² After 9/11 world's super power needed support to enter the mountains of Afghanistan to abolish the network of Al-Qaeda. On the other side, America was waited for the reply of Pakistan for their support. Resultantly, Pakistan and USA came to close with each other and starts their new journey against terrorism. Both countries took efforts to remove the terrorism from the world. Although acceptance of Pakistan gave the fire of domestic terrorism. Pakistan shaking hand with USA was not welcomed by the people of Pakistan. Throughout the Pakistan, people were out from their homes and protest against the Musharraf's Government. No any country of the world denies that the location of Pakistan too much important and strategically the well entrance in Afghanistan. During the incident of 9/11, there was no good relations seen between Pakistan and USA, but after all Bush needed help of Pakistan. Because without the support of Pakistan, there was impossible war against terrorism in Afghanistan. United States America started support Pakistan economically and Militarily to counter terrorism. The aid of Bush was caused a big loss for Pakistan instead to play the supportive in future. Till to 2011, the ties between Pakistan and USA was gone smoothly when the USA demanded to do more. With the passage of time Pakistan understand and decided back to home after the event of Reymend Devis, NATO attack on Salala post, Osama Killing in Abbotabad at last the vacation of Shamsi Air base from USA force. There were many cracks were established but this was not the solution to counter terrorism.

Pak-US Relations: A Historical Perspective

¹Matthew J. Morgan (August 4, 2009). [*The Impact of 9/11 on Politics and War: The Day that Changed Everything?*](#). Palgrave Macmillan. p. 222.

²CBC News. October 29, 2004.

Before we discussing the Pak-US relations after 9/11, there is a need to go through the fluctuations between both countries in the past history. Pakistan came into being with empty hands from the British India in 1947, development in the infrastructure and introduction of new technology in the armed forces need financial assistance to improve the bended knees. There was no country still yet without USA to aid Pakistan in the field of finance and concern to security.³USA needed a friend to prevent the Soviet expansionism in South Asia region and to counter the influence of China. For achieving the military aid, Pakistan provide land support to USA to prevent any USSR expansion in the region. The self-interests of both countries achieve from each other. To counter the external threats, Pakistan got membership in the military alliances such SEATO and CENTO in September 1954 and September 1955 respectively. In the month of May 1954, a mutual assistance agreement was signed between Pakistan and USA. Although these treaties open the doors of Pakistan in the International Relations but from the domestic side pressure increased. Pakistan was considered as the most Allied Ally of USA against the expansionism of Soviet from the Northern side and Western side to enter in the Southeast Asia.⁴ So, Pakistan is the best way for USA in the South Asia region to achieve the interest. On the same way, Pakistan got advantage to build their moral in the International the Pak-America relations. Initially, Pakistan received a handsome military aid of 1.2 billion dollar to 1.5 billion dollar from USA.⁵ In the field of technical assistance, economic development, agriculture grants from 1947 to 1965 was approximately 3 billion dollar.⁶

This is true that USA face a huge loss economically during cold war of 1950's to support in all ways to Pakistan, on the other side Pakistan's joining hands with USA cause a toll loss nationally as well as internationally. A collective statement was issued by Pakistan and India about plebiscite at Kashmir and plebiscite Administrator appointed till to the end of April 1954.⁷ The Prime Minister of India, Jawharlal Nehru declared with hard words in December 1953, that if any military aid was received from alliances then joint plebiscite will be cancelled. In the month of May 1955, both Prime Ministers met again but Pakistan's endeavors were not satisfied to India to conduct plebiscite.

The military forces of China and India were engaged during the time of 1962 on border issue. At that time the Pak-US relations took a new phase. Pakistan stand with the support of China, and this way US supported India with complete military equipment. When the war broke out between India Pakistan in 1965,

³Muqem, M. G. (1963). *The Story of Pakistan Army*. Lahore: Oxford University Press

⁴Robert G. Wirsing, *Prosperous Partnership :Pakistan Response to US security policies*,Asian affairs, An American Review,Summer 2003,P.70.

⁵Liam Collins, *United States Diplomacy with Pakistan following 9/11*,A Case Study in coercive Diplomacy, The conduct of International Diplomacy, 16th May 2008.

⁶The Washington post,12th August, 1965

⁷Safdar Sial, *Pak-US Abalance sheet of Relations*, Pakistan institute for Peace Studies, 26/6/2007.

Pakistan demanded military aid from USA. Dean Rust, Secretary of the State of US, without any hesitation refused the proposal of Pakistan.⁸

The friendly relations created between Pakistan and USA, when Pakistan supported USA to opening of Embassy at Beijing, the capital of China. But this assistance of Pakistan not satisfied to USA and ultimately USA helped India during Indo-Pak war in 1971 and use India against China. Finally, Pakistan took hard decision to eliminate their Membership from SEATO and CENTO in 1972 and 1979 respectively. Bhutto's government started a Nuclear Development program in 1979, that were created a disturbance especially among USA. At that time, the President of USA, Jimmy Carter imposed different sanctions on Pakistan because of Nuclear Development Program.

Without any hesitation to declare that USA played pathetic role behind the takeover military troops and dismantle the government of Bhutto in July 1977.⁹ The USA government changed their foreign policy towards Pakistan after the invasion of USSR in Afghanistan because Pakistan's location was geostrategic and only the only way for USA to enter in Afghanistan against Soviet involvement. This is the reason that General Zia's regime continue their hold over Pakistan for eleven years. Ultimately, Pakistan was made himself ally of USA in a proxy war to counter movement in Afghanistan.¹⁰ In a first installment, Zia received 3 billion dollar rupees for five years and forty F-16, and 4 billion dollar rupees for next five years. No doubt, Pakistan, the only country played a mediator role and neat and clean approach to Mujahdeens against USSR in Afghanistan. These Mujahideens were established as Taliban in Afghanistan against Soviet Union. The agencies ISI and CIA of both countries started to train the religious extremists, Taliban and provided them a lot military equipment for their training.

Soviet Union was disintegrated in 1989 and left Afghanistan. USA had no further interest in Pakistan, on the other side, Pakistan Government didn't miss any opportunity in the field of aid and military support. There was no any interest seen by USA in Pakistan and stopped military aid and economic support through Pressler amendment in 1990 because Pakistan desired to test their Nuclear energy in future. In 1998, Pakistan responded India to test their nuclear capability at Chaggi hills in Balochistan cause the imposition sanction through Symington and Glenn amendments. All military and economic aids of Pakistan were blocked by USA. Furthermore, Coup D'état of Musharaff called more sanctions on Pakistan by USA.

USA announced all types of economic and military aid were stopped under the Foreign Assistance Act section 508.¹¹ After the dismantle of USSR in Afghanistan, Pakistan was among those countries who recognized the Taliban government.

⁸The New York Times, 13th September, 1964.

⁹Tahir Kheli, India, Pakistan and United States: Breaking with the past, P.35.

¹⁰Lawrence Ziring, Pakistan and India: politics, personalities and foreign policy, Asian survey, Volume viii, no.7, July 1978, P.717-724

¹¹Samina Ahmed, The United States and terrorism in Southwest Asia: September 11 and beyond, International security, winter 2001/2, P.80.

9/11 Incident

The dawn of the September 11 was witnessed the brutal terrorist attack at the city of New York and Washington D.C. These attacks called the world's deadliest attack in history. These brutal attacks responsible the casualties of almost 3000 including the hijacker and more than 6000 wounded. The New York City claimed 90% visitors and workers who expired during the clash of towers. More peoples claimed their lives die to inhalation of smoke and jumped from the tower or many other people killed due to collapse of building.¹² These attacks also claimed the World Trade Center (110 floor) and other more nearby buildings badly damaged and destroyed. In 2015, The World Trade Center Transportation Hub was again constructed with four billion dollar rupees and reopened.¹³ During the attack of Pentagon, there were seventy civilians and 55 were military personals including Lieutenant General, Timothy Maude, Deputy Army Chief of Staff highest military official rank was also killed.¹⁴

Four airlines were landed to California from Northeastern United States were hijacked by nineteen militants. The detail is given below:

Operator	Flight Number	Time of	Time of Crash	Departure From	Route to	Crash Site	Passengers	Ground	Hijackers	Total
American Airlines	11	7: 59 a m	8:46 am	Logan International Airport	Los Angeles Int'l Airport	North Tower of the World Trade Center	76	2 6 0 6	5	27 63
United Airlines	175	8: 14 a m	9:03 am	Logan International Airport	Los Angeles Int'l Airport	South Tower of the World Trade Center	51		5	
American Airlines	77	8: 20 a m	9:37 am	Washington Dulles International Airport	Los Angeles Int'l Airport	West Wall of Pentagon	53	1 2 5	5	18 9
United Airlines	93	8: 42 a m	10:42 am	Newark Int'l Airport	San Francisco Int'l Airport	Stonycreek Township Shanksville	33	0	4	44

¹²National Commission on Terrorist Attacks (July 22, 2004). [The 9/11 Commission Report](#) (first ed.). W. W. Norton & Company. p. 294

¹³"[Port Authority Announces Opening of World Trade Center Transportation Hub](#)". Port Authority of New York, New Jersey. January 19, 2016.

¹⁴"[Remembering the Lost](#)". Timothy J. Maude, Lieutenant General, United States Army. Arlington National Cemetery. September 22, 2001.

Source: Wikipedia

Pakistan Relation with USA After 9/11

Without any wastage of time, United States America declared an allegation over Al-Qaeda group. The roots of Al-Qaeda group traced to link with Taliban at Afghanistan and USA government demanded their master mind Osama-Bin-Laden. Taliban took less time to refuse gave the hand of their master mind, Osama-Bin-Laden. When Soviet Union was collapsed in Afghanistan, Osama-Bin-Laden joined Taliban of Afghanistan in 1996 and prepare himself against USA. He was started strong Jihad against Saudi Arabia and Supporters of USA during the Gulf War. Actually, Osama-Bin-Laden was departed from Sudan because of USA's force and then he went to Afghanistan and joined their relations with Taliban.

After the rejection of Taliban to handover Osama-Bin-Laden, USA designed a plan and launch a heavy mission at Afghanistan against Taliban. Within a day, United Nations passed a resolution to use force at Afghanistan and Article 5 was invoked first time in the history of NATO. No doubt, USA needed full support from Pakistan in a way of logistic, airspace and bases because Afghanistan is Landlocked country. At that time Pakistan was the only country to provide all type support as USA think. Pakistan's location is very important for USA to enter in Afghanistan, and Pakistan had need of economic for their stability.

After the recognition of Pakistan, USA started diplomacy and opened embassy. USA ambassador, Wendy Chamberlain, started diplomatic relations with President Musharraf. A series of meetings were held between the Heads of Pakistan and USA and then Washington desired the support of Islamabad. American Government to show their will to share secret agency reports, logistics and airspace. Pakistan's help towards USA was very regretful for the peoples of Pakistan and they rejected the both ties on every ground. Musharraf, President of Pakistan gave reasons in front of public through their address on 19th September 2001, that Pakistan's external and internal security, Kashmir issue, assets of nuclear and missiles and stability of economy is very important for us. To gain support, he played to won the confidence of public to declare that USA had no authority to raise and talk about on Kashmir Issue and over nuclear capability of Pakistan. Furthermore, he desired to won more trust of public through their justifications. Pakistan government was threatened with stone words during the speech of American President, G.W Bush to joint session of Congress that "Are you with us or to join the terrorist?". No other way seen to Pakistan except to ensure their support. Acceptance of Pakistan were renounced all types of sanctions by USA Aunder Brownback II. Pakistan's involvement in this war was different from the past of 1950's proxy war and soviet war in 1979 in Afghanistan. The aid given by USA paid toll loss of lives of Pakistan. Several other institutes were brutally hit by the terrorist group because of U-turn of Pakistan accompanied with USA.

To develop the relation between two states, Pakistan provided military Air bases such as Shamsi, Jacobabad, Pasni and Dalbadin to counter the terrorist in

Afghanistan. Without receiving of payment, Pakistan provided 100,000-gallon fuel on daily basis. Furthermore, Pakistan also provide support of Military troops towards border line of Pakistan and apprehend main figures of Al-Qaeda and Taliban. American government provided 1.2 billion dollars in first three years in arms sale and 3 billion dollars economic aid to strengthen military troops of Pakistan. Moreover, USA provided different military trainings to military forces of Pakistan. Since 2001, in 3486 bomb attacks and 283 suicide attacks caused 21672 civilians and 2795 military soldiers paid their lives and 8671 peoples were wounded. Pakistan's military deployed 90,000 soldiers on border side and 200,000 at frontline.¹⁵ No doubt, Pakistan faced a gigantic loss of sixty eight billion dollars from 2001 in a war to counter terrorism.¹⁶

One of the statistics record showed from 2001 to 2010 that total number 8,141 of terrorism attacks hit many cities of Pakistan which were starts from North Waziristan to Karachi. This type of worst situation created hatred among the hearts of people against USA. Pakistan received an amount of 8.5 billion dollar from USA but the paid amount of Pakistan in loss was 43 billion dollars.¹⁷ Since 9/11, Bush government invest 864.82 billion dollar against war on terror. During the time Obama's government, the total cost in three years was 477 billion dollars. This has proved that Obama's shared a huge amount as compare to Bush's time.

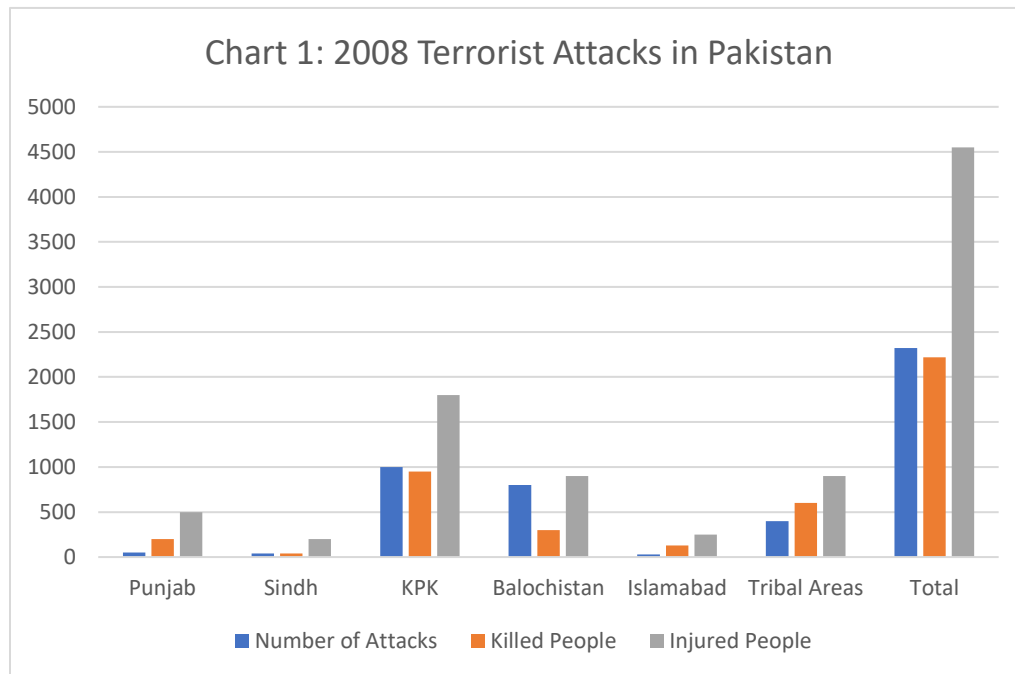
Twice year 2007 and 2008 were witnessed the increase ratio of terrorist and their movements within the premises of Pakistan. During that Pakistan was counted on third position that are faced terrorist activities after Iraq and Afghanistan. There were two suicide attacks reported in 2002, whereas in 2008 only fifty-nine suicide attacks reported in Pakistan.¹⁸

¹⁵Christine Fair, *The Counter terror Coalitions: Cooperation with Pakistan and India*, Washington: RAND corporation, 2004, P.57-8.

¹⁶The Economic Times, Pakistan's war on terror since 9/11 cost \$ 68 billion, *Economic Survey* 2010-2011.

¹⁷Ibid

¹⁸Pakistan's Nuclear Surge, *Newsweek*, May 15, 2011



Source: Pakistan Institute for peace studies. <http://www.san.pips.com>

The new police recruitment was started to control the suicide bombings with highly advanced equipment and attractive income in Pakistan.¹⁹ The event of Lal Masjid Islamabad in July 2007 and the assassination of Benazir Bhutto in December 2008 escalate the terrorist activities. The seeds of militancy in the shape of Jihad, Taliban etc grow during Zia regime which ultimately sowed by Pakistan after 2001.²⁰ In 2007, the world opinion was Taliban activities was direct threat to security of Pakistan. Most of the people were displaced in 2009 as IDPs from Swat, the area of Pakistan in 2009 because the territory was under the control of Taliban. So, the growing situation of Taliban and Haqqani Network in Pakistan created a number doubts for USA.

After 9/11, the relation of two states improved day by day because of Pakistan's support, but after 2011 the relations deteriorated due to some incidents. On 27 January, 2011, Raymond Davis, an American diplomat at Pakistan, killed two men with short gun at Lahore.²¹ He was arrested and put him behind the bars and Pakistan court authorities started their activities and charged the killing of two men and illegal keeping of a gun. After a single month, on 16th March, Davis was released by Pakistani authorities when the heirs of two killed men were paid an amount of 2.4 million dollars for compensation and leave Pakistan immediately.²² On the month of May, 2011, at 1pm PKT, Al-Qaeda's founder Osama-Bin-Laden was killed at Abbottabad, Pakistan. The operation Neptune

¹⁹K.Alan.Kronstadt, Pakistan-US relations, Congressional Research Service, 6th Feb 2009.

²⁰Suicide Attacks a Growing Threat in Pakistan, Christian Science Monitor, October 10, 2008.

²¹Issam Ahmed (January 31, 2011). "[US consulate employee kills two in Pakistan: What we know](#)". *The Christian Science Monitor*.

²²[Carlotta Gall](#), [Mark Mazzetti](#) (March 16, 2011). "[Hushed Deal Frees C.I.A. Contractor in Pakistan](#)". *The New York Times*.

Spear was controlled by CIA with joint Special Operations Command and known as DEVGRU or SEAL team six.²³ This episode created many questions for the involvement to protect the world's most wanted militant. The situation of Pakistan was worst after this event and spending of 20 days the terrorist group attacked on Mehran Airbase Karachi and killed four official and nine were wounded.²⁴ On 26th November, 2011, NATO forces opened fire on the Salala Check post of Pakistan-Afghanistan in which twenty four military personal were killed and thirteen were brutally injured and rush to hospital. Immediately, Pakistan's government responded to vacate the Shamsi Air base from USA and took full control of it.

Possible way to improve Relations

If any country who wants develop from all sectors it will be necessary for that to improve good relations with wealthy country. Good relations can make strengthen to country for too long. So, on that basis Pakistan have a need to establish their relations with USA to improve their field of economic, military and where ever need.

The role of people is very important to create friendly relations with USA. It is because from 2001, there were many deaths claimed by civilians and soldiers and more and more were brutally injured. Number of Pakistani houses lost at least one of their family member. So, that's why citizens of Pakistan feel not secured. These type of activities created a numerous difference among the hearts of Pakistani people against USA. For the sack of development, the misconception and misunderstandings should be removed against USA from the minds of People and introduce a number of projects that can improve the mental approach as well as the structure of Pakistan as alike China. Both states decided to improve their relations, they need to sign different agreements on health, education, employment opportunities and to boost economy. Kerry Lugar bill 2009 was introduced to use of proper financial aid of USA and to increase mutual cooperation with Pakistani People.

There is need to eliminate the terrorist activities and transform awareness to tribal areas which ultimately threat to Pakistan. It is only way to change with dialogue not to use of coercion. Different drugs plantation like poppy, opium and other in Afghanistan may cause and challenge to Pakistan. USA should be to exaggerate and support with advanced technology to Pakistan in military force to prevent the extremism form inner and outer side. Both countries should be launch a new project in a sector of tourism to visit historical places of countries during vacations without any hurdle and long process. The handsome revenue will be generated from the sector of tourism. During the earth quake of 2005, many American families from USA help to support the victim peoples and save their lives in Muzaffarabad and Mansehra, Pakistan. At that time USA spend one billion rupees at the effective areas of earth quake. But there was no much emotions of good wishes received by USA from citizens of Pakistan. It is possible

²³Gal Perl Finkel, "[A New Strategy Against ISIS](#)", [The Jerusalem Post](#), March 7, 2017.

²⁴Four killed in attack at Pakistan Naval Station Mehran, Times Of Pakistan, 18th April 2012.

to remove the mistrust among the minds of people expected the long term relations.

Indian factor would be the barrier between two states during sanctions. USA move to India and their involvement in South Asia region. In this way, there were different doubts created in Pakistan after signed agreement between America and India. USA signed nuclear treaty between Pakistan and India during their President's visit to Islamabad and New Delhi in March 2006.²⁵ So, this type of treaties created long term relations.

Conclusion

No doubt, Pakistan's relation with USA was established in good way after 9/11 but due to annoyance and not properly use of aid and different periods of government in Pakistan. There are many phases of USA policy from isolation to complete interference in the world's affairs even these were military or non – military. In the region of South Asia, there are two key states for America one is Pakistan and another one is India. Despite of that both states are far away from the USA but mission was in top priority through proxy war. To counter the communism, USA developed more friendly relations with Pakistan. During the Cold war, through the support of Pakistan USA achieved beyond the imagination within a decade. After the incident of 9/11, Pakistan was considered as the topmost country in the foreign policy agenda of Washington.

After the disintegration of Soviet Union from Afghanistan, USA showed warm attitude towards Pakistan because no more self-interest seen in future. Once again Pakistan was passenger of same boat with USA and engaged himself as the frontline country. This time Pakistan was stand with USA against war on terror. Bush's policies towards Pakistan was to combat the terrorist activities whatever results affects over the world. Pakistan received handsome aid and assistance in the field of economic and military to play their vital role in Afghanistan to counter terrorism. Aftermath the Washington's involvement increased in the South Asia Region.

USA government eliminate nuclear related sanctions and debt related sanctions over Pakistan because to clean the way of Pakistan for extensive support to counter the terrorist elements. The USA recognized the new world enemy, militant elements, and their expanded network. After all, America launched heavy mission where as a number of countries including Pakistan participated against those that threatened to world peace

²⁵DR Noor ul Haq, Kerry Lugar Bill, 2009, P.3.