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6th Youth Parliament Pakistan

A Report on

Pakistan-US Relationship

March 2015

PILdAT
Pakistan Institute of
Legislative Development
And Transparency

Secretariat Youth Parliament Pakistan



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Acronyms

CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
COAS	Chief of Army Staff
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
RAW	Research and Analysis Wing
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SEA	South East Asia
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
TTP	Tehrik-e-Taliban
US / USA	United States / United States of America
USEFP	United States Educational Foundation in Pakistan
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

PREFACE

After the successful completion of 5 terms since 2007, the 6th Youth Parliament Pakistan was launched in June 2014. The specific objectives of the Youth Parliament Pakistan (YPP) programme are to inculcate democratic culture and spirit of tolerance for others views among the youth; to expose them to the political and parliamentary processes; to facilitate youth to express their views on various national, international, regional and local issues thereby helping the government and society at large to better understand the concerns of the youth; to groom the leadership potential of the youth of Pakistan by exposing them to peaceful and democratic resolution of differences especially at a time when various parts of Pakistan are suffering from conflict and extremism. Finally this provides a forum to the youth of Pakistan to understand how the Parliament works as the supreme public representative institution in a democracy.

The Youth Parliament Standing Committees of the 6th Youth Parliament Pakistan (2014-2015), as a part of the learning process were tasked with conducting reviews of national policies through research-based analysis and with developing cogent policy alternatives for the Parliament and the Government of Pakistan. The six Youth Parliament Standing Committees for the current term are:

- Youth Parliament Standing Committee on National Security
- Youth Parliament Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs
- Youth Parliament Standing Committee on Energy
- Youth Parliament Standing Committee on Law, Justice & Human Rights
- Youth Parliament Standing Committee on Education & Youth Affairs
- Youth Parliament Standing Committee on Finance, Economic Affairs & Planning

The Committees have gone through a process of intensive research, consultations with policy experts and internal review within Committees before putting together their proposals. The initial findings were shared with the Secretariat Youth Parliament Pakistan and the Steering Committee Youth Parliament Pakistan who gave their comments on these drafts. After incorporating these inputs, the reports are finalised by individual Committees and thereafter presented on the floor of the House for further recommendations and feedback from the entire strength of the YPP. Going through this rigour the participants not only experienced the process of drafting policy in a democratic fashion but also formulated useful recommendation in the form of this report,

The reports are compiled and finally published for the purpose of dissemination through media briefing and report launch event at the closure of 5th and last YPP Session of the 6th YPP term. The reports are also available online at www.youthparliament.pk.

The 6th Youth Parliament Pakistan (2014-2015) is supported by the Danish International Development Agency, Government of Denmark, as recognition of the importance of young people's development in democracy and democratic practices.

Disclaimer

The Secretariat of Youth Parliament Pakistan has provided unbiased feedback in a timely manner on the research reports and the scientific value of the work done by MYP's. The Secretariat has given guidance in ensuring the content is clear, concise, and relevant to the current pool of knowledge in regard to originality, and interest to the readers. The opinions, findings or recommendations expressed in this report belong to the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of PILDAT or DANIDA.

Secretariat of the Youth Parliament Pakistan
Pakistan institute of Legislative Development and Transparency
March 2015

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Forged during the period of cold war, the relationship between Pakistan and United States has been driven by mutuality of interest rather by credible basis of friendship. Since the very beginning the relationship has oscillated between convergence of interest and divergence of interest. In asymmetrical nature of relationship, therefore, the level of trust could not evolve into maturity by effect. However, both countries have added various dimensions along with security cooperation. Amidst military and economic cooperation, two sides face various challenges in taking the cooperation at higher level.

Pakistan is the only non-NATO ally in the US war against terrorism since 2001. It has played a very significant role in dismantling of Al-Qaeda and its affiliates. There are divergences at policy level on both sides in countering terrorism with regards to concept of good Taliban and bad Taliban and US policy of continuing drones attacks etc. However, with launching of Zarb-e-Azb operation across the board against all militants and the COAS of Pakistan's recent visit to US has foiled much of the suspicion against each other. Resumption of strategic dialogue, military aid to Pakistan and putting TTP leader Mullah Fazlullah on terrorist list are the significant improvements in their relationship. In the same vein, the new Afghan Government's cooperation with Pakistan will also create a conducive atmosphere for post-withdrawal regional peace.

In recent past the events like Raymond Davis, Attack on Salala Check post, and unilateral hunt of Osama Bin Laden in Abbottabad continue to mar the future efforts in bridging the trust deficit. Along with this, US allocation of greater role to India in Afghanistan and its overall tilt towards it causes a major irritant. This causes the public sentiments in Pakistan against US, which is additionally spurred by the perception of public regarding intrusive role of US and micromanaging of Pakistan's politics.

However, the US is simultaneously cooperating in addressing Pakistan's economic woes by funding various energy projects and other development projects. It is also attracting a huge Pakistan diaspora in US through exchanging programs and other educational and professional scholarships for development of human resource.

Report basis its findings on qualitative and quantitative study and also highlights the measures and policy suggestions necessary for both states to undertake in order bridge trust and to take the cooperation at higher levels.

Introduction

The time when Pakistan came into existence, the whole world was divided into two sections of power. While more than half of the world was experiencing a Great War named as World War II, the birth of two countries in subcontinent got real attention of the world due to their strategic position and their possible role in the cold war of two power hubs USSR and USA.

Pak-US relationships initiated on 20th October 1947 and both countries moved closer with every passing day since the relationship was primarily based on economic and military assistance from the US. In 1951 the sitting Prime Minister of Pakistan Mr. Rana Liaqat Ali Khan had invitations to visit USSR and USA, at that time he decided to go to US defining slightly blur foreign policy of Pakistan. Since that day Pakistan became one of the most important friends of US and later signed SEATO and CENTO agreements to become second largest receiver of US military Aid. The relationship between the two grew stronger with time and in summer of 1962, when first lady of US Jacqueline Kennedy visited Pakistan, two countries enjoyed healthiest relations ever.

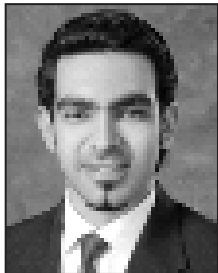
However tables turned in 1965 indo-Pak war when Pak US relations suffer a setback because US placed arms embargo on both nations, knowing well that Pakistan was totally dependent on US arms and India did not use any US arms. Soviets speeded up arms supplies to India. This really pushed Pakistan into an embarrassing situation as later Pakistan was also forced to sign a USSR presented peace agreement and suffered great loss because of US betrayal. Later in 1971 US again betrayed Pakistan and country got splatted into two pieces. After these consecutive acts of betrayal Pakistan first time in history revisited its foreign policy and started developing relations with USSR. The countries developed some tension because US didn't wanted Pakistan to establish a nuclear program, however for Pakistan it was the need of the hour for its self-defense against India.

In 1980's a new era of Pak US relations initiated in which both countries joined hands to eliminate USSR involvement in Afghanistan. Here the romance got so much on mind that two countries practically took responsibility of rebuilding Afghanistan after the war and continued to use afghan resources for personal benefits. Things continued and Taliban established their government in Afghanistan with assistance of CIA and ISI, but soon after Taliban chief Osama Bin laden taking responsibility of 9-11 attacks on New York's

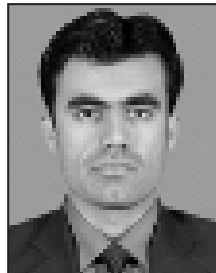
twin towers, Pakistan was again under the threat of US and forced to become ally in United States war against terrorism. Since that day Pakistan is the most major US non-NATO ally but still relationship is not at a very respectable level. What US provide to Pakistan is very low against what it demands Pakistan to do for them with option of denying to US unavailable for Pakistan. The relationship between two countries is dramatic keep on moving up and down as per situation and events. Like discovery of Osama in Pakistan bought two countries to tension but later everything settled peacefully.

Other than war and strategic relations, the two countries enjoy large amount of trade facilities with each other and US is helping Pakistan a lot in developing its educational sector and development sector. Different US funded organizations like US Aid and USEFP are performing great in development of Pakistan.

Members of the Youth Parliament Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs



Daniyal Alvi
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(YP50-SINDH03)



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Vice Chairman
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Youth Minister for Foreign Affairs
(YP04-BALUCHISTAN02)

Impediments

Militancy

The Americans are blamed of treating Pakistan as a matter of expediency – and nothing more than that. There is a general belief that whenever an occasion arose Pakistan came to the assist the Americans, but it was never reciprocated when Pakistan needed them. U.S. administration preferred India over Pakistan, although the Indians were allies of the Soviets during the cold war and staunch supporters of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. The different questions raised by Pakistani Civil society regarding the America relates to past relationship between the two countries. Issues such as drone attacks, U.S strategic relations with India, Aafia Siddiqui and Raymond Davis case and Salala check post attack comes to mind when discussing long term relations with the US.

On the other hand American policy makers have accused Pakistani establishment many times that it is not doing enough to undertake serious actions against Al-Qaeda leadership, which US believe is having hideouts in Northern and North Western border areas of Pakistan. It is further argued by the American side that Pakistani military is going after those groups who threaten Pakistan while doing little to eliminate groups that are a security threat to the American interests in Afghanistan, like the North Waziristan based network of Jalaluddin Haqqani. The US Drones have attacked suspected targets in the FATA region, with regular frequency, killing hundreds of civilians, in the process. These cross border attacks, although are carried with approval and assistance of the Pakistani government but as a huge public opinion disapproves it and considers it as a breach of sovereignty of Pakistan so it has become increasingly difficult for the government to defend it itself. These concerns became an irritant in Pak-U.S. relations, when it comes to public sentiments. In such a charged setting it becomes difficult for both the countries to create a long-term strategic understanding.

Economic Impairment

Another major hurdle is Washington's opposition to the Iran-Pakistan gas pipeline project at a time when Pakistan is experiencing a severe energy crisis. American objection to this project sends a negative message and harms its image. The hard reality, however, is that until Iran and the P5+1 are able to reach a final agreement on Iran's nuclear program international sanctions will remain in force and Pakistan will have to grudgingly manage it.

Pakistan has been suffering a huge economic loss because of fighting war against terrorism. The losses of public and private sector have been increased enormously which has derailed the country from growth and development. The country's fragile economy is suffering immense problem in dealing the militants groups which are threat to the stability of Pakistan. With this huge economic loss, it's very difficult for a country to carry on the fight against terrorism. Hence, American presence has tremendously caused the economic problems for the stability of Pakistan.

Military Action

America's approach to increase the military operations in Pakistan has created further challenges for Pakistan forces. A continuous pressure built up on Pakistan by the U.S. officials to increase the military operations has induced a sort of confusion in Pakistan. Despite repeated public and private confidence-building measures and overtures to show long-term U.S. support, the alliance remains filled with mistrust and commitment pressures. The consequences lead to high anti-American sentiment.

US Withdrawal from Afghanistan and Indian Involvement

Another impediment to friendly relationship between US and Pakistan is the withdrawal of NATO and US led forces from Afghanistan that leaves Afghanistan in a quagmire and makes it hard for Pakistan to protect its interests. Recently, we have seen an increased Indian presence in Afghanistan that is alarming to Islamabad because it believes that India has 'no geographical, religious or ethnic linkages with Afghanistan.' Pakistan has also rejected India's inclusion into the list of countries that will decide the future line of action on Afghanistan.

Obviously, Pakistan's traditional rivalry with India convolutes the situation. Then, USA supporting Indian presence, especially when Pakistan accuses India of

using Afghani soil to cause trouble in Balochistan rousing nationalist sentiment and militia through Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), is problematic and an impediment to future better relationships.

However, it is expected that once the US leaves Afghanistan, India will have no place in Afghanistan without the security cover provided by the US and NATO. It will subsequently close its consulates and wrap up its projects in Baluchistan. However, by US strategy India will still have a share in Afghanistan's development and progress. And that means it will still have a presence in Afghanistan which makes Pakistan uneasy. It is recommended that Pakistan convinces the US and Afghan regime to limit India's role in Afghanistan and increase its volume of investment and reconstruction/development works. This effort will help Pakistan compete with other contenders and make a strong place for itself and give it due role in the rehabilitation of Afghanistan.

As is often stipulated, the fortunes and misfortunes of Pakistan and Afghanistan are highly correlated and Pakistan has a high stake in Afghanistan's reconstruction. The US needs to recognize that, and give Pakistan it's due, as opposed to supporting India which has less of a share in Afghanistan's success and more so in its own.

Recent Development in Pak-US Relationship

The recent past has witnessed bleak picture of the relation bringing the level of trust to lowest point, however efforts are made to revive the traditional relationship. Last couple of years are overshadowed with the events like New York Times Squire plot, grim episode of Raymond Davis case, unilateral hunt for Osama Bin Laden in Abbottabad, attack on Salala Check post killing 26 Pakistani Soldiers with subsequent suspension of NATO supply and above all divergence on countering terrorism involving good vs bad Taliban. Along this the operation Rah-e-Rast, Rah-e-Nijat, and now Zarb-e-Azb, strategic dialogue, Kerry Lugar Bill, American military and economic assistance and special support during floods and high level exchanges gave a glimmer of hope amidst bleak picture.

Now that the role US in Afghanistan has changed and new regional developments have evolved, the recent high level exchanges, resumption of strategic dialogue with military and economic assistance along the improved ties between Pakistan and Afghanistan have created an environment of understanding.

New York Times Square Plot

The exposure the New York plot involving a Pakistani who attempted to bomb Times Square in new York and his alleged linkages with Pakistan's establishment, had further caused doubts among us officials regarding the sincerity of Pakistan's efforts in war on terrorism. It may have brought disastrous fallouts on the Pakistan-US relationship. For a moment the relations, if not deteriorated, were came up with the mounting pressure of US to escalate the scope of military of operation to north Waziristan which has been considered as harbinger of different militant groups including pre-established Pakistani Taliban, Afghan Taliban, Network of Jallaludin Hakani, and Gulbuddin Hakmatyar who has close relations with military establishment and ISI.

Raymond Davis

The relationship between the two countries further haunted when an American, Raymond Davis, fired on two Pakistanis in Lahore and killed them. Davis was arrested and was taken to the prison where he was detained by Pakistani police. The US claimed that he was part of US diplomatic mission and enjoyed the diplomatic immunities. Americans demanded the freedom of Davis in the terms of diplomatic immunity. But due to internal pressure and not having clarity on

the part of Foreign office, situation became complicated. To be precise, at last Pakistan on high US pressure had to release Davis by resorting to the blood-money agreement. To analyze the point, these event on the sidelines are affecting the relations in manifold since Pakistan is part of US-led war on terrorism which demand the mutual cooperation.

Unilateral hunt of Osama Bin Laden

The killing of Osama bin laden in Abbottabad in a CIA led operation in May 2011 created an atmosphere of distrust between the two which loomed large since then. This also strengthen the perception of Pakistan not doing more and is not sincere its efforts against war against terrorism.

Salala Check Post Attack

The NATO forces killed 24 Pakistani Soldiers on Pakistan Afghanistan border on 26 November 2011 as border skirmishes which led to the Pakistan to suspend NATO supply lines and evacuation of Shamsi airbase receiving also strong public sentiments against US. However, Pakistan received official apology from US in June 2012 which later helped in resuming NATO supply lines.

Operation Zarb-e-Azb and National Action Plan

The start of operation Zarb-e-Azb after major operations like Rah-e-Rast and Rah-e-Nijat in North Waziristan has been considered as paradigm shift in the counter-terrorism policy of Pakistan whereby it has cleared the air about good Taliban and Bad Taliban. The US has acknowledged the efforts of Pakistan Army in dismantling terrorist network. This has vindicated the sincere efforts of Pakistan.

High level Exchanges

There have taken place high level visit between the two countries. The recent visit of Chief of Army Staff Gen Raheel Sharif has cleared much of American perception about the role of Pakistan in war against Taliban. General Sharif has apprised the US officials about the ongoing operation Zarb-e-Azb across the board against all terrorist without any discrimination. This visit has brought a significant shift in US perceptions. The Secretary John Kerry's visit to Pakistan was another attempt to revive the relationship between two. In this context improving relationship between Pakistan and US is a welcome trend. Both countries have agreed not let to use each other's territories for terrorist activities against each other. Placing Mullah Fazlullah on global terrorist list by US is another positive gesture.

Two countries have several converging points to move

forward like countering terrorism, stabilizing Pakistan both politically and economically, peaceful Afghanistan and Peaceful South Asia. The developments at the start of year are welcome signs which should be carried forward in future.

Prospects

Pakistan-US relations have been on the mend and set on a steady course for several months now. Military to military cooperation is running smoothly and Coalition Support Funds are flowing with relatively less hiccups. Economic assistance and support in the energy sector is substantive, especially when we look at the Diamer-Bhasha and Dasu Dam projects. America remains Pakistan's largest trading partner. Due to Washington's backing, the World Bank, the IMF and other multilateral agencies are extending support for major projects and to boost the overall liquidity position. Intelligence cooperation, too, is somewhat improving, although mutual suspicions remain.

More importantly, strategic dialogue has been revived that places the relationship in a structured framework providing continuity. Adversarial reporting about Pakistan's nuclear assets in the US and Western press is also on the decline. Both countries now desist from airing their grievances in public, a practice which was vitiating the atmosphere. Differences in policy or divergence in approach is discussed in meetings and not under the glare of the media. Public perception, however, of each other remains poor and mirrors the hostility built-up in the past. Hopefully, this will change, reflecting the new ambiance, provided the two countries are able to sustain this trend.

Since 9/11, Pakistan has emerged a strategic partner for US in fighting war against terrorism. US lifted all kinds of economic sanctions soon after Pakistan joined war against terrorism. US has played its key role in raising the 5 billion dollars for the flood affected people in Pakistan. Pakistan has been provided with civil and well as military aid. Of that Kerry Lugar bill was one of manifestations of providing Pakistan economic assistance. U.S provided Pakistan the assistance under the coalition support program. It provided 700 million dollar counter insurgency capability fund, one lakh in ammunition and four cargo helicopters. There are military trainings and exercises held jointly in order to build Pakistan's capability to fight war against terrorism.

U.S has played its role in de-escalating tension between Pakistan and India when both countries reached at the brink of nuclear war. The mediating role of US

successfully enabled both countries to withdraw their troops from the respective borders.

Policy Suggestions

- i. Both countries should respect each other's sensitivities for instance US should avoid its intrusive role in Pakistan. And Pakistan should have to reduce extremism in its country and needs to fight against terrorism sincerely with consistency.
- ii. Washington should realize that Pakistan is not an agent of its foreign policy task; it has its own national interest, its domestic political imperatives, its geographical concerns. However it can be pressurized to do more but jeopardizing or threatening its domestic stability is not in the interest of both countries.
- iii. Pakistan as course time would have to realize that India would figure high in U.S equation of south Asia policy. Therefore associating high expectations with U.S would be unrealistic. It must have to understand that the basic dynamic of Pak-Us relationship that it is asymmetric relationship between super power and a middle size country. Therefore there can only be a mutuality of interest rather friendship. This mutuality is there in curbing extremism and terrorism, developing economy, security and geostrategic interests.
- iv. Viewing historically, these relations have been shadowed by the security issues, this trend needs to be changed- they have been recurrent- from divergence to convergence and from convergence to divergence. Therefore it should not be only security based.
- v. Indian factor shouldn't act as an irritant in the relationship between two countries.
- vi. Becoming a client state of a superpower is not easy until and unless caution is applied. Therefore, the fundamental challenge of foreign policy is to develop a relationship based on cooperation with U.S without sacrificing our self-respect and national interest.
- vii. Terrorism has served as both as a point of cooperation as well as a point of divergence: that needs to be understood first followed by coordinated policy for countering it.
- viii. Both of the countries should define a common threat to each other and policy for countering it must reflect the mutuality.
- ix. Dialogue should continue as it will help in removing trust deficit.
- x. US should respect the sovereignty of Pakistan, in order to gain maximum cooperation in dealing with terrorism successfully.

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Figure 1: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/txu-oclc-308991615-afghan_pakistan_2008.jpg

Figure 2: The New America Foundation

Figure 3: Economic Survey of Pakistan 2010-11

Figure 4: MoF, M/o Foreign Affairs Joint Ministerial Group



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