



Dynamics of U.S. Pakistan Bilateral Relations: An Empirical Analysis after U.S. War on Terror

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Abstract

During the first 15 years of twenty-first century, under the reflections of War on Terror the relations between United States of America (USA) and Pakistan turned from warm to the coldest and then to be very close allies. During the concerned period the USA increasingly let Pakistan have its assistance in military as well as civilian domains. Highlighting the losses incurred to the USA and Pakistan in the War on Terror, this paper shows up the concerns of the USA in Pakistan during this period that instigated the USA to assist Pakistan. Meanwhile the hurdles to USA in providing assistance are identified. This paper also undertakes a brief survey of the USA's military and civil assistance. The review leads to conclusion that the assistance declined in the later five years. The assistance was only given for the motives of the war on terror and not on humanitarian grounds.

Key Words: USA, Pakistan, Aid, Interests, Conversion, Diversion.

Introduction

After the Cold War and disintegration of USSR, which was only possible with the help and support of Pakistan, USA not only left Pakistan alone but also put its sanctions on it for the nuclear program and its proliferation along with the democratic sanctions. Therefore, Pakistan was put into severe type of economic crises and as per the report of the World Bank, the economic condition of Pakistan was in its extreme vulnerable. The foreign debt of the country was higher and due to such poor condition economically and illiteracy, the extremism of Islam was raised to such extent. (Stephen, 2005)

After 9/11 the USA was engaged in the War on Terror. Pakistan grudgingly and despite bad experience of past had to accept supporting and allying USA and its coalition partners in this War, main battlefield of which was focused in the neighborhood of Pakistan, Afghanistan. During the War on Terror Pakistan and USA both suffered a lot while Pakistan's loss is much more than that of the later.

Losses to Both Countries Due To War on Terror

USA's Loss

The economy of the USA was deteriorated where the debt of the USA was \$14 trillion, and it was more 100% of the output of economy of USA the same year. In the tenure of the President Bush, the expenditures on war on terror were \$864.82 billion since 9/11, where this cost exceeded to \$477 billion in only three years (The Express Tribune, 2011).

Pakistan's Loss

The loss of Pakistan in the war on terror exceeded to more than \$68 billion. Pakistan suffered the damage of 8141 incidents of terrorism. In response, Pakistan received the aid of \$17 billion in form of assistance, averagely

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\$374 million per year. The terrorist’s attacks were made by the terrorists in North and the South Waziristan along with the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Islamabad. The situation of security in the agencies of FATA had been worst and critical, even the well settled area of Pakistan were also not safe. The agitation against the government raised gradually in the tribal areas of Pakistan. Since the assistance of USA was just \$8.5 billion where the Pakistan has lost its economy more than \$43 billion (The Express Tribune, 2009).

Table 1. Estimation of Total Direct Deaths and Injuries in Pakistan (2001- 2015)

Sources	Killed	Wounded
Pakistani Civilians	21,547	39,600
Pakistani Security Forces	6,216	11,581
Pakistani Taliban and Other Militants	28,954	11,245
Civilian Contractors	88	126
NGO Humanitarian Workers	91	86
Journalists and Media Workers	52	Unknown
Total	56,948	62,638

Source: (Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies, 2015)

The fighting of Taliban with the government in the North West of the Pakistan also led to the 3 million IDP’s in 2009. These IDP’s and the Afghan refugees added an extra pressure to the food security and food scarcity, and brought the culture of war in Pakistan and due to their access invading illegally in Pakistan, there were water shortage crises, energy crises, illiteracy, kidnapping, malfunctioning, terror and violence, extortion, smuggling and drugs mafias, created the worst condition of law and order. It had majorly produced the heavy burden on the already fragile economy and resources in Pakistan (The Washington Post, 2009).

USA’s Concerns in Pakistan

The first and foremost concern of the USA in Pakistan was the security of the nuclear weapons so that they could not come into the hands of the terrorists, resulted in the complete damages of the entire region as well it would be great threat to the international community, especially for USA, India and Israel and the western world, which are considered as the enemies of the extremists and terrorists as well.

Secondly, USA was doing its utmost efforts that all the sanctuaries of the terrorists could be destroyed and there should not be any place and space remain unattended for the extremists to hide and terrorists and its all groups network be diminished by broking the back bone of these terrorists’ organization by taking such necessary measures in the Afghanistan that national interests of the USA can be saved for ever and incident of 9/11 may not be occurred again.

Thirdly, war between the India and Pakistan should not be held. Last but not least, that pro-Taliban and radical elements may be prevented to gaining its control over the Pakistan (Susan & Alan, 2011).

USA’s Perception and Hurdles in Assisting Pakistan

The USA faced three main significant types of hurdles in assisting Pakistan; the capacity, threat perception and mistrust of the USA. When it has come to the capacity, the security forces of Pakistan improved their ability for clearing the territory which was occupied by the terrorists earlier, and Pakistani forces evacuated such territory from the insurgents through their military operations, but there was still need to do more for sustaining the peace in the territory on permanent basis. In such endeavor, Pakistan expected from USA that it must help Pakistan for building its capacity to the civilian agencies for its move with more rapidly of the resources for the development of such areas which had been evacuated with the help of the Pakistani military forces.

The threat perception of the extremists who had been relocated was concern of Pakistan. Then there was the strategic concern of Pakistan in relation to Indian threat of aggression. For this purpose the USA insured Pakistan to save it from increasing risk alongside the eastern borders. Thirdly and finally, there was some extent the hurdle related to the legacy of the mistrust between the both countries of USA and Pakistan. The USA past

sanctions to Pakistan, the growing relations of the USA and India was also major concern for Pakistan and the skepticism about the USA to remain staying in the region, which had made USA a wary partner.

The USA-Pakistan partnership was vital for the national interests of the USA, but these relations were so complex. There was dire need of the candid dialogues and mutual reassurance for these coalitions. There was substantial progress in this regard. The USA-Pakistan cooperation for its material assistance, the training assistance, the operational coordination, and the reimbursement of the operational cost had enabled the Pakistan's progress against the insurgents which had been helped out for sustaining and building the trust among the both countries (Fox News, 2008).

It was USA's perception that military of Pakistan had not spent the money received from the USA, as per the aspiration of the USA. It was claimed that a lot of funds received in the shape of coalition funds transferred directly to the ministries without the audit and it was over sighted that where it was spent. USA claimed that money given to Pakistan to counter the terrorism activities and the counter insurgency, was utilized to purchase the armament like aircraft fighter plans, missile system, anti-missile system, equipment's for radar system, air to air missiles system.

Military Assistance

After 9/11, the USA administration approved the total \$2.965 billion for the affairs of international functions of the SFOA (State Foreign Operations Appropriations). For this, there was 46 percent for the economic assistance and 54 percent was allocated for the security assistance including the \$1.1 billion for the PCCF (Pakistan Counterinsurgency Capability Fund), which was considered for the OCO (Overseas Contingency Operations) and was not part for the core request but it was identified by the Authorities as temporary funding needs for the frontline states. Consistent of the EPPA (Enhanced Partnership with Pakistan Act), the civilian assistance was emphasized on the four key areas of importance, the energy, the stabilization, the social services especially for the health, the education, the economic growth including the agriculture. The assistance for the security was focused on addressing the long term modernization for the military forces which were great needed in Pakistan and to strengthen the counter terrorism and the counter insurgency capabilities of the country (Center for Global Development, 2013). In June 2004, Pakistan was declared as the non-NATO ally. This made Pakistan eligible to acquire the advance military technology from the USA and other NATO countries (CNN, 2005).

More than \$17 billion were given to Pakistan in shape of military support by the USA, where \$10 billion were reimbursed to Pakistan in C.S.F. (coalition support fund), to supporting the USA military activities. The other support of \$2.7 billion gave to Pakistan was the C.I.F. (counter insurgency fund) or the C.I.C.F. (counter insurgency capability fund). The other funds of \$2.75 billion was also provided to Pakistan on account of the program of Foreign Military Financing.

The USA Bureau of the Political Military Affairs (PMA) managed to assist Pakistan by three means of accounts;

- 1-Foreign Military Financing (FMF)
- 2-International Military Education and Training (IME&T)
- 3-Pakistan Counterinsurgency Capability Fund (PCCF)

The FMF provided its foundation for the long term security relationship of the USA and Pakistan. It supported its transformation as well modernization of the military of Pakistan for meeting the legitimate needs of defense and has been playing a vital role for regional security improvement. The program of IMET was crucial for the efforts of the USA for deepening the partnership of the both countries. The IMET helped out to boast up the level of professionalism alongside the development of the Pakistan's military leadership. The IMET was the central point of USA efforts by allowing the military forces of the Pakistan for its interaction to the members of USA military to build their mutual relationships. The department of the state of USA planned for transferring its \$10 billion support for funding to the DOD (Department of Defense) so that military personnel of the USA might be enabled for their rapid humanitarian and stabilizing the community based projects to its hold in the conflicted and affected areas.

It helped out to fill the short term gap of assistance in such areas where the operations for clearing the territories were going on, and there was acute shortage of the civilian assistance. Moreover, USA planned to find

out such ways that could afford to the civilians to their safe access for forwarding areas. USA had its long term commitment for continuing its assistance to Pakistan which targeted to help out the stability in Pakistan. With USA's help of \$ 7.5 billion for the civilian assistance was authorized to enhance the partnership of both countries and it balanced among the civilian and the military assistance, which required helping out the Pakistan to reach in more security and prosperity (Congress, 2010).

Purchase USA made Armaments

According to internal report of Congressional Research Service made on May 7th, 2015, to purchase the New F-16 fighting falcon, Pakistan paid 1.43 billion from its National Funds. The other deal cost US\$ 629 million to Pakistan, where 500 AMRAAM missiles, 2000 pounds bombs in 1450 no's, 500 kits for gravity bombs, and laser guided kits of 1600 no's; where all these armament cost Pakistan to US\$ 629 million and US\$ 298 million also paid by Pakistan to the USA to purchase the anti-ship missiles in 100 nos. US\$95 million also paid for sidewinder missiles. US\$ 80 million cost to purchase naval guns. Pakistan received Bell helicopters in 26 nos. with parts and its maintenance under the coalition support funds and valued about US\$ 235 million (Susan & Kronstadt, 2013).

In addition to the supply of gun ship helicopter to Pakistan for the better performance of the security forces of Pakistan in counter insurgency of the terrorists groups and organization especially al Qaeda and Taliban, USA also gave fourteen F/16 air craft which are to be considered the best fighter jets of the world. Apart from this, eighteen more F/16 fighter planes were provided to Pakistan, where its delivery was to be accomplished in December 2010, which was the long standing issue in between the both countries (The News, 2010).

To make the better surveillance system of command and control of the Pakistan, the United States America consented to provide the technology of its shadow drones, so that counterterrorist's insurgents may be targeted with the mutual and together of the both security forces of Pakistan and USA (Online News, 2010). In 2009 the USA administration approved for the additional funds of \$ 1.6 billion to the Coalition Support Funds along with the funding of \$ 1.2 billion for the Countering Insurgency Capability Fund for Pakistan (Committee on Armed Services, 2010).

The Obama administration increased in the war fare supplies to Pakistan. Only in March 2010, the fourteen AH-1 Cobra helicopter assembled with the gun ship technology were given to the Pakistan so that it might be helpful in the war against terrorism and the air defense system of Pakistan could be uplifted. Eighteen new F-16 fighter's aircrafts, eight maritime patrolling aircrafts of P-3C, six thousand anti-tanks missiles, 500 air missiles, six C-130 transportations aircraft, twenty Cobra attacks helicopters and the Perry Class missile of Frigate were given to Pakistan from the USA. The half of the aid was handed over to Pakistan in the Bush regime, and the other half was distributed in the Obama administration. The aid given to Pakistan in the Obama regime was more to strengthen the economy rather than military assistance (Nation, 2010).

USA Aid to Pakistan for Civilian's Sectors

The act of the Kerry Luger which formalized the partnership of the strategy was the tangible and its manifestation for broad support towards Pakistan by the USA. There was only \$7.5 billion assured for the assistance for to the civilian aid for Pakistan which would be received through this act for next coming five years. It meant for the improvement of the worse condition of the health sector as well the education in the country of Pakistan. It was also worth mentioning that the reforms in the law and order institutions especially police would be undertaken along with the other civilian sectors of the country. The infrastructure would be expanded and the democracy and the judiciary system would be strengthened in the country through this support of the USA. An additional assistance of support \$243 million was announced by the Hillary Clinton, the USA Secretary of the state in her visit during October 2009, on visiting Pakistan, so that energy generation could be improved in Pakistan efficiently. The purpose of this aid was to raise the higher education level along with the other socio economic sectors needs could be fulfilled (Kerry Lugar Bill, 2015).

Aid for Projects

The ultimate national security objective of the USA was the stability and the prosperity of the Pakistan. The president of the USA, Obama affirmed that the peaceful, prosperous, and democratic Pakistan was crucial partner

of the USA, in advancement of shared goals for the peace, the security, and the socio economic development in the South Asia. The cooperation of the USA & Pakistan founded upon the mutually common agreed interests and the objectives, where the example of the Mangala Dam of the Pakistan was the USA civilian assistance for largest aid recipient and was a sign for the enduring partnership of commitment for the support of Pakistan social development and the economic growth. More than support of \$4 billion provided including the \$1 billion for the emergency flood relief and rehabilitation purpose since enhancing this partnership under the Kerry Lugar Bill (KLB) act, enacted on October 2009, to the Pakistan (The Express Tribune, 2012).

Aid for Economic Development

In a meeting concluded on October 2013, between the leadership of the USA and Pakistan, USA President Obama and the Prime Minister of the Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif expressed its conviction that the enduring partnership of the USA-Pakistan was vital for the regional and the international security and recognized its shared interests in the economic growth of the Pakistan and its development, the regional stability determined to taking the mutual measures for counter terrorism. This visit underscored long term relationship of the both countries of USA and Pakistan (Los Angeles Times, 2013).

Engagement in Energy Sector

To meet with the growing needs and demands of the energy sector in Pakistan, the USA worked hardly to help and improve such kind of deficiency in Pakistan and excelled in the reforms and also improved its efficiency in the energy sector for the acceleration for growing of economy of Pakistan. USA provided \$800 million as help to improve the energy sector. With the funding of USA, more than 1,000 megawatts of electricity was added to the national grid of Pakistan which facilitated lives of more than 16 million Pakistanis. (USAID, Pakistan/energy)

Aid for Law Enforcement Agencies

The small part of the USA assistance was also allocated for better training, reforms and the infrastructure of the police. From the FY2002 to FY2009, \$358million was served for the control of the international narcotics and the programs of the law enforcements agencies including the security program of the borders control. This was 2.3% of the aid and the reimbursement of aid for the military forces of Pakistan, about \$15.4 billion under the program of coalition support fund (Zaidi, 2011).

Support in Debt

In the ceremony to turn Pakistan for its collation in USA war on terror, USA forgiven Pakistan's official debt of \$1 billion in 2003. Nancy Powell, USA's Ambassador to Pakistan called agreement another milestone for better and expanded relationship of both counties. She added that this forgiveness was just a piece of multifaceted of multibillion dollar for assistance to Pakistan in war on terror. She furthered that new relationships of both countries were not just due to 9/11, but it was the rebirth of these relationships for long term (Voice of America News, 2009).

Bilateral Trade and Investment

The USA being largest market of its exports for Pakistan was a great source of foreign direct investment. The two way trade among the both counties surpassed \$5 billion mark by the year 2012. The USA hosted the industry for exposition for the promotion of the products of Pakistan and organized the seminars in Pakistan to increase the exports to the USA. Through the frame work of the trade and investment on the plate form of the Trade & Investment Frame work Agreement (TIFA), the both countries agreed to promote the business-to-business ties. This agreement led of two successful conferences for the business among both countries. One conference was held in London on October 2012, which fostered more opportunities for the business communities of both countries. For the promotion of private sector investment, the OPIC (Overseas Private Investment Corporations) was committed for the financing of \$ 476 million along with the risk insurance in Pakistan where the USA investors were included (Daily The Pak Banker, 2012).

Support in Regional Trade

The USA focused on expanding in the regional trade to support the economy of Pakistan. The USA has been funded for the construction and the rehabilitation of the roads about 9,000 kilometers; where the 4 major routes were included from Pakistan to the Afghanistan. The USA also supported to implement and the potential extended of Afghanistan and Pakistan transit trade agreement (APTTA), which organized the regional business of the matchmaking events and the promotion of the regional energy linkages of the Turkmenistan Afghanistan Pakistan and India (TAPI), the natural gas pipe line project of the Central Asia & South Asia (CASA-1000), for the power transmission in the region. The financing of the private sector to create the business and recognizing the small and medium enterprises which were critical catalysts for the growth of the economy of Pakistan. The USA launched Pakistan Private Investment Initiatives (PPII) on June 2013, which matched USA funding on one-to-one with the equity of the private capital for making more than \$150 million available for small business in Pakistan (The Pakistan Business Council, 2015).

Support for Agriculture

The agriculture was a sector where more than 40% of work force of Pakistan was employed and it was the key driver for the growth of economy of the country. With the help of the USAID, the USA helped for boosting the productivity of Pakistani agriculture with building the additional irrigation infrastructure by introducing the improved technologies and the projects of the water engagements. The USA financed for the irrigation system in Pakistan that irrigated more than 370,000 acres of the crops of Pakistan, and due to such assistance, the income of farmers of more than 800,000 significantly increased. USA set goal to irrigate more than one million acres agricultural land of Pakistan till 2016. The USA also helped the agribusiness of the Pakistan for access to financing and formed partnership and taped it in to the markets of more lucrative. The USA department for agriculture (USDA) worked closely with the government of Pakistan, and helped in USA land grant universities, with the international partnership for increasing the productivity of agriculture in Pakistan (USAID/Agriculture).

Assistance in Pakistan's Livestock

The USA also supported to build the institutional capacities for better regulation of the animal and the plants health and for the safety of the food products. The institutional capabilities of research were strengthened with the collaboration of the USA-Pakistanis scientists. The programs were devised to promote for adoption of the new agricultural practices with the latest technologies, to fostering the collaboration in areas to control the animal and sects diseases, the aquaculture, the cotton disease, the crop estimation of forecasting, the watershed management and the irrigation technology, to improve the fertility of the soil, and the wheat diseases, were such programs of the mutual understanding of the both countries.

With the help of the USDA, the USA also worked for vaccination of more than 500,000 cattle's, buffalos, and yaks; the implementation of the livestock disease and its surveillance system, and to develop the strains of cotton resistant for the curling of leaf virus, which could have devastated the cropped of Pakistan if it was not addressed globally. The USA program of *Khushhali ka Safar* (the journey to the prosperity) focused primarily to facilitate of access to the capital, mentorship, education, and the diaspora for engaging of investment in the country. The USA had more than 70,000 women with its program of training and supported the micro enterprises which enabled them for increase on their house hold earnings. In addition to this, the USA facilitated in mentoring and educating for more than 5,000 entrepreneurs through the digital and face to face workshops and the conferences since initiated in 2012 (Pakistan Today, 2012).

Help in Health Services

The USA and Pakistan cooperated extensively in the sector of health for the support of the family welfare and the reproductive health system in Pakistan. Since 2010, the USA trained more than 29,000 workers for the health care, who served more than the 3.5 million populations throughout Pakistan. According to the assessment of the 2014, the help of the USA and its funding in the training and supporting activities in the health sector resulted to increase the 52 percent in the prenatal care visits and the 20 percent increase in the deliveries with the helpful

and skillful birth attendants. The USA supported Pakistan's multilateral Global Health Security Agenda (GHSA) for the prevention, detection and response to the infectious diseases of threats. For such implementation of the GHSA and for the promotion of health sector of Pakistan, the USA continued to support the efforts of Pakistan to build the capacity of public and veterinary workforce of health, safety and the security of the laboratory system, to counter the antimicrobial resistance, to integrate the health surveillance systems of information and to enhance the multispectral response on emergency for the epidemic (FACT SHEET, 2015).

Assistance for Basic Education

Pakistan received more than \$649 million for assistance in education system of Pakistan by 2015, the highest aid ever received in this context. This aid was increased from \$586 provided in the fiscal year of 2014. Pakistan was the most aid recipient country in the South Asia. The most portion of such aid was specific for the primary schools system in Pakistan and 57.16 % of this aid was reserved for the basic education in Pakistan (The Express Tribune, 2017).

Support for Elections in Pakistan

Election Support Group (ESG) was the biggest organization that supported and assisted the whole electoral process in Pakistan. This organization was international group of the interested parties, involved in the democratic process, and made its 32 specified recommendations for the Election Commission of Pakistan, where it based on the 16 that have been followed by the international organizations. A meeting was conducted in October 2009, for presentation of such ideas to election commission. The Election Commission of Pakistan commissioned the ESG for provision to provide the recommendation to redress the issues and problems for solutions (The Associated Press of Pakistan, 2009).

Decline in Assistance

Due to violation of the territorial sovereignty of Pakistan by attacking and killing of Osama ben Laden in Pakistan without informing the establishment of Pakistan created mistrust in Pakistan. (Stephen, 2005). After the death of Osama bin Laden, Pakistan cancelled training program of \$500 million by sending all 135 trainers at home. Upon such act of Pakistan, USA withheld its support to Pakistan of \$300 million by showing displeasure.

In the Kerry Luger Bill, passed on 15 October 2009, USA committed to \$5 billion for the civilian assistance of Pakistan and announced \$1 billion for emergency on humanitarian aid to the disasters or conflicts, along with the flood victim relief of 2010 (Dawn, 2015).

Pakistan got the aid of \$7.5 Billion to enhance the relations with the USA for the period of 5 years. But this aid was given with the condition that Pakistan would cooperate with the USA forces in its military alliance and fighting with the Taliban and the other terrorists' organization in the northwestern region of Pakistan (The Nation, 2015).

Certain condition of Kerry Luger Bill created bitter controversy in Pakistan due to security related issues. Geopolitical aid could be defined as generally under the restrained motives, other than the development or promotion in the region. These motives might be pertained to military and political in essence (International Monetary Fund, 2009). There was a great unrest in Pakistan because assistance from USA was provided conditionally as well the security establishment of the Pakistan. The security establishment of Pakistan especially the armed forces of Pakistan expressed their objections and reservations openly.

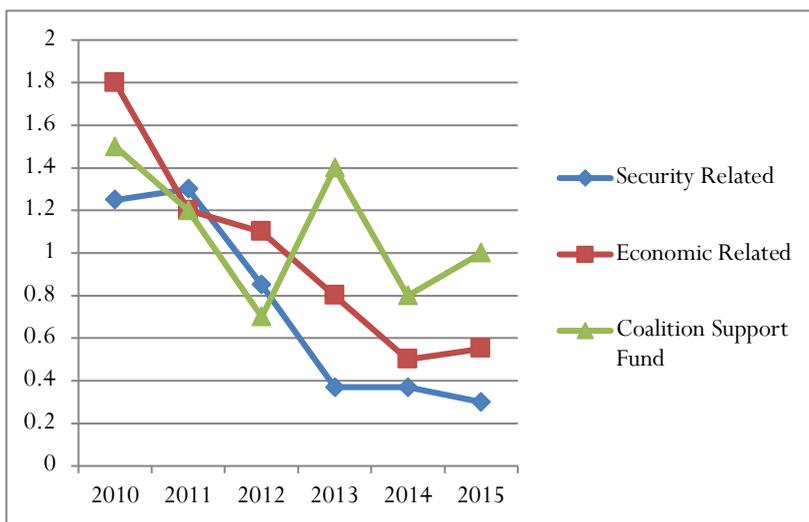
The blame to the USA was that it interfered with the internal affairs of the Pakistan at micro level. Many severe allegations had been leveled upon Pakistan from Washington side. Many conditions were also put forth on Pakistan which would have to be eliminated or be rectified before probing to such assistance. Pakistan would have to acquire a certificate from the Secretary of the State duly approved by the Congress of the USA and President that Pakistan would dismantle all its supplies of the nuclear weapons to its supplier network and such activities would never be happened again in the future and all information related directly or indirectly to this context would be provided to the USA. In case any person, persons or the institution in Pakistan involved directly or indirectly in acquisition of nuclear materials or shared any information associated to this, Pakistan would have to face the USA sanctions.

Conditions associated with nuclear arms worried the establishment of Pakistan. Pakistan had already extended its cooperation in the war on terror to the USA. Pakistan officially pronounced its stand which did not differ to earlier of combating the terrorism and its associated terrorist organization including the Al-Qaeda, as well the Taliban and other terrorists groups operational in the Afghanistan and Pakistan. This controversy of the Kerry Lugar bill could be understandable by explaining the facts that Pakistan had precariously relations of the civil and the military and had its traditions historically.

Pakistan sought the review in Kerry Lugar bill. USA responded that any kind of seeking review would not be entertained because this bill was not compromised with the serenity of the country of Pakistan and USA did not impose any kind of its policy which was dealing with the internal and national affairs of the Pakistan and neither it was dealing with the aspects of the civil or military establishment of Pakistan in any way (Dawn, 2009).

In the month of July 2011, the administration of the USA decided to suspend the support of \$800 million for the planned security assistance for Pakistan and the conditions were tightened before releasing such support after evaluation of Pakistan’s cooperation progress report rigorously. The USA Congress voted to sanction more stringent conditions for any future assistance to Pakistan where some members of the congress suggested reducing the aid significantly or even total suspension of the support. The developments in the 2011 validated the pre-existing views in the USA that the behavior of the Pakistan was unlikely to be changed to the assigned long held geostrategic positions (Associated Press, 2011).

In 2015 *The Wall Street Journal* could assess, while putting actual amounts in all three types of assistance and only estimating the coalition support fund of 2015, that the US aid to Pakistan had declined in last five years.



Source: *Wall Street Journal*

This decline marked the disengagement of the USA from region at large and from Pakistan in special.

Conclusion

The survey of the losses, reasons, and quantity as well as sectors of assistance regarding the war on terror in the sphere of the USA and Pakistan relations leaves us to conclude that the USA assisted Pakistan limited only to the ambit of war. The cooperation between both countries could not go beyond the limits of the interests vested in the war. The USA did not even provide assistance for the civilian sectors purely on humanitarian grounds. No sooner were its target achieved or its chances of protection of its interests from Pakistan decreased the US assistance and cooperation decreased and the USA-Pakistan relation deteriorated and there were very limited mutual links which could be helpful in the rise of confidence between two former close allies.

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