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#### ABSTRACT

Pakistan-US relations can be analyzed under the dynamics of client and patron states, combination of divergence and convergence in regard to their policy preferences and interests. The study focuses on the hypothesis of mutual and bilateral relationship cannot be satisfactory if the trust deficit exists there between two diplomatic allies working altogether on a specific agenda. The nature of relationship and policy preferences of Pakistan and the United States is a rudimentary question that has been explored. What are the major reasons and elements that effected and worked for the enhancement of distrust between both the nations? The research paper has emphasized that the non-state actors which have played a major role to manifest different adventures and developments that effected the Pakistan-US relations during 2001-2019 along with the futuristic vision of their linkages. The study recommends that Pak-US relations are supposed to be reorganized and rearticulated according to the emerging geo-strategic regional and global developments in the environment of mutual trust, interaction, cooperation and conflict resolution aiming to create global peace and stability under the joint diplomatic approach in future.

Key words: Dynamics, Coercive measures, National action plan, Continuity and change, Tweet diplomacy.

#### Introduction

Pakistan-United States relations are significant in the context of mutual interaction, cooperation and convergence throughout their bilateral diplomatic history (1947-2019). The bilateral relationship attributed with the elements of partnership and divergence according to the dynamic developments and the emerging geo-strategic environment of regional and global politics. The Pakistan-US historical relations, articulated on the base of mutual understanding, good will owing to the territorial integrity and independent and sovereignty of Pakistan. Both the states have generated a maximum cooperation towards each is other but yet the element of ambiguity and trust deficit remains a factor. On the other side, the United States concerned with Pakistan about the containment of Communist threat to the region, Pakistan-India bitter relations, the China factor and the Afghan cause, the nuclearization of South Asia and role of Iran in the regional politics. The United States continued to provide economic and military assistance through the assistance packages during 1981 to 1987. Both the states increased the security

relationship in the context of containing the Russian presence in Afghanistan. Pakistan and United States shared military, intelligence information and diplomatic cooperation, which led them to conclude the Geneva Agreement on 14 April 1988. Pakistan US relations once again faced a silver line when the Washington administration lost its interest in Afghanistan after the withdrawal of Russian troops. The phase during 1992 to 1996 was a critical time for the domestic circumstances of Afghanistan and for the Pak-US bilateral relationship. The Taliban movement got strengthened in Afghanistan, which led the United States to become bitter with Pakistan as the later alleged to sponsor and recognize the Taliban government in Afghanistan. The Pakistan-United States bilateral relations remain under shades of the US coercive diplomacy, sanctions, Pakistan's nuclear program, missile and nuclear proliferation, Pakistan-Indo nuclear tests, the Kargil conflict and the undemocratic Musharraf regime in Pakistan. Overall, the Pakistan US bilateral relationship observed through its flimsy nature due to the occasional convergence and divergence of interest. Consequently, Pakistan being the weaker partner placed under much diplomatic, political and economic pressure. On the other hand, the US lost nothing being the patron and mighty power.

### **Understanding the counter terrorism arrangements**

Pakistan-US bilateral diplomatic relationship has been attributed in the context of countering terrorism in post 9/11 era. The United States repeatedly demanded "Do more" and a punitive action from Pakistan against the extremists, the dissidents i.e. Taliban and Al Qaida workers particularly in the northern areas of Pakistan. Pakistan remained halfhearted to do that all the time due to its own domestic social and political circumstances. The Islamabad administration applied both the soft and operational counter terrorism strategies which were not fully agreed and accepted by the Washington administration due to its double track nature i.e. good Taliban and bad Taliban policy. Resultantly, the gap between Pakistan and United States augmented and strained the relations between both the states. The bilateral relationship of Pakistan and United States remained quite dynamical and sensational during 2001-2019. Pakistan continued its policy of cooperation with the Washington administration especially in the context of countering terrorism across the Durand-line. Pakistan has an obvious stance on the WOT. Pakistan allowed the United States led forces, to use the Jacobabad, Dalbadin and Shamsi bases to conduct the operations against the terrorists.

On 27 May 2014, the Washington administration announced, "it's time to turn the page on a decade in which so much of our foreign policy was focused on the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq (Landler, 2014)." President Obama outlined a new policy for Afghanistan and stated, among the 3200 United States Army troops, at the end of this year, 9800 Army troops will quit from Afghanistan. The decrease in the number of Army troops present in Afghanistan will be half in 2015 and then in 2016 all troops will exit. Only vestigial amount will stay in the Afghan country for the purpose of security of the embassy in Kabul and Bagram. While President

Obama addressing to the commencement in the United States Military Academy, after 13 years of war and discussing in detail his strategy he stated, "Americans have learned that it's harder to end wars than it is to begin them." "Yet this is how wars end in the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Latif, 2017)." Since January 2017, when the President Donald trump assumed the office, the nature of Pakistan United States relation is going on flimsy and posed a threat to the trust building measures. On 5 January 2018, the Washington administration suspended the aid of \$2 billion security fund to Pakistan. The State Secretary Mike Pompeo alerted in an interview with CNBC (Consumer News and Business Channel) that in near future no bailout fund would be provided to the new Government of Pakistan to pay her debt to the Chinese lenders. Many Pakistani military officers have been removed from various programs at US Naval Staff College, Naval War College and courses. When Pakistan refused to accept the United States dictation against Taliban, the Washington administration put the Pakistan in grey list of FATF, (Financial Action Task Force) and further declined the relations. (Erickson, 2018)."

### The coercive measures against terrorism

The Islamabad administration condemned all kinds of terrorism. Military operations have completed in this context e.g. operation Al-Mizan (Justice) to Radd-ul-Faasad (2017). Being a non-NATO ally and a partner on the Global war on terror Pakistan is still suffering a chaotic situation under the United States umbrella. The Global war on terrorism started to root out the militant organizations and their sanctuaries especially, in Afghanistan and northwestern border of Pakistan. From 2001 to 2017, according to Pakistan Economic Survey 2016/2017, Pakistan has been suffering an estimated loss of \$123.1 billion economically. The war on terror has drastically affected the Pakistan's economy, trade, import, export, physical infrastructure, tax collection, foreign investments and social fabric of the counterty. In the recent years, the situation of security has improved due to the counterterrorism efforts of Government and operations by Army e.g. operation Zarb-e-Azab started on June 2014 in North Waziristan, in which 490 soldiers lost their lives (Khan I., 2017).

# **Operation Zarb-e-Azab**

Pakistan's security forces lunched an important and decisive military Operation namely Zarb-e-Azab on 15 June 2014 as the refined and updated form of its counter terrorism policy. It was a full-scale military operation started in the North Waziristan Agency (NWA) and one of the Federally Administrated Areas (FATA). There were terrorist's sanctuaries, recruitment and training centers hosted factories. Before initiating the operation, peace talks with Tehrik-e-Taliban had failed. This operation is launched due to the terrorist attack on the Jinnah International Airport Karachi on 8 June 2014, in which 36 people killed including

10 attackers. This attack is claimed by the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan. After this, the operation Zarb-e-Azab started within a week to eliminate all local and foreign terrorists hiding in the NWA. The main objective to launch this operation was to retake the control of the FATA and wipe out all the militant hideouts (Yousaf, 2014)." The influence of military operation was growing day by day nearby the Khyber agency and NWA region. Many militants have been killed and their hideouts had been dismantled. The operation was on going with its full swings when suddenly the massacre of Army Public School Peshawar happened. The militants of TTP attacked the Army-run school in the northwestern city of Peshawar and 145 people killed, among them 132 were schoolchildren. TTP claimed that they had forced to launch the attack in response to army operations (BBC, 2014). A parliamentary committee formed along with an expert group who asked to prepare a plan against terrorism. Following this tragic incident, the military and political leadership formulated a plan consisted on 20 points agenda. called 'National Action Plan' (NAP) to wipe out the terrorism. This plan helped to boost up Operation Zarb-e-Azab. Operation Zarb-e-Azab was moving ahead while achieving its main objectives. According to an ISPR statement, until the June 2015, 2763 terrorists have been killed and 837 hideouts destroyed so far. After spending a victorious year in NWA, the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said to extend the operation in to the Shawal Valley. The Shawal Valley is a mountainous northwestern region of NWA. The deep-forested gorge was a main smuggling route between Pakistan and Afghanistan. In April 2016, Pakistan Army successfully restored the writ of the state. The tribal regions that considered hotbed for foreign militants cleared from militants. During the Shawal Valley operation 7500 bomb-making factories had sealed, 3500 militants killed and 992 sanctuaries destroyed. Almost 500 soldiers of Pakistan Army martyred during operation (Zulfgar, 2017, p. 125). Reconstruction and rehabilitation of the temporarily displaced persons was the second objective of operation Zarb-e-Azb. All civilians of NWA registered and they provided with monetary support and food packages. The all Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) settled in different areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The 929,859 IDPs were registered. The Army General assured the people that Army would play its role in rebuilding and restoring. To resettle the more than one million IDPs was a gigantic problem. Eventually on 31 March 2015, IDPs started to return to their homes in phases. IDPs facilitated with sixmonth food ration Rs. 25000, health facility, children vaccination and Rs. 10,000 paid to every person in the context of transport expenses (Javaid, 2015).

# National action plan 2014

To wipe out the terrorism from the entire country an All-Parties Conference held. To curb the scourge of terrorism a counter terrorism and extremism strategy made, called National Action Plan. The counter terrorism strategy 20 points formula, chalked out by the National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA). The 21<sup>st</sup> Constitutional Bill 2015 and the Pakistan Army Bill 2015 presented before the

Parliament to approve and execute the NAP. Hate speech, sectarian violence, sectarian extremism, illegal religious seminaries, foreign funding to madrassas, misuse of loud speakers, and illegal transfer of money stopped. The list of all those madrassas compiled who had been working under the illegal foreign funding. Under the NAP policy, many organizations banned. To bring the Baluchistan separatist in the mainstream was another challenge. NAP demands from Baluchistan government to take all separatist groups into the political process (Khan M., 2015). Terrorist communication network dismantled under the NAP. Before 2015, most of the mobile Sims was unregistered and used by the terrorists. Over 98.3 million SIMs have blocked and a biometric system for Sim registration and verification introduced to deal this issue. Monitoring of social apps e.g. WhatsApp, Instagram, Facebook, Skype and Twitter started. According to the data provided by NACTA, 32272 religious seminaries are working in Pakistan. Two separate forms for the data and registration of Madaris have developed by the NACTA to regulate them. In Punjab and Sindh, 100 percent work has been completed and 80 percent work regarding to regulation and recording of Madaris has been completed in Baluchistan and KPK. Now the war is entering in the next phase, hybrid warfare where Pakistan has to modify its strategies and approaches towards war on terrorism (Khan A., 2019). On the instructions of Prime Minister of Pakistan on 25 September 2018, a committee formed by the NACTA. The committee has the role to examine the NACTA Act and to determine the role of NAP and its coordination with NACTA. The Prime minister should head the implementation committee and held regular meetings of NAP. State should handle the global regulatory authorities' allegations about terror financing, money laundering and terror organizations support with iron hand. There should be the accountability of all NAP sub-committees and other relevant implementation authorities (Ghani, 2019, pp. 97-99).

## **Operation Radd-ul-Fassad 2017**

After successful completion of Operation Zarb-e-Azab, Pakistan Army once again, started a new operation to remove all possible threats of terrorism namely Operation Radd-ul-Fassad on 22 February 2017. Following the spate of attacks in different parts of the country security forces decided to launch a crackdown of terrorists across the country. Government granted the permission to the all security forces i.e. Army, Air Force, Navy, Rangers, Local law enforcement agencies and Civil Armed Forces to deal with militant organizations and sleeper cells with iron hand (Khan & Khan, 2019, p. 4)." According to the daily Dawn, Punjab government requested the Federal government to deploy over 2,000 para-military rangers' personnel in the Punjab. At least 9,000 IBOs conducted along with the cooperation and coordination of other law enforcement agencies. The operation Khyber 4 in the Rajgal valley carried out by the Pakistan Army is another success story under the umbrella of the RuF. It considered that residual threats linked with

ineffective border management. The attentive checkout along the Pak-Afghan border through check post has declined the civilian casualties and terrorist attacks. To enhance the border management Pakistan army has been fencing the 2211 km long Pak-Afghan border, which will be completed in 2020. Along the Pak-Afghan border, 843-check posts construction is under process (Chandran, 2017). Since the February 2017, more than 75,900 IBOs and combing operations have conducted across the country. Hundreds of militants have been apprehended and killed. Some hard-core terrorists have been hanged by the Military Courts as well. More than 45,760 operations conducted in 2018, which helped to seize down the extremism. The social and economic development infrastructure involves small roads, highways, educational institutes, technical institutes and health centers (Times of Islamabad, 2018).

## Continuity and change in policy

"Two steps forward and four steps backward," these words clearly portray the current situation of Pak-US relationship. There have been more downs than the ups, in the Pak-US bilateral ties. The Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) held a two-day national conference on "Irritants in Pakistan-US relations: Way Forward". Some former ministers and ambassadors presented their views and stressed, there is a dire need for removing the mutual mistrusts between the two countries and should enhance the cooperation. While speaking before conference they said, to remove the factor of distrust and enhance the cooperation it is important to debate holistically on the key irritants that spoil the relationship, should understand each other's security concerns and should work on the common grounds (Hussain A., 2018).

### The drone warfare

George W Bush, during the era 2001-2009 carried out 57 drone attacks in undeclared battlefields of Pakistan, Somalia and Yemen. However, when Mr. Obama left the office in 2017, according to Bureau of Investigation Journalism 563 drone strikes carried out by him. President Trump's predecessor, Barack Obama has a record on drone strikes issues and he has failed to provide a satisfactory explanation that why he did not have a problem towards killing of bystanders and children in the drone attacks. In the views of Daily Beast report, the rule for drone strikes has devolved further. In the past, to conduct a drone warfare against terrorists or targets the military needed "near certainty" but now that "reasonable certainty" has been suffice (Mathews, 2018)." In 2013, 31 drone strikes have reported with 31% decrease. Most of them took place in the North Waziristan (Pak Institute for Peace Studies, 2014, p. 36). The Islamabad administration has reiterated its stance over the drone strikes through diplomatic means. In the year 2014, a 32% decrease has been viewed with 21 drone strikes. Most attacks took place in North Waziristan region like past year (Pak Institute for

Peace Studies, 2015, p. 38). As compared to past year 2014 a 43%, decrease in the drone attacks has reported in 2015 (Pak Institute for Peace Studies, 2016, p. 40). In 2016, Obama launched three drone strikes in Pakistan, two in FATA and one in Baluchistan (Sial, 2017, p. 56). In 2017, as compared to Obama, Trump's administration has stroked nine drone attacks in Pakistan (Sial, Drone Strikes, 2018, p. 70). President Donald Trump has dramatically expanded the war on terrorism and changed the policy of Drone strikes. He postulated new rules, and he has expanded the authority of military commanders, to launch the drone strikes without requiring the official permission from White House. According to The New York Times and other outlets, Trump has introduced a new policy for drone strikes. He devolves the authority to the lower level commanders for counterterrorism operations. The former phenomenon of near certainty has no longer requirement (Rosenthal & Schulman, 2018).

### The economic diplomacy

According to the Dr. Ashfaq Hassan Khan, who is former economic adviser to the finance ministry, "Pakistan's economic relation with the United States has been declining for the past 15 years, as its share in exports, remittances and direct foreign investments have been drastically reduced (Rana, 2017)." The schism between Pak-US relations is growing day by day under the Trump administration. Trump's administration used economic deterrence towards Pakistan, minimize Pakistan's role by accusation, and withheld the aid and strained the relations. The United States cut off the \$330 billion Coalition Support Fund and stated that Pakistan is not giving anything instead of lies and deceit. There is a dire need to realize that without self-sufficiency in economy, the country will never be able to execute and formulate its foreign policy independently (Ahmed, 2018).

# The Afghan cause

To curtail the threat of instability and terrorism in the region, the 2611 km long Durand-Line between Pakistan and Afghanistan has been fencing by Pakistan Army. The 1200 km boundary is more sensitive which has given priority to build first and over 900 km had completed to sustain the peace (Gafoor, 2019). The global world is fully aware of the Pakistan's efforts in relation to US war in Afghanistan. President Trump irresponsible tweets on the social media and blame game has devised weaken in the Pak-US relationship. The factor of distrust and neglecting the role of the Pakistan cause the strained relations between both the countries. President Donald Trump criticized the Islamabad administration, when he announced his Afghan war policy. These allegations strained the already fragile relations. The negotiation for the peace process held this December in the UAE (United Arab Emirates). Pakistan expressed the hope that these talks between the Taliban and US would end the crisis and conflicts. Foreign Office spokesperson,

Dr. Muhammad Faisal, expressed the support for the recent talks between the Afghan Taliban and other stakeholders to resolve the Afghanistan conflicts peacefully. Talks are going to be held in UAE. We hope this will end bloodshed in Afghanistan and bring peace to the region (Ali, 2018)."

### The China factor

Pakistan has a vital strategic significance place on the map of the world. The famous Gwadar Port of Pakistan is located at Arabian Sea. Being a key shipping point Gwadar may be able to provide a strategic and significant role to ensuring China's energy security by providing a much shorter route than the current 12900 km route from Persian Gulf to Strait of Malacca. China has initiated a project of "One Belt One Road," (OBOR) (Hussain & Hussain, 2017). The bilateral ties of Pak-US relationship jeopardized due to OBOR initiative between Pak-China. The Trump administration stated in front of Congress that it too believes the \$56 billion CPEC passes through Pakistan's northern areas about which India claimed that area is part of the disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir. Trump administration viewed, CPEC passes through a disputed territory. Some American and European analysts viewed that a great strategic alliance among Pakistan, China and Russia is going to raise these countries world super power. Recently US state Secretary Mike Pompeo said in an interview that any financial bailout from IMF to Pakistan should not be use by Pakistan to repay the Chinese debt. Some people held a view that the recent debt on Pakistan has a close link to Chinese investment in the country. The study of South Asia Research Center of Peking University experts stated that only 10.4 percent of Pakistani external debt relates to China (Pakistan Today, 2018).

### The Tweet diplomacy

President Trump launched his "Foreign policy via twitter." The President Donald Trump showed frustration towards Pakistan. The phenomenon of showing anger and frustration towards Pakistan is not new. The Trump administration viewed before Congress that if it saw the greater cooperation to fight against the Taliban and Haqqani network, then it would only allot the military assistance package. The amount of \$255 million withheld since August. President Donald Trump on 1 January 2018 tweeted on his social media official twitter account and targeted Pakistan. He wrote, "The United States has foolishly given Pakistan more than 33 billion dollars in aid over the last 15 years, and they have given us nothing but lies and deceit (Mangaldas, 2018)." In response to the Trump's, war of wards war initiated by this tweet the Islamabad administration called on the United States Ambassador in the US embassy located in the Islamabad and held an emergency meeting of national security team to discuss the Trump's allegations of "lies and deceit (Sampathkumar, 2018)." While talking to the Fox News anchor Chris Wallace, on November 18, 2018 President Trump explained about the decision to

cut off the military aid to Pakistan. He stated, "Frankly, would not it have been nice if we got Osama bin Laden a lot sooner than that? Think of this, living in Pakistan, beautifully in Pakistan in what I guess they considered a nice mansion I do not know: I have seen nicer but living in Pakistan, right next to the military academy. Everybody in Pakistan knew he was there. And we give Pakistan \$1.3 billion a year and they don't tell him; they don't tell him for years (Re, 2018)." He further added "We are supporting Pakistan. We are giving them \$1.3 billion a year, which we do not give them anymore by the way. I ended it because they do not do anything for us, they do not do a damn thing for us (Jorgic, 2018)." On November 19, 2018, Prime Minister Khan tweeted three tweets on the social media platform using his official account. He said "records need to be put straight on Mr. Trump's tirade against Pakistan; 1. No Pakistani was involved in 9/11 but Pak decided to participate in US War on Terror. 2. Pakistan suffered 75,000 causalities in this war and over \$123 billion was lost to economy. US "aid" was a miniscule \$20 bn. Second: 3. our tribal areas were devastated and millions of people uprooted from their homes, 4. Pakistan continues to provide free lines of ground and air communications (GLOCs/ALOCs) (Ground Line of Communications/ Air Line of Communications). Can Mr. Trump name another ally that gave such sacrifices? Prime Minister Khan further tweeted third tweet: "Instead of making Pakistan a scapegoat for their failures, the US should do a serious assessment of why, despite 140000 NATO troops plus 250,000 Afghan troops and reportedly \$1 trillion spent on war in Afghanistan, the Taliban today are stronger than before." On the same day in November, he further tweeted second tweet: "We no longer pay Pakistan the \$Billions because they would take our money and do nothing for us, Bin Laden being a prime example, Afghanistan being another. They were just one of many countries that take from the United States without giving anything in return (AlJazeera, 2018)."

### **Recent developments**

The changes in global and regional geopolitics, the symbiotic need of both countries goes on declining not diminishing. United States also denied the admission of the Pakistan in NSG. The US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo arrived Pakistan on 5 September 2018 to talk with the Imran Khan's led new government of Pakistan. Before the Pompeo scheduled a trip to Pakistan, the US Department of Defense announced a final decision to suspend the \$300 million of Coalition Support Fund for Pakistan. Pentagon's spokesperson told the Reuters, "due to lack of Pakistani decisive actions in support of South Asia Strategy the remaining \$300 million was reprogrammed, Coalition support Fund reimburse Pakistan for expenses incurred combating terrorism on its own soil (Panda, 2018)." Trump's South Asia Strategy has recognized the bigger role of India in 'Afghanistan's Stabilization.' This recent development in US-Indo relations further increased distance in Pak-US relationship. After engaging in the war of

words on the social media platform with Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan the US President ask for help. President Trump wrote a letter to the Prime Minister Imran Khan and has requested, to help the United States to end the war in Afghanistan. The National Security Council (NSC) and State Department confirmed the letter to the Khan in which a request made to khan's "Full support for the US effort to advance the Afghan peace process. Now in December 2018 an official request made towards Khan's administration to help the US in Afghanistan to negotiate with Taliban (Holland, 2018)," In the letter, it has been made clear that, the assistance of Pakistan is mandatory on the Afghan peace process for the building of enduring Pak-US partnership." Considering to the recent developments in the Afghan cause Prime Minister Imran Khan while talking to the United States Interim Ambassador John F. Hower stated, "stable Afghanistan is beneficial for all; Pakistan, United States and the region. There have been many difficulties in Pak-US relations due to lack of trust between both countries. It is pleasant to see voices raising from the United States also in favor of a political solution for Afghan war. War and use of military forces have never been the solution for Afghanistan's situation (Times of Islamabad, 2018)."

#### Imran Khan's visit to United States

Recently, in the year 2019 President Donald Trump has invited the Prime Minister Imran khan on an official visit to the Washington D.C. Prime Minister Imran khan along with Chief of Army Staff, Foreign Minister and with other officials has visited the United States of America. Prime Minister Imran Khan met President Trump on 22 July in the White House to reshape the bilateral relationship. President Trump gave a warm welcome to the Prime Minister Khan on his arrival. Before meeting with President Trump in the Oval Office, a day earlier Prime Minister Khan on Sunday 21 July, addressed to a highly charged crowd of overseas Pakistani Community residing in the United States. The Washington's stadium 'Capital One arena' was full with Pakistani community to show the respect and strength towards Prime Minister Khan on the soil of United States. It considered that the Diasporas could bring a positive change in the bilateral relationships. He won the hearts of American people just before the meeting with President Trump and presented a soft image of Pakistan (Garrie, 2019). While talking to media during joint press conference with Pakistan's Premier, President Trump acknowledged the PM Khan's stance over the Afghan issue. He also admitted that there is no military solution in the Afghanistan only a political settlement at the end. In his opening statement he said, Pakistan was going to help us to excoriate ourselves from Afghanistan. He said we are playing the role of policemen in the Afghanistan instead of a soldier. He said if we play the role of soldier in Afghanistan, the Afghanistan would wipe off the face of earth. He further added, but "I don't want to kill 10 million people (Ward, 2019)." When journalists asked President Trump about the withdrawal of American troops from Afghanistan, he said, "We have already withdrawn quite a few. We are doing it

very slowly, very safely. We are negotiating with Pakistan and we are negotiating with Taliban. And we are doing very well in that regard (Iqbal, 2019)." PM Khan said, he would do his best to agree the Taliban to talk with the Afghan government. While recalling the Pakistan's role as a frontline state against Russian invasion and in the post 9/11 scenario PM Khan said, "there is no military solution in Afghanistan. If you go all out military, millions and millions of people will die. There is only one solution and I feel it is the closest that we have been to a peace deal and we hope that in coming days we will be able to urge the Taliban to speak to the Afghan govt. and to reach a political settlement (Shear & Masood, 2019)."

### The US mediation offer

During the summit-level meeting in Oval office, both leaders also discussed the Kashmir issue on 22 July 2019. During the joint news conference, a Pakistani journalist asked Mr. Trump that would he like to be a mediator on Kashmir issue between Pakistan and India. He said, "If I can help, I would love to be a mediator. If I can do anything to help let me know." President Trump told Prime Minister Khan that when Indian Prime Minister visited Washington, we talked about Kashmir issue. Mr. Trump explained that he "actually said, 'Would you like to be a mediator or arbitrator? I said, where?' he said, 'Kashmir." He reiterated his offer and said, "If you would want me to mediate or arbitrate, I would be willing to do it." On this Prime Minister Khan welcomed the offer and said to the Mr. Trump, "You will have the prayers of over a billion people if you can mediate on this issue (Miglani, 2019)." After the 10 days of PM Khan's visit to the United States President Trump reiterated his mediation offer on the Kashmir issue in spite of the Indian administration's rejection of offer. He said, "If I can, if they wanted me to, I would certainly intervene" while talking to the Press at the White House." On 2 August 2019, while he was going to left the Oval office for an international trip President Trump held a view that the mediation really dependent on the PM Khan and Modi, if they both leaders need any external help, I am here to facilitate them. He further added, "I met PM Khan, I got along great with. I think they are fantastic people Khan and Modi I mean; I would imagine they could get along very well (Iqbal, 2019)."

# Trump's phone diplomacy

The US President Donald Trump spoke directly to the Prime Ministers of the Pakistan and India to defuse Pak-Indo tension on Kashmir issue on 16 August 2019. The US President pushed both the neighboring states to initiate talks on the burning issue of Kashmir." Later, on 20 August 2019 President Trump tweeted on this issue and said, "Spoke to my two good friends, Prime Minister Khan of Pakistan and Prime Minister Modi of India, regarding trade, strategic partnership

and most importantly, for Pakistan and India to work towards reducing tensions in Kashmir (Ashfaque & Iqbal, 2019)."

### The US aid to Pakistan & Afghan peace process

While answering over a question related to US assistance to Pakistan Mr. Trump said, "We paid \$1.3 billion to Pakistan in aid for many years. However, Pakistan was not doing anything for us. They were subversive. I ended that a year and a half ago. To be honest, I think we have a better relationship with Pakistan right now, than when we were paying that money." At the end of Khan and Trump successful meeting in the White House, President Trump presented a Cricket bat to the Prime Minister Imran Khan along with the picture of President Eisenhower (The News, 2019). To enhance the bilateral ties between both the countries a vase made with camel skin presented to the President Trump by the Prime Minister Khan. On the surface of camel skin vase, a portrait of the US President had made. Prime Minister Khan presented the unique traditional gift to the President Trump in White House (Daily Times, 2019). On 2 August 2019, US special representative Zalmay Khalilzad called on the PM Imran Khan and the Chief of Army Staff General Qamar Javed Bajwa in the Islamabad. According to the ISPR, Zalmay Khalilzad met with General Qamar Bajwa, discussed the Afghan peace process and showed his affirmation to work with Pakistan to safeguard the mutual interests. He also expressed his hope that others would follow the same vein as Pakistan assists to the United States on the Afghan cause. A day before he also called on the PM Khan and Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi (ISPR, 2019).

### Trump's third mediation offer on Kashmir

Prime Minister Imran Khan once again visited the United States on September 2019 to address the 74<sup>th</sup> session of United Nations General Assembly (UNGA). Before going to UNGA on 23 September, PM Khan met with President Trump in New York. Both leaders held a joint press conference where they talked about the Pakistan-India relations regarding to Kashmir issue. The bilateral ties of Pakistan and India worsened after the 5 August, when New Delhi administration unilaterally revoked the Article 370A. President Trump once again echoed his stance on the Kashmir issue. He re-offered his mediation on the Kashmir issue between both the states. During the joint press conference, he remarked, "If both the states 'Pakistan and India' want I will certainly do that. I am ready (Dawn, 2019)." While on the other side, the peace talks were under the process with Afghan Taliban for Afghanistan stability. However, earlier this month President Trump withheld the peace talks following the death of a US soldier in the Kabul attack. PM Khan during this meeting assured and held a stance before President Trump that those peace talks should be continued (Associated Press of Pakistan, 2019). President Trump strengthened the bilateral ties between both the countries.

He projected the narratives of trust and appraised the PM Khan's leadership. Trump showed his trust towards Pakistan which helped to make a strong bond between Pakistan and United States once again (Al Jazeera, 2019). On 27 September, PM Khan addressed the UNGA 74<sup>th</sup> session with a great enthusiasm. He addressed the UNGA for about 50 minutes. He presented four major issues before the UNGA members i.e. climate change, money laundering, Islamophobia and Kashmir issue, PM Khan projected his views on the Islamophobia and Islamic terrorism. He held historic views and told the world in brief how much Muslims have the respect and love for their religion especially for our beloved Holy Prophet PBUH. He rejected the radicalized Muslims and moderate Muslims concept of the world, and explained 'there is only one Islam which we follow, the Islam of Prophet PBUH, no moderate or radicalized Islam.' After this, PM Khan knock out the minds of the world leaders regarding to brutality and inhumane situation of Kashmir. Where all human rights have snubbed by Indian Army from last 50 days. He warned the whole world there will be a 'bloodbath' whenever the curfew would lift from there. There can be a potential nuclear war between two neighboring states Pakistan and India, if the powerful states and especially UN would not play its effective role. He requested the UNGA to give the Kashmiris their right of 'self-determination' according to the UN resolution (Business Recorder, 2019).

### Conclusion

Pakistan and the United States needs to build a trust worth' sincere and committed sort of relationship to bring peace and stability and to maintain their strong stance against the existing global problems like environmental issues, nuclear proliferation, economic development and terrorism. It is essential to generate the environment of the cooperation, interaction and understanding to cope with the emerging geo-strategic regional and global issues concerned with the necessity of both Pakistan and the United States. The Islamabad and the Washington administrations need to diminish anti-Pakistan and anti-American sentiments to defuse different social and psychological misperceptions. A satisfactory policy is required to adopt for the region and particularly related to the issues of Afghanistan, Kashmir, nuclear deterrence, terrorism and economic development of the region. The United States direly need to understand difference between the concept of Jihad and terrorism along with Pakistan's important role in the context of countering terrorist activities, peacemaking, stability and global harmony. Pakistan and the United States desperately need to develop economic and social relations instead of working only on military campaigns. The Washington administration can play its imperative role in the resolution in the Kashmir conflict with India. It is another important duty of Pakistan to develop coordination and interaction with the United States towards Pakistan's nuclear program. Pakistan seeks an equal American response and relations with respect to the usage of its

nuclear capability for the peaceful purposes. Both the countries will have stay engage with one another. There is a dire need to eliminate the element of the differences, diversity and distrust in different aspects of their mutual relationship particularly countering terrorism. Islamabad does not need to initiate any unnecessary controversy with the United States because it is the biggest source of economic and military assistance to Pakistan.

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