

Implementation Of Pakistan-US Defense Diplomacy For Capacity Building Of Pakistan Air Force To Undertake Counter-Terrorism Operations (2004-2017)

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Abstract – Pakistan and the US diplomatic relations have always been based on the common national interests of both countries and are defense and security-oriented. Despite many ups and downs convergence of interests in the region has always resulted in them becoming strategic partners. The 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001, resulted in a major shift in the US foreign policy towards Pakistan. Pakistan became a partner in Global War on Terror (GWOT) and extended full help and support. This study aims to analyze the background of Defense cooperation between the US and Pakistan and the consequences leading to the capacity building of the Pakistan Air Force (PAF) by the US to conduct Counter Terrorism Operations. The researcher used the National Interest Theory, with the concept of International Relations, Foreign Policy, and Defense Diplomacy. A Quasi-qualitative method was used with a case study approach to analyze the research topic. The results obtained show that Defense Diplomacy was implemented in various forms starting from the top leadership of both states, visits of top officials, Ministerial Level Strategic Dialogues, establishing offices, Defense wings, and Defense and Air Attaché's roles. Confidence-building measures were also in place through various actions, mainly taken by Pakistan. Air Force. Because of the Defense Diplomacy implemented between Pakistan and the US. PAF received state-of-the-art F-16 Fighter Aircraft and associated weapons and Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance capabilities. This enabled PAF to undertake counter-terrorism operations in support of the Pakistan Army as per the state's interest in a more efficient manner. These operations resulted in curtailing terrorism in Pakistan and recovering the affected areas.

Keywords – Intelligence, Surveillance, Reconnaissance (ISR), Precision Strike, Extremism, Weapon System, National Interest

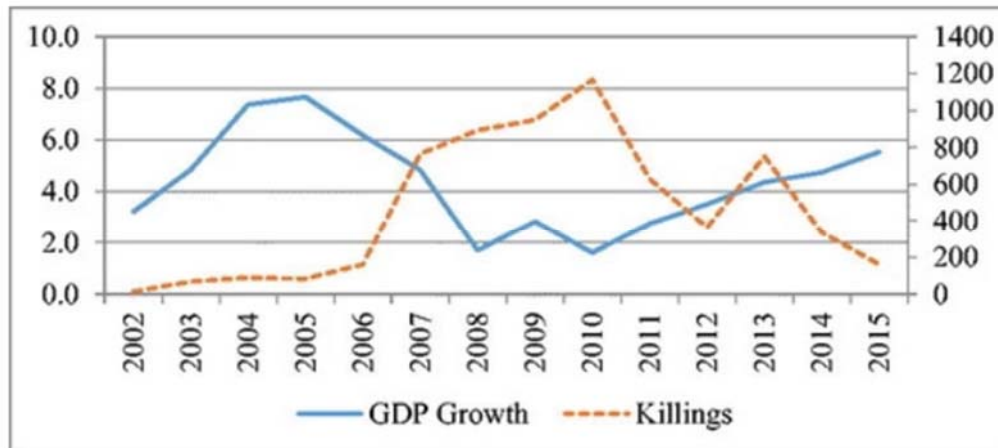
I. INTRODUCTION

The Post-Cold War years witnessed the emergence of Non-traditional security threats like terrorism as the real threat to the safety and security of the states. September 11, 2001 attacks on the US inland were the epitome of Terrorism which made the world realize the importance of fighting this menace. Terrorists are not bonded by the borders and their reach is not limited. These attacks crushed the American dream of a safe and secure homeland and challenged its status as a world leader [1]. The US and its global alliance were determined to generate a befitting response to these terrorist outfits. It was quickly revealed that al-Qaeda was behind these attacks and their leadership was based in Afghanistan under Taliban protection.

The US and its coalition started Global War on Terror (GWOT) and ousted the Taliban government in Afghanistan. With the Taliban government toppled, many militants fled to Pakistan's Border areas and tried to settle there. They already felt bereaved by Pakistan's stance on GWOT. [2] This resulted in the rise of extremism and Talibanization. As a repercussion,

Pakistan faced the worst terrorist attacks in history. [3] Fighting the US war, Pakistan faced a highly deteriorated security environment where non-traditional threats like terrorism and extremism clutched the society, hurting its internal and external defense, people, economy, international image, and basic ideology.

There was no faction of society safe from its effects. Mosques were attacked, sectarian violence was at its peak, military bases and personnel were targeted throughout the country, police and civilian personnel and their properties were attacked, schools and colleges were not safe, and even hundreds of innocent children were martyred. Pakistan was ranked in the top 2 countries affected by terrorism in the years 2013 and 2014. [4] Similarly, the rise in terrorist activities adversely affected the economic growth in Pakistan. As depicted in Graph 1.1, there was a continuous decline in GDP growth. Moreover, to fight and control terrorism, a substantial segment of human and financial resources were dedicated further burdening the economy. [5]



Graph 1.1: GDP growth and deaths by suicide attacks in Pakistan (2002–2015)

Source: [5]

The Pakistan government had to resolve to extreme measures to take out the terrorists and cleanse the western border areas mainly Federally Administered Tribal Areas. Initially, the Pakistan army conducted Counter Terrorism Operations but the need for Air support was badly felt. [6] PAF started to conduct-counter terrorism operations in support of its land forces in 2004. [7] However, soon it was realized that PAF needed a major Capacity building to undertake counter-terrorism operations effectively. Major shortcomings in PAF capacity in this regard were identified as [8]:

- a. Lack of Operational Doctrine to fight non-traditional security threats like terrorism
- b. Lack of all-weather precision strike capability (Day/Night)
- c. A limited number of Precision Guided Munition and targeting pods
- d. Lack of real-time information and persistent ISR
- e. Lack of Secure Communication capability with the ground forces essentially required during Close Air Support Missions
- f. Air Bases and Infrastructure vulnerable to terrorist threats and security mechanism was obsolete at the bases
- g. Lack of essential equipment & training including setting up command and control set up and operations room for effective decision making especially in a time-compressed environment.

As Pakistan was a strategic partner in Global War on Terror and a declared major non-NATO ally, the US was the best option to ask for help. [6] Pakistan implemented Defense Diplomacy to convince the US to equip PAF with the necessary

capabilities to efficiently undertake CT Ops. Foregone in view, this study analyzes “*the way Pakistan implemented Defense Diplomacy with the US for enhancing PAF capacity in countering terrorism from 2004-2017*”.

II. METHODOLOGY

The quasi-qualitative research methodology was adopted. The theoretical framework, themes and sub themes were laid down in advance to restrain the scope. Deductive research through qualitative descriptive (Quasi-Qualitative) method using case study was conducted with the aim of clearly describing the Defense Diplomacy for Capacity Building of PAF.

The primary data collection was from the interviews with the resource persons. This was further supported by the secondary data collected through various sources like government reports, news releases, abstracts of Congressional testimonies and briefings, policy statements by the US Department of State and Department of Defense, documents used to establish the political environment relative to the GWOT, and related articles from journals.

III. FINDING AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Defense Diplomacy

Defense Diplomacy is a relatively new term in the field of foreign and Defense relations between states. As per Britain Ministry of Défense document, “*Defense Diplomacy is a peaceful use of armed forces and its related infrastructure in order to achieve constructive outcomes in the progress of bilateral and multilateral relationships with a specific country or countries. Instead of military operations Defense Diplomacy encourages methods of collaboration including: personnel exchange, visiting ships and aircraft, high-level visits and senior commanders, bilateral meetings and dialogue, training and exercises regional defence forums, military assistance, confidence-building measures and non-proliferation. It is aimed to develop and uphold trust and help in the expansion of democratic armed forces. It plays a substantial role in the prevention and resolution of conflicts*”. [9]

Defense Diplomacy can also be defined as be, “A set of activities carried out mainly by the representatives of the Défense ministry, as well as other state institutions, aimed at pursuing the foreign policy interests of the state in the field of security and Défense policy, and whose actions are based on the use of negotiations and other diplomatic instruments”. [10] So, it can be summarized that Defense Diplomacy is carried out for following purposes.

- a. Defense Diplomacy to achieve the goals of Foreign Policy
- b. Defense Diplomacy for Strategic Engagement
- c. Defense Diplomacy for Capacity Building
- d. Defense Diplomacy for Confidence Building Measures
- e. Defense Diplomacy for International Recognition

3.2 Capacity Building

Capacity-building is defined as “the process of *developing and strengthening the skills, instincts, abilities, processes, and resources* that organizations and communities need to survive, adapt and thrive in a fast-changing world.” *Défense capacity building* has increasingly become an integral part of developing nations’ Défense programs. Military capacity is a new way of thinking State’s Défense that poses a new set of challenges and opportunities for the military and Political leadership.[11] Military capability for defence forces can be described as “*the ability to achieve a desired effect in a specific operating environment*”. [12] Where the capability is measure of ability of any force to conduct operations and functions, capacity is how that force conducts these operations.

3.3 Pak-US Defense Cooperation

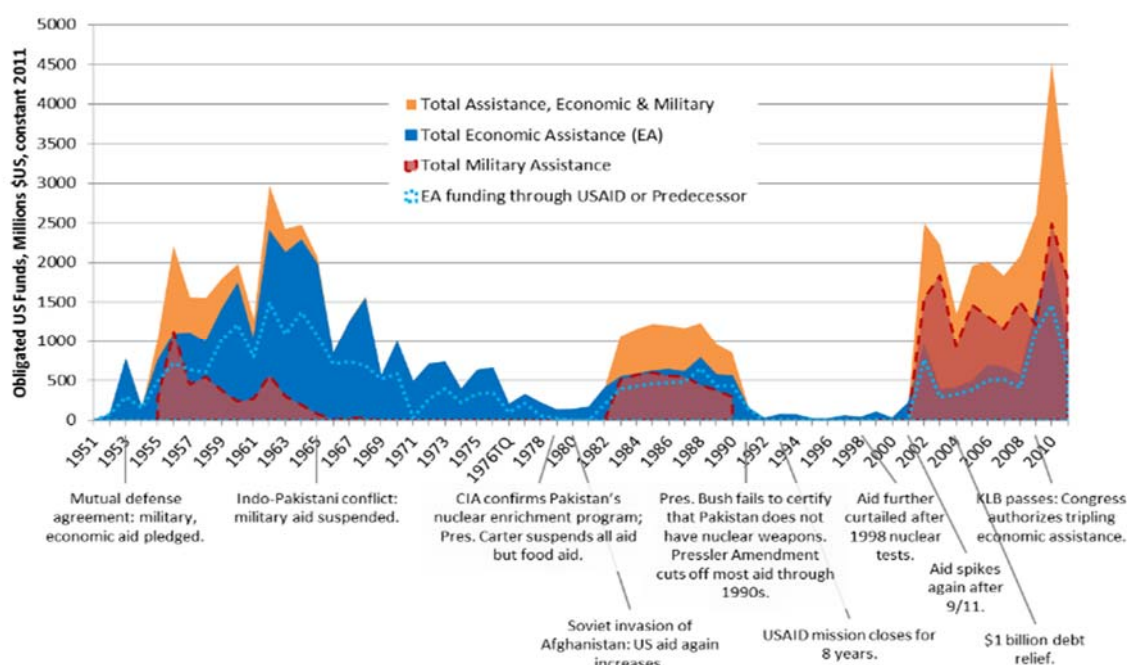
Pakistan and the US have been strategic allies since the Independence of Pakistan in 1947. These relationships have seen many ups and down but the commonalities of interest have always converged them back over the periods of history. Both countries became natural allies during the Cold War era. The US wanted a partner in this region to curtail the communist expansion in South Asia and Middle East. As India had already shown its tilt towards the former USSR, Pakistan considering

India as biggest conventional threat joined the Western camp. So, the US Government's Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine led to Pak-US defense agreement.

These relationships again flourished during Russia-Afghan war starting in 1979 and continued till 1988. During this time Pakistan fought proxy war in Afghanistan supported by the US and Saudi Arabia. With the end of Cold War and disintegration of former USSR, the US lost its interest in the region. Resultantly Americans lost their interest in this region. During 1990s the relationships between two states were at the lowest in the history. [13], [14]

Pakistan always received a lot of military and economic support from the US. As mentioned earlier initially it was to curtail Soviet extension and subsequently to support American cause in Afghanistan. [15] However, Pakistan's Nuclear Weapon Program resulted in Pressler's Amendments in 1986 and subsequently Glenn Amendments in 1998 by the US. This along with lost American interest in the region resulted in loss of American military and economic aid for Pakistan.

9/11 terrorist attacks, once again changed the American policy towards Policy. The US wanted a partner in the region to wage war on terror starting from attacking Afghanistan and ousting Taliban's Government. Pakistani was also suffering from the sectarian violence and terrorism. There were sanctions stopping assistance from the US, resulting in economic and military degradations. Therefore, common interests resulted in another strategic relationship between two states to become partner in GWOT.



Graph 1.2: Pak-US Historical Defense and Economic Engagement

Source: RAND Corporation Report [15]

Note: Amount along Y-axis is in Millions of Dollars

The US and its coalition forces toppled the Taliban government in Kabul with the help and support from Pakistan in a very quick and efficient operation. This gained Pakistan their good will and Pakistan was declared a major non-NATO ally. However, the militant factions fled to the Pak-Afghan bordering areas. Pakistan faced the rising extremism, radicalism and terrorism, which crippled the law and order and security situation. Pakistan Government took a policy decision to conduct counter terrorism operation against all such outfits and factions to eradicate this menace from the roots. The US and its allies also considered Pak-Afghan border as most dangerous area, as any future attack on their interests could be planned here. This was the fear which plunged the normal human society in the US. Prospect of further attacks on American soil or their interest forced the US to fight the root cause of the terrorism planning based in Afghanistan and subsequently in Pak-Afghan border area. [16]

3.4 Importance of Pakistan and its Role in GWOT

Afghanistan is a landlocked country, neighboring Pakistan in the South and East; Iran is to the West; to north it shares its borders with Central Asian States including Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan; and China is in the far Northeast. Map given below clearly depicts that *the shortest and most economic route to Afghanistan is from Arabic Sea via Pakistan*. [17]

Similarly, to attack on terrorist hideouts in Afghanistan and provide Air Cover to its land forces, Pakistan was strategically the best choice. So, Pakistan was expected to become partner in GWOT and cooperate in all regards. Pakistan helped and supported the US and coalition forces including

- Targeting and capturing of Terrorists including Al-Qaida and other foreign fighters who escaped and entered into Pakistan territory.
- Providing limited over flight and landing rights for U.S. military and intelligence units



Figure 1.1: Afghanistan and Neighboring Countries

Source: [17]

- Creating a corridor through its Western Border for the coalition Aircraft to fly to Afghanistan.
- Sharing intelligence and immigration information
- Breaking diplomatic relations with the Taliban and depriving them of most logistical support
- Allowing the US and NATO logistics supplies to move through Pakistan.

Moreover, Pakistan deployed army, Frontier Corps, Special Services Group (SSG), and Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) to the Pak-Afghan border to carry out operation on infiltrating militants from Afghanistan. [18] Subsequently, Pakistan Army and PAF actively participated in joint operations to fight terrorism and extremism in the Western Border Areas and FATA.

3.5 Pakistan Military Counter Terrorism Operations

Pakistan Army conducted number of Counter Terrorism and Counter Insurgency Operations during 2001-2017. However, list of the major operations include [18] [19]:

- Operation Enduring Freedom (2001–2002)
- Operation Al Mizan (2002–2006)
- Operation Zalzala (2008)

- Operations Sher Dil, Rah-e-Haq, and Rah-e-Rast (2007–2009)
- Operation Rah-e-Nijat (2009–2010).



Figure 1.2: Pakistan Army Operations 2001-2017

Source: RAND MG982-3.2

- Operation Zarb-e-Azb (2014-2017)

3.6 Pakistan Air Force Counter Terrorism Operations

Airpower characteristics of speed, flexibility and lethality surpasses many impediments including geographical hurdles of an area. The air combat support in counter terrorism joint operations enable land forces to forward and sustain their offensive posture specially in case of geographical constraints and enemy surface threats. As described in USAF doctrine on Irregular warfare, “*Difficult terrain, physical isolation of population groups, and poorly developed infrastructures often impede counterinsurgency and counterterrorism operation*” [20].

In Pakistan’s effected area FATA militants were exploiting the inadequately mapped mountainous terrain and civilian population as human shield for their defense. Conducting operations in such area was not an easy task. Pakistan Air Force started its counter terrorism operation in 2004 in support of Pakistan Army. These missions included surveillance and reconnaissance missions to locate terrorists’ hideouts, ambush sites, support infrastructure and on ground forces. PAF used its F-16 A/B with ATLIS (Automatic Tracking and Laser Integration System) pods to capture the videos of the desired areas. However, this equipment was not well suited to locate small targets and the targets on the move. Once the analysis of the collected data was done and targets were allocated PAF aircraft would strike those targets. This process used to take about 24 hours which was not suitable especially in case of high value time sensitive targeting. [8]

3.7 Defense Diplomacy Model for PAF Capacity Building

Defense Diplomacy efforts for capacity building, which were carried out by the Pakistan and Pakistan Air Force included a long list of actions taken by the various offices and institutions starting from top till bottom. Defense Diplomacy for capacity building also included actions for the Defense Diplomacy for strategic engagement, confidence building measures, and international recognition of Pakistan’s role in GWOT. The basic premise was that Capacity Building of PAF to conduct CT Ops is equally important to Pakistan as well as the US’s Interest. These Defense Diplomacy actions included:

3.7.1 Post 9/11 Head of States Mutual Understanding and Défense Diplomacy

- a. DDCB for PAF started with discussions and understanding between the head of the two states Musharaff and Bush who met a number of times to discuss the security issues and counter-terrorism cooperation and operation.

- b. Pakistan's Leadership also tried to persuade policymakers that the US should extend defence cooperation in the field of unmanned aerial vehicles, and ToT of F-16 and UAVs, as these were critical for PAF capacity building.

3.7.2 Défense Diplomacy for Capacity Building Through Persuasion

During all this time the US Secretary of states, Deputy Secretary of States and Defense Secretary along with services chiefs and experts were engaged through Defense Diplomacy, while carrying out the counter terrorism operations. It was deliberated in every meeting that PAF was a lynchpin in all these operations.

3.7.3 Defense Diplomacy Through Confidence Building Measures: Success and Cooperation

Pakistan helped in Ousting Taliban government; Pakistan Forces conducted Joint Operations with the US Forces to capture terrorists and destroy their camps; Intelligence was shared between two states, the US military Radars were installed in few areas of Pakistan; and regular joint briefings were conducted to share the updates.

3.7.4 Department of Defense in the US Embassy, Islamabad

Department of Defense in the US Embassy has two offices, namely, Office of Defense Attaché and Office of Defense Representative-Pakistan. PAF engaged both offices judiciously to fight its case for procurement of latest military equipment and weapon systems. The ODRP managed U.S. security assistance to the Pakistan military and provided liaison with PAF like Letter of Request and Letter of Acceptance. [21]

3.7.5 Pakistan Air Force Project Falcon

Pakistan Project Falcon is a dedicated program management office at AHQ. It is basically responsible for the planning, acquisition, maintenance, funding and logistics aspects of the F-16s. Pakistan Air Force Project Falcon Team worked in coordination with the to ensure smooth acquisition of F-16s, and their delivery and support. This office coordinated on regular basis with State Department, the Department of Defense, the Deputy Under Secretary of the Air Force for International Affairs (SAF/IA), The Air Force Security Assistance and Cooperation (AFSAC) Directorate and the Air Force Security Assistance Training Squadron (AFSAT) and Lockheed Martin. [22], [23]

3.7.6 Défense Diplomacy for Capacity Building Through Defense Representatives in the US

There are few permanent representations of Pakistan Air Force in the US which are required to carry out Defense Diplomacy for capacity building by conducting regular interaction with the requisite US Departments, Défense Department, USAF, and participates in all other Defense related activities which are beneficial to PAF. These include

- Air Attaché,
- Attaché Défense Procurement Air [24]
- Senior Representative of Pakistan in F-16 Program
- PAF representative in the US CENTCOM Tampa, Florida [25]

3.7.7 International Military Education and Training Program (IMET)

(IMET) program is a tool of the US foreign policy seeking the national security. And also falls under the umbrella of *Defense Diplomacy for Confidence Building Measure and Défense Diplomacy for Capacity Building*. [26] Pakistan received on the average 40 IMET courses annually offered to PAF through Joint Staff Headquarters, including short and long courses.

3.7.8 Project "USAF PAF Partnering Post-Operation Enduring Freedom

Project "USAF PAF Partnering Post-Operation Enduring Freedom" sponsored by the office of the US Secretary of the Air Force/International Affairs and it is vital for interoperability. [15]

3.7.9 USAF-PAF Security Cooperation

At Air Force to Air Force level, during Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) in Afghanistan, USAF and PAF maintained tangible and pragmatic relationships. Senior leadership of both Air Forces were in close coordination., USAF-PAF Security Cooperation included

- a. Logistics Support to USAF
- b. PAF Pilots training on F-16 in USAF
- c. Technical / Maintenance Staff Training
- d. Joint Air Exercises

3.7.10 Pak-US Strategic Dialogues

Pak-US Ministerial level Strategic Dialogues are conducted on regular basis since March, 2010. The US Secretary of States attends these dialogues while from Pakistan side Minister of Foreign Affairs represents Pakistan. Initial agenda included [27]:

- a. Transfer of technologies for F-16 Aircraft and Attack and ISR Drones.
- b. Highlight the importance of Pak-US Defense cooperation and continuous counterterrorism efforts.

3.7.11 Défense Diplomacy through Lobbying

Pakistan hired the lobbyist firms to highlight the positive role played by the state in GWOT and clarify Pakistan's stance against terrorism. [28] The American company Lockheed Martin which was eager to sell its F-16s to Pakistan to keep their built and supply lines running, also hired a top lobbyist group.

3.8 PAF Capacity Building

Defense Diplomacy between two states for PAF Capacity Building resulted in military assistance and equipment for PAF. The main capabilities leading to PAF capacity enhancement included:

- 18 new F-16 C/D Block 52 Fighting Falcon combat aircraft
- 60 MLU kits for F-16A/B. Pakistan has purchased 45 kits
- F-16 armaments (AMRAAM), 2,000-pound bombs, JDAMs and LGBs
- Modification of C-130 with ISR Payload
- A comprehensive training plan was followed including Close Air Support Missions in support of land forces, Combat Search and Rescue in case of any eventuality, aerial refueling for enhanced ranges and extended flying time, and night flying operations with NVGs. This was done with the purpose to limit collateral damages and civilian casualties. [29]

PAF new and Mid Life Upgraded F-16s were Equipped with the latest weaponry, targeting pods, Synthetic Aperture Radar (SAR) capability, DB-110 Intelligence, Surveillance, Reconnaissance (ISR) pod, and Helmet Mounted Cueing System (HMCS). These capabilities made it best suited for the precision strikes and close air support during counter terrorism operations in the FATA and resulted in high success rate.

The Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance (ISR) and Battle Damage Assessment (BDA) was also carried out with the modified C-130s of PAF known as " FLIR Herks". C-130s were initially fitted with the Star Sapphire III EO/IR [electro-optical/infrared] sensor ball for ISR. The further advancement came with the BRITE Star II which has the capability of ISR and also act as the laser-designator in support for the PAF F-16 fighter aircraft equipped with laser-guided bomb (LGB).

3.9 PAF Participation in Counter Terrorism Operations After Capacity Building

During 2004 till 2008 PAF occasionally supported land missions on demand from Pakistan Army. In 2009, with PAF having enhanced capacity for counterinsurgency (COIN) operations there was a shift in the PAF role. These new capabilities set aside the challenge that the terrorists were well-embedded within the FATA's challenging mountainous terrain [30]. PAF was able to conduct CT Ops with greater precision and lethality, engaging time sensitive targets and fleeing terrorist, destroying their hideouts, smoothing out terrorist infiltrated areas, carrying out Close Air Support missions in joint operations with Pakistan Army. Above all, these mission achievements were accomplished with minimum or no collateral damage to the innocent civilian lives [15].

3.9.1 Precision Strikes

PAF counter terrorism precision strikes were conducted by the F-16 C/D Block 52 and F-16 A/B MLU. The air strike mechanism starts with receipt of information on targets. PAF assess the target at Ops Room and ISR of target is carried out to observe enemy activities. The fighter aircraft stay on alert at a nearby airfield from operational area and get airborne in minimum possible time.

PAF used its newly acquired capability including GPS/INS-guided Joint Direct Attack Munition (JDAM) and Paveway II LGBs. These precision-strike munitions assisted with "FLIR Herks" and Sniper Advanced Targeting Pods (ATP) from Lockheed Martin resulted in a high mission success rate. During all counter terrorism operations in FATA by the Pakistan Armed Forces, PAF's air-to-ground strike operations remained an essential factor [30].

3.9.2 Quick Reaction Force (QRF)

Time sensitive targeting require immediate reaction. A concept of QRF was followed, whereby aircraft in ready and armed state along with pilots were made ready to launch against any time sensitive targets assigned on short notice. In some case even F16 aircraft loaded with air to ground weapons were positioned in the requisite areas for an immediate reaction to tasking order. Other than the on-ground destruction of support centres, killing terrorists and their leadership had a great psychological impact on overall counter terrorism campaign. However, absence of air to air refuelling platform limited the holding time of PAF F-16s. [8]

3.10 Results of DDCB and PAF Participation in CT Operations

PAF involvement in CT Ops after its capacity building to undertake these operations resulted in great success. There was a continuous decrease in terrorist activities. Pakistan was also able to clear its areas from the Taliban influence and only 1% was left under their control by 2017 [18]. Inter services coordination to conduct these operations also improved. PAF professionalism to fight nontraditional threats like terrorism inside own territory enhanced. Terrorist networks were destroyed and their operations were crippled. Terrorist effected areas were restored and writ of the government was reinstated. Civil machinery and LEAs became effective in those areas. Development work started.

3.10.1 Pakistan's Positive Image Revived Worldwide

A positive narrative built against Terrorists' narrative locally and internationally. In 2018, the British Backpacker Society ranked Pakistan the world's top adventure travel destination, describing the country as "one of the friendliest countries on earth, with mountain scenery that is beyond anyone's wildest imagination". Lonely Planet termed Pakistan "tourism's 'next big thing' for more years than we care to remember".

Similarly, according to the World Economic Forum's Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Report 2017, the direct contribution of travel and tourism to Pakistan's GDP in 2016 was Rs. 793 billion constituting 2.7% of the total GDP.

3.10.2 Socio-Economic Impact

From the data of the South Asia Terrorist Portal, from 2001 till 2020, it is evident that there was a clear decline in the loss of lives of civilian and security forces personnel because of terrorist attacks after 2010. These losses reduced to negligible by 2017. [31]. The decrease in terrorist attacked resulted in confidence of investors and businessmen and GDP growth started to rise. Moreover, the decrease in direct and indirect cost of terrorism also helped in strengthening of economy which is an important

aspect of defence and security [32]. The cost of doing business reduced, exports and tax collection increased. Resultantly, FDI and domestic investment also increased significantly. [5]

3.11 Impediments in Defense Diplomacy for Capacity Building of PAF

Pak-US defense diplomacy for capacity building of PAF faced certain impediments. During this process of Pak-US DDCB, a few of the Pakistan's demands were not met. Despite Pakistan's efforts, transfer of Drone and F-16 technology was not agreed upon by the US. Similarly, the Civil Nuclear deal, that the US offered India was not offered to Pakistan. Similarly, a missing link found during all these efforts was the Defense Diplomacy for Defense Industry development. The main impediments can be listed in four main categories including:

3.11.1 Mistrust Between Two States and Diverting National Interests

Despite all the efforts of Pakistan there is always some *level of mistrust between two countries*. Pak-US relationships were abandoned in the past whenever the US lost its interest in this region. [15] This happened again as after 2010 Pak-US relationships started to deteriorate. This was mainly because of contradicting national interests of two states. The US always demand to do more, but Pakistan has to stay in this region and has to carry the burden of its geography, therefore, it can't always follow the American agenda.

People of FATA are the citizens of Pakistan and they need to be reconciliated back into national mainstream, but for the US it's just another area which seem dangerous to their interests. Similarly, incidents like NATO helicopters attacking Salala, killing of Osama bin Laden, unprovoked drone attacks in Pakistan tribal areas, arresting a CIA agent by Pakistan resulted in further mistrusts between two states. [33]

3.11.2 Great Power Rivalry and Regional Politics

Moreover, Pakistan security perspective is multi-dimensional and can't be focused to the US interests only. *Pakistan has its regional alliances which need to be maintained and honoured*. China and the US are in great power rivalry but for Pakistan China is all-weather strategic partner. Similarly, Indian involvement in Afghanistan is against the Pakistan's interest. Pakistan needs a favorable government in Kabul. These all issues necessitate a multi-dimensional approach for Pakistan. Whereas, the US always showed its concerns about the Pakistan's direct or indirect actions leading to circumstances not favorable to the US interests.

3.11.3 Rising Indian Influence

India is a rising power and a neighbouring country to China. The US favours India to curtail China and that's why their security relationships are likely to become more durable and deeper India through its growing influence in international politics has also played its role in renegotiating the Pak-US defense purchase deal of F-16s and its support program. Resultantly Pakistan couldn't get 8 F-16s through FMF program [34]

3.11.4 Pakistan's Economic Issues

Pakistan is economically struggling. As discussed by Qureshi and Shah "*Pakistan is facing serious challenges to its national security due to weak economy, corruption, inflation, and huge domestic and foreign debt*". This forces Pakistan to remain dependent on many institutions and states. Pakistan can't afford to buy very costly military equipment even if it is available. Moreover, this dependence also results in molding the foreign policy decision making including procurement of defence equipment etc. [32].

IV. CONCLUSION

Defense Diplomacy as per its definition are the activities by the Defense and other state institutions to promote national interest of the state specifically in the field of defense and security but not limited to these. The main reason for the conduct of Defense Diplomacy was based on the convergence of National Interests of Pakistan and the US post 9/11 terrorist attacks in the US. Pakistan was under severe economic and military sanctions and was victim of growing terrorism and extremism. Attack on the US territory was a challenge to the US leadership as a sole super power of the world. In the GWOT which started with the attack on Afghanistan, the US needed a strategic ally in the region. Due to its geostrategic location Pakistan was the best choice.

Pakistan helped the US and coalition forces to fight this war and supported them with logistic routes, airspace access, intelligence sharing, joint military operations and conducting own counter terrorism operations. This resulted in killing and capturing of thousands of Al-Qaeda and other terrorists fleeing to Pakistan border areas. These terrorists included Al-Qaeda leadership who were considered very important to the US. Defense Diplomacy for Pakistan Air Force capacity building to conduct these CT Ops were based on the same premise. Pakistan followed a Defense Diplomacy model involving all tiers and levels.

PAF was equipped with state-of-the-art equipment by the US, best suited to conduct such operations effectively. CT Operations by PAF with this enhanced capacity resulted in crippling terrorist operations and reinstating government's writ in the effected areas. A positive image of Pakistan was projected worldwide. However, some impediments like mistrust between two states, great power rivalry between China and the US, rising Indian influence in international politics and Pakistan's own financial problems hindered the capacity building of PAF. Pakistan need to work on these impediments to further improve trust and relationship with the US.

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