



RESEARCH PAPER

Unravelling the 9th May Incident: The Impact of Post-9/11 Pakistan-US Alliance on Pakistan's Security

¹ Ashfaq Ahmad and ²Dr. Safdar Hussain*

1. PhD Scholar, Department of Political Science, the Islamia University of Bahawalpur, Punjab, Pakistan
2. Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, the Islamia University of Bahawalpur, Punjab, Pakistan

***Corresponding Author:** Safdar.hussain@iub.edu.pk

ABSTRACT

The objective of the study is to examine the aftermath of Pakistan's alliance with the U.S. following 9/11, focusing on its impact in creating divisions among the populace and institutions, as evidenced by the events of May 9, 2023. It highlights how Pakistan's compromises for economic and military aid have undermined its autonomy, exacerbating security challenges, including rising grievances among populace. Through qualitative analysis, the study uncovers the incident's origins in deep-seated grievances and perceived U.S. interference, underscoring its exploitation for political gains. The 9th May incident, a manifestation of deeply-rooted grievances, emerged as a reaction to perceived U.S. interference in Pakistan's internal affairs, exploited by political leader for their own gains. The study emphasizes the adverse effects of such alliances on Pakistan's internal affairs and security, stressing the need for diplomatic strategies prioritizing national stability. Its findings advocate for future diplomatic approaches mindful of these alliances' impact on Pakistan's autonomy, aiming for enhanced national stability while addressing security implications.

Keywords: 9th May Incident, Anti-American Sentiment, Autonomy, Security Challenge, Pak-US Alliance, Post 9/11, PTI

Introduction

The 9/11 attacks profoundly altered the U.S.'s security paradigm, prompting a reassessment of non-traditional threats like terrorism (Leffler, 2003). The U.S. swiftly sought to neutralize al-Qaeda, closely linked to Afghanistan's Taliban regime, compelling alliances with countries like Pakistan (Bergen, 2023). This partnership, facilitated by compelling evidence of al-Qaeda's involvement, drove Pakistan to assist in accessing Afghanistan due to its geographical proximity (Amin & Khawaja, 2019). Facing economic challenges, Pakistan viewed this alignment as a means to secure financial aid, investment, and advanced military technology from the U.S., crucial in its rivalry with India (Ali & Patman, 2019).

The U.S.-Pakistan alliance operated on a quid pro quo basis (Schaffer & Schaffer, 2011). Pakistan committed to actions such as denying al-Qaeda sanctuary, cutting ties with the Taliban, and supporting U.S. military efforts in Afghanistan (Schaffer & Schaffer, 2011). In return, the U.S. provided substantial economic and military aid, bolstering Pakistan's capabilities (Kronstadt, 2012).

While this alliance offered significant economic and military gains for Pakistan (Khan, 2020; Ahmed, 2023), it also spawned critical security challenges. Extremist ideologies gained momentum, finding safe havens in Pakistan's border regions, resulting in escalated terrorism and violence within the country (Shahid et al., 2020). In response, drone strikes and military operations targeted terrorists but incurred civilian casualties, fueling

anti-American sentiments and grievances against security forces (Shah, 2018; Tamana, 2010).

This study contends that political entities like PTI exploited anti-American sentiments to advance their agendas. PTI's narrative resonated with the public, escalating tensions between the government, institutions, and the populace. This manipulation amplified existing grievances, evident in events like the 9th May incident. The study seeks to unveil the correlation between the U.S. alliance post-9/11 and the 9th May incident, navigating the intricate interplay of geopolitics, national security, public sentiments, and political maneuvering.

Employing qualitative methodologies and diverse sources such as books, journals, newspapers, websites, and National Archives, this research aims to illuminate Pakistan's security challenges. It endeavors to propose policy solutions for security elites and bridge the understanding gap between these challenges and the public. The objective is to unravel the complexities confronting security elites, offering insights for policymakers and enhancing public comprehension of Pakistan's security landscape.

Literature Review

Conceptualizing Compromised Autonomy: Scholarly Perspectives

The concept of "autonomy" in international relations denotes a nation's ability to self-govern without undue external influence, essential for sovereignty (United Nations, 1945). Morrow defines autonomy as a state's capacity for independent policy-making (Morrow, 1991). Pakistan historically exhibited autonomous governance, decision-making through consultations, and parliamentary approval for legislation. However, the post-9/11 U.S.-Pak alliance led to compromises termed "autonomy concessions" (Morrow, 1991). Morrow explains that in such asymmetrical alliances, minor states concede decision-making or allow major powers to influence domestic politics in exchange for security assistance (Ibid). Keohane's concept of autonomy loss also highlights how powerful states pressure weaker ones, reducing their independent decision-making (Keohane, 1984).

Morrow contends that alliances may force states to prioritize allies' interests, eroding their autonomy (Morrow, 1991). Martin suggests that even unfulfilled expectations within a relationship can erode a state's autonomy (Martin, 1992). Similarly, Tierney notes that autonomy concessions involve accepting an alliance partner's influence (Tierney, 2005). Considering these scholars' perspectives on autonomy concessions and examining Pakistan's post-9/11 actions, it's evident that Pakistan's engagement in the U.S.-led War on Terror significantly compromised its autonomy.

Analyzing Post-9/11 Pakistan-U.S Alliance: Autonomy Compromises

The post-9/11 Pakistan-U.S. alliance vividly exemplifies autonomy compromises, as Pakistan allowed U.S. anti-terrorism operations within its borders, granting access to various bases and actively supporting counterterrorism efforts (Centcom, 2002; Husain, 2009; Fair, 2004; Gregory, 2007). This aligns with Keohane's view that coerced deviations diminish autonomy (Keohane, 1984) and Morrow's notion of necessary concessions in alliances (Morrow, 1991). Pakistan's alignment was driven by regional security concerns, especially vis-à-vis India, leading to a strategic depth approach in Afghanistan (Akhtar, 2008; Threlkeld & Easterly, 2021; Chomsky, 2011). Despite ethnic and strategic considerations, Pakistan's alliance marked a compromise on its autonomy, involving concessions and sacrifices (Price, 2012).

Similarly, U.S. influence on Pakistan's association with Iran constrained collaboration due to sanctions, showcasing external sway in shaping Pakistan's policies

(Raza, 2020; Asghar et al., 2007; Baqai, 2021). The use of military force directed by the U.S. despite Pakistan's objections underscored compromised autonomy, facing challenges of collateral damage and public dissent (New America Foundation, 2008).

The alliance exemplifies how external factors, notably the U.S., significantly shape Pakistan's foreign policy decisions, depicting clear instances of compromised autonomy.

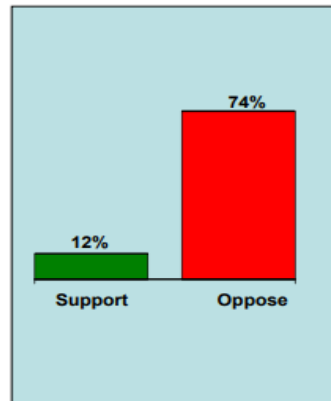


Figure 1: Pakistanis Who Support/ Oppose U.S. Military Action against al-Qaeda and Taliban

Source: Results of a New Nationwide Public Opinion Survey of Pakistan before the June 2008 Pakistani-By-Elections

The claim details the findings of a national poll. More than 74% of those who responded to this survey said they opposed the military employing force. This indicates that a sizable majority of those polled are opposed to the idea of the military using force. Contrary to using force, there was a prevailing inclination among the people to favor negotiations with terrorists rather than resorting to military confrontation as shown in Figure 2.

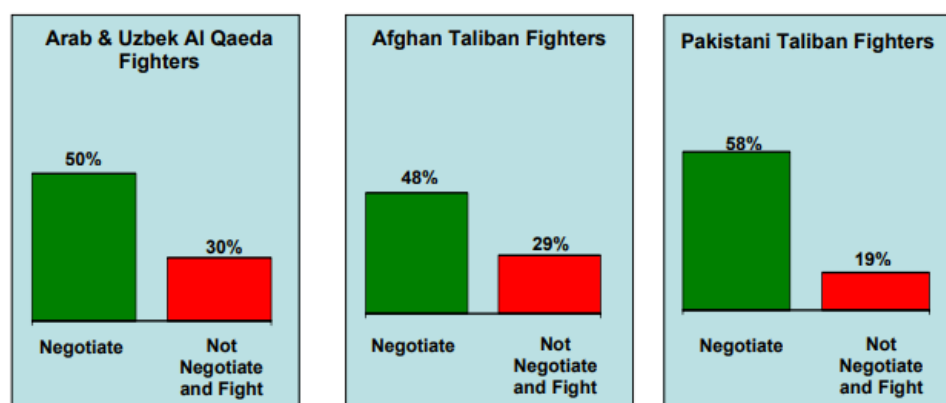


Figure 2: Should the Pakistani Government Negotiate with or Continue to Fight

Source: Results of a New Nationwide Public Opinion Survey of Pakistan before the June 2008 Pakistani-By-Elections

The majority of poll respondents indicated a preference for negotiation over the use of military action, which is illustrated visually in Figure 2. In other words, the majority of

those polled preferred diplomatic negotiations and peaceful solutions to the use of force. This prevalent resistance within the public was somehow the cause of hesitation to initiate extensive military campaigns (Afzal, 2018). Nevertheless, Pakistan was compelled to make the choice of initiating military operations due to the manipulative persuasion of the U.S., employing a strategy that linked aid provision to Pakistan's military actions against Al Qaeda and the Taliban while withholding specific military assistance funds (Riaz, 2016). This decision-making process demonstrates another facet of the compromised autonomy, as the alliance influenced Pakistan's choices in confronting complex security challenges.

In a parallel vein, the influence of the U.S. extended to the intricate landscape of Pakistan's internal policies, leaving an indelible mark on the erosion of the nation's autonomy. A case in point underscores the U.S.' initial backing of military autocrats, an alignment that not only bolstered the military's supremacy but also relegated democratic and civil leadership to the periphery. This transformative shift came with its own ramifications, including the erosion of democratic institutions' credibility and an impediment in their trajectory towards growth. This influence, however, displayed a dynamic duality. At strategic junctures, the U.S. advanced the idea of a fragile civilian administration, reasoning that such a setup would better serve its vested interests (Aziz, 2007). An illustrative instance arises from the promulgation of the National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO), which emerged as a result of negotiations between Benazir Bhutto and Musharraf. This pact offered Bhutto immunity from corruption charges, while simultaneously safeguarding Musharraf's control over a modicum of democracy in Pakistan (Riaz, 2016). Western scholars, such as Howard B. Schaffer and Teresita C. Schaffer, echoed a comparable narrative. They posit that as the U.S.'s backing of Musharraf waned; a strategic shift emerged, favoring the establishment of a more pliable civilian administration to amplify their sway within Pakistan's borders (Schaffer & Schaffer, 2011).

This perspective resonates with media analyst Kashif Abbassi's viewpoint, who added further depth to the narrative. Abbassi's analysis suggests that the U.S. adopted a calculated approach of selective democratization, consciously nurturing weaker civilian structures as a mechanism to exert subtle yet potent pressure on the Pakistani government (Riaz, 2016). A synchronistic thread runs through accusations that even the extension of former Chief of Army Staff Ashfaq Pervez Kiyani's tenure in 2010 might have been susceptible to U.S. influence, positioning him as a potent force orchestrating developments behind the scenes (Schaffer & Schaffer, 2011). Moreover, the U.S.' assertive role traversed various sectors, compelling Pakistan to embark on multifaceted reforms encompassing governance, security, and education. This level of engagement carried the weight of discernible impact, shaping policy trajectories and, in effect, orchestrating the hierarchy of governmental priorities. It is evident that the tapestry of U.S. involvement in Pakistan's domestic affairs interweaves complex narratives of influence, power dynamics, and strategic maneuvering.

Methodology

The methodology encompassed a comprehensive review of events linked to Pakistan's purported loss of sovereignty, particularly those associated with its collaboration with the United States in the War on Terror. It aimed to establish a nexus between the perceived erosion of autonomy due to the U.S. alliance, the surge in anti-government sentiments, social upheaval, and potential security hazards such as casualties and terrorism. Additionally, the study delved into PTI-affiliated social media channels to probe anti-military sentiments and their impact on public perception. Monitoring phrases like "Khan is our red line" provided insights into shifting public attitudes.

The analysis involved examining the circumstances surrounding Imran Khan's attempted arrest in the Toshakhana case, evaluating ensuing confrontations and protests. This included monitoring casualties, violent incidents, and responses from both the military and civilians.

Secondary data sources, such as newspapers, broadcast reports, and social media trends, were utilized for this investigation.

Results and Discussion

Rise of extremist ideologies and radicalization

The aftermath of 9/11 and subsequent operations amplified radicalization in Pakistan, spurred by various factors. Javaid highlights how the 9/11 attacks and ensuing operations radicalized Afghan and Pakistani societies (Javaid, 2011). Khan underscores porous borders and strong ethnic, cultural, and religious ties along them as crucial in allowing fleeing militants and al-Qaeda leadership to find refuge in Pakistan's tribal regions post-Afghan invasion (Khan, 2015; Arif, 2010). This influx fueled instability akin to Afghanistan within Pakistan (Arif, 2010). Additionally, close ethnic ties led many tribal communities to perceive the invasion as unjust, receiving support from regional sectarian and religious organizations. Collaboration between Taliban, al-Qaeda, and local groups intensified the situation, breeding extremism, violence, and intolerance in Pakistani society (Khan & Kiran, 2012). These events, led by Western actions under U.S. leadership, exacerbated radical tendencies against the West, especially among the younger generation, and facilitated al-Qaeda and other groups in advancing their agendas (Khan & Kiran, 2012).

Pakistan – Victim of Terrorism

Michael compares extremism to a tree nurturing terrorism's growth, with accused groups as its branches (Michael, 2007). General Musharraf's policies faced backlash from militant religious factions, recruiting and radicalizing youth into militants and terrorists. The Taliban regime's ousting in Afghanistan led to Afghan war veterans returning home to Pakistan's Tribal Areas, providing shelter to al-Qaida and extremists. Pakistan's forces managed to eliminate some militants but struggled with ongoing threats (Iqbal, 2019).

Policies like U.S. drone strikes, the Lal Masjid operation, the Killing of Nawab Bugti, and military actions exacerbated terrorism in Pakistan. Drone attacks fueled anti-U.S. sentiments, leading to increased dissatisfaction and a surge in Tehreek-e-Taliban recruitment following an attack (Nawaz, 2009). Rafat Mahmood's investigation revealed a disturbing correlation: 420 U.S. drone strikes from 2006 to 2016 contributed to 17% of terror incidents and triggered further attacks, resulting in around 6,000 lives lost during this period (Mehmood, 2016).

Human costs of terrorism for Pakistan

Human cost is the most obvious impact in any war and Pakistan is no exception to it, as evidenced by the War on Terror's imposition of a substantial human burden over the past two decades. Particularly in the aftermath of forming this alliance, Pakistan witnessed to an unprecedented loss of life due to acts of terrorism, with tens of thousands of its citizens falling victim, an upsetting reality vividly portrayed in Table 1 below. We see that the years 2010 and 2011 had the highest number of casualties since the Pakistani government had authorized drone attacks, which in turn sparked an increase in terrorist acts in retaliation.

Abbasi pointed out that comprehending the extensive human suffering caused by terrorism's impact in Pakistan necessitates a holistic perspective that accounts for the combined toll arising from terrorist attacks, political upheaval, ethnic tensions, sectarian conflicts, and even drone strikes. This all-encompassing assessment becomes essential due to the intricate intermingling that defines the dynamics of various extremist factions. In the present era, the fusion of terrorist, sectarian, and ethno-nationalist elements has become indistinguishable (Abbasi, 2013).

Table 1
Terrorism-related Attacks and Casualties in Pakistan

Year	No. of attacks	Killed	Injured
2002	56	102	311
2003	88	189	168
2004	159	863	412
2005	254	216	571
2006	675	907	1543
2007	1503	3448	5353
2008	2577	7997	9670
2009	3816	12632	12815
2010	3393	10003	10283
2011	2985	7107	6736
2012	2217	5047	5688
2013	911	4160	3794
2014	1206	1723	3143
2015	575	1443	1069
2016	341	1627	908
2017	370	1736	815
2018	262	1030	595

Source: PIPS security reports, South Asian Terrorism Portal, Data from National Crisis Management Cell (NCMC), Ministry of Interior.

Political, Social, and Economic Cost of alliance

The post-9/11 era in Pakistan ushered in significant political changes as the nation grappled with redefining its stance on the Taliban and contended with rising Islamic factions, notably leading to the emergence of the MMA coalition in 2002 (Iqbal, 2019). Pakistan faced profound economic fallout due to its role in the War on Terror, resulting in increased terrorism impacting law and order, deterring foreign investors, and incurring a staggering economic loss of \$126.79 billion (Jamshaid & Islam, 2021). This period also exacerbated societal challenges, particularly affecting women, with disruptions in societal norms and a surge in violence and drug-related problems, exacerbating social woes (Chughtai, 2013).

Grievances towards Government & Institutes

The interference and dominance of the United States in Pakistan resulted in grievances among the Pakistani populace. However, this is also the fact that anti-American sentiment in Pakistan is rooted in historical disappointments, including perceived betrayals during conflicts like those in 1965 and 1971 (Baloch, 2006). Moreover, the U.S. is viewed as anti-Islamic, engaged in ethically questionable global interventions, fostering hesitancy about Pakistan's 2001 alliance (Rashi et al., 2021). Still, the events like the Salala attack, Operation Neptune Spear, Raymond Davis Case, and drone strikes deepened this sentiment (Rashi et al., 2021). Imran Khan's PTI capitalized on these sentiments, benefiting from concerns about Pakistan's losses in the War on Terror (Rashi et al., 2021). Khan's rhetoric resonated, highlighting the significant human and financial costs of Pakistan's cooperation with the U.S., amassing political support in Pashtun areas by emphasizing over 80,000 deaths and \$100 billion in economic losses due to the 20-year war. Calling the War on Terror a self-inflicted wound for Pakistan, he said:

[...] we cannot blame anyone else for this outcome of the war. We ourselves are responsible as we let [others] use us, sacrificed the reputation of our country for aid and made a foreign policy that went against the public interest [and was devised] for money.

And so, I am well aware of what considerations went behind the decision. Unfortunately, the people of Pakistan were not a consideration (World News, 2021).

Moreover, during the War and Terror the U.S. used drones to target various radical and militant Taliban leaders, killing large numbers of civilians and destroying property which intensified resentment. Drone operations in Pakistan were launched by President George W. Bush in 2004, exhibiting a gradual escalation in the frequency of strikes particularly during the years of Obama presidency, as illustrated in Figure 3.

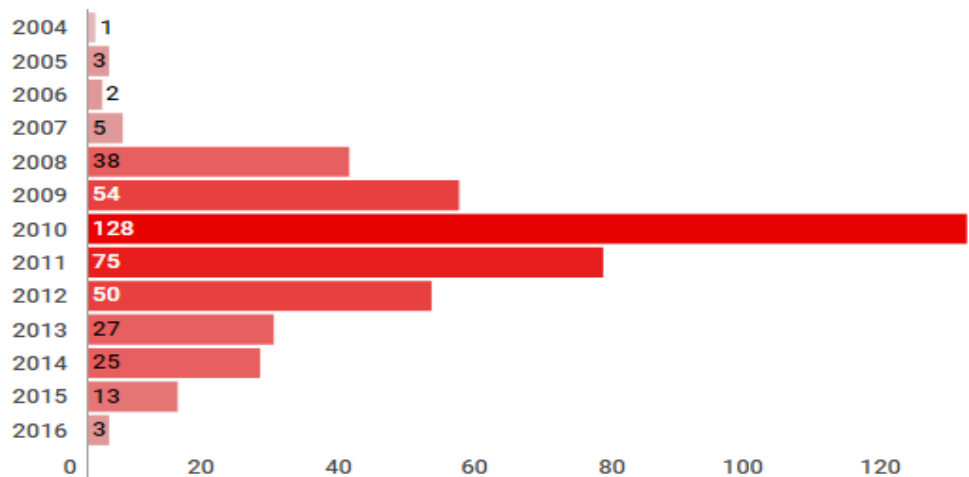


Figure 3: Drone Strikes in Pakistan 2004-2016

Source: Pakistan Top Target of Strikes (The Dawn News, 2016)
<https://www.dawn.com/news/1260840>

As was already mentioned, Pakistan allowed a sizable number of drone attacks in 2010 and 2011 resulted in loss of numerous lives, as depicted in the accompanying figure, resulting in the death of hundreds of individuals, which increased public unhappiness.

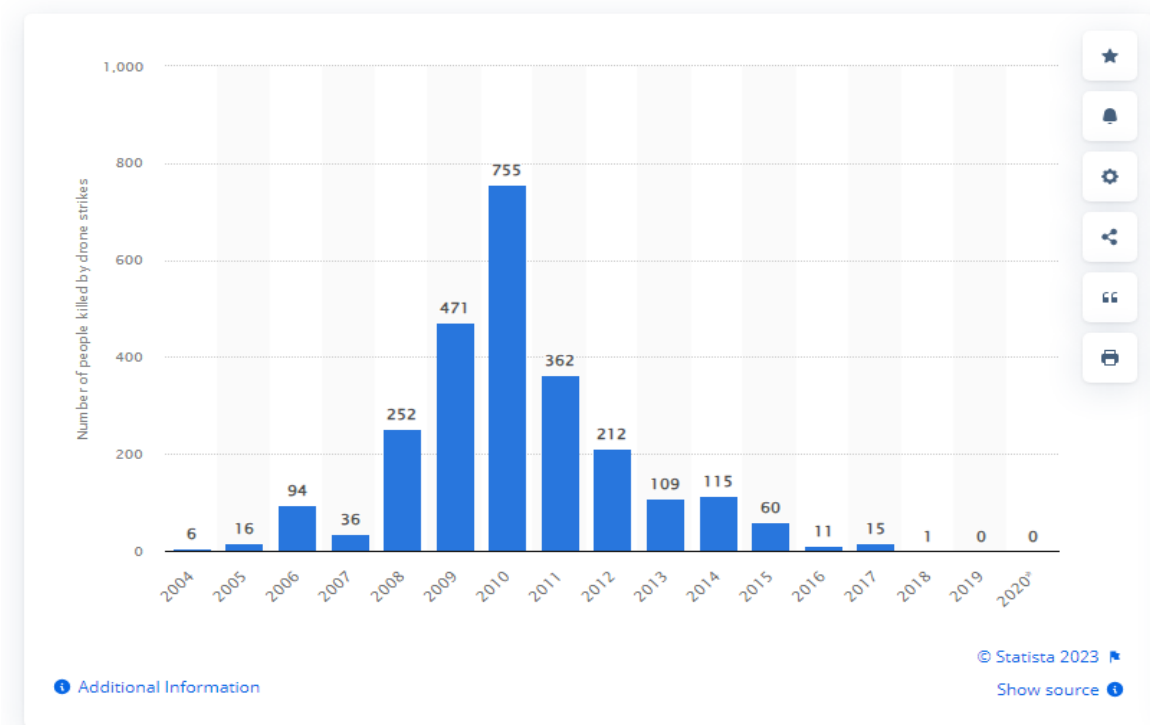


Figure 4: Number of casualties in Pakistan 2004-2020

Source: Minimum number of people killed by U.S. drone strikes carried out under CIA command in Pakistan from 2004 to April 2020

Imran Khan vehemently opposed drone strikes, asserting they breached Pakistan's sovereignty and infringed upon human rights (Yilmaz & Shakil, 2021). Utilizing the media, Khan highlighted these issues, resonating with educated Pakistanis who empathized with the victims' human identities (Chowdhry & Houreld, 2012). This stance garnered support, especially in Pashtun areas, contributing to PTI's success in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2013. Khan strategically portrayed the opposition as prioritizing foreign interests over Pakistan's well-being, crafting a narrative that aligned with Islamic sentiments (Arif, 2023). By referencing Quranic verses and presenting PTI as exclusive worshippers of God, he positioned himself as the sole leader resisting foreign influence, consolidating his political narrative.

9th May Incident and its nexus

The recent surge in negative sentiments toward the U.S. in Pakistan was largely fueled by political rhetoric attributing PTI's ousting to American intervention, suggesting a supposed "regime change" orchestrated by the U.S. (Sattar, 2022). Anti-American slogans amplified this narrative, intensifying traditional anti-U.S. sentiments (Hussain, 2022). Former Prime Minister Khan claimed a confidential U.S. document advocated for his removal due to his neutral stance on Russia's invasion of Ukraine (Grim & Hussain, 2023). Despite U.S. denial and lack of evidence, Khan effectively tapped into this sentiment, alleging U.S. retaliation for his skepticism of the War on Terror and his perceived alignment with the Taliban (Grim, 2023). This narrative resonated with the populace, elevating PTI's political favor in elections (Hussain, 2022).

Imran Khan strategically constructed a narrative suggesting a conspiracy orchestrated by the U.S., political adversaries, and elements within the Pakistani military to remove him from power (Hussain, 2023). Leveraging historical concerns about military supremacy, Khan connected the regime change to military establishments, appealing to a

segment of the population with grievances against military interventions (Hussain, 2023). He went further, accusing a high-ranking military officer of plotting his assassination, deepening the narrative of the military's alleged vendetta against him (Baloch, 2023). As a response, Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR) issued a press release: "this concocted and malicious accusation is highly regrettable, condemnable, and not acceptable. Over the past year, there has been a consistent trend of directing insinuations and sensational propaganda towards military and intelligence agency officials to advance political agendas."

Still, a malicious campaign was initiated through social media platforms under the slogan of "Haqqeqi Azadi" which drew a line between institutions and the people of Pakistan (Politix, 2022). As a result of its narrative on these two factors, PTI's popularity increased exponentially (The Economist, 2022). To leverage greater political mileage, a campaign of intense aggression was launched against both political opponents and the Pakistan Army.

An investigative report identified 178 social media accounts linked to the Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf (PTI), contributing to the dissemination of negative propaganda against the army (Ansari, 2022). Social media was utilized to mobilize public opposition to the government and the Pakistan Army, with fervent followers chanting slogans like "Khan is our red line" (Hussain, 2023). The attempt to arrest Imran Khan in the Toshakhana case led to violent clashes, including the use of petrol bombs, resulting in injuries and emphasizing Khan's call for continued struggle (Fraz et al., 2023). The narrative around Khan's dedication to the genuine freedom of the Pakistani people generated significant political fervor. His subsequent arrest prompted destructive protests targeting military and civilian infrastructure, revealing a breakdown of law and order (Ali, 2023).

On May 9, 2023, for the first time in Pakistan's history, the populace targeted military installations and government institutions, infiltrating the military headquarters and igniting a fire at a military commander's residence. While the army exhibited patience, responding cautiously to the violence, officials imposed restrictions on social media platforms and reported internet shutdowns in certain areas (Adil & Najjar, 2023). The situation highlighted the security risks associated with Pakistan's decision to join the U.S. alliance against terrorism, underscoring the need for careful handling by the Pakistan Army to prevent a serious catastrophe.

Conclusion

The alliance between Pakistan and the U.S. after the September 11 attacks created a multifaceted security situation for Pakistan. In this asymmetric partnership, Pakistan made substantial concessions in terms of its autonomy and sovereignty in exchange for American support. These concessions primarily involved allowing American military operations on its soil and sharing intelligence. The underlying goal was to secure economic benefits and military aid for Pakistan, but this decision came with significant repercussions.

One of the most significant consequences was the human and financial toll on Pakistan. As a participant in the U.S.-led War on Terror, Pakistan suffered casualties among its military personnel and civilians due to the conflict and insurgent activities. The financial strain of sustaining military operations and accommodating the requirements of the alliance placed significant pressure on Pakistan's economy. Moreover, the close alignment with the U.S. meant that Pakistan was subject to a high degree of U.S. influence. This influence extended beyond just security matters and seeped into Pakistan's internal and external affairs. Consequently, some segments of the Pakistani population perceived this as a loss of autonomy and sovereignty, leading to growing grievances.

These concerns, exacerbated by the economic and human costs associated with the alliance, were effectively employed as a potent political tool by the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), a prominent political entity in the nation. PTI skillfully used these concerns to

construct a storyline emphasizing the excessive sway of the U.S. in Pakistan's internal affairs. Additionally, the removal of the former Prime Minister was linked to this unwarranted U.S. influence for the sake of political advantages. This narrative struck a chord with numerous Pakistanis who believed that their nation's autonomy had been undermined.

As a result, these grievances towards both the U.S. and Pakistan's security forces, which had conducted military operations during the War on Terror, took on a new dimension. The military's involvement in political affairs, coupled with the narrative of foreign interference, created a volatile political environment. This ultimately led to the 9th May incident, a historic security challenge that emerged as a consequence of these complex dynamics.

Recommendations

1. Initiate educational projects that highlight the national interest and the difficulties of managing foreign alliances in order to inform the public about the reasoning behind policy decisions. Public education can reduce false information and promote a more sophisticated comprehension of geopolitical tactics.
2. Create open lines of communication to ensure that correct information about governmental choices, alliances, and how they affect national sovereignty is shared. Openness can assist in easing public anxieties and dispelling myths that encourage anti-government attitude.
3. Strengthen social media platform monitoring systems, especially those connected to political organizations, in order to spot and combat disinformation that erodes public trust in military and governmental establishments.
4. Promote the active participation of civil society organizations in the advancement of transparency, accountability, and respect to constitutional standards. Developing civil society can help keep the balance between governmental authority and the interests of the general public by acting as a watchdog against possible abuses of power.
5. Put in place tactical security measures to uphold law and order in times of political unrest. Sufficient precautions can guarantee the security of residents and essential infrastructure, averting the possibility of violence or other dangers to public safety.

References

- Abbasi, N. M. (2013). Impact of terrorism on Pakistan. *Strategic Studies*, 33(2), 33-68.
- Adil, H., & Najar, F. (2023, May 09). Imran Khan arrest updates: Protests after ex-Pakistan PM held. *Imran Khan arrest updates: Protests after ex-Pakistan PM held*. Aljazeera.
- Afzal, M. (2018). *Pakistan under siege: Extremism, society, and the state*. Brookings Institution Press.
- Ahmed, Z. (2015). Pak-US relations post 9/11: Impact of aid, irritants and regimes in Pakistan (2001-2013). *Journal of Politics and International Studies*, 1(1), 14-23.
- Akhtar, S. (2008). Indo-US Strategic Partnership: Implications for China. *Regional Studies*, 27(1), 5-12.
- Ali, A., & Patman, R. G. (2019). The Evolution of the National Security State in Pakistan: 1947–1989. *Democracy and Security*, 15(4), 301-327.
- Ansari, R. (2022, 08 24). Smear campaign against Army: 178 social media accounts linked to PTI. *Smear campaign against Army: 178 social media accounts linked to PTI*. The News.
- Arif, F. (2023). Narrative Building in Politics: A Critical Analysis of Imran Khan's Selected Discourse. *Global Social Sciences Review*, VIII, 541-553.
- Asghar, Z., Nazuk, A., & Ahmad, E. (2007). Iran-Pakistan-India Gas Pipeline—An Economic Analysis in a Game Theoretic Framework [with Comments]. *The Pakistan Development Review*, 537-550.
- Aziz, M. (2007). *Military control in Pakistan: The parallel state*. Routledge.
- Baloch, Q. B. (2006). Engagement and estrangement in US-Pakistan relations. *The Dialogue*, 1(4), 28-56.
- Baqai, H., & Wasi, N. (2021). *Pakistan-Afghanistan relations: pitfalls and the way forward*. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES).
- Chomsky, N. (2011). *9-11: was there an alternative?*. Seven Stories Press.
- Chowdhry, Aisha, & Houreld, Katharine. (2012, October 07). Pakistan halts drone protest led by ex-cricketer Imran Khan. Reuters.
- Chughtai, M. W. (2013). The Impact of Rising Terrorism and Military Operations on Socio Economic Culture of Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan. *A Journal of Peace and Development*, 3(1), 18-32.
- Fair, C. C. (2004). Militant recruitment in Pakistan: Implications for Al Qaeda and other organizations. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 27(6), 489-504.
- Fraz, A., Subhan, A., & Malik, A. (2023, March 14). Imran Khan yet to be arrested as PTI workers, police clash continues at Zaman Park. *Imran Khan yet to be arrested as PTI workers, police clash continues at Zaman Park*. The News.
- Gregory, S. (2007). The ISI and the War on Terrorism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 30(12), 1013-1031.

- Grim, R. (2023, June 05). *Imran Khan: U.S. Was Manipulated By Pakistan Military Into Backing Overthrow*. The Intercept.com
- Grim, R., & Hussain, M. (2023, August 09). *Secret Pakistan Cable Documents U.S. Pressure To Remove Imran Khan*. The Intercept.com
- Hussain, A. (2022, October 17). Former PM Imran Khan dominates Pakistan by-elections. *Former PM Imran Khan dominates Pakistan by-elections*. Aljazeera.
- Hussain, A. (2023, May 09). Former Pakistani PM Imran Khan arrested at Islamabad court. *Former Pakistani PM Imran Khan arrested at Islamabad court*. Aljazeera.
- Hussain, T. (2009). *US-Pakistan Engagement: The War on Terrorism and Beyond*. DIANE Publishing.
- Iqbal, M. (2019). Pakistan-US Relations in Post-9/11: Cost-Benefits Analysis (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). NIPS, Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad.
- Javaid, D. U. (2011). Genesis and effects of religious extremism in Pakistan. *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 2(7), 282-288.
- Keohane, R. O. (1984). *After hegemony* (Vol. 54). Princeton: Princeton university press.
- Khan, H. U. (2020). China, the emerging economic power: options and repercussions for Pak-US relations. *International Politics*, 1-26.
- Khan, K., & Kiran, A. (2012). Emerging tendencies of radicalization in Pakistan. *Strategic Studies*, 32(2/3), 20-43.
- Khan, M. M. (2015). Countering violent extremism in Pakistan. *Strategic Studies*, 35(4), 23-44.
- Kronstadt, K. A. (2012). *Pakistan-US relations*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service.
- Leffler, M. P. (2003). 9/11 and the past and future of American foreign policy. *International Affairs*, 79(5), 1045-1063.
- Marshall, A. (2020, Nov 26). *what was 2011 Nato Attack in Pakistan*. <https://bootcampmilitaryfitnessinstitute.com/2020/11/26/what-was-the-2011-nato-attack-in-pakistan/>
- Martin, L. L. (1992). Interests, power, and multilateralism. *International Organization*, 46(4), 765-792.
- Michael, S. (2007). Terrorism a socio-economic and political phenomenon with special reference to Pakistan. *Journal of management and social sciences*, 3(1), 35-46.
- Morrow, J. D. (1991). Alliances and asymmetry: An alternative to the capability aggregation model of alliances. *American journal of political science*, 904-933.
- Nawaz, S., & De Borchgrave, A. (2009). FATA—A most dangerous place. *Center for Strategic and International Studies*

- New America Foundation. (2008). *Pakistanis Strongly Back Negotiations with Al Qaeda and Taliban over Military Action; Public Support for Al Qaeda Gaining Ground*. New America Foundation
- Price, G. (2012). India and Pakistan: Changing the narratives. *CIBOD Policy Research Project*.
- Rashid, S., Ikram, M., & Shaukat, M. (2023). Role of Pakistan against War on Terrorism and its Consequences. *Journal of Indian Studies*, 9(1), 37-54.
- Raza, F. (2020). Pakistan-Iran Relations in the Evolving International Environment. *Strategic Studies*, 40(2), 79-97.
- Riaz, A. (2016). *Democracy in Pakistan: Crises, Conflicts, and Hope for a Change*. Springer.
- Sachill, J., & Hussain, M. (2023, May 31). *Imran Khan's Ousting And The Crisis Of Pakistan's Military Regime*. The Intercept.com
- Schaffer, H. B., & Schaffer, T. C. (2011). *How Pakistan negotiates with the United States: Riding the roller coaster*. US Institute of Peace Press.
- Shah, A. (2018). Do US drone strikes cause blowback? Evidence from Pakistan and beyond. *International Security*, 42(4), 47-84.
- Shah, S. W. A. (2012). Political reforms in the federally administered tribal areas of Pakistan (FATA): Will it end the current militancy?. *Heidelberg Papers in South Asian and Comparative Politics*, (64).
- Shahid, R., Khan, H. A. B., & Munir, A. (2020). Pakistan's Post 9/11 Coercive Strategic Measures For Neutralizing The Islamic Insurgency. *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology*, 17(3), 1466-1483.
- Statistica Research Department. (2022, September 30). *Minimum number of people killed by U.S. drone strikes carried out under CIA command in Pakistan from 2004 to April 2020*. www.statista.com
- Tamana, A. (2010). *US-Pakistan cooperation and Pakistan's security post 9/11* (Doctoral dissertation, Curtin University).
- Threlkeld, E., & Easterly, G. (2021). *Afghanistan-Pakistan ties and Future stability in Afghanistan* (Vol. 175). United States Institute of Peace.
- Tierney, S. (2005). Reframing sovereignty? Sub-state national societies and contemporary challenges to the nation-state. *International & Comparative Law Quarterly*, 54(1), 161-183.
- U.S. Department of State. (2021, January 20). U.S. Relations with Pakistan.
- World News. (2021, 12 21). Pakistan Joined America's 'War On Terror' For Dollars: PM Imran Khan. *Pakistan Joined America's 'War On Terror' For Dollars: PM Imran Khan*. World News.
- Yaqoob, S., & Sattar, N. (2021). Aid and irritants in Pak-US relations in the wake of 9/11 incident. *Liberal Arts and Social Sciences International Journal (LASSIJ)*, 5(1), 266-278.
- Yilmaz, I., & Shakil, K. (2021). Imran Khan: From Cricket Batsman to Populist Captain Tabdeli of Pakistan. European Centre for Populism Studies