

Years	\$ billion	Rs. billion	% change
2001-02	2.67	163.9	–
2002-03	2.75	160.80	3.0
2003-04	2.93	168.80	6.7
2004-05	3.41	202.40	16.3
2005-06	3.99	238.60	16.9
2006-07	4.67	283.20	17.2
2007-08	6.94	434.10	48.6
2008-09	9.18	720.60	32.3
2009-10	13.56	1136.40	47.7
2010-11	23.77	2037.33	75.3
2011-12	11.98	1052.77	–49.6
2012-13	9.97	964.24	–16.8
2013-14	7.7	791.52	–22.8
2014-15	9.24	936.30	20.0
2015-16	6.49	675.76	–29.8
2016-17	5.57	572.60	–15.7
2017-18	2.07	223.32	–62.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>126.79</b>	<b>10762.64</b>	

**Table 4.1 Direct and indirect cost of terrorism reduced (2011–2018)**

Source: Pakistan Economic Survey year book 2015–2016 (Zakaria et al., 2019)

Sectors	Years		Total (\$Billions)
	2014–15	2015–16	
Exports	1.08	0.80	1.88
Compensation to victims	0.04	0.01	0.05
Physical infrastructure	0.12	0.07	0.19
Foreign investment	4.56	2.04	6.60
Privatisation	0.01	0.00	0.01
Industrial output	0.02	0.01	0.03
Tax collection	2.94	2.32	5.26
Cost of uncertainty	0.03	0.01	0.04
Expenditure overrun	0.40	0.28	0.68
Others	0.04	0.02	0.06
<b>Total losses</b>	<b>9.24</b>	<b>5.56</b>	<b>14.80</b>

**Table 4.2 Reduction in Losses by sector due to reduced terrorist attacks**

Source: Pakistan Economic Survey year book 2015–2016 (Zakaria et al., 2019)

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

## **5.1 Conclusion**

Based on the data collected and results of the study in line with the research questions and objectives which are presented in the previous chapter, researcher hereby concludes the research.

### **5.1.1 National Interests of Pakistan and the US**

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. It includes the cooperation in many sectors which fall in the domains related to overall national security sustenance including cooperation in economic sector and helping in political stability. Pakistan-US Defense Diplomacy implementation is a manifestation of this concept. Pak-US Defense Diplomacy in the field of Capacity Building of PAF remained productive.

The main reason for conduct of Defense Diplomacy was convergence of National Interests of both states, which carved the way for changed in foreign policy. The US ravished after the 9/11 terrorist attack in 2001 needed a partner which could care about its cause in GWOT and support its war in Afghanistan. This was critical to wipe out the root cause of the terrorism and to avoid any such attacks in future planned there. Pakistan was also victim of extremism and terrorism and at the same time state was facing economic and military sanctions. Pakistan was facing severe sanctions initially due to the Nuclear Weapon development plan and subsequently due to the nuclear weapon testing in 1998. The military aid to Pakistan was stopped and economic aid was minimum. Pakistan Armed forces capacity to fight was degraded due to unavailability of funds as well as the equipment and support.

By Partnering with the US in GWOT, Pakistan helped the US to fight this war more effectively and efficiently. Coalition forces and especially the US troops logistics support was routed through Pakistan

which was critical to the sustenance of prolonged cost-effective operations in Afghanistan. Pakistan was awarded in the shape of lifting sanctions, and reviving military and economic support.

Being partner in GWOT with the US, Pakistan partially got away with its economic worries. However, as a result of this war in Afghanistan Pakistan also fell prey to more violence and terrorism. Pakistan had to fight this war against non-traditional security threat i.e., terrorism. Pakistan Armed forces initiated counter terrorism operations successfully. It was soon determined Pakistan Army and especially PAF lacked the capabilities to fully engage and destroy the terrorists their bases, hideouts and networks, thereby cripple their operations.

### **5.1.2 PAF Capacity Building**

PAF was able to get the adequate capacity building in the shape of weapon system like F-16 with its full capabilities including precision guided munition, targeting pod, DB-110 reconnaissance system, Advance Integrated Defensive Electronic Warfare Suite and Helmet Mounting Cueing system and support equipment. C-130s were equipped with ISR payload providing real time picture to the command-and-control centers and ground troops operating in the contested area. This provided PAF capability to locate and attack terrorist hideouts and fleeing targets through precision strikes with minimum collateral damage.

PAF pilots were also trained by USAF to undertake such missions with utmost professionalism. Moreover, training of technical and maintenance personnel was also carried out by USAF. Joint training with USAF brought doctrinal changes to PAF operations. The US also provided NVGs and training for the security of PAF bases. This whole program was supported and assisted from the US in the form of FMS program or from Pakistan's own funds.

### **5.1.3 Pak-US Defense Diplomacy for PAF Capacity Building to Undertake CT Ops**

Pakistan's involvement in GWOT and its support earned it respect among Americans. Pakistan's efforts were highly appreciated by the US administration. Moreover, the US considered the growing Talibanization and extremism in the Pak-Afghan border areas as potential threat to their safety and security as well. The US saw it as a breeding ground for future attacks on the US inland and abroad. These conditions enabled Pakistan to implement Defense Diplomacy for capacity building of Pakistan Air Force to conduct Counter Terrorism Operations.

It was reiterated time and again to the US administration that Capacity building of PAF to undertake CT Ops was not only in Pakistan's favor but also in the interest of the US security. Moreover, the Capacity Building of PAF was also linked to the regional security and stability to cater for US-India civil nuclear deal and safeguarding Pakistan's strategic capabilities. The major areas where capacity building of PAF was required were identified and requirements were raised with the US.

Pak-US DDCB was carried out in numerous forms. It involved the principle discussion and decisions by the head of the states, leading to the American President's administration convincing American Congress despite all the impediments. During this process of approval, Visits, meetings, strategic dialogues with Secretaries of states, Secretaries of Defense were regularly conducted. Their offices were also involved by various officials from Pakistan and PAF. The involvement of Department of Defense in Pakistan and in the US was ensured and briefings were regularly conducted to make them realize the importance of required capacity building.

During the procurement of all the approved equipment and training, requisite offices including PAF Falcon Project, Military and PAF representatives in Pakistan Embassy Washington DC, and CENTCOM Tampa, Florida were actively involved to smoothen out the process. The

US office of Defense Representative-Pakistan and Office of Military Attaché in the US Embassy, Islamabad remained in close liaison with planning, training and procurement branches of PAF.

#### **5.1.4 Results of Counter Terrorism Operations by PAF**

PAF involvement in CT Ops after its capacity building to undertake these operations resulted in great success. Inter services coordination to conduct these operations were improves. PAF professionalism to fight nontraditional threats like terrorism inside own territory improved. 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. A positive image of Pakistan was projected worldwide. The socio-economic revival led to the rise in GDP growth, FDI and local investment.

#### **5.1.5 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 including, the Civil Nuclear Deal similar to India, Combat and ISR Drones and transfer of Technology for F-16. Similarly, a missing link found during all these efforts is the Defense Diplomacy for Defense Industry. Despite Pakistan's efforts to ask for transfer of Drone and F-16 technology that is not agreed upon by the US. Similarly, the Civil Nuclear deal, that the US offered India was not offered to Pakistan. These all impediments can fall in four main categories including:

- a. Mistrust Between States and Diverting National Interests
- b. Great Power Rivalry and Regional Politics
- c. Rising Indian Influence

#### d. Pakistan's Economic Issues

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. This is happening 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. For the US it's just another area which seem dangerous to them. 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.

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 honored*. 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. 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. These issues along with Pakistan's financial crisis have been critical to the smooth conduct of defense diplomacy for capacity building of Pakistan Air Force.

## 5.2 Recommendations

Based on the research results, discussions and conclusion, researcher now provide few of the recommendations to further enhance the Defense Diplomacy between two countries.

- a. The time period of this research is limited to 2004-2017, as this was the time when counter terrorism operations were on their full swing in Pakistan. Moreover, it is mainly linked to the Defense Diplomacy for PAF specifically for Capacity Building to undertake counter terrorism operations. It is expected that the next researcher will take the inference from this research.
- b. It is expected that next researcher will further widen the scope and consider other facts and new time frame. There is a need of the more in-depth study regarding the Defense diplomacy for capacity building in other field including cyber security matters, modifying doctrine to face newest challenges, cooperation in the space technology, acquiring drones' technology, and transfer of technology for the development of defense industry.
- c. Pakistan Defense Industry is still in developing phase. Defense diplomacy with great powers like the US specifically for developing Defense industry will carry great benefits.
- d. Interstate relationships are built on confidence and mutual trust of the states, so Defense Diplomacy for Confidence Building Measures are also of great importance. Number of Mutual exercises and cross training of personnel must be increased. Steps like cooperation in information sharing, interstate visits to military installations, exchanged postings of instructors, pilots and other officers must be implemented in true letter and spirit.

- e. A Joint SOP for mutual operations of USAF and PAF should be developed. This would result in better interoperability and clarify the role of each Air Force.
- f. Both countries should continue to conduct more meaningful strategic dialogues. Pakistan must lay down its priorities openly while conducting these dialogues. In this regard the point of view of both states must be respected and honored.
- g. Pakistan must implement Defense Diplomacy to reduce the trust deficit between two countries during such sessions. Pakistan's multi-dimensional security requirements must be highlighted with the US.
- h. Pakistan must try to reduce its dependence on other countries but till that time it should be able to support the acquisition of Military Equipment and capabilities from the state fund without subsidy from the US government.
- i. Pakistan must continue with its indigenous efforts to improve its defense capacity. In this regard multiple options including China and the US must be exploited in parallel without hampering the relationship with either of them.
- j. Indian growing power is a reality and Pakistan must adapt to its regional and global impact. Pakistan should keep on using diplomatic channels to improve its international standing. Relationship with friendly countries like China may be used to favor Pakistan's viewpoint and interests.