



RESEARCH PAPER

US Foreign Policy towards Pakistan 2001-2018: A Comparative Analysis of George Walker Bush and Barack Obama Administrations

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ABSTRACT

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The objective of study was to find out ways for peace and stability with different administrations of America in Pakistan. Since Pakistan's independence; she is intertwined in multiple challenges like to counter her by birth rival India by balancing her strategic, economic and military capabilities with conventional and non-conventional as well. Pakistan wants a global ally who support her in time of need but American's betrayed them at many times by suspension and cut down of economic aid in different times, stood against her nuclear experiments by putting sanctions by proposed Symington, Pressler, Glenin and other amendments and etc. Despite of above all occurrence during two decades war on terror Pakistan became the victim of American policies as America's leader's stated that, it is a war not an attacked; Pakistan is a neighbouring country of Afghanistan that is why Pakistan does not escaped from American's coercive and diplomatic policies. Presently Pakistan is facing multiple challenges. The research is encompasses upon content analysis. It is adopted to make objective and systematic research. Researcher analysis and evaluated the newspapers, interviews and their statements. It is observed that US administration is not satisfy from the actions and support of Pakistan and always claim of 'do more'.

Introduction

This research work is comprises upon two sections; one section illustrate about pre- 9/11 US policies towards Pakistan. Second is about post September/11 policies towards Pakistan. The relationship between two countries remained vibrant and goal oriented since 1947; when Pakistan came in to map of the world. Different rumours

are wandering in political landscape about US-Pak relations; at times they knotted in carrot & stick approach and etc. work.

Realism is one of the significant paradigms in international relations because during America-Soviet struggle for becoming a dominant and hegemon in international system it provided simple but powerful reason for war, imperialism and alliances. Throughout the cold war period it was considered a dominant theoretical tradition. Classical founders of realist approach like Hans Morgenthau and Reinhold Niebuhr stated that states has an innate desire to dominate others which headed them to fight wars. An Individual is the head of the states; hence the nature of human being is selfish and irony that is why he wanted his supremacy in political sphere because the system is anarchic in nature and everyone is seeking to his/her survival with maximization of power. The United States of America is a dominant and authoritative state in international system of unipolar world. (Thompson, 1985)

Literature Review

Broinne Frazier had explained the term foreign policy in another way. It is not a term rather it is a policy or mechanism through states achieve her national interests. He stated that foreign policy is a process through states used different techniques and patterns to fulfil national interests of the country.

Palmer and Perkins (1997) in his book explained the meaning and significance of security and collective security measurements to stop the threats and attacked of one state to another. He also discussed the behaviour of US leaders and their policies to outer world.

Stephen Walt has discussed realism not as Morgenthau defined it only associated to human nature but also define the neo realism in term of offense- defence theory. Power maximization in anarchical society is much easier to gain but in multipolar world along emerging power is difficult to uphold her stance and position in the world.

Bojang in 2018 in his research paper identified the foreign policy nature, significance and objectives thoroughly. How states shape their policies and maintain their internal and external relations in twenty first century.

Shahid Amin in his book on foreign policy explained and analysed Pakistan's political struggle to maintain her diplomatic relations with rest of the world. He also discussed the reasons why Pakistan quest for making an alliance with capitalist bloc America instead of Moscow a communist one. Ideologies matters a lot because Pakistan herself got independence on two nation theory Hindu and Muslims are different from every perspective.

Omer Vikas in his book discussed the Afghanistan through different perspectives. He stated that Afghanistan is one of the country which is enriched with

nature her geography raise her significance in the eye of great powers like America, Soviet Union and etc.

Hamaz Alavi in his article Pakistan-US Military evaluates their relationship from 1947 to cold war period. America shaped their relationship on give and take approach. If you gain more than you should give maximum output.

The interests of United States in South Asia McMahon explained in a very comprehensively. He analysed the American leader's behaviours and policies towards Pakistan since her independence. Both states dependent upon each other and move ahead with cost and benefit approach.

Dr. Umbreen Javaid and Imrana to analyse Pak- US relationship in historical background, emphasizing upon lessons which Pakistan should learn from her past experiences with the United States.

Zurich a well-known scholar evaluates the difference between G W Bush and Barack Obama NSS document with respect to security and sovereignty of states. He also stated that President Bill Clinton also proposed NSSD in 1993-2000 as a bench mark to examine the outcomes of foreign policy in future.

Pakistan is facing several difficulties and challenges due to American led afghan war on terror. A professor of NUML university has explore those prospects which Pakistan's nation and government are facing in term of economic, political and social crisis.

Background of the topic

To understand the present situation of Pak- US relationship it is necessary to know their past. Pakistan and America are different from each other in cast, colour, language, religion even from two different regions of the world but they have strong diplomatic terms. Since Pakistan's independence; she is intertwined in multiple challenges like to counter her by birth rival India by balancing her strategic, economic and military capabilities with conventional and non-conventional as well. Pakistan wants a global ally who supported her in time of need but American's betrayed them at many times by suspension and cut down of economic aid in different times, stood against her nuclear experiments by putting sanctions by proposed Symington, Pressler, Glenin and other amendments and etc.

Pakistan is always stood with America from post-cold war to post-9/11 period. Pakistan assisted America to compelled Soviet Union troops to evacuate Afghan soil. Similarly after terrorists attacks on twin towers of America Pakistan became a global partner in GWOT. Despite of above all occurrence during two decades war on terror Pakistan became the victim of American policies as America's leader's stated that, it is a war not an attacked; we will not leave those who harboured terrorists we will make no distinction between them. Pakistan is a neighbouring country of Afghanistan

that is why Pakistan does not escaped from American's coercive and diplomatic policies. Presently Pakistan is facing multiple challenges.

Hypotheses

President Obama exercise more authoritative rule than President Bush in Afghan war on terror.

Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is a process comprises upon various tools from them one state interacts with second one to pursue her targets and national interests of the country. First of all interests are numerous some are primary as; security, economic prosperity & peace. It is also considered that the survival of any state determined by her internal and external determinants. (Frazier, 2019)

Joseph Frankel described foreign Policy as a well-defined approach that contain such elements as choices and actions that form harmony among states. He also defined the techniques to accomplish the states objectives. (As, 2018)

Security is the main element to ties states each other. As far as both countries come closer to each other in the respect of security, because since 1947 Pakistan wanted to secure her nations interest by joining hands with USA more balanced , stable, developed and democratic way to compete her by birth rival India. Moreover, American also have some interests the primary one is to contain the expansionism of communist ideology in the world. For it he joined hand to Pakistan to fulfil her objectives. It is all pre-9/11 scenarios of international politics. With the Passage of time and events the world is going underwent insecurity and improper and insufficient tools to protects states sovereignty and national interests. All that came into scene in the form of 9/11 in United States of America by (a non-state actor's organization Al Qaeeda) terrorists. Now the concept of collective security established for weaker and stronger to help each other in time of need.

Collective Security

From post second world war to manage and handle the international affairs mainly political one; the concept of collective security evolved in international system. International system is anarchic in nature there is no centralized authority, so the one who is dominant and having more power shall exercise his/her authority in world politics. According to Charles B. Marshall's; Many states will take an action jointly in the result of a hypothetical incident carried on by some anonymous and unidentifiable state. The nature of collective security is self -explanatory, composite and obscure one.

George Schwarzenegger defined it as, "it is a mechanism for collective actions in order to avert and counter an attack against a well-structured global world order." The United States Deputy Representative to the United Nations Ernest A Gross stated

that to secure the peace security in world collective action is the primary tool the opposite to it is entire insecurity. There is a slight difference between collective security and collective actions as in collective security almost majority of the world combined together against an attack but in collective action few or very limited number of states joint hands together against any threat or attack. American foreign policies towards Pakistan continuously change to some extent before and after 9/11 due to different nature of problems like joining hands with Pakistan to oust soviet forces from Kabul and later presently to capture terrorists. (Perkins, 1997)

The Foreign Policy of the United States of America

The foreign policy of America like other states of the world is shaped and relies upon multiple factors for example; geography, historical reflections, socio political culture, economic and military strength, foreign relation and by the world environment. These observations and assumptions regarding United States foreign policy was determined by an anonymous in 1949 but significant one because her statesman has much efforts with shaping it. United States foreign policy (USFP) is the cumulative of American people anger, reactions and ambitions in after 9/11 attacks foreign affairs with respective states as they are controlled through executive and congress of America. There is flexibility in her foreign policies due to changing nature behaviour and sentiments of American people. Pak -US relations are also float in a fluid because they are passing through ups and downs because objectives of one state influence foreign policy of other state (Perkins, 1997)

Pak-US Relation since 1947 to 2001

Pakistan came in to existence on 14th August 1947 on world map. It is necessary and need of time for the sustainability of the state to maintain foreign relations with other states. Pakistan's socio, economic, political, cultural every department is in poor condition. There is a need to strengthen herself for survival and from her rival India since independence. It is the main reason behind foundation of their defence and foreign Policies. The maintenance of security is the first challenge to Pakistan since independence that is why she finds a state that stood with her against foe. Finally Pakistan's first Prime Minister Liaquat Ali khan paid his first official visit to America in May 1950. (Amin, 2000)

The diplomatic relationship of countries developed by their foreign policies, so the United States foreign policy is goal oriented hence Pak -US relationship from very first day was not smooth. Since independence in the very beginning whenever Pakistan got entangled in challenges and problems he asked for help from America primarily against India; it was not found yet. In 1950s Pak-US relationship shifts their strategy and policies towards each other by concluding a military agreement, treaties and alliance to declare Pakistan on front line ally to stop expansion of communism in region of South Asia. Both states have keen interests to establish friendship between them as America wants to maintain his pole of supremacy in the world for it he choose Pakistan and called her; "America's most allied ally in Asia, As for as for Pakistan

America is a military strategic partner to deter India through multiple ways like; she joined the American sponsored South East Asian Treaty Organization and Baghdad Pacts". (Alavi, 1998) (McMahon, 1988)

There were numerous challenges to Pakistan government that American political leaders were outlined a tough policy throughout their friendship. Henceforth in May 1974 a newly elected democratic government of Pakistan perceived threat from India's nuclear test that is why government of Pakistan at that time had decided to strengthen her status via acquiring nuclear technology. At the same time United States President Jimmy Carter and his predecessor placed economic sanction on Pakistan. Later from 1979 to 1988 America revive aid program by giving 3.2 billion and 600 million dollar to Pakistan for the *covert action program* of president Jimmy carter and his successors instructed the CIA to provide it with military equipment's and other arms to anti-communist fighters who known as mujahedeen.

Due to the joint effort and cooperation of Pakistan and Afghanistan Taliban's regime was established and America first welcomed it than due to violation of human rights, extremist, and fundamentalist nature opposed their regime. The objectives and policies of American leaders changed in Afghanistan by mid of 1998 (after disintegration of USSR) included an attack of terrorist organization (al Qaeda) on American embassy in Kenya and Tanzania. Americans authorities wanted from Pakistan that by exercising her force and power to compelled Taliban's for surrender but they disagreed and a new kind of hostility began in the region. (Mushtaq, 2014).

America support Pakistan many times specific in economic terms by releasing funds and aid. With the passage of time their diplomatic terms is passing through ups and down and Pakistan wrath of American leaders in term of suspension and sanction of aid. These are following years of sanctions. It is accused by American that Pakistan government had used her aid against Indian war of 1965. It is first time when USA put sanctions on aid program. East and West Pakistan divided than it was stated by America that due to high level of human rights violation aid was suspended. Glenn, Symington and Pressler amendments were also imposed by American leaders that under 508 whenever if any state want to acquire nuclear weapon than we must suspend the aid and Pakistan specifically went to deal with France and concluded French reprocessing deal. After 9/11 in 2017-18 Pakistan and USA jointly doing efforts to combat terrorism America put conditions and limitations on Pakistan on aid some time it was suspended. (Khaver, 2019)

September 11, 2001 and USFP

A day which remember every citizen of America as a black day for whole nation known as 9/11. The four commercial plane of America was hijacked by nineteen members of a terrorist organization Al Qaeda. At that time everyone is feeling insecurity and helplessness in America. 9/11 does not only change the fate of American rather shift United States external relations on another path. America set his objectives which outline his national interests like the maximization of power to

captured terrorists through collective security alliance. This incident shift America foreign policy towards Pakistan like more goal oriented. President Bush had announced an emergency on 14th September and secretary of state Colin Powell identified Osama bin Laden the master mind of 9/11. America launched a war on 7 October 2001 in Afghanistan. (Vikas, 2007)

Comparative Analysis of G W Bush and Barack Obama Policies

After world war second it is considered one of the strong and large coalitions of states to fight against global threat of terrorism. The purpose behind making a strategy to dismantle al Qaeda network, to root out terrorism from Afghan soil and to stop those states that are supporting them. The predecessor of G W Bush ; Bill Clinton the first to give the idea of national security strategy to enhance the security of the state. It consists upon three main points it provide the chance to president of America to establish and determined foreign policy priorities. Secondly in this way multiple ministers and officials involved in the decision making process. Third and last benefit of it is that from submitting NSS every administration establishes their own benchmark to measure their foreign and security policies during whole period of term.

After 9/11 president G W Bush adopted a new policy against the culprits who hit the American giant twin tower by explaining that the U.S. will not differentiate between terrorists and states that supports them. President George Walker Bush addressed to the nation after 9/11 attacks and announced a strategy called national security strategy of Bush or Bush Doctrine to stop future attacks of terrorism.

United States defence minister Collin Powell contact with Pakistan via telephone to president Musharraf and asked from him about his immediate answer either they are with us or not .he also presented seven demands of president G W Bush from Pakistan in WOT are following;

- I. To strengthen the security of Pakistan that logistical support of OBL will stop.
- II. To give permission to American and other allied troops for military and intelligence operation in Pakistan.
- III. It is easy for America and NATO allied troops to use territorial jurisdiction of Pakistan against al Qaeda.
- IV. To provide complete assistance and sharing of intelligence information to USA.
- V. It is also one of demand from Pakistan that to condemn about 9/11 incident publically.
- VI. To suspend and cut off all facilities mainly fuel to al Qaeda.

VII. It is also stated to breakdown their diplomatic terms with afghan Taliban. (Rabbi, 2012)

President Obama a Democratic Party leader had also proposed some policies to end terrorism and will haunt al Qaeda terrorist. He is the successor of G W Bush administration the second most significant leader of America who presents two security document known as NSSD of 2010 and 2013 apart from each other. President Obama's strategy of 2010 focus on domestic issues like economic, education and a specific part of budget for his nation. He further addressed some issues like to focus on good war in Afghanistan, international law and avoidance of energy sapping overstretches, nation building at home instead of going to war in Afghanistan and Middle East. The main objectives of their doctrines are to maintain peace, security and stability of world as bush stated in 2002 that we will not hesitate to exercise our right of self defense to act alone pre emptively on this ground America invaded Iraq in 2003 March. But during president Obama period US troops left Iraq in 2011 and Allied forces will quiet from Afghanistan in 2014. (Zurich, 2013)

United States policy of Drone Strikes from 2001-2018

After declaring war on terrorism president G W Bush stated that he wanted Osama bin Laden a key member behind 9/11 plan dead or alive. He also demands from Pakistan's government and high ranked officials to help us to trace and capture him. American's had also kept a bounty of twenty five million dollars to share a piece of intelligence sharing about him. in 2011, may president Obama and his expertise team on combating terrorism had received information from intelligence that he is in his compound at Abbottabad in Pakistan territory by the order of President Barack Obama his team of experts collectively did operation without informing anyone. It was later considered a challenge for Pakistan sovereignty that it is a violation of law to intervene another state without taking information. (Khan, 2019)

Pakistan civil society shows anger and anti-American sentiments against the use of Drones in Pakistan. The number of drone attacks was many folds in 2008-9 as compared to earlier. It is considered by scholars that it is convenient for civil society of Pakistan to conduct rally in front of a democratic political authorities (President Asif Zardari) as compare to an authoritative ruler (president Musharraf).It was first time in Pakistan seems that an opposition of house demand from international community and ruling government by conduct in march on 22-23 April to stop the use of drones along to block the NATO truck routes from Pakistan to enter in Afghanistan. An opponent leader Imran Khan also demanded that America suspend drones strike policies and free Pakistan to handle issue by herself.

A Gallup conducted survey in rural and urban areas of Pakistan under 2500 people about drone's; forty one pc is in favour of Pakistan military operations against Taliban instead of American UAV, sixty seven pc is against Drones, twenty seven pc give impartial opinion and least nine pc is in favour of drones to haunt Taliban's. It is also a big challenge for Pakistan's authorities that on one side American leaders

promised to not operationalized drones on other side during meeting in North Waziristan attacked with drones in result twenty five people died. (Iqbal, 2011)

Pakistan: confirmed U.S. strikes from 2009-2016

	2009-16
U.S. strikes	373
Total people reported killed	2089-3406
Civilian reported killed	257-634
Children reported killed	66-78
Total people reported injured	986-1467

(Serle, 2017)

Comparison of President Bush's and, Obama's National Security Strategies Document

President/Issues	Bush's NSSD	Obama's NSSD
Pages	Thirty Three	Thirty Nine
Chapters	-	Six
Main Purpose	To Protect US interests and values by promoting (international institutions, rule of law, democracy and free market).	To safe guard our national interests through strong and sustainable leadership.
Strategic Approach	Pre-emptive action options before threats materialized or an attack.	To achieve the four national interests of the US.
Foreign Policy	Multi sided foreign policy as shaping and malleable; doctrine of containment substitute with collective cooperation and alliances.	Multi sided Foreign Policy Shaping and abstain Approach.
National Interests	American Primacy, assertive Realism, Stand apart alliance, a new internationalism, democratic transformation	Security, Prosperity, Values and International Order, Protection of American interests by re-leadership as the global super power.
Pillars	iTo "defend the peace against threats from terrorists and tyrants": War on terror, the first principle of the Grand Strategy. ii To "preserve the peace": through preventing any hostile power from dominating a region whose resources would, under consolidated control, be sufficient to generate global power. iii To "extend the peace by encouraging free and open societies on every continent": an international order according to US values.	No Pillars. four main sections

Threats	To roll back the threat of terror (WMD, terrorist and tyrants).	Primary external threat is Iran and North Korea. the main responsibility within the scope of national security is to protect US against terrorism
Allies	The UN and NATO are main Allies	The UN and NATO are main Allies.

(ONDER, 2020) (Cantalapiedra, 2003)

Impacts on Pakistan

It is very tough to evaluate the pros and cons of American's in Pakistan. Pakistan is passing through multiple challenges in war on terror. First of all when President Musharraf accepted the seven demands of G W Bush to offer Pakistani land and air facilities to US allied troops to hunt 9/11 culprits. Since the society is facing multiple issues as; bomb blast, target killings, suicide bombing including other kind of violence indifferent areas of Pakistan. it is reported that approximately seventy thousand lives losses and a hundred billion dollar has spent to strengthen Pakistan security.

After 9/11 a war on terror implemented in Kabul which ultimately put pressure and challenges to Pakistan's government Pakistan is associated with America in war against terrorism as a most trusted ally even undermines her political security. It is a fact that stable political ground is essential for any unbiased nation. Pakistan's main political figures like Benazir Bhutto and Musharraf became the victim of brutal attack of terrorist. One of them was dead and president Musharraf saved. It is estimated by organisation that app 298 political statesmen and labourer had died. (Raza, N.A)

Pakistan is one of the most trusted partners of America in different times from 1947 to war on terror. Pakistan is always paying a huge price to full the diplomatic demand of her ally. As Islamabad did to become a partner of American's to withdraw soviet forces from Afghanistan. After 9/11 Pakistan is facing multiple challenges in different areas like to disturb the balanced life of society by influx of refugees from Afghanistan. These refugees create hurdles not for government of Pakistan rather for local inhabitants of society by bringing culture of drugs, Kalashnikov and etc. Pakistan's faced different political, economic as well as restlessness in her society against terrorists attacks on her education sector; as terrorists attacked on APS School, and Charsada University of Peshawar.

Pakistan is facing a serious challenge of economic loss and crisis due to many reasons. One of them is GWOT led by United States of America. A survey conducted by Pakistan Economic Survey department that approximately 106.98 billion dollar lost in a long period of war against terrorism.

Year	Economic Loss
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2001-2	2.67 b\$
2002-3	2.75b\$
2003-4	2.93b\$
2004-5	3.41b\$
2005-6	3.99b\$
2006-7	4.67b\$
2007-8	6.94b\$
2008-9	9.18b\$
2009-0	13.56b\$
2010-11	23.77b\$
2011-12	11.98b\$
2012-13	9.97b\$
2013-14	6.63
2014-15	106.98

(Akhtar, 2015)

Conclusion

Pakistan and America both are not geographically neighbour but they closer to each other more than that. Pakistan always wants to establish her good will with America. He is one of the countries in the world supported American strategy to counter terrorism. American presidents gave different strategies to strengthen his national security and press the nib of threat and attack outside the home. President G W Bush had adopted the policy of (pre -emption) means to prepare counter measures and strikes before any attack in future. President Obama also gave policies to deal it comprehensively but with more coercive measures to launch drones many folds than G W Bush. Pakistan is in under various challenges in term of social, economic, political, cultural, sectarian, loss of civilian and soldiers's lives, burden of refugees and transformation of a wave of insecurity and trust deficit between Pakistan and her nation. Pakistan should solve internal and domestic problems of her people will strengthen peace and security of the region. Pakistan should maintain her diplomatic terms with other countries as well to promote her countries good picture (tourism, sports, economic investment) instead of a hub of sanctuary of militants and etc. Pakistan should enhance political awareness in her society.

Findings

Pak- US diplomatic relations never- ever based on equality.

US always got upper edge on Pakistan due to her hegemonic position.

President G W Bush and Barack Obama used coercive measures to counter terrorism.

The exercise of drones in Pakistan became the deaths of hundreds of innocent people.

Due to this war on terrorism Pakistan is still suffering from socio economic and political challenges.

Recommendations

Pakistan should assure her national interests at the time of establishing foreign relations.

Pakistan should establish her relations with USA on equal basis.

Pakistan should overcome her socio-economic challenges as soon as possible; because, the strategic position of Pakistan is a major cause to attract the hegemonic powers.

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