

# ***Understanding Anti-Americanism, and Factors of Anti-American Sentiments in Pakistan***

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## **ABSTRACT**

*This article examines anti-Americanism in Pakistan. Although, America and Pakistan have enjoyed amicable relations whenever American foreign policies were in line with the Pakistan's national interests especially during the Cold War era, however, America lost the zenith and popularity of its policies particularly when their foreign policies targeted the Muslim world including Pakistan. The current study has relied on using both primary and secondary data. The current study within the context of anti-Americanism in Pakistan presents a novel argument by examining factors contributing towards anti-Americanism in Pakistan especially the War on Terror and other variables. The study finds out that there is no anti-Americanism in Pakistan as the people of Pakistan have preferences for American led values such as social values which show that anti-Americanism is wrongly interpreted. The result of the study shows that American foreign policies while shaped by their leaders currently have contradicted their own liberal*

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*values is the key variables which have resented the Muslim world including Pakistan. The study is useful for policy makers in America understanding the problem of anti-Americanism that why Pakistan's top ranked educational institutions and Pakistani public in general have anti-Americanism.*

### **Introduction**

The 20<sup>th</sup> Century was considered the “The American Century” where the United States was successful in overcoming the communist ideology and appeared as the sole superpower of the face of the earth in every way including militarily, economically, technological advancement, and social & cultural ideals. The long Cold-War has ended in the United States’ favour. The ever-increasing admiration of English Language and people’s longing for the ‘American Dream’ and wanting to move into the United States, underlined the reality of US supremacy.<sup>1</sup> “End of History” is a theory that predicted the era starting from the 21<sup>st</sup> century to be the ‘American century’.

Unfortunately, at the start of 21<sup>st</sup> Century, the horrifying attacks of terrorist on the World Trade Center, and the Pentagon on 11<sup>th</sup> September 2001, shocked everyone around the world including the US. The post 9/11 era has demonstrated to be the exact opposite of the “End of History”, making it to be the ‘End of History’ but ‘*end of American century*’. The 9/11 attacks were unexpected and shocking in term of the number of people killed and the size of collateral-damage, but the US was also surprising and shocking. For an instance, the attack on Afghanistan, changes in the immigration policy, and immense investigations of Muslim-Americans by the FBI.<sup>2</sup>

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1 I. Krastav, “The Anti-American Century,” *Journal of Democracy* 15, no. 2 (April, 2004): 5.

2 C. Hewitt, *Understanding Terrorism in America from the Klan to Al-Qaeda* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003).

The American acknowledged the reality that they have entered a phase of Anti-Americanism. At least certain scholars have conveyed views like, "The attacks of September 11 expressed nothing if not hatred of America."<sup>3</sup> Everyone around the world including Political Leaders, Scholars, Writers, and individuals not only condemned the attacks but also came-up with various explanations of the attacks.

Scholars who provide psychiatric explanation for 'anti-Americanism' are of the view that Muslims are green-eyed of the affluence of the west.<sup>4</sup> But this psychiatric explanation does not provide the logical grounds, as, if Muslims are resentful of the US, then why Muslims are not envious of other nations who just prosperous as the US such as; Japan, China, and Western European countries?

The orthodox believe it as the Wrath of God because they think that the west has become immoral and link it to homosexuality and abortions etc. This, again, is a normative explanation and lacks an objective assessment.

Samuel P. Huntington's Clash of Civilization among Muslims and the West<sup>5</sup> is another explanation furthered by many. This also does not seem in line with the situation on ground where every Muslim nation condemned the September 11 attacks and certain Muslim countries Like Egypt, Pakistan & Turkey even joined the US War against terrorism. Additionally, neither the US is fighting a war against every Muslim nation, nor all Western nations are supportive of the US war against Muslim countries.

Thomas Friedman makes "fundamentalism' responsible for increasing anti-Americanism. His explanation states that "fundamentalism is present in all religions that clang with

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3 R. Crockatt, *America Embattled: September 11, Anti- Americanism, and the Global Order* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 43.

4 Hewitt, *Understanding Terrorism in America*.

5 S. P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York, : Simon and Schuster, 1996).

modernism and liberalism.”<sup>6</sup> If we consider this valid, then why no questions are raised against the fundamental Hindus, Jews, and even Christian fundamentalist. If carefully analyzed, George W. Bush’s presidential elections campaign, he has been taken over by an extreme Right-Wing, out of the main-stream American culture, who do not correspond to most of US political traditions.<sup>7</sup> These conservatives were devising American domestic and foreign policies. They have reduced the American liberty to – “Patriot Act” at domestic level. These conservatives believe that it is their God-Gifted right to rule over the world and right the wrong of the world and impose the American Values forcefully at foreign policy level.

Broadly accepted hypothesis is that anti-Americanism is caused by the American values itself, like “freedom of speech, multi-party system, universal adult suffrage, accountable government, acceptance of Jews, homosexuality, women’s rights, abortions, secularism, short skirt, beardlessness, evolution theory, and sex etc.”<sup>8</sup> It is a combination of cultural and political norms and values, which, basically, creates misunderstanding of the Muslim behaviour. Furthermore, Muslims are not against American political or cultural values. For example, a poll conducted by the PEW Centre provided several choices to people from several Islamic countries where they were questioned as to why they dislike/hate the U.S.? The response did not show that Muslims are critical of the American Political or Cultural values, in fact they adhere to it, but it was noted that they are critical of the US for not letting them adopt these cherished values. Additionally, Practical evidence goes against this hypothesis as well. Majority of Muslims are found to be fond of wearing western style clothing like Jeans & T-Shirts, drinking western beverages, go to western restaurants like

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6 Hewitt, *Understanding Terrorism in America*.

7 S. Landau, *The Preemptive Empire: A Guide to Bush’s Kingdom* (London: Pluto Press, 2003).

8 Hewitt, *Understanding Terrorism in America*.

McDonalds and KFC, majority remains cleaned shaved, use western automobile, and love to join the US multinational companies, demonstrates that Muslims are not against American political, cultural, or economic values.

How can 'Anti-Americanism' be explained among Muslim Nations if the above-mentioned variables do not provide satisfactory explanation of the term? To answer this critical question, which also is the main argument of this paper, we need to analyze critically the US Political, Strategic and Economic policies which that often contradict with its adamant & Idealistic worldview, about Islamic nations, and the historical bitterness, Power-based policies, militaristic approach etc. are the main factors behinds anti-Americanism in the Muslim world. Therefore, the stance that is being established as consequence might be termed as vociferous critique in opposition to the US polices but *must* not be labeled as 'anti-Americanism'. These policies produce bitterness and resentment in Muslims that have been manipulated by various radical factions for their political gains. Newton's basic law can also prove this viewpoint, which says "every action has its equal and opposite reaction". Here the American policies are "action" and anti-Americanism is the "reaction." Many American and non-American scholars and intellectuals also share this viewpoint. To mention one, M.B. Naqvi, a well-acknowledged columnist, writes that "it is not correct that all those opponents hate America. They merely are critical of the policies that the presidential administrations are following."

### **Definition(s) of Anti-Americanism**

Every person has different opinion & viewpoint dependent upon how they feel, therefore, it is very difficult to have a universal definition of the term 'Anti-Americanism', and will always remain elusive. It has been defined differently by different around the world; one definition is that it is "an

element of irrationalism and resistance to the facts that may run counter to prejudices."<sup>9</sup>

Paul Hollander, a political analyst, considers irrationalism while defining 'anti-Americanism' as well. He defines anti-Americanism as "an unfocused and largely irrational, often instinctive dislike for the United States, its government, domestic institutions, foreign policies, prevailing values, culture, and people." Paul Hollander also leaves behind some grey areas in his definition. For an instance, when a British politician, Tony Benn, rebuffed the US policy in Afghanistan on specific rational grounds, does not qualify him to be anti-American.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, his definition complicates anti-Americanism with a vital opinion on specific characteristics of the US policy. If it is the valid definition then Noam Chomsky, Paul Kennedy and other intellectuals who are critical of US internal and external policies are more anti-American than anyone.

Oxford Dictionary define anti-Americanism as "hostile towards the interests of the United States." This is also a very vague definition as US interests might endanger other countries interests. This is very irrational to term those countries or person anti-American who speaks and act for their own interests just like the US does.

Another definition can be "absolute antagonistic feelings against the United States in which one does not criticize the US in some specific aspects, but it is the absolute denial of the US as a whole."<sup>11</sup> that is evident regarding Latin America, it does not apply for the Islamic world since much of the Muslim World do not reject America in absolute terms.

If we disprove these explanations, then how can anti-Americanism be defined? Anti-Americanism is a wide-ranging idea, and its applications varies in different regions.

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9 Crockatt, *America Embattled*, 43,

10 Crockatt, *America Embattled*, 43,

11 Krastav, "The Anti-American Century," 5.

Anti-Americanism has numerous aspects relying on the situation in which it is prevailing.

Anti-Americanism can be defined in the Muslim world in a framework that there is a gap of perception - between the US and the Islamic worldview. For example, The US justification of its incursion on Iraq was that of elimination of the weapons of mass destruction (WMD), overthrowing the oppressive government of Saddam Hussein, and promotion of democracy in the region. While, Muslims have a different picture, as occupying power, of the US invasion, mainly for the US economic, political, and strategic interests. Therefore, it is safe to say that there is no universal definition of anti-Americanism, and only critique of US policies could not automatically fall in its domain. Moreover, we can assume that Muslims are not anti-Americans as per the Rightist's definitions of the term. Furthermore, in opposition to the rightist's definitions, anti-Americanism is, in real, a protest against American deviation from its ideals.

### **Factors Contributing to the Anti-American Sentiments in Pakistan**

United States in the execution of its policies, especially foreign policies, in Pakistan faces a foremost problem of the anti-Americanism sentiment.<sup>12</sup> Regardless of the benevolence of the US policies, it does not always enjoy the support of the masses in Pakistan. This conflict of interest and difference is not good for both the nations.

After grasping a thorough understanding of "anti-Americanism" it is essential to investigate, how the US advances her politico-strategic and economic policies, which produces bitterness and dislike between Muslims. Therefore, Bitter Historical experiences, Supporting Dictatorships, the unconditional support to Israel, power-based policies and militaristic response etc. are discussed asunder:

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12 M. Amin & N. Rizwan, "Anti-Americanism in Pakistan: A Theoretical Outlook," *Pakistan Horizon* 66, no. 4 (2013): 69-70.

## **Bitter Historical Experiences**

### **Crusades**

Crusade refers to the Medieval military excursions mainly made by the Europeans to capture the Holy-Lands back from the Muslim, basically it was considered battles between the righteous (Christians) and the Evils (Muslims). But in the recent history, we have seen the word 'Crusade' against the Muslims by the Western leaders, in general, and the US leaders- in particular. President George W. Bus, after the attacks on the Pentagon and the twin towers-the 9/11 attack, refereeing to the War on Terror commented that, "rid the world of evil-doers," and warned: "this crusade (meaning the War on Terror) is going to take a while." (Peter 2001)<sup>13</sup> The president Bush referring to the 'Crusade' hurt the feelings of the Muslims as 'Crusade' was a period of victory for the Christian and for the Muslims, it was the time of Loss. However, when the term was used or will be used, it will hurt the Muslims and revives the pain.

### **Mughal Empire**

The Sub-Continent has been under the rule of the Great Britain for about three centuries. They came as merchants and spread across the sub-continent and eventually ruled it like no other. Since, Pakistan has it links with it because it was a part of the land of the sub-continent that was ruled by the British. Pakistanis has the bitter memories of foreign rulers and see every person speaking English a colonist or more recently an imperialist. Because of the feeling that the United States is an imperial power and wants to dominate the world like the British dominated before, they are reluctant in making choices and are hesitant towards foreigners, especially the US. The Mughal rule was abolished by the British empire<sup>14</sup> and people of the sub-continent had to fight

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13 W. Peter, "Crusade' Reference Reinforces Fears War on Terrorism Is Against Muslims.", Retrieved from *The Wall Street Journal*; <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB1001020294332922160>

14 J. Sarkar, *Fall of The Mughal Empire* Vol. I, 4th ed., (Hyderabad: Orient Black Swan, 1991).



hard for it. Now, since the US is engaged in almost every part of the world in one way or the other, the people of sub-continent and in Pakistan especially, remembers the bitter experience of the British rule. Thus, the US is seen as an imperial power in the world that exploit the underdeveloped nations under the umbrella of promotion of democracy and humanitarian basis.

### **Ottoman Empire**

People of the sub-continent in general and Muslims had a strong bonding with the Ottoman Empire that stretched from Asia to Europe. After the World War-II, the Ottoman Empire was abolished that hurt millions of Muslims across the globe. It was mercilessly divided by just piece of paper which was called Treaty of Sèvres.<sup>15</sup> These events are remembered the masses and any similar attempt by the US is regarded as imperialistic in nature.

### **Post-Partition Pakistan**

Pakistani masses have a commonly built narrative that "Pakistan has always been under constant threat from Indian aggression since 1947."<sup>16</sup> This narrative became a fact when East-Pakistan disintegrated from West-Pakistan in 1971 due to Indian aggression. However, the United States remained inclined toward India. It came as a surprise to Pakistan because India largely remained neutral during the early Cold-War period while Pakistan has joined sides with the United States. Pakistan played a major role in the US policy of Containment. The Truman's administration wondered that, without the Indian inclusion in the policy of containment, how was it possible. Whereas Sir William Barton argues that "Pakistan and not India was key to policy of containment and West Asian defense."<sup>17</sup>

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15 W. D. Durham, *1920 Treaty of Sèvres and the Struggle for a Kurdish Homeland in Iraq and Turkey Between World Wars* (Oklahoma: Oklahoma State University, 2010).

16 Amin & Rizwan, "Anti-Americanism in Pakistan," 70.

17 S. Nossel & L. Tod, *Anti-Americanism*. Retrieved from Princeton University: <http://www.princeton.edu/ppns/conferences/reports/faa/AA.pdf>.

John Foster Dulles, the architect of the US Grand Policy of Containment, argues that Pakistan and other "Northern Tier Countries" (Iran, Turkey, and Iraq) could successfully promote United States' security in Asia.<sup>18</sup> Dulles's plan was hurriedly endorsed, and more than five division of the Pakistani Army armed and equipped. The total cost of the plan was about US\$ 500 million.<sup>19</sup> It is a fact that Pakistan's security, without the US military support, was not sufficiently strong enough to withhold challenges such as Indian aggression. Leicester Webb argued that Pakistan benefited from these pacts (SEATO, CENTO) and "Pakistan made it embarrassingly plain that she was doing so primarily to strengthen her position against India."<sup>20</sup> This difference of opinion and interest contributed to the Mistrust between the two nations. And eventually led to the grievance and sentiments about each other. Although, US blames Pakistan for not giving the expected result for what they provided with. Pakistan has also played a crucial role and suffered as well. Markeys argues that the problem with Pak-US relations is that both the countries lacked the values of mutual respect and mutual relationships. The United States designed a massive geopolitical Chess game. Pakistan was used as a pawn in this grand design of containing the Communism in the Policy of Containment.<sup>21</sup>

### **Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan**

Urged by the United States, Pakistan joined in with the US in Afghanistan-Soviet War. The Afghan-Soviet war was intended to stop the spread of communism and block the former Soviet Union from occupying and controlling other strategic areas in Middle East. As consequences of war, Pakistan had to face challenges it never imagined before.

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18 Nossel & Tod, *Anti-Americanism*.

19 D. Markey, *No Exit from Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 77.

20 J. G. Lerski, "The Pakistan-American Alliance: A Revolution of the Past Decade," *Asian Survey* no. 5 (1968).

21 Markey, *No Exit from Pakistan*, 77

The arrival of refugees to Pakistan was recorded about 44,118 a month. And they even did not go back and settled in Pakistan.<sup>22</sup> The burden of about more than three million was brought upon Pakistan. Although the international agencies (UNHCR, ICRC, WFP, and UNICEF) aided but main portion of the burden was borne by Pakistan.<sup>23</sup> Masses in Pakistan had grievance with the US for the sacrifices it made in Afghan-Soviet war and that even for not its own strategic or security gains. The United States is also criticized for accepting the demand of the local Drug-Lords, for allowing Drug-Trafficking, that brought the drug culture to Pakistan and effected more than eight million of the youth of Pakistan severely.<sup>24</sup>

The sneaky exist of the United States, without a rebuilding and restoration of the areas, from Afghanistan after the Afghan-Soviet war had devastated effects on the region. The US exist without a plan in-hand did great damage to the peace of the region as it created a power vacuum in the region for local warlord, mostly drug-traffickers. This power vacuum and the struggle for seizing power led to the Civil War in Afghanistan and has also damaged peace in Pakistan. Pakistan's relation with Afghanistan were also deteriorated. C. Christine Fair admits that "of course, Pakistan's complaints are not entirely unfounded."<sup>25</sup> The United States did abandon the region once the Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan and delivered 5.6 billion US Dollars aid, of which 3.5 billion dollars was military assistance."<sup>26</sup>

Pakistan's sacrifices and contributions in promoting the US interest in the Cold-War period were never recognized at

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22 R. A. Khan, "International Assistance to Afghan Refugees," *Pakistan Horizon* 38, no. 1 (1985): 99.

23 Khan, "International Assistance to Afghan Refugees," 99.

24 Hight Life, *Drug User in Pakistan*, UNODC. Retrieved from <http://highest-number-of-drug-users-in-pakistan-report/>

25 C. C. Fair, *Try to See It My Way Foreign Policy, Af-Pak Channel*.

26 Hight Life, *Drug User in Pakistan*.

international level. This aggravates Pakistani masses which leads to as often being termed as 'anti-Americanism'.

### **Political Hypocrisy of Elites**

Politicians can easily make an organized opinion of an issue on national and even global basis. Same has happened in Pakistan in case of anti-Americanism. Politicians in Pakistan are often observed promoting slogans that can give them a scapegoat for their own failures. Through a popular slogan they can gain significant popularity and escape their failures which they ought to admit. Politicians in Pakistan, from Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto to sitting Prime Minister Imran Khan, have used anti-American card as a tool to escape their failure and make US responsible for their own failure. But then there is another class in Pakistan, particularly the uneducated class. They do not even know where the United States is located and might not be able to locate it on a map but hold responsible the United States for every misshape in Pakistan.<sup>27</sup> Stephen D. Krasner argues that this 'Organized Hypocrisy' is a constant violation of the norms and values in global politics.<sup>28</sup>

### **Supporting Dictatorships**

There is a class in Pakistan that have a firm stance that Pakistan is lacking in reaching the level of other developing nations because of the longstanding dictatorial regimes. Regrettably, it is a fact that regardless of making wars for the promotion of Democracy in the world, the United States has also backed the Military Regimes wherever and whenever the former got an edge for the promotion of her Foreign Policy goals.<sup>29</sup> The first attack on the Democratic Process of Pakistan was made by the General Ayyub Khan. He abrogated the first constitution (1956) of Pakistan and seized power. He has even charged politician through security and

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27 K. D. Stephan, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

28 S. D. Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

29 Amin & Rizwan, "Anti-Americanism in Pakistan,".

Martial Law administration. The highly strict and authoritative regime banded politician from pursuing their democratic struggle. Despite challenging the US Ideals - Promotion of Democracy, the US president Johnson congratulated Ayyub Khan for steady progress in economy. But the then US Secretary of Defense S. McNamara went far ahead by quoting that "it is one of the greatest successes of development in the world."<sup>30</sup> The United States gave Ayyub Khan a very high-profile protocol on his visit to the United States and always praised his reforms. But the United States never condemned the tyrannical and autocratic regime, and, on this basis, the educated class is very much obsessed because the US would not act upon its own ideal. The US president Nixon's administration was a prominent supporter of General Yahya. General Yahya declared the Martial Law in Pakistan in 1969. Zia ul Haq ousted the government of Z. A Bhutto who was democratically elected Prime Minister of Pakistan. If, at that time, the US had lived up to its ideals, it would have condemned the oppressive regime of the General Zia ul Haq, but rather condemning it they were the biggest supporters of Zia's regime. Because the United States had, at the times, great interest vested in Pakistan. Musharraf is the most recent example of the US hypocrisy. In a nutshell, the US has always supported a regime that could benefit it even if it goes against its own ideals.

The educated elite of Pakistan often term the United States as a *good weather friend* and criticize America for its hypocrisy in pursuing her Foreign Policy aims. So, the hypocritical elements are present at both side of the table when it comes to Pakistan and the United States relations and their joint political venture in and around the world. This educated and elite class has always condemned the United States for supporting the military regimes. In their opinion it is the biggest hurdle in the development of Pakistan, and their sentiments and grievances are rational because the

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30 W. Dobell, "Ayyub Khan as President of Pakistan," *Pacific Affairs* 42, no.3. (1969): 297.

United States has never openly refuted or condemned these oppressive regimes in Pakistan. This shows that the United States could even turn down its ideals, in this case the Promotion of Democracy, when it comes to pursuing its Foreign Policy goals.

### **Pakistan's Nuclear Program**

When a country is already living and lying next to an aggressor neighbour which has already acquired nuclear weapons, acquiring nuclear weapon for such a state becomes compulsory. The Indian tested their first nuclear bomb "Smiling Buddha" in 1974. The Indian had now the strategic superiority and could use it as an option to bully Pakistan whenever and however it seems fit. Pakistan had to counter the Indian superiority in nuclear weapon by acquiring its own nuclear weapons. It was very logical and strategically important enough for Pakistan to a nuclear power. Pakistan was an active ally of the United States backed security treaties. Pakistan was in no position to anticipate that the United States would treat Pakistan as a threatening country. The United States tried to deter Pakistan from becoming a nuclear power by invoking the *Nuclear Non-Proliferations ACT* of 1977 and the *Glenn and Symington Amendments of 1978*.<sup>31</sup> Pakistan was severely pressurized to let off the nuclear program. The aid to Pakistan was revoked by United States by introducing the Glenn Amendments (1978). Not only that, the "French aided projects for assistance of nuclear arsenal were also terminated."<sup>32</sup> The Symington amendments were much harsh than the Glenn amendments because it dealt with the enrichment.

The US imposition of different sanction on Pakistan to deter its nuclear program was declared as stopping Pakistan from going nuclear. This was a matter of National concern for Pakistan that India has already become a nuclear state and showed its aggression in Bengal. Imposing sanctions on

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31 Lerski, "The Pakistan-American Alliance,".

32 Lerski, "The Pakistan-American Alliance,".

Pakistan at those crucial times was termed even more than anti-Pakistan.<sup>33</sup> This behaviour of US has also fueled to anti-Americanism in Pakistan. Especially sovereign-Nationalist anti-Americanism was largely because of the US opposition to the nuclear program of Pakistan.

### **Kashmir Issue**

The issue of Kashmir has been remained for as long as the existence of Pakistan. Pakistan and India have fought two War over Kashmir. Both the countries consider Kashmir as an integral part of their territory and claim its possession. The UN has passed eleven resolutions since 1947 over Kashmir.<sup>34</sup> The main theme of these resolutions is to give the people of Kashmir the right of self-determination.

The US being a superpower and arbitrator of Peace and promotor of democracy must have negotiated a deal with both the countries for the sake of Kashmiris right of self-determination. The US had spent little of its political capital on resolving the issue of Kashmir and had always stick to the traditional notion that it is a bilateral dispute and should be resolved bilaterally as suggested in Shimla Pact in 1972 after 1971 War.<sup>35</sup> The US has often made justifications for its military engagement in the world on humanitarian grounds, but India which violates human rights almost every minute in Kashmir has never been condemned strongly enough by the US. This creates uncomfortable feelings in masses in Pakistan and are often critical double standards of the US.

### **CPEC**

The multi-billion-dollar China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is the recent endeavour in Pak-China relations. CPEC is a fifteen-year project which is supposed to

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33 S. Ahmed, "Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons Program: Turning Points and Nuclear Choices," *International Security* 23, no. 4 (1999): 178.

34 R. M. Khan, "Kashmir Dispute: A Legal Perspective," *NDU Journal* 29, no. 1 (2015).

35 Navnita Chadha Behera, *Kashmir: Redefining the US Role* (Washington D. C: The Brookings Institution, 2002).

complete by 2030.<sup>36</sup> Upon completion, it is considered a game-changer for Pakistan as well as for the region. But CPEC faces challenges as well, mainly the opposition from the US and India have risen in recent past. The US concern that, upon completion of Gwadar port, the Chinese may have leverage in the Indian Ocean where China is already strengthen its presence. The US has not directly opposed the CPEC but argued that the CPEC should not be only China and Pakistan's and it should include other countries like Afghanistan as well.<sup>37</sup> But even the slightest rhetoric against CPEC can trigger the people in Pakistan against its critics whether the US or India.

### **The United States' Power-Based Policies**

The United States was built upon some novel ideals. These ideals include, but not limited to, the Concept of democracy, separation of power, State Sovereignty, and many more. The recent past, especially the start of 21<sup>st</sup> century, shows us duality in the United States actions and its ideals. After the tragic incident of 9/11, the Bush administration was so frustrated that it endangered the Muslim world by giving them only two options; either join him in War against terrorism or get ready for the consequences. He gave the Muslim countries two option of "foe or friend"<sup>38</sup> which meant that those states supporting the stance of the Bush administration were friends and otherwise foes. Dr. Hussain argues that these policies were based on power and a lobby that he called 'Confrontationist' existed in the White House in Bush Administration. They made Bush believe that "there is no compatibility in Islam and democracy."<sup>39</sup> The media also has its role in the image of Islam as it has always portrayed Muslims as extremist and fundamentalist. These power-

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36 M. Hussain, *Anti-Americanism in the Muslim World Al-Siyasa: A Journal of Politics, Society and Culture* (2005): 83-97.

37 M. Hussain, "China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC): Challenges and the Way Forward," (California: Naval Postgraduate School Monterey United States, 2017), 53.

38 Hussain, "China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)."

39 S. P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996).



based policies did not work well and consequently the image of the United States has deteriorated over time in the Muslim World in particular, and western world in general.

### **Militaristic instruments**

As argued by Zakaria,<sup>40</sup> the aggressive policies of the George Bush were responsible for the strong anti-Americanism inside Pakistan. The Bush Doctrine as its main principles were, among others, the controversial "Preemptive Strikes" and "Unilateral Action" did a great deal of damage to the image of the United States throughout the world. For instance, in case of Indonesia, more than 75 percent of the Indonesians citizens were to some extent 'Pro-American'. Bus soon after the Bush Administration took charge of the affairs of the world, the same country reported more than 80% of its populace "anti-American" and were hostile towards the United States.<sup>41</sup> This shows that the Bush Doctrine was behind the distorted image of the United States and earned George Bush ill-fame for his wars that were not necessary.

To outline the disastrous and far-reaching doctrine of the President Bush to fight terrorism, John Maszka sums it up well. He argues that the Bush Doctrine is constructed upon the 'Unilateralism', 'the Preemptive strikes strategy' and 'Militaristic hegemony.'<sup>42</sup> President Bush has often very openly declared that "We cannot let our enemies strike us first... we'll not hesitate to act alone... we must build and maintain our defense beyond given challenges." From the point of view of the international law, the Bush Doctrine was heavily criticized by the scholars of this field. If the United States can use the policy of preemptive strikes against a possible threat, then every country has the right to use it. But the United States would not tolerate it but always has justification for its own preemptive strikes' strategy. Suppose

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40 F. Zakaria, "Hating America," *Foreign Policy-Washington* 144 (2004): 47-49.

41 Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*.

42 John Maszka, *Terrorism and the Bush Doctrine* (Baltimore: America Star Books, 2008).

if India being a nuclear state can justify itself for the nuclear doctrine, then the same situation can be imagined on part of Pakistan.

Another scenario is that, though not very strong, there exist a principle of brotherhood among all Muslim-Nations. The policymakers and scholars along with the President Bush labelled Libya, Iraq, and Iran Rogue states. Soon after terming these states rogue, invasion of Afghanistan happened followed by Iraq, Libya, and then Syria.<sup>43</sup> This attitude of the United States which led to invasion of these Muslim-States made the masses in Pakistan believe that the United States and its military might is only targeting the Muslim states.

Whenever the media in Pakistan would show the speeches of these congressman and President Bush regarding Pakistan, it would hurt the feelings of a large masses in Pakistan. Because the masses in Pakistan had a firm belief that whether Pakistan practices democracy or dictatorships, it has always served the United States in any way possible. In Cold-War period it was Pakistan who was prioritizing the US interest over its self's, after the Cold-War Pakistan got the status of non-NATO ally and continue to serve the United States in Afghanistan. But what Pakistan got was that "Pakistan a failing nuclear state" that harbours terrorism.<sup>44</sup> Pakistan started military operation in North-Waziristan by consistent US insistence. Back then Pakistani masses were divided in its opinion regarding the military operations, and many opposed it. But when the diplomatic channels and talks were of no use with those outlaws, the military operations in those areas became inevitable. Now since most of the Pakistani majority supports the military operations against those outlaws, Pakistan has achieved

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43 K. Zhivkov, *Anti-Americanism as a Mass Attitude: Estimating Stability and Consistency Using Cross-National Survey Data* (2015)

44 Fair, "Try to See it My Way".

considerable amount of stability and brought back Peace to the unrestrained regions.<sup>45</sup>

### **Drone Strikes in Pakistan**

The controversial drone strikes on militants inside Pakistan has been a massive public outcry in Pakistan because they had cause overwhelming collateral damage. The government of Pakistan has not halted these drone strike but, because of the public pressure and opposition, tried to save their faces and blamed the United States. The United States has another opinion about the drone strike in terms of collateral damage. The Joint Chiefs of Staff, Mike Admiral, argued that drone strikes were doing the collateral damage and it was because of this collateral damage that they could successfully eliminate the target i.e., Taliban.<sup>46</sup> But the United States could not see when the same Drone Strike killed more than eighty innocent students of a Madrassa in Bajourh, the Tribal area in ex-Fata. There were many demonstrations and nation-wide protest the drone strikes in Pakistan. But even these protest and public outcry could not stop the drone strikes. President George Bush was highly unpopular in Pakistan because it was first started in his administration. But his successor, Barack Obama, even mounted up the so-called drone strikes in his two terms as a president. The South Asian Terrorism Portal presented some statistics about the drone strikes in Pakistan. It was presented that between 2005 to 2016, about 2806 people were killed and more than three hundred injured.<sup>47</sup> However, the CIA have claimed that they killed very high-profile terrorist in these controversial drone strikes but it is reported that hundreds of unwanted deaths of innocent people as well.

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45 Fair, "Try to See It My Way,".

46 A. Mullen, Drone Strikes in Pakistan are very "Effective" *Foreign Policy*. Retrieved from <https://foreignpolicy.com/2009/05/19/admiral-mullen-drone-strikes-in-pakistan-are-very-effective/>

47 "Drone Attack in Pakistan," SATP (2005-2016); <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/Pakistan/database/droneattack.htm>.

In 2012 a drone strike killed more than eighty students of a Madrasa (a religious school) in Bajourh. There were nationwide protests the drone strikes after the killing of those innocent students. "President Obama, to calm down the public outrage, announce that no strike is launched without close sureness that no regular people will be murdered of harmed."<sup>48</sup> Sadly, the independent investigation of the drone strike in Pakistan showed that there were more civilian deaths than the numbers officials would admit. The civilian deaths due to drone strikes caused anti-Americanism in Pakistan and got a bad reputation to the United States in other countries as well when the Drone Strikes were expanded to Yemen. President Obama struggled hard to restore the image of the United States in Muslim World in particular and the world in general. But the rise of the anti-Americanism sentiment will not stop if drone strikes were carried out resulting in civilian casualties.

### **Preference to India**

Another important factor in fueling anti-Americanism in Pakistan is the support of the United States to empower India. In Pakistan, India is considered an arch rival. India has often tried to diminish the image of Pakistan on international forums and interfered in Pakistan internal matter such as Indian support to Baluchistan Liberation Army (BLA). While the United States has grand design for South Asia, to not let China's peaceful rise, India is being empowered and supported by the US to give tough time to China.<sup>49</sup> An expert on subject, the Former Australian PM, Kevin Rudd goes about that China is absolutely convinced about the containment policy of the United States against China. He summed it up in five point that "Isolate China, Contain China, diminish it, divide it internally, and sabotage Chinese political leadership."<sup>50</sup> To extend the policy of containment against

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48 S. Shane, "Drone Strike Reveal Uncomfortable Truth: US is often Unsure about who will Die," Retrieved from *New York Times*.

49 A. Browne, "Can China Be Contained?" *The Wall Street Journal*, June 12, 2015.

50 A. Browne, "Can China Be Contained?".

China, the United States is empowering the Indian Military. This poses grave concerns for Pakistan as an extremely powerful Indian military could bully Pakistan.

The United States has actively supported India to end-up in the Nuclear-Supplier Group (NSG). It was only when China vetoed this move. The United States is also trying to get India a permanent membership in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) which could pave way for the broader cooperation between the United States and India. The United States' former President Obama and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, after a joint meeting in Washington, concluded that "The United States reassured its support for a reformed United Nation Security Council with India as its permanent member."<sup>51</sup> The military assistance to India by the United States could deteriorate situations in Pakistan as Pakistan and India has harsh border management and there exist a very rational threat of Indian Military aggression inside Pakistan.<sup>52</sup>

On one side the United States is increasing its trade with India, on the other the US is empowering India to counter China and trying get India a nuclear deal and permanent UN security council seat. All these events hurt the feelings of Pakistan as India is considered, and Indian aggressions have proven this too, that India is an arch rival of Pakistan and any advantage over Pakistan would be used against it. This duality in the policies of the United States fuels anti-Americanism in Pakistan and people in Pakistan are highly concerned about the Commitments US made because none has ever satisfied the masses and government in Pakistan.

### **Supporting Israel**

In the Muslim-world, one of the grave reasons to anti-Americanism is the United States' unconditional support to the state of Israel. The Israeli state advances its policy of

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51 "The US Backs India's Bid for a Permanent UN Security Council Seat," *The Indian Express*.

52 A. Kumar, "The US Military Aid to India could Irk Pakistan," *The Washington Times*, July 17, 2010.

expansion under the pretext of self-defense.<sup>53</sup> The state Israel has occupied the lands of Palestinian and expanded since 1947. The United States' most dangerous enemy and the architect of the 9/11 attacks, Osama bin Laden, stated in his *Fatwa* in 1998 that "His reasons behind the grave grievances with United States includes the United States unconditional support to Israe."<sup>54</sup> Pakistan is one the country that have not recognized the States of Israel. Even on every Pakistani's passport, it written that "This passport is valid for all countries except Israel."<sup>55</sup> The concept of Support to the Palestinian in Pakistan is not new. The founder of the Pakistan Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah has even made it very clear that Pakistan will never recognize the illegitimate state of Israel until and unless the Palestinian are settled and satisfied.<sup>56</sup> As mentioned earlier in this chapter, there exist a bonding of all Muslim Ummah through Brotherhood. And Palestinian have their support from their Muslim brother from Pakistan and elsewhere in the world. Although some of Arabic states have their secret ties, UAE now Recognized Israel, but most of the Muslim world does not accept Israel as state. The United States have always supported Israel in any way possible ranging from Military support to Economic and Science and Technology. The US has even pressurized many countries to accept and recognize the State of Israel and to some extent the former was successful as well.<sup>57</sup>

When President Donald J. Trump took over the office of the President of the United States, he even went far ahead in supporting Israel than his predecessors. Almost every president of the United States supported Israel, but President Donald Trump was a unique entity in supporting Israel. On December 6, 2017, the President of the United

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53 Hussain, "Anti-Americanism in the Muslim World,"

54 Hewitt, *Understanding Terrorism in America*.

55 MOR, Directorate General of Immigration & Passports, Ministry of Interior, Islamabad, 2020. Retrieved from: <http://www.interior.gov.pk/>

56 S. Qaiser, "Jinnah and the Palestine Question," *Journal of Research Society of Pakistan* 56, no.1 (2019).

57 Qaiser, "Jinnah and the Palestine Question,".

States Donald J. Trump announced the recognition of Jerusalem (commonly known as Bait-ul-Muqaddas to Muslim) as the capital of Israel.<sup>58</sup> Jerusalem has been holding majority Muslim and this recognition of the US hurt feelings of millions of Muslims across the world. Pakistan still has a very strong reaction to the recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capitol. The United States has even order to move its embassy from Tel-Aviv to Jerusalem. Jerusalem has been a very holy place to the Muslim world as hold a sacred recognition second to that of Ka'ba.

### **Narrative Against Pakistan**

It is very common in Washington to use concepts like rogue-state, failing<sup>59</sup> or failed-state, deep-state or untrustworthy etc. regarding Pakistan, but only Pakistanis can feel the insult and derogation incurred upon them. Despite being doing everything that it could, Pakistan has often labeled a failing or failed state by the US.

In a very recent interview of Hillary Clinton with CNN, she referred to Pakistan while explaining what a Deep-State<sup>60</sup> is and how it works. When shown on media, these ideas that the US propagate hurt millions of Pakistanis here. The remarks, put forward by Hillary Clinton, were criticized on social media by many Pakistanis. Criticizing the US states for the damages it caused in different places in the world.

Bush too was a prime example of using words like Crusade<sup>61</sup> for Muslims and bashing Pakistan and other Muslim countries for his own failed policies to use it as face-saving.

The US should refrain from suing such language and propagating such concept that are base irrational ideologies and lie. Because these statements can incite anti-

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58 "Recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's Capital by the USA," *The Guardian*; <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/dec/06/us-recognition-of-jerusalem-as-israel-capital-what-it-means>

59 G. Ranis, "Is Pakistan a Failing State?" *YaleGlobal Online* April 25, 2013.

60 H. Clinton, *CNN*, (B. Keilar, Interviewer); <https://exbulletin.com/politics/466503/>

61 J. Carroll, "The Bush Crusade," *The Nation* 279, no. 8 (2004)

Americanism and give rise to hatred and dislike of the US, the must respect other countries and treat them as equals.

The former president Donald J. Trump has been very controversial throughout the world for his unique personality and policies. Apart from recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capitol, Trump has remained one of the most controversial President in the history of the United States and did a great deal of damage to the image of the U.S. Anti-Americanism in Pakistan has also sparked because of Trump in recent years as a famous new year eve's *tweet* regarding Pakistan. On January first, 2018, Trump tweeted:

The United States has foolishly given Pakistan more than thirty-three billion dollars in aid over the last 15 years, and they have given us nothing but lies & deceit, thinking of our leaders as fools. They give haven to the terrorists we hunt in Afghanistan, with little help. No more!<sup>62</sup>

This has faced harsh criticism from Pakistani masses and politicians alike as it was disgrace to the sacrifices of Pakistanis made in the US war on Terror and not acknowledging the sufferings Pakistan bore. The current Prime Minister and the Leader of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf Party, Imran Khan bashed Trump by replying to his tweets as he reminded him of the sacrifices Pakistan made in the War on Terror. Imran Khan went further by putting records that 'Pakistan lost more \$123 billion. More than 75,000 casualties, a great damage to the infrastructure" including many more. The reaction of Imran and other Pakistanis showed that Pakistan is very much sensitive regarding the sacrifices it made in the War Against Terrorism of the United States and need the International Forum and Media to recognize Pakistan's efforts. The reaction can be observed that Liberal-anti-Americanism in Pakistan still exists which criticizes the United States on the dual standard by putting ideal of something else and doing something else.

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62 "Trump's New Year Eve's Tweet about Pakistan," *The New York Times*, Jan 2018; <https://TheNewYorkTimes.com/Trump/Tweet/1stJanuary2018/>



**Conclusion**

Pakistan is an important geo-strategic state which has always served the United States in advancing the latter's foreign policy objective in the region. Pakistan helped the United States contain the former Soviet Union, arbitrated in the US-Sino relations, and helped curb Taliban in Afghanistan. In doing so, Pakistan has suffered great amount of loss as well by sacrificing more than eighty thousand people to the Terrorist attacks inside Pakistan which started mostly after Pakistan extended its support to the United States War on Terror in Afghanistan. But it is fact that the United States as well could not achieve its anticipated results due to anti-Americanism in Pakistan.

After examining the different factors and drivers of anti-Americanism in Pakistan, it is safe to say that the US policies of persuasion its own Geopolitical interests and turning a deaf ear to the grievances of Pakistani masses and government is the reason behind different waves of anti-Americanism. The US not coming up to its own ideal of promotion of democracy and supporting tyrant regimes in Pakistan made people believe in Pakistan that the US is working for the interests of none other than itself. The unconditional support to illegitimate state of Israel which commits mass human right violations is also fuelling anti-Americanism. Mistrust is also a grave matter of concern in Pakistan because when Pakistan needed the US support intensely, the US despites its promises did not come to the help of Pakistan because there were no interests of the US attached as in case of the War of 1971 between Pakistan and India which divided Pakistan into two.