

Pakistan's Security Paradox: Countering and Fomenting Insurgencies



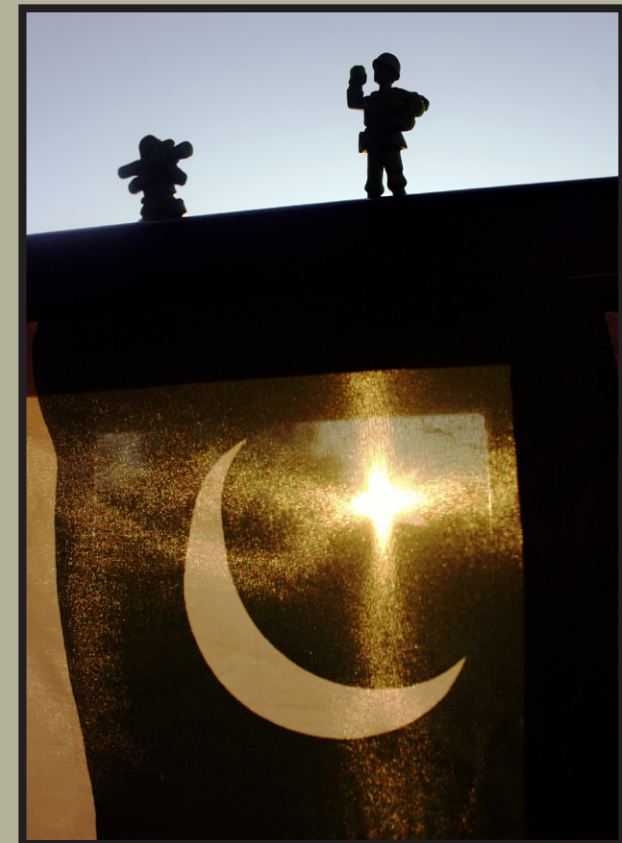
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Pakistan's Security Paradox

Mullick



Haider A. H. Mullick

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Joint Special Operations University and the Strategic Studies Department

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On the cover

The photograph is an artistic depiction of the COIN-FOIN paradox by Aisha Chowdhry and Haider A. H. Mullick. The soldier on the left attacks the insurgent while the one on the right supports the insurgent; both claim to be equally patriotic.



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and Fomenting
Insurgencies*

Haider A. H. Mullick

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*In memory of more than 2,000 Pakistani soldiers
who fought with complete dedication
for an incomplete country.*

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Foreword

This JSOU publication affords the reader an opportunity to look into Pakistan's national security policy and strategy through the lens of a Pakistani loupe. Author Haider Mullick, born in Islamabad and educated in the United States (U.S.), provides his interpretation of Pakistani strategic behavior in terms of the geostrategic interests of that nation.

Mr. Mullick's discussion of the strategic setting in Southwest Asia is particularly timely as the U.S. is diverting strategic resources from the Iraqi theater of war to the effort in Afghanistan. Concurrently, the new administration of President Obama is refocusing the national security strategy away from notions of a global war on terrorism to a security policy of a "broader engagement" with the countries of the world and particularly the Muslim world.¹ As one part of this strategic vision, a particular effort will be made to dismantle or destroy Al Qaeda and its associates.

In discussing what Mr. Mullick calls "strategic spread," he relates Pakistan's national interests for protecting the nation against internal (separatism) and external (nuclear India) threats. Strategic spread is a mix of policy objectives that guide offensive, defensive, preemptive, and irregular warfare. These policy approaches include nuclear/military parity with India, quelling internal dissent, strengthening religious cohesiveness, and making foreign aid plentiful and certain. The geographic dimension of this is "strategic depth," seen as Pakistani influence in Afghanistan to counter Indian and Iranian proxies there, to hedge against a future occupying force, and to provide a base for irregular warfare against India in Kashmir. The problem for U.S. military planners is that there is no strong correlation among Pakistan's regional interests and those of the U.S. or other countries. Mr. Mullick's insights highlight the shortcoming of attempting to fight a regional war one country at a time with different approaches in interests and strategies. The ambiguity of Pakistan's security strategy generates enormous strategic angst for the would-be peacemaker: how can one achieve a regional solution when Pakistan foments insurgency in southern Afghanistan while it counters insurgency in northern Pakistan with and against people of the same mores—the Pashtuns. What makes it more complicated is that now the insurgency in Pakistan has spread beyond predominantly Pashtun areas to the country's central province of Punjab and the southern provinces of

Baluchistan and Sindh. The situation suggests what Mr. Mullick terms, a COIN-FOIN paradox.

Pakistan has both countered and fomented insurgency to maintain its strategic interests, not unlike the dominant countries during the Cold War. Currently, Mr. Mullick observes, Pakistan is helping the U.S. to root out Al Qaeda and associated Pakistani Taliban in the northern tribal areas, while it indirectly abets Afghan Taliban in southern Afghanistan. Pakistan wants to maintain influence in southern Afghanistan as a defense against India's strategic encirclement and a way to maintain strategic depth. National security leaders of the region's countries will need to find another way to allay Pakistan's concerns about its strategic depth, and only an improvement of the Pakistan-India relationship along with a resolution of the Pashtun insurgency in Northern Pakistan will have significant impact over the long term.

To secure Pakistan against insurgency and dismantle Al Qaeda, Mr. Mullick suggests that a program is needed to restore the pride and mores (Pashtunwali) of the Pashtuns on both sides of the Durand Line. He advocates launching "Operation PRIDE." This acronym calls for political reconciliation, reconstruction and reform, improving intelligence and cooperation, deterrence, and endurance. This falls neatly in line with President Obama's new strategic approach to help nations advance programs for political, economic, and social development. One must question if the strategic environment in Southwest Asia will allow the desired outcomes. Certainly the strategic issues outlined above will have to be tackled first.

This monograph provides a regional perspective that is useful to the Special Operations Forces (SOF) community. It further reflects that counter-insurgency is not well understood on either side of the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. What is useful to the SOF reader is the enhanced appreciation of the problems, political intrigues, and missed opportunities in the fight from the Pakistan view. These insights will enable the operator to guide operations with both sides of the border in mind.

Kenneth H. Poole
Director, JSOU Strategic Studies Department

About the Author

Haider Ali Hussein Mullick, a JSOU associate fellow, conducts research on U.S. foreign policy toward South Asia and the Middle East. During his career, he has focused on U.S.-Pakistan relations and broader issues of security, socioeconomics, and the geopolitics of Pakistan, Afghanistan, and South Asia. In October and November 2009, Mr. Mullick traveled in South Asia in support of writing a white paper for General David Petraeus on ways to improve the U.S.-Pakistan security partnership.



Mr. Mullick is also a research fellow at the Institute for Social Policy and Understanding (ISPU) in Michigan; research associate at the Pakistan Security Research Unit, University of Bradford, United Kingdom; and part of the Panel of Experts at Spearhead Research, Pakistan. Haider recently presented his ongoing research on Pakistan's national security policy at a conference organized jointly by JSOU and the Carr Center for Human Rights, Harvard Kennedy School; at the Brookings Institution; and U.S. Army's Directed Studies Office.

Previously, Mr. Mullick conducted research at the Brookings Institution's Foreign Policy Studies (*U.S.-Pakistan Relations*), Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (*Pakistan's Political Economy and Reviving Failed States*), and the Hudson Institute's Center on Islam, Democracy and the Future of the Muslim World (*Madrasa Education and Links to Islamist Militancy*). For others, see www.haidermullick.com.

Mr. Mullick's policy briefs or articles have appeared in *Foreign Affairs*, *Yale Global*, *World Politics Review*, *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, *Smith Richardson Foundation's Pakistan Report*, *Oxford Analytica*, *Pakistan Security Research Unit*, *University of Bradford's Policy Brief*, *Jane's Policy Brief*, *Woodrow Wilson Center Afghanistan Report*, and the *Heritage Foundation's Backgrounder*. His editorials have appeared in *Newsweek*, *The Washington Post*, *Foreign Policy* magazine, *The Nation* (Pakistan), *The Daily*

Times, The News International, The Times of India, Indian Express, Gulf News, and Pakistan Link. His TV appearances and media interviews have been with *CNN International, Al Jazeera English Riz Khan Show, Voice of America, PBS News Hour, CBS News, Washington Independent,* and *Time* magazine. (For details, visit www.haidermullick.com.)

Haider earned his B.A. in Economics and M.A. in Public Policy from the Robert E. Cook Honors College at Indiana University of Pennsylvania. He was born and raised in Islamabad, Pakistan and currently resides with his wife in Washington, D.C.

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While the main idea of the monograph—Pakistan’s policy to counter and foment insurgency and its effects on U.S. security interests—matured over time, the moment of epiphany emerged in late 2007 while conducting research under Dr. Stephen P. Cohen at Brookings. With the canny eye of an academic and rationality of a policy analyst, Dr. Cohen was instrumental in shoring up the idea and directing me to the right experts, foundation, and think tanks. Their comments were indispensable. Also, a close friend and brilliant U.S. grant strategy analyst, Jonathan Ruhe, provided valuable comments on better integrating U.S. security interests with my analysis of Pakistan’s counterinsurgency policy.

My sister, Mushaal, and mother, Rehana, are beacons of hope in my life, and they provided a shield of unbridled support, frequently introducing me to nuanced analysis and experts from Pakistan. My loving wife, Rabia, provided poignant comments and was encouraging even while fearing her husband’s passion for national security. Zebun Chowdhry, my mother in law, provided critical insights from the Pakistani baby-boomer generation and helped transliterate hundreds of articles from the Urdu press. Aisha Chowdhry, my sister in law, stoked my ego by saying, “I think now I’ll read more about national security.” I am lucky to have all of them on my side.

Last, but not the least, my two mentors—Lawrence K. Pettit, my intellectual constant and Dighton M. Fiddner, my guide to national security; I am honored to have you in my life. I hope this monograph is a reflection of lessons they taught and I retained.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

ANP.....	Awami National Party
AQA.....	Al Qaeda and associates
CENTCOM.....	Central Command (United States)
COIN.....	Counterinsurgency
FATA.....	Federally Administered Tribal Area
FC.....	Frontier Corps (Pakistan)
FOIN.....	Fomenting insurgency
HeM.....	Harkat-ul-Mujahideen
HN.....	Haqqani Network (Jalaluddin and Sarajuddin groups)
HuM.....	Hizb-ul-Mujahideen
IED.....	Improvised explosive device
IMU.....	Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan
ISAF.....	International Security Assistance Force (for Afghanistan)
ISI.....	Inter-Services Intelligence (Directorate of Pakistan)
JeM.....	Jaish-e-Mohammad
JL.....	Jamaat-e-Islami
LeT.....	Lashkar-e-Taiba
MMA.....	Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (2002 coalition of Islamist parties)
NATO.....	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NC.....	National Conference (Indian-administered Kashmiri Party)
NWFP.....	Northwest Frontier Province
PML-N.....	Pakistan Muslim League, Nawaz group
PML-Q.....	Pakistan Muslim League, Quaid-e-Azam group
PPP.....	Pakistan Peoples Party
SOF.....	Special Operation Forces (United States)
SSG.....	Special Services Group (Pakistan's SOF)
TSNM.....	Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Mohammadi
TTP.....	Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan
UAV.....	Unmanned Aerial Vehicle

Executive Summary

Most American and Pakistani political and military leaders agree that without a credible U.S.-Pakistan partnership, victory against Taliban and Al Qaeda is impossible. For such a partnership, shared goals must be matched by shared threats, and perceptions must follow demonstrable action. Washington and Islamabad agree that Al Qaeda must be defeated. Pakistan's national security calculus—based on India's influence in Afghanistan—however, treats Afghan Taliban as leverage and Pakistani Taliban as enemies of the state. Consequently, Afghan Taliban are provided asylum in Pakistan while they wreak havoc in Afghanistan, and Pakistani Taliban are attacked. While Pakistan has countered and fomented numerous insurgencies, this is the first time that it has done both to achieve its national security goals. This dual policy and disconnect between American and Pakistani threat perceptions is at the heart of Pakistan's security paradox. Pakistan continues to indirectly counter (COIN) and foment (FOIN) insurgency in Afghanistan. Without acknowledging, explicating, and eventually changing this paradox, Afghanistan and Pakistan will continue to descent into chaos.

While many researchers and analysts focus on the current security situation in the region, too few have examined the historical development of Pakistan's national security strategy and how it must be center stage in developing a sustainable long-term U.S.-Pakistan partnership. In 2009, the United States shifted focus from Iraq to Afghanistan, and Pakistan provided more resources and personnel. The Afghan Taliban—patrons of Al Qaeda—and their Pakistani counterparts (Pakistani Taliban and terrorists from Punjab) control most of southern Afghanistan and parts of northern and southern nuclear-armed Pakistan. These terrorist sanctuaries are conduits for narco-dollars, recruits, weapons and ideal locations to plan 9/11-type attacks against the United States and its allies. Relying on inexperienced Afghan security forces, American military struggled to regain the initiative against the Afghan Taliban all year. Pakistani military, however, delivered a surprising blow to the Pakistani Taliban in 2009 taking back the strategic Swat Valley and South Waziristan. While questions of holding areas after they cleared them of insurgents remain, Pakistani soldiers regained the initiative against the Pakistani Taliban by the end of the year. In December

2009 President Barak Obama announced sending 30,000 additional troops to regain control of southern Afghanistan in 2010—the heart of the Afghan Taliban insurgency.

Success demands a holistic approach toward Afghanistan and Pakistan that recognizes geopolitical realities—India and Pakistan—and Afghanistan’s future vulnerability to becoming a terrorist sanctuary once coalition and American troops leave. The debate must be focused on bringing about long-term political and socioeconomic development to Pakistan’s north and Afghanistan south on the backs of short- and medium-term visible and credible reforms that center on increased security and political and economic well being of the people.

Pakistan's Security Paradox: Countering and Fomenting Insurgencies

1. Examining Pakistan's Policies to Counter and Foment Insurgencies

By most accounts, the tripartite—United States (U.S.)/ North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Afghanistan, and Pakistan—counterinsurgency (COIN) response in the last 8 years has failed.² This monograph examines the factors behind such failure by analyzing Pakistan's policies to counter and foment insurgencies in the region and attempts to answer this question:

After examining Pakistan's policies to counter and foment insurgencies, what might be the best U.S.-Pakistan strategic partnership to defeat the transnational insurgency?

The Debate

President Obama has had little trouble placing Pakistan at the top of U.S. national security priorities. A 180-million-people-strong, Muslim, nuclear-armed Pakistan is battling a virulent insurgency in its northwest that is inextricably linked to Afghanistan's southeastern insurgency. Pakistan shares a border with an ambitious and near-nuclear Iran, a towering India that is increasingly drawn toward America, and a rising economic giant and American creditor in China. The myriad of local, regional, and global extremist Islamist groups embedded and proliferating in Pakistan's tribal belt are a clear and present danger to the shaky government in Pakistan. A destabilized Pakistan, populated with nuclear-weapons-hungry Al Qaeda operatives, will make gaining control over Afghanistan look like a cakewalk.

In Pakistan a variety of insurgent and terrorist groups, inspired by religio-political goals and ideology coalesced around Al Qaeda and the Taliban, have effectively erased any semblance of government control over and beyond the areas near the 1,650 mile-long porous border with Afghanistan. The spring 2009 Swat peace deal between Islamabad and the local

Pakistani Taliban chapter TSNM was an example of the rise of the umbrella insurgency's control in Pakistan.³ The subsequent Pakistani military operation (Righteous Path) dismantled, disrupted, and destroyed most of the Taliban's command and control and recruitment infrastructure in the Swat valley. By late 2009 Pakistan's military was engrossed in tough, pitch battles with Taliban insurgents in South Waziristan, Kyber, Kurram, and Orakzai agencies replicating successful tactics from the Swat operation.

In the last 8 years, the U.S., Afghan, and Pakistani COIN efforts have struggled to achieve the objective of eliminating Al Qaeda and associates (AQ), notably Afghan and Pakistani Taliban, their bases of operations, arms caches and recruitment, and their financial networks on both sides of the border, known as the Durand Line.⁴ Initial military success in Afghanistan and Pakistan against a Taliban and Al Qaeda in disarray was gradually wiped away when they firmly nested their bases in the southeastern provinces of Afghanistan and Pakistan's northwest, notably the Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA). A virtual bond of solidarity and operational assistance between local, regional, and global extremist Islamist groups, abetted by mainstream Islamist parties and sympathetic Pakistani intelligence officers, proved increasingly difficult to untangle, let alone break.

The prevailing wisdom is that a flawed U.S. military policy—unduly focused on airpower over troop strength and short-term security over development in Afghanistan mixed with Pakistan's reluctance to go after the Afghan Taliban—unequivocally led to mission failure. The largely accepted reason is that Pakistan has a duplicitous policy toward the Afghan Taliban that ensures the insurgency's survival in south Afghanistan. It is so that the Taliban, as they did during the Soviet-Afghan war 1980 to 1989, can ensure a Pakistan-friendly (and Indian-averse) regime in Afghanistan. Afghan President Hamid Karzai is very critical of Pakistan's policy, but is realizing that some form of political dialogue between the government and the reconcilable Taliban insurgents is necessary—and increasingly unavoidable—for sustainable peace and development.⁵

For most of the last 8 years, political upheaval, rising economic woes, and past failures to sell the war to the Pakistani people have made a united national front on the war difficult. Pakistani military and law enforcement agencies have lost more than 1,900 personnel from 2002 to 2008.⁶ However, mistrust between the U.S. and Pakistan has increased due to lack of COIN

training, equipment, and alleged Pakistani duplicity in pursuing insurgents. For the longest time strategic goals of the U.S. and Pakistan did not coincide.



Figure 1. Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) and Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP). Base map © 2007 by World Trade Press; all rights reserved. Used with permission.

On balance, the U.S. objective “to prevent Afghanistan [and Pakistan] from being used as a base for terrorists and extremists to attack the U.S. and its allies,” cannot be achieved by a “transactional” U.S.-Pakistan partnership.⁷ President Barak Obama has changed course by applying a regional approach, increasing nonmilitary aid to Pakistan, increasing troop strength in Afghanistan, and appointing new military and civilian leaders to better integrate U.S. and ally resources in the region.⁸ The U.S. policy goal is to dismantle, disrupt, and disarm Al Qaeda, conduct COIN operations under the rubric of *whole-of-government* stabilization operations under U.S. command inside Afghanistan, and continue to outsource COIN operations in Pakistan’s east to the Pakistani military albeit with more oversight and accountability.⁹

The new American administration shows promise for change; however, for now, President Obama is continuing the existing U.S. military strategy of pursuing and interdicting AQA inside Pakistan through unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) drone attacks and occasional Special Forces *hot pursuit* missions; recent reports suggest an increase in the frequency and area of operations.¹⁰ On the political side, a push exists for dialogue between Kabul, Islamabad, and the Taliban. In late 2008, a group of Afghan Taliban—ostensibly with the blessing of their cleric leader Mullah Omar—was joined by the Afghan President’s emissaries in Saudi Arabia to begin the long overdue process of political reconciliation. In early 2009, President Obama sent Richard Holbrooke as his chief envoy for South Asia to gauge the political currents.

In the midst of a resurgent Taliban, there is guarded optimism. A recent survey puts 80 percent of Afghanistan under their control.¹¹ Also, an increase in suicide bombings to more than 100 in the first 6 months of 2008 has caused more U.S. deaths in Afghanistan than in Iraq in the last 2 years.¹² General David Petraeus, widely credited with writing and applying the new innovative COIN strategy of winning *hearts* and *minds*, is head of U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) that directs all U.S. forces in the region. In trying to custom fit the Iraq COIN strategy to Afghanistan, Petraeus is hoping to apply the important lessons of Iraq, albeit cautiously.

Unlike Iraq, which is a largely urban insurgency fought by closely bonded tribes, Afghanistan is largely rural. It is home to a population that exists largely without healthcare or education. This population is organized into tribes that have fought each other for centuries, and they find themselves united only under a religious leader (e.g., Taliban Mullah Omar). Most

important, historically Afghan mores are an anathema to a strong central government. Thus, Petraeus is arguing for a homemade mix of COIN strategies.¹³

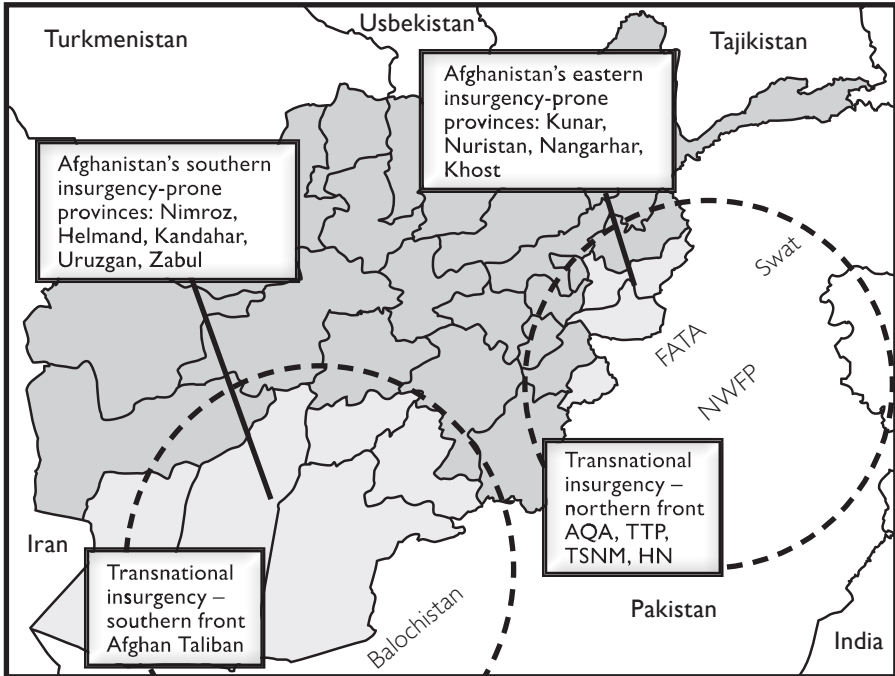


Figure 2. United National Accessibility Afghanistan Map 2008 and Insurgency-Infested Areas in Southern and Northern Pakistan. Base map © 2007 by World Trade Press; all rights reserved. Used with permission.

General Petraeus and his commanders on the ground understand the important differences between Iraq and Afghanistan. Furthermore, in a recent interview with *Foreign Policy* magazine, he noted that low literacy rates make the communication campaigns different: unlike their Iraqi counterparts, most Afghans do not have access to radio or satellite television. One remedy around that limitation is providing hand-crank radios for communication, General Petraeus said, and building more roads for better military, political, and socioeconomic operations.

Moreover, governance is a major issue in Afghanistan, as are corruption and the grievances of the general population. Hamid Karzai's administration is perceived to be increasingly corrupt and incompetent in providing basic services such as jobs, clean water, electricity, and healthcare clinics.

An influx of more foreign troops is not a sustainable solution; the surge, by definition, is an increase of U.S. troops that is designed to tilt the balance of legitimate power in favor of the state. The surge is part of the strategy, not a strategy in itself. U.S. policymakers are hoping more U.S. boots on the ground will help protect the population, which will in turn provide better intelligence, develop trust, and help in stabilization operations including socioeconomic infrastructure building. Once that is accomplished, the hope is that the Afghan government can broker peace with reconcilable elements within the insurgency, allowing Afghan troops to carry on COIN operations. Local partnerships, especially in policing and governance, will be paramount. More is needed, however, for this ideal outcome. An effective government is key to convince the population that the state is on their side, can protect them, and will provide them security, development, and speedy justice. Today, for the most part, the Afghan Taliban in the southern and eastern provinces are in control and providing these services, notably speedy justice through tribal and religious customs.

How these changes are viewed in Pakistan is unequivocally important. General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani, the head of Pakistan's army (chief of staff), and the Intelligence chief, General Shuja Pasha of the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) Directorate, are working hard to bring about an overhaul in the Pakistani military to effectively fight the insurgents in FATA and NWFP. There has been significant success in ongoing operations in the Swat Valley in May and June and in south Waziristan in November of 2009. General Kayani is encouraging U.S. Special Operations Forces (SOF) trainers to help the struggling Frontier Corps (FC)—a light infantry unit historically equipped and trained for border security, countersmuggling, and counter-narcotics operations and since 2002 actively involved in COIN operations. However, the Pakistani military's No. 1 demand so far is equipment, especially Cobra helicopters that have so far fared well in COIN operations in the region's conflict theater.

While the debate about aiding FC is ongoing, the Pakistani military has decided that FC will take center stage in providing the most boots on the ground with significant help from regular army battalions and Special Services Group (SSG) commandoes. Currently there are 150,000 troops—75,000 are FC, 73,000 regular troops, and 2,000 SSGs.¹⁴ An additional 60,000-man police force is in the region (approximately 20,000 in FATA, and the rest in NWFP).¹⁵ A concerted effort is being undertaken to purge rogue ISI agents

with sympathies for AQA (140 were dismissed since August 2008), increase policing, and initiate effective political reconciliation with the moderates to win public support away from AQA, notably the Pakistani Taliban, Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP).¹⁶ Political unity against the Taliban is strong but tenuous; it must be sustained.

U.S.-Pakistan Relations in Brief

The current patron-client relationship between U.S. and Pakistan is shaped by prior defense and economic agreements during the Cold War and the recent partnership in the war against AQA in Afghanistan. Pakistan joined security pacts, the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in the 1950s; spied on the Chinese (1960s), then facilitated dialogue between the Chinese and the Americans (1970s); participated in the largest international covert operation to oust the Soviet-backed government in Afghanistan in the 1980s; and after 9/11, became a vital U.S. partner in the war against AQA and a notable recipient of U.S. aid (\$11 billion from 2002 to 2008). However, long spells of unmet expectations, mistrust, and broken promises occurred between the two partners, most notably when Americans felt betrayed by Pakistan's effort to make Afghanistan a constant proxy, its continuous development of nuclear weapons, and its selective cooperation in the war against AQA. Pakistanis, on the other hand, found America's sporadic and unreliable largess, reluctance to aid Pakistan against India in 1965 and 1971, disinterest in Afghanistan's contagious insecurity after the Soviet withdrawal in 1989, military and economic sanctions against Pakistan's nuclear program, and ignorance of Pakistan geostrategic obligations both disingenuous and condescending. It is, however, a troubled marriage of convenience that has made both partners realize over time that their common national security interests in the region (eliminating terrorist threats to America and Pakistan in Afghanistan) outweigh their diverging ones:

- a. U.S.—unequivocally eliminating all terrorist and insurgent groups, notably the Afghan Taliban; supporting a U.S. friendly India as counterweight to a rising China, taming a recalcitrant Iran
- b. Pakistan—selective elimination of terrorist and insurgent groups in Afghanistan and Pakistan in line with national security imperatives, which include offsetting India, protecting nuclear weapons, and fomenting insurgency (FOIN) as instruments of foreign policy; increasing energy trade with Iran; and strengthening relations with China and the Middle East.

There are no cut-and-dried alliances in the 21st century, and the U.S.-Pakistan situation is no exception. While U.S. and Pakistan may disagree on broad regional security and economic interests, the resurgence of a virulent Al Qaeda-supported Taliban insurgency in southeastern Afghanistan and northwestern Pakistan is forcing reluctant partners to see eye to eye.¹⁷

Pakistan's president, Asif Ali Zardari, heads a weak coalition government that is constantly challenged by his arch rival Nawaz Sharif of the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) group, the largest party in Punjab (Pakistan's largest province in population). Despite the passage of two bipartisan legislations on a united front against the insurgency—emphasizing political reconciliation over brute military force—and the creation of the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC), the two parties have locked horns, sending out shockwaves of political instability.¹⁸ Consequently, the Pakistani military has taken center stage in drafting and implementing Pakistan's COIN policy, much in the way it did from 2002 to 2008 under then-President Pervez Musharraf (Pakistan's military ruler and later President from 1999 to 2008).

Moreover, policy confusion has led to desperate measures.¹⁹ Asif Ali Zardari of the Pakistan Peoples Party is stuck between a rock and hard place. On one side are 180 million Pakistanis, less than a third of whom support the U.S.; however, close to 80 percent support the Pakistan army against the Taliban.²⁰ Most of the last 8 years Pakistanis were perplexed by a myriad of insurgent groups with similar ideologies and political goals and saw the Washington-Islamabad combine as the root of all evil. Believing a quick and complete American exit would end the insurgency, they question America's motives. Some media pundits and Islamist parties are propagating what they consider to be a U.S. hidden agenda to weaken and, at worst, break Pakistan, stripping it of its nuclear weapons and perhaps transmuting it into a forward base to closely monitor a rising China and a recalcitrant Iran. Pakistani supporters of military operations in the FATA and Afghanistan have advocated owning the war by building national consensus, and now they are in a majority.

Acknowledging the complex idiosyncrasies of the present threat, most Pakistanis want their government to create a holistic COIN policy. Such a policy must define national sovereignty while punishing internal and external violators. It must settle on a mix of “dialogue, deterrence, and development” toward the denizens of the tribal belt to halt the expanding insurgency.²¹ Pakistan's military, in charge of Pakistan's COIN policy, is acting with certainty against insurgents in Swat and FATA. In most of the last 8 years Pakistani military and intelligence has acted with ambivalence against insurgents in Afghanistan's southeast, but policy duality has run

its course as more in Islamabad realize the costs are not worth the benefits of interdicting Taliban in one theater and supporting them in another.²²

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Pakistan's political upheaval and its duplicitous approach to COIN in the FATA have increased U.S. mistrust. From the summer of 2008 to early 2009, U.S. military and intelligence agencies were sharing minimal intelligence with the ISI. Instead, the U.S. launched Hellfire missiles from UAV drones targeting Al Qaeda members and causing collateral damage inside Pakistani territory. The population, the grand prize for both insurgents and counterinsurgents, is either displaced from the FATA or joining the insurgency against the Pakistani military, frequently targeting army convoys. This is very alarming because 80 percent of all NATO supplies come through Pakistan's tribal badlands; recent attacks on NATO supply lines are a shocking reminder of the insurgency's threat to the NATO/International Security Assistance Force for Afghanistan (ISAF) mission in Afghanistan.²³ On balance, because an overhaul of the regional and transnational COIN is needed, this monograph provides an understanding of the security situation and recommends policy revisions.

Chapter 2 briefly mentions major COIN and FOIN schools of thought and Pakistan's COIN and FOIN policies from 1948 to 2001. Chapter 3 examines the COIN-FOIN paradox; how Pakistan's COIN policy was made, implemented, and altered as the situation on the ground changed; and identifies the major actors who drove the insurgency and COIN in Pakistan from late 2001 to late 2009. Chapter 4 lays out policy guidelines based on lessons learned and Pakistan's emerging COIN policy.

2. Pakistan: COIN and FOIN Theory and Praxis in Brief (1948 to 2001)

This chapter briefly mentions broadly accepted COIN theory and the degrees and variations that Pakistan practiced from 1948 to 2001. In addition, it examines Pakistan's policy of fomenting an insurgency (FOIN) to achieve its national security goals.

Brief Discussion of COIN Theory and Practices

David Galula—a French military officer who served in China, Greece, Southeast Asia, and Algeria and who commanded troops who fought insurgents—heavily influences classical COIN theory and practices.²⁴ After completing his service, Galula received a Harvard University fellowship to write about his COIN experiences. He wrote his magnum opus on COIN, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice*, providing a “compass” for future counterinsurgents.²⁵ More than 40 years after its publication, the U.S. Army and Marine Corps began an ambitious project to write a new COIN manual. It was released in December 2006 as the *U.S. Army and Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual* (FM 3-24/MCWP 3-33.5). Three years later an equally ambitious team published the *U.S. Army Stability Operations Field Manual* (FM 3-07), reiterating its predecessor's crucial observation: without an integrated “whole of government and unity of effort,” the military solution was no solution.

Galula argued that counterinsurgents represent institutions of state power—levels of government, legislature, and military—and consequently enjoy a monopoly of a state's tangible assets, notably legitimate power. On the other hand, insurgents do not have the state's assets, but do have an advantage over intangible assets, such as ideology or a religio-political cause. Counterinsurgents must uphold law and order, but insurgents are often free to violate state laws, their promises, or social mores. Galula made the case that the best way to defeat an insurgency is to maximize the strengths of the state and minimize the advantages of insurgents. He presented four important principles that have been included in the current FM 3-24/MCWP 3-33.5:

- a. People are the grand prize.

- b. Using all elements of power, the state should go after the active minority by persuading the relatively neutral majority to sever ties with the insurgency.
- c. The state should use force judiciously because public support can be ephemeral and easily lost if there is excessive collateral damage or if the state pulls out after clearing an area.
- d. Mapping the threats and selectively going after the worst as opposed to being everywhere is very important for sustaining COIN gains—what Galula called “intensity of effort and vastness of means.”

Detecting the specific lifecycle stage of an insurgency is crucial for success, Galula argued. There are two distinct stages, *cold* and *hot*. Cold insurgencies are “on the whole legal and nonviolent”; in such an environment, Galula recommends emphasizing covert intelligence operations against the insurgent leadership and organization, reinforcing the state’s “political machine,” co-opting the insurgent’s cause, and creating division within the insurgency.²⁶ On the other hand, hot insurgencies are previously dormant insurgencies now grown into full-blown rebellions against the state. The best ways to win against such an insurgency are:

- a. Apply enough military force to interdict the main body of the armed insurgents.
- b. Have sufficient troops to deter an insurgency’s comeback.
- c. Cut off the main body from supporting groups.
- d. Break links of support.
- e. Bring lasting order by organizing self-defense units—for example, Concerned Local Citizens (CLCs) in Iraq related to the awakening movement.²⁷
- f. Create national political consensus for the COIN policy.

While the above remedies still make up the core of COIN strategies that have been shown to eradicate conditions propitious to an insurgency, the insurgencies of today have become more complex and require adjusting both strategies and tactics. David Kilcullen, former adviser to General Petraeus, contests in his “Counterinsurgency Redux” article that today’s insurgents can create a virtual sanctuary on the Internet, and their area of influence may need to include all neighboring countries while their area of interest may need to be global.²⁸ AQA and Taliban in Pakistan, for example, have

developed an extensive Web presence and frequently use satellite phones and multiple subscriber identity module (SIM) cards in cell phones.

Kilcullen says that classical COIN theory still “views the conflict as a binary struggle between one insurgent (or confederation) and one counterinsurgent (or coalition).” In today’s insurgencies, various competing insurgent forces are fighting each other as well as the government, and the government’s COIN interests may differ in key respects from those of its allies. Hence, Kilcullen argues, “we might conceive of the environment as a ‘conflict ecosystem’ with multiple competing entities seeking to maximize their survivability and influence. The counterinsurgent’s task may no longer be to defeat the insurgent, but rather to impose order (to the degree possible) on an unstable and chaotic environment.”

Altering strategies and tactics for 21st century insurgencies notwithstanding, there is agreement on the two main COIN schools of thought.²⁹ The first is the “winning the hearts and minds” school that supports the now-ubiquitous model of “clear, hold, and build.” Fundamentally, it focuses on using military force to clear the worst of the insurgents and gaining control of the heart of their operational center, then using political reconciliation and a strong troop presence to hold that area. Finally, it uses a mix of socioeconomic and law enforcement projects to build that area and create a mechanism for the sustainment of order, justice, and economic wellbeing to deter future insurgency operations. The assumption is that the main focus of the military in COIN is to protect the populace, the grand prize in the competition between insurgents and counterinsurgents.

In agreement with the clear, hold, and build strategy to win hearts and minds, the *U.S. Army and Marine Corps COIN Field Manual* stresses the careful application of force and stepping up to the task of providing security, building roads, and providing jobs if local policing and governance are unable to do so. Moreover, political victory is paramount to winning the hearts and minds of the populace: to lose politically is to lose.³⁰ This is an ardent task; the government must provide a combination of artful governance dedicated to social welfare, including meeting basic needs for food, water, shelter, clothing, and medical treatment amidst violence and instability, thus requiring military personnel to become nation builders.

The second school of thought is based on coercion, where legitimacy of power is viewed as “an unattainable—and wholly unnecessary—goal.”³¹ It operates on the notion of out-terrorizing the terrorist—that is, a state’s

military raises the costs of supporting an insurgency to offset recruitment efforts. This stems from what militaries do best. The U.S. Army applied the coercion school of COIN to defeat the Filipino insurrection (1899 to 1902) after the Spanish-American War (1898) and to destroy the Native American insurgents. Pakistan has applied the coercion school in numerous insurgencies, notably East Bengal (present day Bangladesh) and Baluchistan. Other examples are Russia in Chechnya (1994 to 1996) and Serbia against Bosnian Muslim insurgents (1992 to 1995). Unlike the hearts-and-minds school of thought, the coercion school does not consider eliminating extremists without alienating the populace a necessary goal.

Certain aspects of the U.S. COIN field manual, highly influenced by Galula and the hearts-and-minds school of thought, work remarkably well:

- a. Unity of action, limitation of violence, and the need for the military to accept risk in population security
- b. Importance of human intelligence and adaptive small-unit leadership
- c. Accounting for the greater difficulty of logistics
- d. Understanding the local society and culture, whether the conflict is ideological, ethnic, sectarian, or merely criminal.

There are some caveats, however. The people may not always look up to the state when the state is winning against the insurgents in religio-political insurgencies. They may turn to co-ethnics or co-religionists for survival because the state may fail in holding the area after clearing it. For example, in the initial stage of COIN efforts in Pakistan's northwest Swat region in 2009, most of the population was siding with the insurgents due to past COIN failures. Drying up the insurgents' base is also tricky, especially when the government's ethnic or sectarian identification means that it will be seen as a threat to the security of rival internal groups. This also may be true where there is "little or no supracommunal, national identity to counterpose to the subnational identities over which the war is waged by the time the U.S. becomes involved."³² For example, most denizens of Pakistan's northwest find brute military tactics by a mostly Punjabi army an anathema to their Pashtun identity.

Pakistan's COIN Policy

Since gaining independence from the British in 1947, Pakistan has fought 11 major insurgencies, many of them more than once, and two that are still ongoing (Pashtun and Baluch). Only once has the state lost completely to the insurgents: in 1971, Indian-backed East Bengali insurgents defeated the Pakistani army, leading to the creation of Bangladesh. For the rest of the time, the state has successfully converted full-blown *hot* insurgencies into *cold* dormant ones, keeping the possibility of resurgence alive. Pakistan has primarily followed the coercion school of thought: seldom focusing on socioeconomic development to gain the population's trust, instead prioritizing brute military tactics over political reconciliation.

In addition to countering insurgencies, Pakistan has also fomented several insurgencies in South Asia as part of its national security doctrine and in protection of the geographic dimension of its strategic spread in the region (Indian-administered Kashmir, Indian Punjab, and Afghanistan). A short history of Pakistan's national security doctrine and its subset, strategic spread, is required to understand *why* Pakistan has both fought and created insurgencies, followed by a discussion of *how* Pakistan drafted and implemented policies to counter and create insurgencies between 1948 and 2001.

Pakistan's Uber-National Security Strategy

Pakistan's Uber-National Security Strategy is a function of the conditions surrounding the creation of the nation state, its multiethnic population, and the prevailing geostrategic and socioeconomic threats and opportunities. Its main purpose is to protect the territorial, geopolitical, and economic interests of the country. After a protracted nationalist movement against the British Empire's claim over the Indian subcontinent, India and Pakistan gained independence in 1947. The British partition plan, based on religious division, was erroneously simple and poorly implemented, creating two warring, incomplete nation states. Pakistan was bisected by India. Provinces were broken (e.g., Punjab) and several states, notably ones close to the borders like Kashmir, were given the choice to pick their patrons—India or Pakistan. A Hindu Maharaja ruled a predominantly Muslim Kashmir; he chose to accede to India, triggering the first war between India and Pakistan.

This conflict led to the bifurcation of the province into two disputed territories, forever sowing the seeds of instability in the region and making India Pakistan's enemy No. 1.

Pakistan has four provinces, and it borders China in the north, Afghanistan and Iran in the west, and India in the east. A fifth province, East Bengal (present day Bangladesh), gained independence in 1971 after a prolonged Indian-backed Bengali insurgency. Amongst a 180 million population, Punjab (44 percent) ranks the largest, then NWFP (15 percent), Sindh (14 percent), and Baluchistan (4 percent).³³ In addition, there are four federally controlled territories—FATA, Northern Areas, Azad Kashmir, and the capital Islamabad.

Since independence, continuous socioeconomic and political woes have exacerbated inherited multiethnic and sectarian strife. In a country where some want a theocratic Sunni Islamist republic while others argue for a loose federation, Pakistanis have struggled to build consensus on a broad common national purpose and identity.

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For most of its history (intermittent periods of shaky democracy notwithstanding), a Punjabi-dominated military and civilian bureaucracy elite has governed Pakistan. At different times, military and civilian leaders have used combinations of fear of Indian hegemony, reliance on Islamic identity and external aid from the Middle East, China, and the U.S. to keep the country intact—the basis and core objective of the national security doctrine. Pakistan has fought three conventional wars with India (1948, 1965, and 1971), eleven insurgencies at home (Bengali, Sindhi, Mohajir, Pashtun, and Baluch), and fomented five insurgencies in India (Kashmir and Punjab) and Afghanistan (1980 to 1989, 1989 to 2001, and 2003 to present). In summary, Pakistan's Uber-National Security Strategy—dictated and implemented by the military—emphasizes the protection of the country's territorial boundaries by ensuring socioeconomic viability against internal dissent (ethnic, separatist, and religio-political insurgencies) and external threats (India) where the formation of a constitutional democratic system is accidental, not a desired outcome. Hence, Pakistan, at its core, is a security

state fearful of India, wary of democracy, intolerant of religio-ethnic strife, inclined to use religion (Islam) as a unifier, and dependent on the U.S., China, and the Middle East for military and economic aid.

Guaranteeing the direction of the Uber-National Security Strategy, the National Defense Strategy emphasizes the external and internal threats to national security and highlights defense priorities that are then operationalized in various national defense policies. Taken together these defense policies make up Pakistan's *strategic spread*.³⁴ Strategic spread facilitates the implementation of the National Defense Strategy through a mix of military and political policies (protecting military and nuclear parity against Indian encirclement, quelling internal dissent, strengthening religious cohesiveness, and making foreign aid plentiful and certain) with the use of offensive, defensive, and preemptive regular and irregular warfare.

An important subset of national strategic spread is Pakistan's national strategic depth. *National strategic depth*—described as the area between the frontline and an enemy's military and industrial base—has changed over time. Strategic depth as policy was first used within the context of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (1980 to 1989) and Pakistan's aim to contain the Soviet threat, then eliminate it by fomenting a protracted insurgency. After the Soviet withdrawal, an Afghan civil war ensued, leading to the rise and ultimate victory of Pakistan's proxy, the Taliban. Before support for the Afghan Taliban diminished—a consequence of the post-9/11 U.S. invasion—strategic depth was redefined in the 1990s as indirect Pakistani rule in Afghanistan against a future occupying force or competing Indian and Iranian proxies and as an irregular war factory against India in Kashmir. A mix of these military and political policies makes up Pakistan's national strategic spread, a stretchable blanket of protection of core national security priorities extending beyond national boundaries and sometimes contracting to accommodate external (U.S. and India) and internal (left-leaning political movements, and India-Pakistan peace initiatives) change.

In summary, Pakistan's national security strategy and subordinate supporting strategies focus on protecting the homeland from internal and external threats. Pakistan's National Defense Strategy is operationalized by a set of politico-military policies under the rubric of national strategic spread, most importantly Pakistan's policies to counter and foment insurgencies.

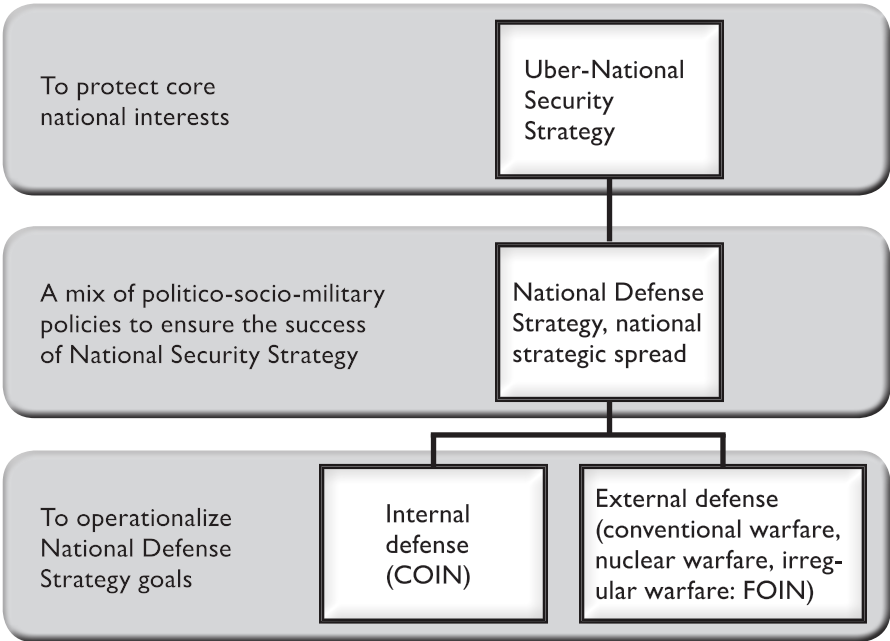


Figure 3. Pakistan’s Uber-National Security Strategy and Subordinate Supporting Strategies

COIN in Pakistan 1948 to 2001

Pakistan has a long and troubling experience with COIN. For more than six decades, Pakistan has relied heavily on the coercion school of thought, albeit with sporadic and episodic incidents of political reconciliation after intense military operations. At present there seems to be a shift away from coercion to the winning the hearts-and-minds school (e.g., Swat Valley in the northwest). In the “clear, hold, and build” line of thinking, Pakistani counterinsurgents have historically had little trouble clearing an area of insurgents, but have failed to hold and build it. Most of the time the holding and building parts—encouraging sustainable political reconciliation and socioeconomic development—have fallen behind higher priorities (clearing the area of hard-core insurgents) for COIN policy. What follows is a brief review of major insurgencies from 1947 to 2001.

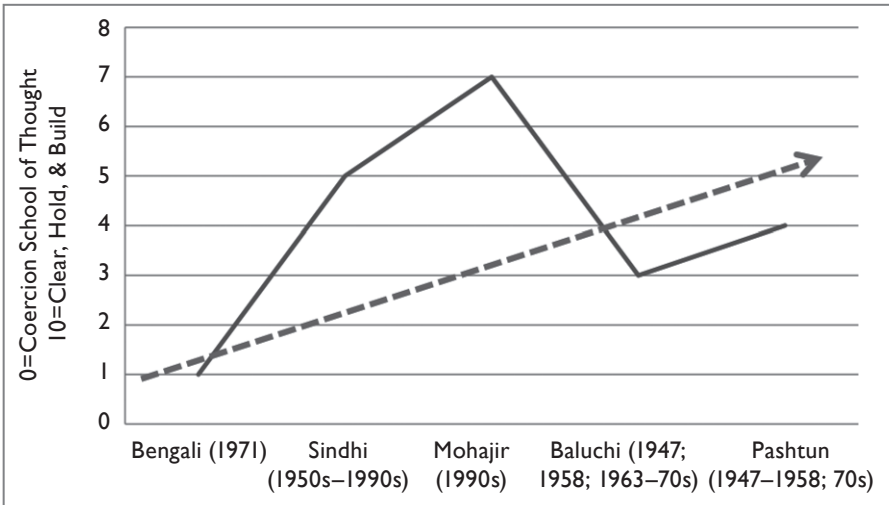


Figure 4. Pakistan's COIN Policy (1947 to 2001) from Enemy Centric COIN to Population Centric COIN

Bengali Insurgency (1971)

As mentioned, retaining national territorial integrity has been the cornerstone of Pakistan's national security doctrine, to include initially East Pakistan. More than 90 percent of Pakistanis are Muslim, but the sole use of Islam as a unifying force failed when in 1971 Pakistan became the first former colonial state to break into two: East Pakistan became Bangladesh, and West Pakistan became present day Pakistan. Since independence in 1947, Bengalis have felt they received the raw end of the deal. Aside from a common religion (Islam), they found themselves culturally, ethnically, and linguistically aloof from West Pakistanis dominated by Punjabis. Burgeoning grievances reached the boiling point when West Pakistanis imposed Urdu and not Bengali as the national language and categorically discriminated against Bengalis for government and military jobs. After the election of 1971, the Bengalis won a clear majority, but were not allowed to form a government; soon after, Pakistani military launched a brutal campaign to suppress political dissent. The insurgency that ensued attracted Indian support; within months 90,000 Pakistani soldiers had surrendered, and 8,000 were killed in action by an overwhelming Indian force backing the Bengali Mukti Bahini guerillas. Close to 3,000 Indian soldiers were killed, but the

number of Bengalis killed is debated to be between 1 to 3 million. While the West Pakistani military created local support forces such as the Razakars and Shanti Committees, the use of coercion and unfettered brute force left no room for political reconciliation, and Pakistan was bifurcated.³⁵

Actor	Goals	Strategy	Tactics
Pakistan	Protect territorial integrity	Win through indiscriminate coercion; support state-friendly paramilitary forces	Indiscriminate brute force through infantry deployment, supporting local militias, extralegal detentions, and killings
Bengali insurgents	Complete independence from Pakistan not open to provincial autonomy	Guerilla warfare; solicit external (India) support in terms of finances, arms, and training	Classic guerilla tactics—hit and run, avoid large scale one-on-one operations; ambushes, urban warfare

Sindhi Insurgency (1950s to 1990s)

Although Sindhi ethnic discrimination and economic grievances against a Punjabi-dominated central government began in the early 1950s, the breaking away of Bangladesh in 1971 gave renewed vigor and hope to Sindhi secessionists. More than 40 percent of Sindh’s land was owned by non-Sindhis, mostly Punjabis and Mohajirs (the immigrants from India to Pakistan after independence in 1947). The rationale of the insurgency was simple: decades long economic, political, and cultural prejudices by the central government were reasons enough to wage an insurgency for a separate homeland, Sindhudesh. The insurgency was largely *cold* and quickly quelled when it became *hot* intermittently. After pursuing a short but effective coercion-centered but politically sensitive COIN policy, Islamabad brought Sindhi dissidents on board for the drafting of the fourth, and most widely accepted, national constitution of 1973 that ensured greater provincial autonomy. As the gap between the constitution on paper and practice increased, ethnic and provincial divisions reemerged and persisted.

Most recently, the Sindhi insurgency was at the edge of becoming hot when Benazir Bhutto, two-time Pakistan’s prime minister from Sindh, was assassinated in late 2007. At present, the movement for the separate homeland of Sindhudesh is largely marginalized.³⁶

Actor	Goals	Strategy	Tactics
Pakistan	Protect territorial integrity	Win through selective coercion, encourage political reconciliation, promise enhanced provincial autonomy	Deploy infantry to root out insurgents' leadership; coerce insurgents to become informers and reconcilables
Sindhi insurgents	Independence from Pakistan but open to provincial autonomy	Guerilla warfare; solicit external (India) support in terms of finances, arms, and training	Classic guerilla tactics—hit and run, avoid large scale one-on-one operations; ambushes, urban warfare

Mohajir Insurgency

Mohajirs, immigrants from India, are present in large numbers in the port city of Karachi and its outskirts. Having played a significant role in the creation of Pakistan, Mohajirs were rewarded with high civil and military posts. Over time, their influence diminished as Pashtuns and Sindhis challenged their political monopoly. In response, Mohajirs created a Leninist political party, the Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM), open to the use of violence to reach their political and economic goals. When civil unrest reached uncontrollable levels, and some MQM insurgents demanded the creation of a separate homeland (Jinnahpur), the Pakistani military was deployed to battle the primarily ethnic insurgency. Several military operations were conducted periodically between 1985 and 2003, but lasting peace came from shifting tactics from coercion to sporadic efforts to win the hearts and minds of the Mohajirs. For example, by the late 1990s, military rangers began to disengage from populous urban areas after spending years guarding check posts with local police, winning local support, and improving the collection of actionable intelligence.³⁷

Actor	Goals	Strategy	Tactics
Pakistan	Protect territorial integrity	Win through selective coercion, encourage political reconciliation, promise enhanced provincial autonomy	Deploy infantry to root out insurgents' leadership; coerce insurgents to become informers and reconcilables
Mohajir insurgents	Independence from Pakistan but open to provincial autonomy	Urban guerilla warfare; solicit external (India) support in terms of finances, arms, and training	Classic guerilla tactics—hit and run, avoid large-scale one-on-one operations; ambushes, urban warfare, kidnappings, targeted killings

Baluchi Insurgency

While the Pakistani military ensured its strategic spread after the separation of Bangladesh, it began to slowly shift toward adding political reconciliation to the mix of COIN tactics. However, the coercion school of COIN was still paramount. The Baluchi insurgencies (1947, 1958, 1963, 1973 to 1977, and 2004 to 2007) have particular relevance to U.S. COIN operations in Afghanistan in that they emanate from the Baluchistan province that borders Afghanistan and Pakistan's northwest tribal areas.³⁸ Baluchistan also hosts a large Pashtun population—almost half of 10 million denizens are Pashtun. It provides 40 percent of all Pakistan's energy needs, specifically natural gas, and it is widely known to host Afghan Taliban leaders, part of the *Quetta Shura* that frequently meets and plans attacks on NATO and U.S. troops.³⁹ However, many Baluchis are not colluding with the mostly Pashtun Taliban and detest the usurpation of their land by Pashtun tribes coming down from the northern tribal and settled areas. Their beef with the central government is largely based on ethnic and economic discrimination, and most Baluchis loathe being coupled with the Taliban.

The Baluchi insurgencies are antiannexation and focus on the struggle for separate statehood. The last two insurgencies (2004 to 2007 and 1973 to 1977) have had surprisingly similar ethnic and economic autonomist demands: self-determination and resource allocations, not religious extremism. On the fear that the two *sardars* (heads of tribes) of Bizenjo and Mengal tribes, Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo and Sardar Atullah Khan Mengal, were obtaining weapons from Saddam Hussein's Iraqi regime in the 1970s, Zulfikar

Ali Bhutto, Pakistan's prime minister, dismissed the Baluch provincial government. The third tribe, Bugti, headed by Nawab Bhugti supported the government, but later joined the separatists. Helicopter gunships from Iran and 80,000 troops brutally suppressed the rebellion, leading to a 25-year truce.⁴⁰

In early 2003, Baluchi dissidents, decrying continuous political and economic discrimination, began attacking natural gas pipelines and FC units, a light infantry border patrolling force. Pakistan began a major military operation after a half-hearted effort at negotiations failed. Amidst significant collateral damage, massive internally displaced populations, and continuous insecurity, the insurgency began to die out in 2007 when several Baluchi leaders, notably Nawab Bhugti (1927 to 2006), were killed. Since the February 2008 national elections, the insurgency has morphed into a political movement and is largely dormant.⁴¹

Actor	Goals	Strategy	Tactics
Pakistan	Protect territorial integrity	Win through selective coercion, encourage political reconciliation, promise enhanced provincial autonomy	Deploy infantry to root out insurgents' leadership; coerce insurgents to become informers and reconcilables
Baluchi insurgents	Independence from Pakistan but open to provincial autonomy	Rural guerilla warfare; solicit external (India) support in terms of finances, arms, and training	Classic guerilla tactics—hit and run, avoid large-scale one-on-one operations; ambushes, urban warfare, kidnappings, targeted killings

Pashtun Insurgency

What has become the pattern in Pakistan's COIN policy is to first use unfettered military force, then reluctantly opt for political reconciliation after military operations fail. The current transnational Pashtun insurgency (2001 to present) shares both important similarities (ethnic and economic discrimination) and differences (the post 9/11 religio-political, anthropological, and governance-related changes) with past Pashtun insurgencies (1947 to 1958 and 1973 to 1977).

Before independence (1947), the NWFP and the FATA—home to 20 million Pashtuns—had a popular leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, head of

the *Red Shirts*—a nonviolent secessionist movement that wanted a separate homeland for the Pashtuns (Pashtunistan) rather than join Pakistan. As envisioned by Khan, Pashtunistan at a later stage would encompass all the Pashtun-majority areas in Afghanistan. Notwithstanding political movements that sporadically became violent in the 1970s, the Pakistani military and their allies—Islamist and Islamist-leaning political parties—were able to quell the political movement.

Actor	Goals	Strategy	Tactics
Pakistan	Protect territorial integrity	Win through selective coercion; then encourage political reconciliation; promise selective provincial autonomy	Deploy infantry to root out insurgents' leadership; break political ranks of the nationalists parties; coerce insurgents to become informers and reconcilables
Pashtun insurgents	Independence from Pakistan but open to territorial autonomy	Rural and urban guerilla warfare; solicit external (India) support in terms of finances, arms, and training	Classic guerilla tactics—hit and run, avoid large-scale one-on-one operations; ambushes, urban and rural warfare, kidnappings, targeted killings

Over the years, the Awami National Party (ANP), a reformed structure of the old Red Shirts movement led by Askandar Khan Wali, Khan's son, has demanded more provincial autonomy but not complete independence.⁴² In the February 2008 national election, the ANP defeated the Islamist parties on the promise of bringing peace to NWFP and FATA, minimizing military operations, and maximizing political reconciliation and economic development. By early 2009, the ANP had failed on all three counts, and the insurgency was burgeoning. Table 1 is a summary of these ethno-linguistic/separatist insurgencies.

Table 1. COIN in Pakistan, 1947 to 2001

Name	Outcome
Bengali (1960s to 1970s)	Insurgents won ⁴³
Sindhi Insurgency (1950s to 1990s)	State won
Mohajir (1985 to 2001)	State won
Baluchi (1947, 1958, 1963, 1973 to 1977, [2004 to 2007 ⁴⁴])	State won
Pashtun (1947 to 1958, 1973 to 1977 ⁴⁵)	State won

Cold Insurgencies that Can Become Hot

While Pakistani insurgencies (except Bangladesh) have shown the ability to reassert themselves, other minor dissident ethno-nationalist movements could erupt into full-blown ethnic and sectarian insurgencies. The Siraiki-speaking region and northern Sindh—Gilgit and Baltistan—is where Shia in the northern areas, represented by the Northern Areas Thinkers' Forum, support the formation of two independent states in the northwest region of the subcontinent that would include the Indian- and Pakistani-administered Kashmir, Gilgit, Baltistan, and Ladakh.⁴⁶

Although Pakistan's record in COIN is a mixed one, it is important to review. The evolution of Pakistan's COIN policy from an emphasis on coercion to political reconciliation is demonstrated by recent policy changes (e.g., late 2008 to 2009 in the Swat Valley⁴⁷). Past assumptions of national unity based on religion alone were reviewed but rarely recalibrated into official policy. Political reconciliation remained a necessary evil and not a desired outcome. Pakistani counterinsurgents have given undue credence to India's clandestine support to insurgents while paying little attention to the genuine ethnic, political, and economic grievances behind the insurgencies. To some degree this pattern still continues (2001 to the present).

India did abet insurgencies in Pakistan, the most painful of which was the Bengali insurgency that would forever make India Pakistan's existential threat. While India was fomenting the Bengali insurgency in the 1960s, young and new counterinsurgents in Pakistan began reading the classic COIN theorists and accounts of practitioners of both counterinsurgencies *and* insurgencies. Studies were made of Algeria, Yugoslavia, Vietnam, and particularly China; several of them concluded that guerrilla warfare was a strategic weapon, a "slow but sure and relatively inexpensive" strategy that was "fast overshadowing regular warfare."⁴⁸ The idea that supposedly ill-equipped and out-numbered guerilla fighters could inflict heavy casualties on a conventional army (given proper training and the pervasive appeal of the insurgent's political or ethnic goals) was very attractive to the Pakistanis and the Indians. Thus began an era in South Asia's power geopolitics where "one's own national security and rival state's domestic insecurity [would] go hand in hand."⁴⁹

Fomenting Insurgencies: FOINs

Stretching its national security strategic spread, Pakistan began fomenting insurgencies in the mid-1980s in Indian Punjab and Indian-administered Kashmir.⁵⁰ In the 1990s, both countries locked horns in Afghanistan, the first time India and Pakistan simultaneously fomented two distinct insurgencies (Pakistan supported the Taliban and India supported the Northern Alliance) in a third country (Afghanistan). FOIN became an official policy to achieve national security imperatives for India and Pakistan. In Pakistan's case, it ensured the longevity and protection of its national strategic spread against threats from India.

Historically, FOIN came to prominence after World War II when the U.S. and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) began supporting insurgencies in other countries (e.g., Vietnam and Afghanistan) against the other to pull a state into the free world or the Soviet bloc. In a seminal study at the RAND Corporation, researchers put together an extensive database of insurgencies around the world and their state patrons from 1970 to 2001.⁵¹ For example, the study showed that Pakistan supported the Taliban in Afghanistan, Punjabi separatists in India; India supported the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan; Russia supported Vietcong in Vietnam; and the U.S. supported Kurdistan Democratic Party in Iraq.⁵²

In addition, the RAND Corporation had several reports on the U.S. role in abetting insurgencies abroad to offset the Soviet influence especially through Maoist/communist insurgencies. For example, in 1990 Stephen T. Hosmer prepared a report for the U.S. Army advocating support for Latin American insurgencies against their communist-funded states. He detailed a strategy that included "the provision of training, advisory, materiel, and other non-combat support to indigenous Third World [insurgent] forces."⁵³

While FOINs as modern state policy initiated with the Cold War rivalry between the U.S. and USSR, it soon spread to conflicts between various countries including China and the U.S. in the battleground of Korea (1950s) and in South Asia. India and Pakistan have abetted insurgent movements inside their rival countries (Punjab and Kashmir) and locked horns through their proxy insurgencies in other countries in the region (Afghanistan and Sri Lanka). A formal construct of FOIN similar to that of COIN, however, does not exist. This monograph presents a formal construct of FOIN, then discusses several Pakistan-India related FOIN cases.

The Rationale and Stages of FOIN

Soon after World War II, the Soviet Union tested a nuclear bomb, igniting a vicious nuclear arms race with the U.S.⁵⁴ In the next decade the two countries produced enough weapons to destroy each other several times, leading some experts to believe there was little incentive to continue the arms race in the presence of mutually assured destruction.⁵⁵ If the option of an all out conventional or nuclear war was off the table, one could use unconventional warfare through proxies. FOIN is the process of supporting an insurgent group or groups by a state to achieve a specific national security objective of weakening another state. The target state may be supported by a rival state, or the state itself may be a rival. Such a national defense policy is *fomenting insurgency*.

The U.S. and the Soviet Union opted for reciprocal FOIN because both countries could gain leverage against the other by draining each other's military and economic resources with little financial and personnel commitment and with a high degree of plausible deniability.

Initially a state must conduct market research to explore the viability of a FOIN campaign. For example, learn the appeal, scope, and range of an insurgent group and its short, medium, and long-term capability to damage a rival state's legitimacy, governance, and socioeconomic infrastructure. The second phase involves a supporting country that provides finance, arms, training, and advisors to the insurgent group. Once training and communication centers are built and the insurgent group begins to increase recruitment from the local population and is able to lure in more people to its side than the government can, the third phase begins. That is when an insurgent group matures into a shadow government with a functional military directly competing with the military of the rival state. Plausible deniability of the supporting state becomes increasingly difficult as the FOIN reaches the last stage. Moreover there are specific 'triggers' that indicate the change in state of FOIN operations and the stage of the insurgency; for example, if in the first phase the insurgent group scores low on viability, the next phase is impossible. Figure 5 explains the FOIN framework from the general to the specific.

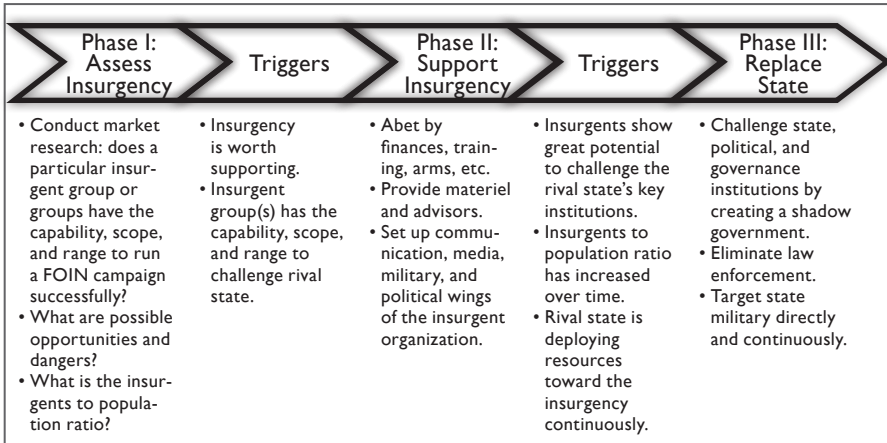


Figure 5. FOIN Framework

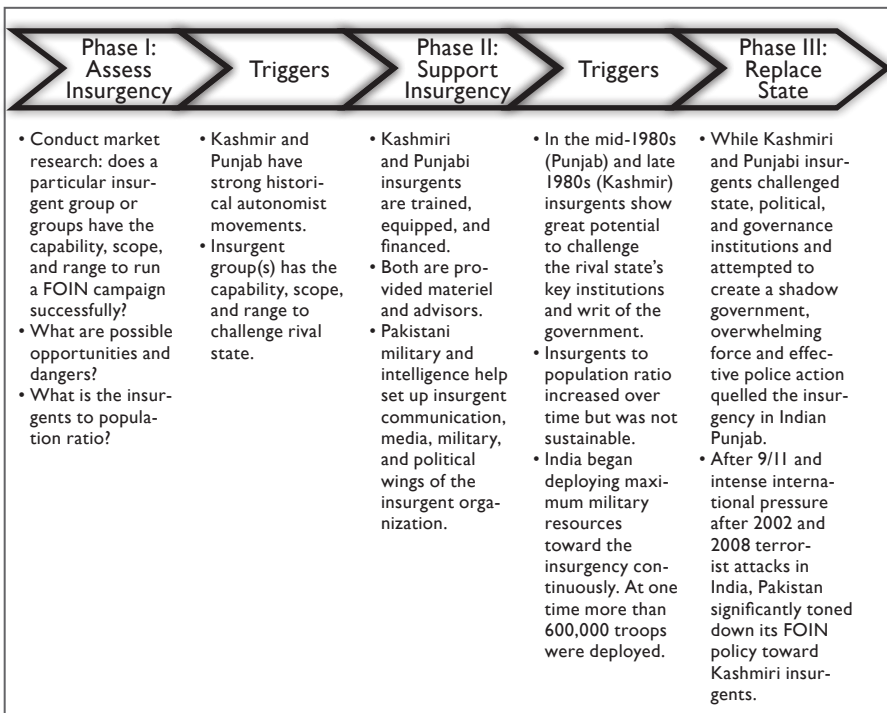


Figure 6. Pakistan FOIN Policy toward India (Kashmir and Punjab)

FOIN in Indian Punjab – The Khalistan Movement (1984 to 1992)

In the mid-1980s, certain Punjabi Sikhs launched an indigenous separatist movement based on political grievances to form the independent state of Khalistan. Before the Golden Temple was attacked, the insurgency was actively supported by Pakistan's flagship intelligence agency, the ISI.⁵⁶ The ISI set up training camps in Pakistani Punjab, garnered public support for the Sikhs (who were fellow Punjabis), and provided weapons. By the late 1980s, after thousands of Sikhs were displaced and killed and Sikh bodyguards of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi assassinated her, Delhi backed a strong policing effort made up of pro-government Sikhs that finally defeated the insurgency. By 1992 Pakistan reduced its support, and today the movement for Khalistan has largely died. Pakistan would continue to foment insurgencies in India, the most dramatic of which would be in the disputed region of Kashmir.

During the same decade another theater of insurgencies and COINs attracted the attention of both India and Pakistan, along with countless other countries. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 pulled India and Pakistan into Afghanistan, as both countries reluctantly supported two distinct groups against the Soviets, and later supported their fights against each other to gain control of Afghanistan. The pattern of support has continued.⁵⁷

FOIN in Afghanistan (1980 to 1989 and 1989 to 2001)

In the 1980s, U.S. and Pakistani intelligence and military assets worked closely with the Afghan freedom fighters (Mujahideen) against the Soviets. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Pakistan's ISI, and the Saudi Government Intelligence Directorate (GID) fomented the Afghan insurgency and pushed out the communist threat by the end of the decade. Shortly afterwards, the U.S. left the region abruptly. There was no "Marshall Plan" for Afghanistan, and Pakistan was left to deal with the mess and its political and ideological aftershocks. It would take another 12 years and a massive terrorist attack for the U.S. to return to the region.⁵⁸

Having defeated the Soviet-supported government in Kabul, the Mujahideen lashed out at one another while regional powers Pakistan, India, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Uzbekistan picked their proxies among the warring factions. Pakistan's proxy, the Taliban, won. A group of young Pashtuns

from the southern and eastern provinces of Afghanistan, educated in certain Deobandi *madrassas* in Pakistan (religious seminaries linked with abetting violent Islamist religio-political movements), rose to prominence when they began replacing corrupt Afghan warlords with the promise of a stable theocratic state. Supported by Pakistan's ISI and JUI (*Jamait-ul-Ulema-e-Islam*, religious political party, Pakistan), they won numerous battles.⁵⁹

By the late 1990s, the Taliban controlled Afghanistan, except for the northern regions loosely ruled by the Northern Alliance and its charismatic Tajik commander, Ahmed Shah Massoud. The Northern Alliance, a mix of Tajik, Uzbek, and Hazara tribes, was supported by India, Iran, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) recognized the Taliban regime. Underlying this support was the hope that Afghanistan would develop along Saudi lines: a nomadic culture of warring tribes evolving into an economically liberal, culturally conservative, and politically repressive theocracy supported by energy exports. They were all wrong.

The Taliban made Afghanistan an international pariah through gross human rights violations and providing sanctuary to terrorist organizations such as Al Qaeda and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU). Mullah Omar, head of the Taliban regime, gave refuge to Osama bin Laden and Dr. Ayman Al Zawahiri. Influenced by Syed Qutub's extremist interpretation of *jihad*,⁶⁰ they actively planned and implemented terrorist attacks against what they called a Christian-Zionist cabal of nations opposing the global community of Muslims (*umma*). The *near* enemy—dictators such as President Mubarak of Egypt, King Saud of Saudi Arabia, and President Musharraf of Pakistan—were linked to the *far* enemy (the U.S. and Israel) that supported them.⁶¹

The objectives of Pakistan's FOIN policy were achieved. The external threat from the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was eliminated, and by the mid-1990s Pakistan had de facto control of most of Afghanistan through their proxy Taliban. Moreover, Pakistani military and intelligence officers used battle-hardened Pashtuns to foment another insurgency (almost simultaneously) in Indian-administered Kashmir.

FOIN in Indian-Administered Kashmir (1989 to 2002)

Although Pakistan waited until the late 1980s to foment a full-scale religio-political insurgency in Indian-administered Kashmir, the disputed territory

had all the ingredients from the early days of independence. A Muslim majority state, ruled by a Hindu Maharaja, opted to join India in 1947, defying the voice of many Muslims who wanted to join Pakistan or seek complete independence under a partition plan that validated the Maharaja's decision. Soon after, war broke out in 1948 and again in 1965 until a tentative agreement was reached to allow for a United Nations-supervised plebiscite in the Indian-administered Kashmir. While the plebiscite was never held, reasonably free and fair elections in 1977 brought Sheikh Abdullah into power as chief minister whose administration focused on socioeconomic and educational reform. In 1983 his son took over his National Conference (NC) Party, won the election, and became chief minister, but was dismissed ahead of time by Delhi on charges of inciting separatism. His second term in 1987 was marked by massive corruption as unemployment soared. The NC's chief rival, the Muslim United Front (UF), broke the secessionist movement into a pro-Pakistan religio-political faction that attracted militant organizations such as Jammu and the Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), Hizb-ul-Mujahideen (HuM), Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT), and Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM). JKLF's leader, Yasin Malik, later renounced violence and continues to advocate for a secular independent state of Jammu and Kashmir.⁶²

Pakistan's ISI actively supported the religio-political pro-Pakistan organizations that eventually took over the movement and sidelined the secular secessionists. In addition to state-funded weapons and guerilla training centers, Islamabad highlighted the brutal Indian COIN response that focused on coercion and the gross violation of human rights.⁶³ In turn, Pakistani-backed insurgents frequently killed Hindu pundits and planned terrorist attacks in and outside Kashmir. The Pakistani military-backed Kargil Operation (1999) inside Kashmir almost brought the two nuclear nations to full-scale war. Similar crises would engulf the region when terrorist attacks on India's parliament in Delhi (2001) and Mumbai (2008) were traced back to militants in Pakistan and Pakistani-administered Kashmir.⁶⁴ Amidst strong U.S. pressure and increasing distaste for countries supporting insurgents committing terrorism against U.S. allies, Pakistan scaled back its support in 2002, and in early 2009 admitted that certain nonstate actors did indeed plan and execute the Mumbai blasts of 2008.⁶⁵

These nonstate actors were prior clients of the Pakistani state, abetted by the ISI, and with strong sympathies from the Pakistani people who saw them as freedom fighters against an unjust Indian occupation of the Kashmir

Valley. Active support for the Afghan Taliban, and by extension Al Qaeda, was stopped after Pakistan joined the war on terror in 2001. However, within a few years, political changes in Afghanistan made Islamabad rethink its prior commitment. Pakistan’s strategic spread was at stake; Afghanistan’s new government disenfranchised most Pashtuns—Taliban or not—and became close to the Indians. India provided economic aid to Kabul and built several consulates near Afghanistan’s eastern border with Pakistan. Pakistanis found these developments to be clear signals of a covert war against Pakistan and its strategic depth in Afghanistan.

Pakistan found itself precariously insecure and unable to achieve the objectives of its national security doctrine. The Taliban were gone and so were important proxies in Pakistani-administered Kashmir; additionally, elements within abandoned proxies (e.g., the Taliban, Let, and JeM) were calling for blood, making little distinction between the far enemy (U.S.) and the near enemy (Pakistan).⁶⁶ In summary, Pakistan FOIN policy reflected its national security concerns and produced results that altered strategies but never abandoned FOIN altogether.

Table 2. FOIN in Pakistan, 1980 to 2002

Name	Type	Outcome
Punjabi (1984 to 1992)	Ethnic/separatist	Pakistan’s proxy lost Indian state won
Afghan (1980 to 1989, 1990 to 2001)	Religio-political/ autonomist	Pakistan’s proxies won Soviet-backed Afghan state lost Pakistan’s Taliban won Iran/Indian/Russian proxies lost
Kashmiri (1989 to 2002)	Religio-political/ secular secessionist	Pakistan’s proxies lost Indian state won

The next chapter describes Pakistan’s vast experience with COIN and FOIN, and how it effected post-9/11 U.S. and Pakistan COIN operations. A detailed look at the theater of war, major actors and policy implementation follows.

3. The COIN-FOIN Paradox (2002 to 2008): from COIN to FOIN and Back

On 12 September 2001, Pakistan—then led by the military regime of General Pervez Musharraf (October 1999 to August 2008)—made a choice:

National security interests were best ensured if Pakistan partially gave up some of its strategic reserves (the Taliban in Afghanistan and in 2002, proxies in Kashmir) to safeguard more valuable strategic assets (a nuclear-equipped army and a stable economy).

The message from a bleeding Washington was pointedly simple: “You are either with us or against us.”⁶⁷ Pakistan decided to be with the U.S., albeit with an asterisk: Pakistan would go after Al Qaeda ruthlessly, but selectively target—and in later years abet—the Afghan Taliban in the hope of rekindling strategic depth vis-à-vis India under the blanket of its strategic spread.

At first the Afghan insurgency was concentrated in Afghanistan's north-east and Pakistan's northwest tribal areas (FATA). Most defeated Taliban and Al Qaeda operatives fled to FATA and were welcomed by local tribes with common ethnic bonds and a history of insurgency in Afghanistan (Soviet-Afghan war 1980 to 1989). Some of them went south into the provinces of Nimroz, Uruzgan, Helmand, and Kandahar, the homeland of defeated Taliban supreme leader Mullah Omar (1994 to 2001). In the next 8 years (October 2001 to July 2009) a confluence of failed political, military, and economic policies on both sides of the Durand Line (Afghan-Pakistan border) sustained, hardened, and expanded the insurgency. Political reconciliation was ignored or poorly handled, the signs of effective governance were fading, and the Taliban insurgents were constantly gaining ground with their mantra of order and speedy justice for all.

The transnational, mostly Pashtun insurgency, however, was not without fractures. In 2004 the Mullah Omar-led insurgency, operating from Quetta in Baluchistan, decided to concentrate on Afghanistan's southern provinces. The de facto Pakistani Taliban (who became official in late 2007) in the tribal areas would fight Pakistani troops and simultaneously send

insurgents across the line to attack U.S. and NATO forces. The two fronts, it was decided, would support each other, but as loose federating units of a greater insurgency that would unite as one large force once the Americans, Afghans, and Pakistanis were sufficiently defeated. These two fronts are still active. While the Afghan Taliban provide most of the funding for the dual fronts of the insurgency through opium sales, the Pakistani Taliban provide the more lethal tactics and have strong operational bonds with Al Qaeda and several Sunni extremist organizations such as LeT and JeM. Both Taliban organizations want the Americans out and the Pakistanis to recall the troops and tolerate a strict religio-political system parallel to the Pakistani constitution with the hopes of eventual expansion. Al Qaeda wants to gain access to Pakistani nuclear weapons technology.

The American, Afghan, and Pakistani governments are committed to defeating the insurgency, but within such broad common security goals, several diverging goals exist. The Americans have realized that the ideal goal of bringing peace and stability to Afghanistan by interdicting most

The American, Afghan, and Pakistani governments are committed to defeating the insurgency, but within such broad common security goals, several diverging goals exist.

of the Taliban via unfettered air power is woefully unattainable, and efforts are now underway to apply the hearts-and-minds school of COIN by clearing, holding, and building. The Afghans went to the polls in late 2009 to pick a more effective and less corrupt government ready to share the benefits of the foreign aid and willing to negotiate with reconcilable Taliban. Instead, most Afghans saw the election as a fraudulent exercise and are cautiously optimistic about President Karzai's pledge to change course. The Pakistanis are also reviewing their COIN policy and have decided to apply more holding and building after brute military operations against insurgents in the Swat Valley; this could be a sign of an emerging pattern.

Amidst this guarded optimism is another reality that has been hitherto ignored—the precarious Pakistan-India relationship that is vulnerable to terrorist attacks (the November 2008 Mumbai attack is a case in point) and is being tested on the Afghan chessboard. Historically India and Pakistan have supported proxies to gain control of Afghanistan (as have Russia and Iran), resulting in a perennial competition between India's strategic *encirclement* of Pakistan and Pakistan's strategic *depth* against India. While

India supports the U.S.-backed Hamid Karzai's government in Kabul, Pakistan abets the Afghan Taliban led by Mullah Omar as a competing force for influence. The Pakistani military believes that the Pakistani Taliban, a more heterogeneous cabal of Al Qaeda and associates, will considerably weaken when the Americans and Indians leave Afghanistan, and subsequent political reconciliation will sustain itself. Within the northwestern front the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), Haqqani Network, Hizb-ul-Mujahideen (HuM), TSNM, and the Sunni extremist organizations LeT and JeM have coalesced around Al Qaeda, still providing the best organizational, operational, and technological support to the Pashtun insurgency. Over time, the Pakistani military, and recently the civilians, have tried to fracture the cabal by co-option (e.g., the Haqqani network, considered a strategic asset for the Pakistani military, is less likely to attack Pakistani troops than U.S. troops in Afghanistan).⁶⁸ Such efforts have been marked with acute failure, leading to a continuous loss of Pakistani territory to Al Qaeda and associates, making the support of the Afghan Taliban increasingly important so that one day they may impose on the Pakistani Taliban to stop attacking the Pakistani military.

From 2002 to 2008 the Pakistani military indirectly supported the Taliban in the Afghan southeast and fought them in the Pakistani northwest to offset Indian encirclement, to retain influence on Kabul, to prepare for the possibility of a precipitous U.S. withdrawal, and to regain governmental control over Pakistan's tribal areas. This paradox of simultaneous COIN and FOIN policies—seeking to simultaneously defeat the Pakistani Taliban and abet Afghan Taliban directly threatening U.S. COIN efforts—is the subject of this chapter.

Pakistan's COIN Policy, 2002 to 2008

Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) forced Al Qaeda's leadership and personnel to flee to Pakistan's northwestern tribal areas. The Pakistani military worked hard to seal the border, interdicting and capturing several Al Qaeda leaders during the ensuing months. However, the Taliban's leadership was only selectively targeted: some of them were given refuge in Quetta (Baluchistan). Gaining access to territorial, intelligence, military, and economic assets of Pakistan was essential for the success of OEF. An old, yet fickle, ally of the U.S. in the Cold War and former patron of the Afghan Taliban, Pakistan was forcibly persuaded to join the United States. Refusal would

mean economic sanctions and military operations inside Pakistan against fleeing Afghan Taliban and Al Qaeda leaders. In addition, in case Islamabad threatened to retaliate militarily, the U.S. could take control of Pakistan's nuclear weapons.

On the other hand, cooperation meant lifting U.S. sanctions, increasing military and economic aid, and supporting the securing of loans and grants from international donors and banks. A hasty but important national security calculus pushed Pakistan to accept U.S. demands without much discussion or delay.⁶⁹ Pakistan could not afford to resist American pressure head-on; if it did, its geostrategic and domestic security and economic conditions would worsen beyond repair. Consequently, Pakistan's military and intelligence agencies successfully and categorically went after Al Qaeda Central (AQC) for five main reasons:

- a. AQC was providing logistical, intelligence, and military support to Pakistan's sectarian, local, and regional jihadist groups that targeted the Pakistani state: Sipah-e-Sahaba (SeS), JeM, LeT, and Lashra-e-Jhangvi (LeJ). In 2002 and 2008 these groups, now de facto franchises of AQC, brought India and Pakistan to the brink of nuclear war. Destroying the nexus between anti-Pakistan jihadist groups and Al Qaeda was essential for Pakistan's national security.
- b. Sectarian jihadist organizations such as LeT caused hundreds of casualties by turning major Pakistani cities into sectarian battlegrounds, causing more than 1,518 deaths between 1989 and 2001.⁷⁰ During the next 7 years, the toll would increase by 1,258 deaths.⁷¹ Going after them was imperative for Pakistan's security.
- c. Every high value Al Qaeda capture yielded American financial and military largesse, something the military regime in Islamabad needed to shore up political support. Paradoxically, the government's legitimacy was undermined by popular opposition to the war against AQA. Thus, Islamabad kept the country in the dark about the extent of its commitment to the war against AQA.
- d. Consistently going after Al Qaeda created a buffer against a unilateral U.S. attack on FATA.
- e. Attacking AQA lessened U.S. fears of AQA gaining access to Pakistan's nuclear weapons.

After the initial success in Afghanistan, the war against AQA was extended to Iraq. Saddam Hussein's regime was suspected of possessing weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) with the alleged intent to transfer them to Al Qaeda. Major divisions of U.S. troops and SOF were diverted from Afghanistan to Iraq in 2003.⁷² Iraq would become a hotbed of ethno-sectarian insurgency for the next 4 years. By 2007 Afghanistan was not much better.⁷³

Splitting into two major fronts, the Afghan Taliban reemerged with a vengeance as it took control of most of the Afghan southern and eastern provinces (including Helmand and Kandahar) and allied itself with a plethora of terrorist and nationalist organizations in Pakistan's northwest. Moreover, it actively used hideouts in Pakistan's tribal belt to plan and carry out attacks on U.S. and NATO forces.

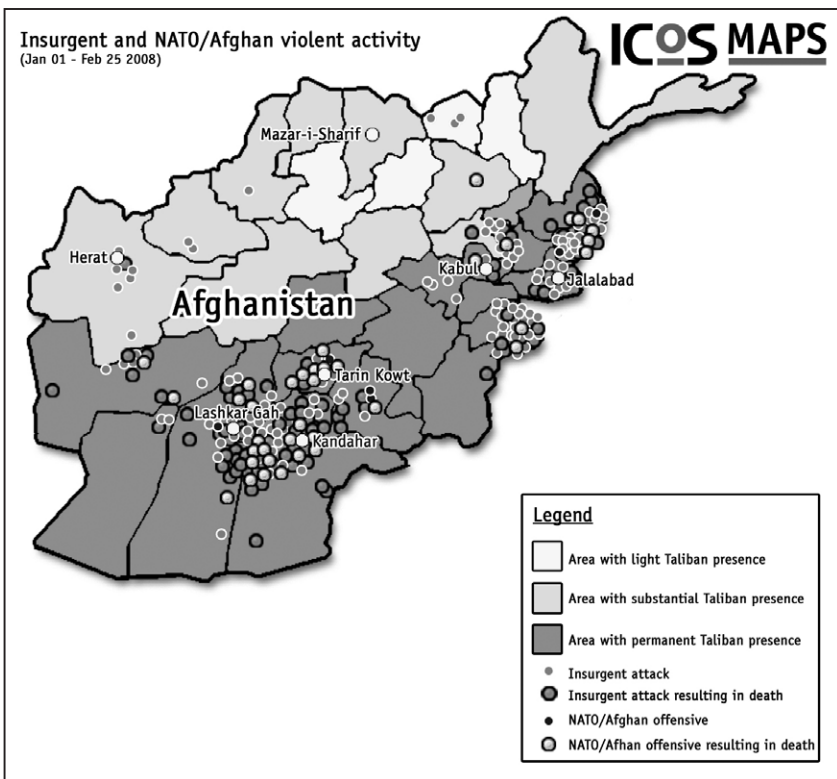


Figure 7. Senlis Estimate of Rise in Fatal Attacks in Afghanistan and Pakistan in 2007. Used with permission of the International Council on Security and Development (ICOS), formerly known as the Senlis Council.

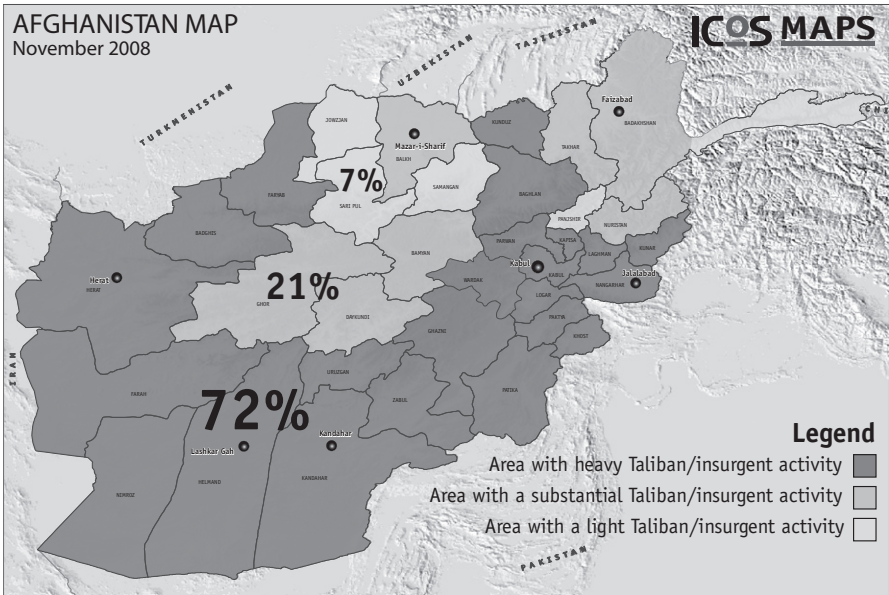


Figure 8. Taliban Control/Presence in November 2008 in Afghanistan’s Southeast and Pakistan’s Northwest and Southwest. Used with permission of the International Council on Security and Development (ICOS), formerly known as the Senlis Council.

The U.S. provided Pakistan \$11 billion in military and economic aid from 2001 to 2008 to fight AQA—more than all U.S. aid to Pakistan from 1947 to 2000.⁷⁴ However, Washington argued that there was little return on this investment. While numerous Al Qaeda operatives were captured or killed (up to 700 were arrested from 2001 to 2008), three major international terrorist attacks after 9/11 were traced back to AQA’s new base of operations in the Waziristans and Bajaur.⁷⁵ There were reports of training facilities, banking operations, media and Internet support systems, and heavy recruitment exercises aimed at madrassas (Islamic seminaries) and Afghan refugee camps. A 2007 U.S. national security estimate stated that Al Qaeda was based in Pakistan and had established operational bases in FATA’s seven agencies, Punjab (e.g., Rawalpindi and Gujrat), and Sindh (e.g., Karachi). Furthermore, a resurgent Afghan Taliban was supported by brethren in Pakistani Baluchistan. Pashtuns in Baluchistan supported the Taliban and certain Baluch separatists who formed bonds of convenience with the Taliban. Working from cities such as Quetta and Loralai, they sought to

overthrow Hamid Karzai's U.S.-backed government in Afghanistan. By 2008 the Taliban were targeting Karzai himself and gaining popular support from ungoverned provinces in southern and eastern Afghanistan. In September 2008 Admiral Michael Mullen, head of U.S. CENTCOM, summarized it: "I don't think we are winning in Afghanistan."⁷⁶

In addition to second-hand insecurity from Afghanistan, Pakistan was facing a more dangerous storm of political instability. Between multiple assassination attempts on Musharraf, a near nuclear showdown with India in 2002, international condemnation of A. Q. Khan's nuclear proliferation ring in 2004, and a massive earthquake in the country's Northern Areas and Kashmir in 2005, the political situation became tumultuous. In 2007, under pressure, Musharraf resigned his army command; a few months later Benazir Bhutto—the popular leader of the Pakistan Peoples Party, ready to share power with the president after U.S. pressure and support—was assassinated; and in August 2008 Musharraf resigned the presidency to avoid impeachment. In a milieu of political uncertainty, rising terrorism, and economic woes, Asif Ali Zardari, widower of Benazir Bhutto and chairman of Pakistan's Peoples Party, was elected president. By late 2008, under U.S. pressure and the continuous failure of past COIN policies, the Pakistani military began moving away from a coercion-based to a development-based COIN policy of clear, hold, and build, the results of which are too early to predict. The following is a brief historical discussion of the major actors—Pakistan's military and AQA—and the stage (Pakistan's tribal areas/northeastern/northwestern) in an attempt to better understand Pakistan's COIN policy 2002 to 2008.

Pakistan's Northwest Tribal Areas, the Heart of the Insurgency

The tribal belt includes seven tribal agencies (FATA), frontier regions, and Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA); recent fighting has expanded the battlefield to the settled regions of NWFP, notably Swat. Moreover, major metropolitan cities such as Rawalpindi, Islamabad, Lahore, Karachi, Quetta, and Gujrat have become major conduits for weapons and recruits for AQA.

For centuries, FATA's political and economic orientation has been shaped by a classical competition between FATA's tribal roots and culture and an imposing central authority. FATA is a constitutionally and politically semi-autonomous territory divided into seven tribal agencies along a 300-mile

border with Afghanistan and six frontier regions (Peshawar, Kohat, Tank, Banuu, Lakki Marwat, and Dera Ismail Khan).⁷⁷ The Afghan-Pakistan border is 1,640 miles long. Over the last several decades demographic, socioeconomic, and religio-political developments have shaped constitutional battles with Islamabad. Literacy levels, socioeconomic indicators, and human rights indices all show a grim picture for the region (see Table 3). Created by the British as a buffer against Russia, the seven tribal agencies are home to 60 major tribes and approximately 400 subtribes.⁷⁸

Table 3. Selected Development Indicators for Pakistan, NWFP, and FATA 2003

Indicator	Pakistan	NWFP	FATA
Literacy ratio (both sexes, %)	43.92	35.41	17.42
Male literacy ratio (%)	54.81	51.39	29.51
Female literacy ratio (%)	32.02	18.82	3.00
Population per doctor	1,226	4,916	7,670
Population per bed in health institutions	1,341	1,594	2,179
Roads (per sq. km)	0.26	0.13	0.1

Source: www.fata.gov.pk (FATA Secretariat)

The FATAs maintain a special constitutional arrangement with the federal government. The President indirectly administers the FATA through a subordinate NWFP governor, who in turn designates the tasks of daily administration to political agents (one for each tribal agency). In addition to governance, a colonial-era judicial system is enforced by the political agents. The Frontier Crimes Regulation allows the tribes to settle their disputes through the old pre-Islamic *jirga* (tribal judicial council) system, a process that involves *maliks* (male elders of the tribe) who make decisions regarding awards and punitive actions. Unlike Baluchis who invest their sardars with dogmatic powers, the Pashtuns consider maliks as *primus inter pares*. The malik carries considerable weight in council and village affairs, but is essentially a democratically selected spokesperson for the clan, a position that in some cases is hereditary. Mullahs (clerics) historically were present in jirgas as religious supporters of the council’s decision, did not lead *lashkars* (tribal militias), or have any significant political clout. Today Al Qaeda’s mullahs and Pakistani Taliban, who lead prayers and lashkars alike, have replaced most of the maliks in FATA.

The court system of the Pakistani constitution—including lower, high, and supreme courts—does not apply to FATA's denizens. The government gives out *moaji* (financial offerings from the state) to the tribal maliks; in addition, government gives *malaki* (hereditary) and *lungi* (political services) allowances.⁷⁹

The jirga, a consultative and deliberative process, is part of a wider net of Pashtun mores (Pashtunwali) that guides the lives of Pashtuns and is preferred over complex and sophisticated western state structures and legal codes. Intrinsically flexible and dynamic, Pashtunwali has core tenets that include self-respect, independence, justice, hospitality, forgiveness, and tolerance. In the perception of most Pashtuns, group consensus remains the primary source of power, and the *salah-mashwarah* (discussion) is the main forum where all important issues are talked about and resolved.⁸⁰ This discussion is very similar to Islamic concepts of *shura* (democratic principles of consultation), *ijma* (consensus), and *ijtehad* (collective judgment), which facilitated the Taliban's attempt to effectively amalgamate strict Sharia laws with Pashtunwali.⁸¹ Moreover, the judgment of the jirga is as good as its participants and legitimacy of the presiding tribal leaders. If it is perceived that the council has been compromised by a strong bias toward the state (e.g., Afghanistan or Pakistan), it loses all credibility. The Taliban were successful in retaining the jirga's credibility because they were members of Pashtun tribes. They successfully combine their religio-political objectives with Pashtun cultural mores (Pashtunwali).

A large jirga also deliberates peace between tribes or subtribes (*khels*), and a smaller jirga can ask one tribe to create a *lashkar* (tribal militia) to avenge or retain the tribe's honor against another. Usually, according to Pashtunwali, tribesmen in a particular *khel*(s) agree to follow the military leadership of an appointed member of their clan because the position of the military commander is both temporary and elective. This theme of fierce individualism within tribes and of tribesmen is the hallmark of Pashtunwali. The sole exception is a *jihad* (holy war) against those who threaten indigenous religio-political values and—more importantly—the way of the Pashtun-Pashtunwali.⁸² It is not dishonorable to fight with several tribes under a charismatic mullah who is perceived to have received divine inspiration and great military prowess. Mullah Omar of the Taliban was such a leader in the early 1990s when he rallied hundreds of Afghan tribes—many with blood feuds—to fight a common enemy, the Northern Alliance.

In summary, Pashtuns are primarily split between the hill and farmland tribes that practice variations of Pashtunwali, a mix of tribal mores dispensed through the jirga system. Pashtuns value individual and tribal honor and unite under elected tribal elders for short periods of time to impose the deliberation of a jirga; the only time they coalesce around one leader—never a single tribe—is when the leader is considered divine and leading a jihad.⁸³

As mentioned earlier, Pakistan controlled the tribal areas through a collective punishment system delivered through political agents and their local law enforcement personnel (Khassadars and Levies) with on-demand support from the FC and regular army units. The political agents worked closely with elected maliks to organize jirgas legislating local matters. In the last 7.5 years, AQA in FATA effectively altered the system in their favor and took control away from the state. They killed more than 650 maliks, replaced jirgas with parochial shuras (councils) that had no appeal process but were able to garner local support and legitimacy because the AQA leaders portrayed themselves as having “divine purpose” and were fighting against “foreigners.”⁸⁴

Political developments in FATA and NWFP abetted this cultural and governance change in the tribal areas. After winning national elections in 2002, Mutihida-Majlis-Amul (MMA)—a coalition of Islamist parties, notably Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) and Jamiat-e-Ulema-Islam (JUI)—openly supported the Taliban as the legitimate government of Afghanistan. JI and JUI continue to maintain close ties to Taliban leadership. Party officials believed that the situation in Afghanistan will rapidly deteriorate, and the U.S. will have to negotiate bringing back the Taliban as strong partners in a Pakistan and Islamist-friendly government in Kabul. Until recently, FATA was an almost impregnable base for command and control, fundraising, recruiting, training, and the launching and recovery of military operations and terrorist attacks.

The denizens of FATA received adult franchise in 1998, but candidates cannot campaign under the banner of a political party because the Political Parties Act of 1962 does not apply. In practice, however, four major parties have supported candidates indirectly: the left leaning Centrist Party, Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP); the left leaning Nationalist Party, Awami National Party (ANP); and from 2002 to 2007 a coalition of two Islamist parties, JI and JUI. In the last 7 years, a coalition of Islamist parties, MMA

that included JI and JUI, governed NWFP, FATA, and Baluchistan. They won on an anti-American vote in 2002 and supported the Taliban insurgency in Afghanistan despite Islamabad's clear stance of allying with the United States. Their term ended in 2007, and ANP was elected in 2008 on a promise to quell the insurgency and bring about much-needed socioeconomic development in the FATA, NWFP, and Baluchistan. The election results are shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Elections in FATA and NWFP, 2002 and 2008

National Election Year	Political Parties	National Assembly Members (Total 340) ⁸⁵		NWFP Provincial Assembly Members (Total 99)		FATA Members (Total 12) ⁸⁶
		Number	%	Number	%	%
2002	MMA	63	18.5	48	48.5	Majority
	ANP	1	0.3	8	8.1	<30
2008	MMA	7	2.1	10	10.1	<30
	ANP	13	3.8	31	31.3	Majority

The Actors, AQA and Pakistan Security Forces

Pakistan's Security Forces. There are currently 150,000 troops in FATA and NWFP fighting Al Qaeda, the Taliban, and their splinter groups. The army's XI Corps, responsible for NWFP and the Afghan border, is headquartered in Peshawar. It consists of two divisions, the 7th and 9th. In order to deal with the upsurge in violence in the tribal areas, the 14th division reinforces the XI Corps operations, notably in 2007 and 2008. In addition to police, paramilitary, and army forces, Pakistan's intelligence services also play important roles. The FC (approximately 80,000 troops) is doing the bulk of the fighting, while SSGs (Pakistan's Special Forces) are performing search-and-destroy missions against high value Al Qaeda targets in FATA and NWFP.

Table 5. Annual Casualties of Terrorist Violence in Pakistan, 2003 to 2008⁸⁷

Year	Terrorists/Insurgents	Security Force Personnel	Civilians
2003	25	24	140
2004	244	184	435
2005	137	81	430
2006	538	325	608
2007	1,479	597	1,523
2008	3,906	654	2,155
Total:	6,329	1,865	5,291

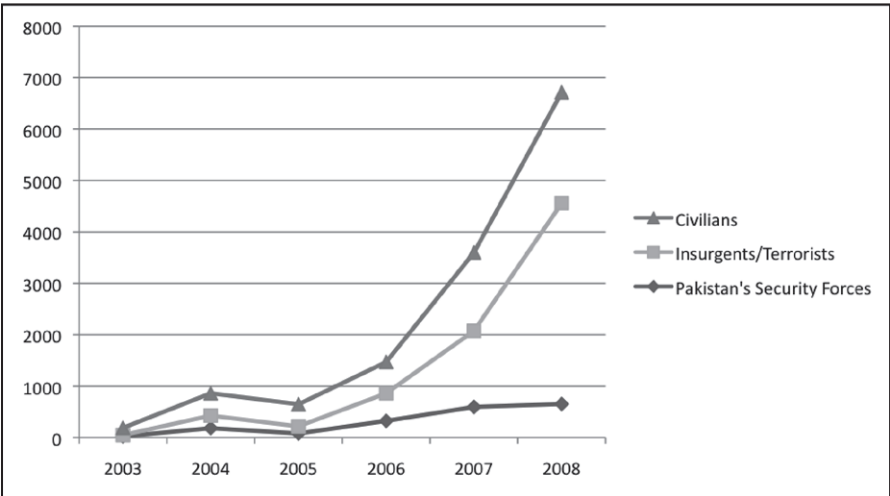


Figure 9. Annual Fatalities, 2003 to 2008⁸⁸

Table 6. Fatalities, January through November 2009⁸⁹

Month	Security Force Personnel	Civilians	Terrorists/Insurgents
January	69	250	245
February	31	216	430
March	67	168	171
April	89	132	297
May	155	279	1,590
June	109	177	1,205
July	58	156	768
August	34	155	531
September	77	111	662
October	118	255	1,001
November ⁹⁰	93	175	792
Total:	900	2,074	7,692

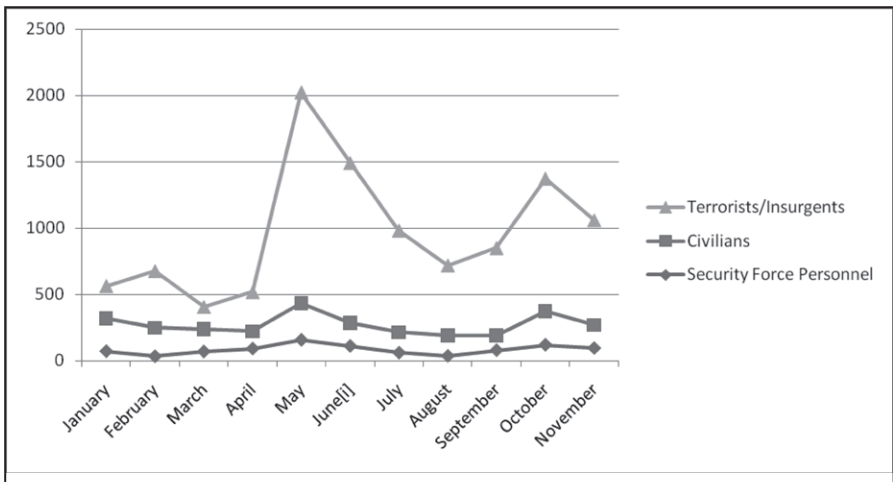


Figure 10. Fatalities, January through November 2009⁹¹

Table 7 is a summary of major events in all seven agencies from 2002 to 2008, the tribes that inhabit the agencies, and their respective affiliations with local, regional, and global insurgent/terrorist groups.

Table 7. Major Events and Tribal Affiliations with Insurgency in FATA, 2002 to 2008⁹²

Tribal Agencies, Dominant Tribes and Major Events	Support
South Waziristan <i>Ahmedzai Wazir, Mehsud</i> Major Pakistani COIN operations from 2004 to 2008 Birthplace of Tehrik-e-Taliban-e-Pakistan (TTP)	Al Qaeda/ Haqqani Network (HN)/IMU/ TTP
North Waziristan <i>Utmanzai Wazir, Daur</i> Major Pakistani COIN operations from 2004 to 2008 Headquarters of the HN	Al Qaeda/TTP/ IMU
Kurram <i>Toori, Bangash</i> Center of Sectarian violence between Sunni and Shia tribes in 2005 to 2007. Currently home to TTP and extended battleground for 2009 COIN operation.	Al Qaeda
Orakzai <i>Orakzai</i> Rattled by spillover from the conflict between Lashkar-e-Islam and Ansar-ul-Islam from neighboring Khyber Agency. Currently home to TTP and extended battleground for 2009 COIN operation.	TTP
Khyber <i>Afridi, Shinwari</i> Intra-Sunni conflict between the Mufti Muni Shakir (Deobandi) led Lashkar-e-Islam and the Ansar-ul-Islam	TTP/HN
Mohmand <i>Mohmand, Safi</i> Tribal leadership structures were destroyed as maliks were assassinated and mullahs took power; Hakeemullah Mehsud TTP regional chapter is led by Umar Khalid; implementation of “qazi” courts in the region enforcing strict Shariah.	TTP/HN
Bajaur <i>Tarkani, Utmankhel</i> Known as the poppy kingdom. Battleground for numerous COIN operations from 2004 to 2009 and the place where Pakistan’s COIN approach changed in 2008—the Bajaur Experiment.	Al Qaeda/HN/ TTP/ IMU/TSNM
NWFP Districts and Active Insurgent Groups	Side with the
Dir, Malakand, and the Swat Valley Minimum presence of Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi (TSNM)	Al Qaeda/TTP

Nature of the Enemy

Acknowledging the fractures between antigovernment groups in Pakistan's northwest, this monograph groups them as AQA, recognizing that their common goals outweigh their divergent ones. The major groups are Al Qaeda, TTP, TSNM, HeM, Let, and JeM. As a whole, they create a fluid network that abets and/or inspires operations both in Pakistan's northwest region and inside Afghanistan. The following section describes the structure of AQA.

Most academics and policy analysts describe Al Qaeda's evolution as chaotic and random. According to Harvard's Jessica Stern, Al Qaeda has dispersed into numerous factions that cover the globe and are held together through "virtual links."⁹³ She further states that presently Al Qaeda's members and affiliates work independently, not reporting "to a central headquarters or single leader for direction or instruction." Stern notes that Al Qaeda's core leadership no longer issues specific orders, but instead through broad policy guidelines: "they inspire small cells or individuals to take action on their own initiative."

Shaul Mishal and Maoz Rosenthal argue that AQA are part of a worldwide organization best described by the Dune Model. They reject the notion that Al Qaeda is a typical hierarchical or networked organization. The hierarchical approach assumes that social identities, boundaries, and actors' choices are fixed, stable, and consistent, and the network approach requires groups of actors and affiliates to constantly synchronize their operations such that none can achieve its goals without the involvement of others. These two approaches cannot be applied to AQA.

Instead, Mishal and Rosenthal approach AQA as a Dune organization; it is because the strategic behavior of Al Qaeda relies on a process of vacillation between territorial presence and mode of disappearance. *Territorial presence* is defined as nation states, global markets, or ethnic communities. Disappearance tactics are related to the Dune organization, whereby globalization in the 21st century has enabled terrorist organizations to adopt dune-like dynamics. Al Qaeda is best characterized as a fast-moving entity that associates and dissociates itself with local elements while creating a global effect.⁹⁴

In support of the Dune model, terrorism expert Bruce Hoffman likens AQA to a shark. Sharks must keep moving forward, no matter how slowly

or incrementally, or die. Al Qaeda must constantly adapt and adjust to its enemies' efforts to stymie its plans while simultaneously identifying new targets. Moreover, Hoffman believes that AQA will ensure its longevity by constantly marketing its message—ideological, religio-political, and economic.

Where Hoffman sees AQA's strengths, Marc Sageman sees weaknesses: "the present threat has evolved from a structured group of Al Qaeda masterminds, controlling vast resources and issuing commands, to a multitude of informal local groups trying to emulate their predecessors by conceiving and executing operations from the bottom up." These groups, Sageman suggests, end up supporting a "leaderless jihad."⁹⁵

In summary, AQA is a fluid organization without a permanent home and forced to rapidly adapt to stay alive. AQA is also a hybrid network system:

- a. A mix of chain networks where people, goods, or information move along a line of separated contacts
- b. Where end-to-end communication must travel through intermediate nodes and hub-and-spoke networks; actors are tied to a central—but not hierarchal—node and must go through that node to communicate with each other.

This gives it tremendous advantages to conduct operations, form splinter groups, and recruit.⁹⁶

In addition to adaptability, AQA is decentralized, which makes communication and information processing more efficient. AQA has also shown great resilience in replacing leaders such as Naeem Khan Abu Hamza Rabia and Abu Faraj Al Libbi.⁹⁷

A decentralized system has disadvantages, however. Limited information exchange keeps everyone minimally informed, and the lack of a central authority makes reliable information sharing difficult. On balance, however, AQA has used Web sites, Web forums, and e-mail to retain some format of a central information database that allows splinter cells to gain useful operational assistance. Today it provides extensive support to the Pakistani Taliban, Haqqani Network, and Hizb-ul-Mujahideen (HuM) in Pakistan's northwest and some support to the Mullah Omar-led Afghan Taliban in Helmand and Kandahar.

As mentioned above, various models demonstrate how AQA operate in an amorphous network that, with all its disadvantages, is proliferating.

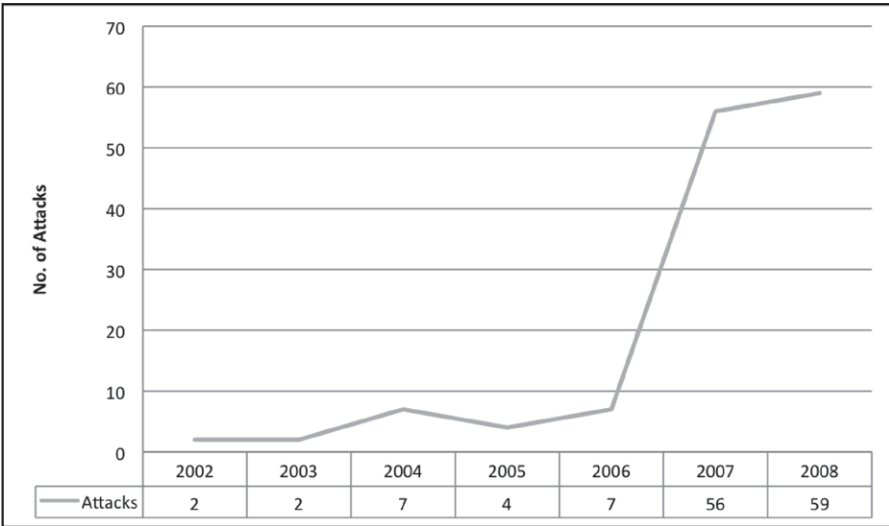


Figure 11. Suicide Attacks in Pakistan, 2002 to 2008⁹⁹

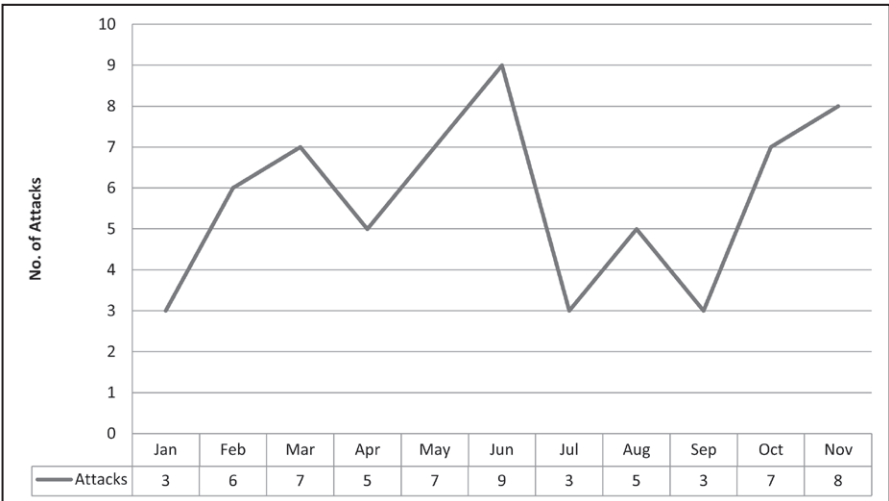


Figure 12. Suicide Attacks in Pakistan January through November 2009 (63)¹⁰⁰

One main reason is its modus operandi, its ability to inflict harm to its enemy (U.S. and Pakistani troops) by strategically employing chaos. A mix of communication, operational and ideological support, and smart and lethal tactics such as suicide bombers and improvised explosive devices (IEDs) makes up the AQA strategic chaos.⁹⁸

In 2002 Al Qaeda was in disarray and vulnerable. It had to swiftly create a strong base in South and North Waziristan and Bajaur. Spending large amounts of cash to attract sympathetic tribes for safeguarding their local AQA operatives, Al Qaeda began to reopen training centers and stepped up recruitment efforts in madrassas inside the tribal belt and beyond. Local and regional extremist Islamist groups joined in, and this quid pro quo helped Al Qaeda reestablish its base of operations (established across Pakistan from FATA to Karachi, Quetta, Lahore, Islamabad, Rawalpindi, Faisalabad, and so on). In 2002 Al Qaeda Central moved into the North and South Waziristan tribal agencies of Pakistan where it established communication networks with local and regional extremist Islamist groups such as the JeM and LeT. It also hired webmasters, Web forum administrators, and other IT personnel to run a sophisticated yet clandestine intranet of Web sites with imbedded videos, chat rooms, and e-mail accounts (decentralizing all planning, operational, communication, and intelligence operations into smaller systems and networks). In addition to outsourcing specific operational tasks, various systems of publicity, support, and operations were virtually built after 2001 with a strong center in the tribal belt, but with backup bases in Gujarat, Faisalabad, and Karachi. The strategic chaos systems were able to synchronize operations through virtual communication networks such as encrypted Web forums and Web sites around the world. Assistance flowed from technological and intelligence support networks joining local, regional, and global religio-political groups such as those linkages between JeM and Al Qaeda Central. What follows are a few examples of how AQA has spread and employed strategic chaos to attain its objectives.

The first example is that AQA initiated an International Terrorists' Asylum Program. Towards the end of 2001, more than 1,000 Al Qaeda operatives had fled U.S. bombers in Afghanistan. The Arabs, Uzbeks, Chechens, and Sudanese took shelter in the Pakistan tribal areas, while others settled in major cities such as Rawalpindi, Karachi, and Lahore. Al Qaeda had previously formed operational bonds with local and regional jihadists involved in sectarian and jihadist terrorism inside Pakistan and Kashmir. These bonds became stronger after 9/11. Pakistani local and regional jihadists provided Al Qaeda with logistical support, safe houses, forged identification documents, and occasionally, ready recruits. According to Pakistani intelligence agencies, Ayman al Zawahari—Al Qaeda's No. 2 leader—became the main contact between Al Qaeda and local and regional jihadists in Pakistan.

Many of them had attended Al Qaeda-run training camps in Afghanistan before 9/11; now they would come together to help Al Qaeda survive and then to become deadlier and more difficult to combat.¹⁰¹

In addition to Uzbek, Chechen, and Kashmiri terror-insurgent groups, others were attracted to the tribal areas for building alliances of support. Hasan Mahsum, a.k.a Abu-Muhammad al-Turkestani a.k.a Ashan Sumut, was the founder and leader of the East Turkestan Islamic Movement, considered an Islamic terrorist organization by China and the U.S. and suspected of having ties with Al Qaeda. The Pakistani army shot him dead in a counterterrorism operation on 2 October 2003 in South Waziristan.¹⁰²

In addition to protecting Afghan and Pakistani AQA members, foreign terrorists were also harbored by the local tribes. Among them, Tahir Yal-dashev of the IMU was the most prominent. On 29 April 2004, Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov said in Tashkent that terrorists responsible for the coordinated series of attacks during March 2004, which killed at least 47 people, were based in Pakistan along that country's border with Afghanistan. "The main base where the terrorists found refuge is South Waziristan," Karimov told a press conference during a parliamentary session. Suspects detained after a series of suicide bombings, explosions, and assaults in the capital Tashkent and the central region of Bukhara had confessed that they had been in South Waziristan and had links to people operating there, said the President.¹⁰³

Another example of AQA chaos is when they began using brute tactics in 2004. They attacked Pakistani military checkpoints, placing land mines, firing anti-aircraft weapons, rocket propelled grenades (RPGs), rocket launchers, and mortars and detonating remote-control bombs. AQA shared information regarding operations and weapons through the Internet, paper pamphlets, and word of mouth. Over time, regional extremist groups such as the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, Turkistan Islamic Party of China, and Al Qaeda in Iraq improved the quality of their operations and weapons, creating specialists in second generation IEDs and plastic explosives. A summary of major AQA tactics follows:

- a. AQA established rewards for killing Pakistani security personnel. Beginning in December 2003 according to local media reports, AQA distributed pamphlets promising financial rewards for denizens of South Waziristan. The pamphlet stated that local jihadists, presumably

- AQA, would offer more than \$8,000 for killing a Pakistani, U.S., or foreign soldier and more than \$3,000 for a Pakistani spy. Unspecified amounts would be granted to anyone who attacked army installations—for example, checkpoints and communication installations—and “any interests inside Pakistan.”¹⁰⁴
- b. In 2004 AQA members began recruiting female suicide bombers. On 17 May the widow of an Uzbek terrorist, Ubaidullah Aziza—an active member of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan—began training female suicide bombers at a base in Bajaur, FATA.¹⁰⁵
 - c. AQA abducted Chinese engineers in 2004. On 10 October former Taliban commander and chief of the militants in South Waziristan, Abdullah Mehsud, reportedly claimed to have abducted two Chinese engineers who were working on the Gomal Zam Dam project.¹⁰⁶
 - d. AQA increased recruitment from the refugee camps in 2005. On 19 July, Afghan refugees living in North Waziristan were asked to leave the area within 6 weeks because, according to an official from the Afghan refugee directorate in Miranshah, many of the refugees were alleged to be signing up with AQA.¹⁰⁷
 - e. AQA attacked girls’ schools. On 3 January 2006, suspected militants bombed a security checkpoint in the Ladah subdivision and a girls’ school at Sher Muhammad Kot in South Waziristan, but no deaths occurred. Both incidents were in the Sararogha area where the tribal militant, Baitullah Mehsud, is dominant. By late 2008 AQA-linked insurgents had burned down 180 girls’ schools in the settled area of Swat.¹⁰⁸
 - f. AQA abducted parliamentarians and chief diplomats. In 2008 the Pakistani ambassador to Afghanistan, Tariq Azizuddin, was abducted along with his bodyguard and driver in the Jamrud subdistrict of Khyber Agency, FATA.¹⁰⁹

2008, Winter of Content: the Bajaur Experiment

In May 2009 the Taliban, defying a peace deal that was struck with the government in the Swat Valley, advanced dangerously close to Islamabad.

In the past, the Pakistani military’s response to the Islamists had been disastrous. Caught off guard by their onslaught, the army had responded with brute force, trying, in the words of one officer, to “out-terrorize the terrorist.” Such heavy-handed tactics had alienated locals, even while the

intelligence services played a double game, trying to crack down on local Taliban while supporting them in Afghanistan so as to counter Indian influence there (COIN-FOIN paradox).

On arrival, General Tariq Khan realized he needed a new approach, one that emphasized holding and building areas after freeing them of Taliban gunmen. He began eating and bunking with his men to improve morale and seeking the counsel of his officers—not a common practice in the hierarchical Pakistani military—on how best to engage the enemy and attract local support. In August 2008 he launched Operation Shirdil (Lion Heart), similar to the U.S. surge strategy in Iraq. Khan encouraged his troops to work with local tribes, shrewdly dividing pro-Taliban from pro-Government elements; and to gain legitimacy, he backed tribal militias and sought the consent of local jirgas (tribal councils).

Officers involved in Operation Shirdil said the new strategy brought Bajaur and the neighboring district of Mohmand back “under the writ of the government,” setting up a “counterwave” of government victories that has prevented “the Taliban marching to the capital.” In March, several key Taliban warlords surrendered, disbanding their militias and handing over heavy weapons. And some 200,000 internally displaced people have returned home.¹¹⁰

By spring of 2009 the Pakistani military was ready to export the Bajaur experiment to other areas. Opportunity came when Taliban in the Swat Valley broke the peace agreement in May 2009. The army moved Bajaur veterans into Swat. A pride-centric COIN doctrine began to spread in the officer corps and the FC units.

2009, Spring of Hope: Pakistan Fights Back and Scores Victories

Four weeks after Taliban were 60 miles from Islamabad, Pakistani military—using helicopter gunships, fighter jets, and Special Forces—destroyed Taliban strongholds, pushing them north and 2.5 million refugees south of the Swat Valley. A new hybrid COIN strategy emerged that centers on military institutional pride contingent upon political support and brought about by both protecting the population and interdicting the enemy.

The strategy emerged last fall when General Tariq Khan, abetted by junior officers, radically changed tactics and strategy for Operation Shirdil (Lion Hear) in Bajaur, the tribal area abutting Afghanistan and former hub of Al Qaeda. Initially relying on out-terrorizing-the-terrorist model, he shifted

to population security by ordering patrolling, supporting tribal lashkars (militias) and jirgas to identify irreconcilable Taliban, encouraging camaraderie between primarily Punjabi officers and Pashtun soldiers, and most importantly building troop morale—what I collectively call the Bajaur experiment.

In March 2009 the gamble paid off even while questions of replication and sustainability remained. Although the Pakistani government and military—to the horror of the world—capitulated to the Taliban in the Swat Valley, top Taliban commanders surrendered unconditionally to the Pakistani army FC in Bajaur and Mohmand. This year when Pakistani military launched Operation Righteous Path in late April to expel Taliban from in and around Swat, excited Bajaur veterans were ready to share their experience. After years of unwillingness to conduct COIN against Pakistanis, the Pakistani junior officers were ready for change, even if the central command was not.

The change came in the ongoing Operation Righteous Path Part IV, the name clearly indicating that the previous three had failed. The reason for past failure was the army did an excellent job of clearing the area but was reluctant to hold it, instead outsourcing to inept policing and using degenerate governance—ignoring security, roads, jobs, and schools. A weak local government would negotiate with local Taliban; when granted asylum, the Taliban would return and kill government collaborators, igniting another search-and-destroy military operation.

In early 2008, General Ashfaq Kiani, head of the Pakistani military—indispensable member of Pakistan’s leadership Troika (President, prime minister, army chief)—initiated a decisive shift toward COIN in arms procurement and military curriculum, symbolically calling 2008 “The Year of the Soldier” and 2009 “The Year of Training” and buttressing the Directorate of Military Operations (army’s strategy think tank) and intelligence reform. The top-down approach, however, was slow and made worse by a dysfunctional Defense Ministry, turf-conscious Interior Ministry, and ineffective Defense and National Security Parliamentary Committees. The real change would be driven bottom-up, by junior officers, and the impetus would come from popular support for war.

While the Bajaur experiment clearly bolstered troop morale, Pakistani military needed broad political consensus to apply the lessons learned. The opportunity came when Taliban occupied Swat’s environs (e.g., Buner and

Shangla) in April, calling Pakistan's constitution *un-Islamic* and granting Osama bin Laden safe passage. In a seemingly preplanned way, the military did not react instantly; instead it waited for the government to build political consensus under a Taliban onslaught and international pressure. Religious organizations representing missionary groups (Tabligi Jamaat) and mullahs (Jamiat-ul-Ulema-Pakistan) came on board even while mainstream Islamist parties protested (JI and JUI). Soon after a 150,000 troop-strong military operation (the largest since 2001) kicked off, centering on Swat but covering all of the northern frontier and tribal areas, notably the Waziristans.

Predictably, "clearing" operations were easy; however, developing a winning mix of Special Forces, intelligence operations, infantry patrols, cobra gunships, fighter jets, and artillery was difficult. Junior officers were tired of applying counterproductive brute force tactics for 6 years, pinning hopes on swift delivery of high technology U.S. gadgets and frustrated by U.S. failure to control Afghanistan. Bolstered by newfound popular support for the war, they identified Taliban as the existential threat to their nuclear-armed country (momentarily placing arch rival India on the backburner). Numerous captains, majors, lieutenant colonels, and colonels became the bearers of change in military culture and tactics.

Not having published COIN manuals helped field commanders to operate freely. Using the precedent of the Bajaur experiment, junior officers asked to become part of decision-making—especially FC officers, usually considered incompetent—and compromised because of their ethnic links to a predominantly Pashtun Taliban. In a country torn by religious, nationalist, and ethnic fissures, racism was the last thing the Pakistani army needed. Consequently, Punjabi officers began courting Pashtun soldiers.

Junior officers soon realized that battle fatigue was not just a function of a halfheartedly owned protracted war against your own people but also most importantly lack of pride. While encouraging, the push for a more inclusive military culture that values innovation and dissent is nothing more than a dent on the military colossus. That did not deter junior officers bent on ingenuity, however. Unlike past operations—when selective kinetic action was taken on the Taliban's mountainous hideouts after clearing major cities and without blocking escape routes—this time the military applied a corner, choke, and contain operation.¹¹¹ Army-Air Force joint operations precisely interdicted the Taliban's high altitude hideouts, forcing them down to hide in mosques, houses, and schools, behind human shields, thus enraging the

local population. This resulted in better human intelligence and continued political support for the military operation.

Second, while the military is still contemplating a broad holding strategy, for the first time since 2001, the military has executed a presence-oriented approach: cleared areas, established small bases inside populated areas—instead of going back to large Forward Operating Bases—enforced curfews, and aided a fledgling local government.

Third, junior officers began using existing weapons and equipment in innovative ways. In northern Buner, for example, Major Bilal helped refugees escape before using heavy artillery against Taliban strongholds. He also increased precision by building better human intelligence and using global positioning system (GPS) trackers and satellite photos. Defying outdated

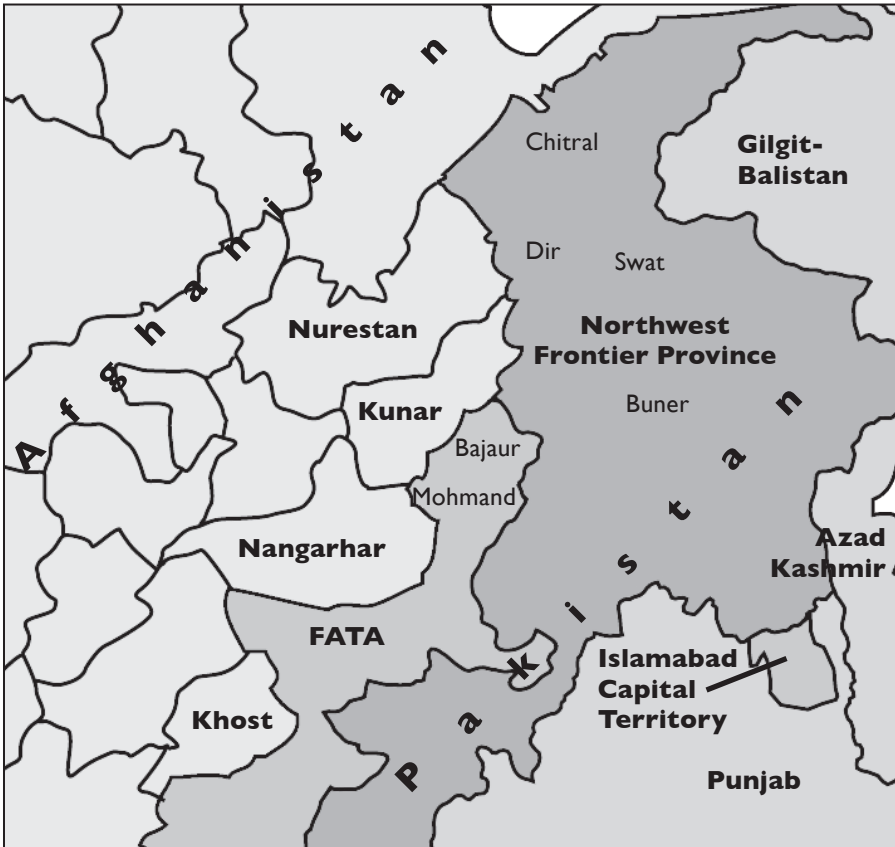


Figure 13. Pakistan's Northwest. Base map © 2007 by World Trade Press; all rights reserved. Used with permission.

conventional war manuals, Captain Fahd used his tanks in urban areas by targeting watch towers in houses against hidden snipers. “The book says do not use tanks in cities ... well they [Taliban] kept killing my men and I had to remedy the situation ... now the Brig Gen agrees and we’re sharing this tactic,” he explained. The process of sharing field experience and lessons learned was helped by U.S.-led “train the trainer,” and Frontier Corps program graduates were active in the battlefields of Swat, Bajaur, and the Waziristans.

Fourth, while distinguishing between mainstream Taliban and local population was nearly impossible, junior officers realized that trained snipers, commanding officers, explosive experts, and Taliban information officers were primarily Uzbeks, Chechens, or Arabs and local Pashtun leaders were almost always with them. Many were killed using improved human intelligence, a product of increasing anti-Taliban sentiment, leaving the rest to flee or “die like headless chickens.” Those that escaped to the mountains of the Swat Valley faced stiff resistance from local lashkars (militias) where the Taliban’s pleas to live and die together were brutally rejected.

Although this emerging pride and innovation centric bottom-up COIN model is a welcoming change from the past and must be supported by the U.S., it is anything but complete or sustainable. Without support from the military headquarters and the Pakistani people, which will depend on the future of millions of refugees, this offshoot of the Bajaur experiment will fail. Successful tactics championed by individual leaders can go only so far without a consistent effort that must be institutionalized, such as intelligence and information operations and civil-military coordination, all under a whole-of-government doctrinal shift.

2009, COIN-FOIN Paradox Phasing Out

Pakistan’s national security policy mix changed from a large dose of countering, fomenting insurgencies, and sustaining a nuclear-armed military to a large dose of COIN and nuclear weapons development and de-emphasis of FOIN. Here are the reasons why:

- a. FOIN backfired. Many insurgents and their organizations fomented by Islamabad either turned against the state (e.g., Nek Mohammad, Abudullah Mehsud and Baitullah Mehsud, TTP, and JeM) or became a liability (LeT planned and executed Mumbai attacks, bringing Pakistan

- and India close to a nuclear showdown, hurting Pakistan's struggling democracy and economy, and further increasing the U.S.-Pakistan trust deficit).
- b. COIN-FOIN paradox was discovered. By 2008 U.S. intelligence estimates were unequivocally pointing fingers at indirect support of Afghan Taliban by Pakistan's state apparatus, especially the ISI.¹¹²
 - c. India developed Cold Start doctrine to stop Pakistan FOIN operations. *Cold Start* is the Indian military's stated doctrine against a Pakistan-sponsored group's terrorist attack inside the Indian homeland. Rapid action teams stationed close to the border would be dispatched with rapid air support to neutralize perceived terrorist training camps inside Pakistan.
 - d. Pakistan has begun searching for an alternative: better COIN and nuclear weapons. As the costs of COIN and FOIN began to outweigh its benefits, Pakistani military and civilian heads began brainstorming for alternatives. Conversations with senior military leaders suggest that a decision was made to slowly phase out FOIN and invest heavily in the expansion and potency of nuclear weapons.

While this monograph exclusively focuses on Pakistan's COIN policy and the nature and characteristics of the major threat, it is important to review AQA's operations in Afghanistan because of AQA's involvement in a transnational insurgency. What follows is a cursory look at COIN in Afghanistan during the past 8 years.

COIN in Afghanistan, 2002 to 2008

Most analysts agree that the No. 1 cause of the insurgency in Afghanistan is the lack of an effective and pluralistic central government that respects provincial autonomy and provides infrastructure and guidance for socio-economic development. The opium drug trade is not a cause of the insurgency, but the source of its sustainment. More importantly, the sanctuary in Pakistan's northwest provides constant rejuvenation and support for the insurgency.

In the early years that followed the initiation of the U.S. Operation Enduring Freedom, most Afghans were happy to get rid of the Taliban regime, which had ironically lost credibility due to poor governance and rising corruption.¹¹³ The new government, led by Hamid Karzai—first appointed

and then elected in 2004 for another 5 years—was unable to initiate political reconciliation quickly. Vast areas of the country remained ungoverned due to a lack of U.S. and NATO troops; therefore, the Taliban began to fill the void by promising better governance and speedy justice. In summary, U.S.-led COIN operations failed because the clear, hold, and build model was supported by too few troops to effectively hold, let alone build, Afghanistan's rural landscape. Second, the Pakistan northwest served as a sanctuary that continued to provide a lifeline for the insurgency. Finally, and most disturbingly for the U.S., was Pakistan's FOIN policy whereby Pakistan's intelligence officers actively abetted the Afghan Taliban under the leadership of Mullah Omar against coalition troops in Afghanistan's southeast provinces (Nimroz, Farah, Helmand, and Kandahar).¹¹⁴

The most important point of this chapter, and by extension this monograph, is that while acknowledging past mistakes and relearning lessons of effective COIN to sustain a victory against insurgents is important, recalibrating Pakistan's strategic spread against AQA's strategic chaos is the single most important precondition for victory. Pakistan countered insurgencies (e.g., Al Qaeda, HuM, Haqqani Network, TTP, and LeT) and FOIN (Mullah Omar's Afghan Taliban in Afghanistan's southeast) from 2002 to 2008, but now it is de-emphasizing the COIN-FOIN paradox. The sooner U.S. military and policy makers exploit this, the quicker U.S., Afghan, and Pakistani forces can defeat the scourge of the transnational Taliban. The next chapter lays out policy prescriptions.

4. Policy Guidelines: New Realities, New Policies

For more than 8 years, the Pakistani military, with limited resources and public support, has fought a very difficult war of attrition against an elusive enemy. About 2,900 security personnel and 7,500 civilians have been killed, and 5,000 have been wounded (see Table 5); and more than 3.5 million people have been internally displaced.¹¹⁵ The transnational Pashtun insurgency within Pakistan is spreading its tentacles from the tribal areas to major cities, funded and supported by a whole host of local, regional and international groups—AQA, notably the Taliban. In Afghanistan, the situation is much worse: most of the country is currently controlled by, or has a significant presence of, Afghan Taliban led by Mullah Omar and his deputies from the southern Afghan provinces of Helmand and Kandahar and the city of Quetta in Baluchistan, Pakistan.

This monograph poses the question: After examining Pakistan's policies to counter and foment insurgencies, what might be the best U.S.-Pakistan strategic relationship to defeat the transnational insurgency? The remaining pages summarize the attendant issues and suggest policy guidelines for establishing regional security.

Pakistan's COIN policy is a product of its Uber-National Security Strategy that emphasizes internal religio-political cohesiveness and a strong nuclear-armed defense against all internal and external threats, notably separatism and India. A mix of military, political, and economic policies make up Pakistan's strategic spread that ensures the achievement of its national security doctrine. Further still, Pakistan's COIN policy, historically based on the coercion school of thought, is a function of its strategic spread and is aimed at removing all threats to the Pakistani republic from an enemy that employs strategic chaos to achieve its goals: the removal of all U.S. and allied troops and the imposition of Taliban-style governments in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Although Pakistan has FOINs in the past (Afghanistan, Kashmir, and India), for the first time Pakistan countered and fomented a transnational insurgency—COIN-FOIN paradox—in Pakistan and Afghanistan to achieve its national security goals of retaining control of Kabul by promoting Pashtun leaders, offsetting Indian influence, and a precarious spillover in case of a precipitous U.S. withdrawal.

This monograph questions existing policy assumptions. These include the following:

- a. Pakistan's FOIN policy makes it a suspect partner and not a vital resource to dismantle insurgencies in the region.
- b. Pakistan's experience with COIN should be ignored.
- c. Despite more than \$10 billion in U.S. aid (2002 to 2008), Pakistan was a reluctant partner and is now incapable and unwilling to employ a robust COIN policy against the northern and southern fronts of the transnational Pashtun insurgency.
- d. Better Pakistan-India relations are focused on bilateral trade, and outstanding security issues such as Kashmir are immaterial to long-term success in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The findings of this monograph challenge and debunk all of these policy assumptions. Pakistan has extensive experience in COIN and FOIN and without a viable solution to Pakistan and India's national security objectives in the region, specifically Afghanistan, all U.S.-led regional COIN efforts will fall into the past trap of policy disconnect and failures.

This monograph recommends bolstering the current efforts of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the U.S. to apply the hearts-and-minds school of COIN focusing on clearing, holding, and building. However, the fundamental policy recommendation for the U.S. is to review the degree and nature of support from Pakistan. That includes reexamining the emerging structure of AQA, then applying lessons learned to recalibrate Pakistan's strategic spread while exploiting AQA's strategic chaos, the ultimate goal being to employ a new and effective regional COIN policy.

Second, Pakistan will not yield effective cooperation unless its strategic spread vis-à-vis India is safeguarded by a resolution of the Kashmir dispute and a broad regional "influence-sharing formula" between India and Pakistan for Afghanistan. Afghanistan stretched in multiple directions by allies and foes alike will have to extend effective governance (not necessarily governmental control) through less corrupt socioeconomic programs (e.g., schools, hospitals, jobs, and roads).

Third, Pakistan must develop political unity with regard to its security interests. On 23 October 2008, Pakistan's elected parliament and senate unanimously passed a counterterrorism resolution in an attempt to build consensus on Pakistan's COIN policy. The 14-point resolution emphasizes

the present government's policy of the three Ds—dialogue, deterrence, and development—but fails to provide an effective implementation mechanism, falls short in describing the causes and nature of the threat from the tribal belt, ignores the need for intelligence reform, and puts undue emphasis on political reconciliation with the Taliban without acknowledging past mistakes and suggesting remedies to prior failed attempts. U.S.-backed Pakistan's COIN may once again fail.

Fourth, Pakistan has a well-developed COIN policy, although traditionally focused on coercion and not the clear, hold, and build model. Relearning some of the lessons from previous insurgencies, such as the Baluch insurgency, will help Pakistan develop a more effective COIN policy. More important, however, is boosting the morale of the troops that has continuously declined; many soldiers believe they are hired guns vs. fighting their own war. A concerted effort to sell this war, not only to the people of Pakistan but also to the regional and international community, is essential.

Fifth, realize that COIN techniques are often best used in combination and that methods can overlap; frequently more than one technique has been employed to respond to a given group at different times. The hazards of the “out-terrorizing the terrorist” approach present long-term challenges to civil liberties and human rights, undermine domestic support, polarize political parties, and undercut the state's ability and willingness to respond effectively to future terrorist attacks.

Sixth, terrorist groups that coalesce with the ethnic separatist movements, such as AQA, have had the longest average life span; religiously oriented and motivated groups have the longest staying power. Insurgent groups have traditionally been defeated by the capture or assassination of the leader, failure to transition to the next generation, transition to a legitimate political process, and undermining of popular support. In the case of AQA, killing operational commanders has not helped because the leaders of Al Qaeda planned for this contingency and the organization has shown great resilience in producing new leaders. A similar pattern is observable in the Taliban, although to a lesser extent. Al Qaeda's demands and its intolerance for negotiations with a state makes it impossible to bring it to the negotiating table. However, Al Qaeda's major partners, such as the TTP and the Afghan Taliban, are more divided, willing to negotiate, and have political goals (Pashtun representation and exit of foreign troops) that can be attained in the long term.

A recent RAND report states—from a sample of 648 terrorist groups in existence between 1968 and 2006—that a transition to the political process is the most common way in which terrorist groups end (43 percent).¹¹⁶ Against terrorist groups that cannot or will not make a transition to nonviolence, policing is likely to be the most effective strategy (40 percent). Consequently, narrowing the insurgents' goals may quell the insurgency. An example could be the TSNM in Swat, where the group seeks to impose Sharia law; if the state agrees to implement a hybrid judicial system with the eventual goal of integrating the system into the national judicial system, the insurgency may disappear. Moreover, religious groups rarely achieve their objectives. No religious group that has ended achieved victory since 1968. Nearly 50 percent of the time, groups ended by negotiating a settlement with the government; 25 percent of the time they achieved victory, and 19 percent of the time military forces defeated them.¹¹⁷

Seventh, defeating the AQA network is equally important. AQA depends heavily on the Internet for communication. Consequently reducing the flow of communication and information through the network, hampering decision-making and consensus formation, and exploiting collective-action problems and security vulnerabilities will weaken AQA's network. A good example is better cyber security in Pakistan and restricting Internet access to AQA's Web sites and Web forums.

Pakistan is inextricably attached to Afghanistan's insurgency. A failing COIN policy in Afghanistan (2001 to 2008) is a collection of strategies that have ignored the anthropological and historical characteristics of the population, while under-allocating and mismanaging U.S. funds. Pakistan must be linked with Afghanistan—counterinsurgents cannot win in one without winning in both.

A successful regional effort to bring about victory against AQA, secure Pakistan, and build Afghanistan must focus on restoring the pride of the Pashtuns on both sides of the Durand Line. Pride, honor, loyalty, and integrity are hallmarks of Pashtun culture and have major impacts on their relationship with the central government and socioeconomic development efforts by foreign aid workers. To convert the act of restoring *pride* into a policy model, it is both defined as a word and an acronym and is prescribed for the Pashtun insurgency-hit areas in Pakistan and Afghanistan. To this end, Pakistan security policy should encompass Operation PRIDE.

Launch Operation Restoring PRIDE¹¹⁸

Political Reconciliation/Peace Initiative. Pakistan's greatest weakness has been that its military operations have never followed up with an integrated plan in which all elements of national power are brought into play. After clearing an area of insurgents, the Pakistani army has rarely stayed behind to build trust and provide socioeconomic relief, thus causing the local population to lose faith in the government and resulting in damaged government credibility.

Breaking the AQA virtual conglomerate by organizing a major regional peace initiative with the Afghan and Pakistani Taliban is essential. If Kabul and Islamabad are able to provide political and constitutional space to reconcilable Taliban members, then local, regional, and global jihadists will, over time, lose their recruitment base and appeal. The current peace initiative between Kabul, Islamabad, and both Talibans, under the auspices of Saudi Arabia and U.S., is a step in the right direction, but careful attention should be placed on an implementation mechanism that has been lacking in prior peace initiatives.

Reform and Reconstruction. Pakistan must synchronize all COIN-related strategies and policies in one central government agency that is dedicated to COIN and contains representatives from military and civilian government agencies along with policy analysts and academics. This effort should be headed by a COIN czar and linked with all three intelligence agencies—Military Intelligence (MI), ISI, and Intelligence Bureau (IB); the defense committees of the Parliament and the Senate; the Ministry of Defense; and the Intelligence Corps and other military commands such as the SSG command. This new COIN secretariat would draft, monitor, and later adapt COIN policy per the results and changes in the COIN environment. At present, Pakistan lacks an effective forum to formulate/debate its basic defense policy. Pakistan must learn from past failures. The newly created National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC), still a pilot state bureaucracy, is a good idea, but its success will depend on the people picked, the final mission statement, and the purview of the institution.

Pakistan must abolish or reform archaic laws such as the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR). While an overnight shift to the British common-law-inspired legal system of Pakistan is ill-advised, a roadmap toward governance and judicial reform with regard to tribal mores should be initiated.

The Taliban have effectively disrupted the old tribal leadership structure, and the denizens of FATA unanimously reject the FCR in its current form. However, there is appeal for Sharia-based reforms and not because most Pashtuns are religious; it is rather mostly a matter of convenience and a lack of knowledge of Pakistan’s Penal Code. The Taliban have been successful in replacing some of the old leadership structures of legislation and jurisprudence because they have effectively amalgamated Sharia into Pash-tunwali by replacing jirgas with shuras. If Pakistan can create a roadmap whereby certain jirgas would be converted into shuras in the short run to gain public trust, it could implement a roadmap that would eventually connect Pashtunwali to the Pakistani constitution. One possible roadmap is shown in Table 8.

Table 8. Politico-Constitutional Roadmap for Pakistan’s FATAs

FCR	Short-Term		Medium-Term	Long-Term
	Pashtunwali	Pashtunwali plus Sharia	Sharia-Based Courts	Pakistan Penal Code
Collective punishment of tribes— e.g., appeal process	Supreme jirga	Supreme Shura	Supreme Court Shariat Appellate Bench; Federal Shariat Court	Supreme Court
	Single tribe jirga	Mid-level Shura	Provincial Shariat Bench	High Court
	Khel (subtribe) jirga/subkhel jirga	Low-level Shura	Local Shariat Bench	District Court

Moreover, the Political Parties Act of 1962 that was recently expanded to FATA must be completely executed. Finally, the denizens of FATA should be given a timeline within the next 5 to 10 years whereby they can decide their constitutional status as a federally administered unit, province, or become part of NWFP.

In the field, provincial and district reconstruction teams should be formed and promoted. These teams must be ready to provide security, economic development, and a speedy makeshift judicial system in the short run. After a semblance of sustainability, the military should be replaced by police and civil bureaucracies.

In this regard, police reforms need to be implemented. The Pakistan police, created by colonial Britain to control dissenters in a rather brutal

manner, have historically been a backwater in Pakistan's national security apparatus. Until recently, salaries were dramatically lower than the military and its intelligence agencies. Vicious intelligence turf wars also exist where the big-budgeted and more influential ISI and MI suppress the Federal Investigative Agency (FIA) and the IB, and there is little to no cooperation between the police and the military.

Islamabad is also focusing its budgetary resources toward effective policing.¹¹⁹ The chief ministers of Punjab and NWFP recently announced increasing police pay by 100 percent, and there are efforts to implement a nonpartisan bill (Police Order 2002).¹²⁰ Pakistan should abet police policy-making through strengthening the police think tank, the National Police Bureau, and it should increase citizens-police liaison committees. It should buttress the FIA and IB to coordinate efforts with ISI and MI in "holding" operations after areas are cleared of insurgents. In support, U.S. congressional bills tap \$100 million toward police reform in Pakistan, and there is some effort from U.S. government agencies to train Pakistani police officers.

Pakistan's needed reforms have a long way to go before a demonstrable effect is realized. Support for them from inside Pakistan and by the world community is crucial for success.

Improve Intelligence and Information Operations. Increase the quality and exchange of intelligence across the Durand Line. Washington has come down hard on Pakistan's ISI, accusing it of abetting the Taliban—and, by extension, Al Qaeda—by allowing former ISI personnel to become AQA consultants. Islamabad has responded by appointing new ISI officers and purging the organization of jihadist-friendly ones. More is needed to control all aspects of ISI operations, including those related to external activities in Kashmir and internal meddling in local politics, with the ultimate goal of placing ISI under elected civilian control. Better intelligence cooperation will improve operations by raising the effectiveness and reliability of U.S.-Pakistan joint operations, including, but not limited to, U.S. UAV attacks. U.S. ground troops must be used as a last resort, given the nature of the local opposition in FATA and its potential spillover effects in terms of national, political, and military (including nuclear) instability.

While ISI and MI have provided extraordinary support to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, Defense Intelligence Agency, and Federal Bureau of Investigation against top Al Qaeda operations since 2001, broad joint

coordination has decreased. Pakistan's unwillingness to provide actionable intelligence against the Afghan Taliban (planning and executing attacks against U.S. forces in Afghanistan from safe havens in FATA and Baluchistan) and subsequent U.S. reliance on unmanned predator attacks against Al Qaeda and Taliban inside Pakistan (perceived to be violating its sovereignty) have widened the U.S.-Pakistan trust deficit.

On the home front, Pakistani intelligence has suffered from an 8-year-old partial national security shift from disowning former assets/clients—Taliban and by extension Al Qaeda—to training and equipping intelligence officers that would actively interdict their operations. Though they have been experts in fomenting insurgent and terrorist groups as leverage against India and its influence in Afghanistan from the late 1970s to early 2000s, Pakistani intelligence is only recently becoming effective in actionable human intelligence. Moreover, civil and military efforts at protecting civilians and growing anti-Taliban sentiment have increased the quality and quantity of human intelligence. This change is evident in better intelligence from two recent operations (Operation Lion Heart in Bajaur and Operation Righteous Path in Swat), but it is not a result of increased budget, training, and equipment, rather a realization in the military command that the Taliban may be a bigger threat than India. How long this strategic shift will last remains to be seen.

Pakistani military and civilian leaders should convince rogue ISI agents to consult with the government against AQA if financial gain is the main motive. This would bolster Pakistan's intelligence operations and weaken AQA's strong reach inside ISI's alumni network.

Pakistan's emerging COIN strategy is based on building national pride that will encourage soldiers to destroy hard-core Pakistani Taliban insurgents and protect the Pakistani people. Islamabad must devise an information campaign that starts with the current string of successes but eventually incorporates a message of American-Pakistani friendship that will resonate on the Pakistani street.

Deterrence. After the military has successfully routed out the worst of the worst through a process of political reconciliation, a massive policing effort, reconstruction of roads, hospitals, and schools should follow to deter reemergence of the Taliban and their like. The Pashtun transnational insurgency will not be quelled quietly or quickly, but a continuity of state

engagement will act as a deterrent against the insurgency's return when it is defeated by a combination of socioeconomic development, political pluralism, and judicial reforms.

The judicial system is a key factor for maintaining a visible government presence among the people. COIN in Pakistan since late 2001 has unduly focused on counterterrorism operations leading to extrajudicial detainment, rendition, and abuses.¹²¹ The famous missing-people cases brought to the Pakistani Supreme Court since 2003 became a vexing thorn between then President Pervez Musharraf and Supreme Court Chief Justice Iftikar Ali Chaudhry. This resulted in a pitched battle between the executive and judicial branches in 2007 and ended with the reinstatement of Chaudhry—who was twice removed—and the resignation of Musharraf in late 2008.

Endurance. Once a multifaceted policy is agreed upon, the difficulties in implementing it must be endured. COIN in Pakistan—now moving away from the coercion school to the hearts-and-minds school and centered on the principle of clear, hold, and build—will only succeed if all political, diplomatic, economic, military, and governance-related reforms are sustained and a long-term commitment exists from Islamabad, Washington, and other regional stakeholders.

Despite the failure of peace deals between the Pakistani Taliban and Islamabad, political reconciliation is still the only logical long-term solution for sustaining a long-term peace. Future efforts, while sensitive to local demands—for example, better governance and speedy justice—should be monitored by specific metrics for COIN success such as areas under control, economic development factors, and attacks on security personnel.

A strong trustworthy strategic relationship between the U.S. and Pakistan will be instrumental for the success of the COIN effort. Security cooperation must be founded upon Pakistan's newfound COIN strategy and change in its Uber-National Security Strategy and national defense policies. Pakistan's military-political complex is fast realizing the disadvantages of its previous COIN-FOIN paradox and is showing signs of embracing population-centric COIN against internal threats and investing heavily in nuclear weapons as deterrence against external threats.

The U.S. needs Pakistan more today than it did in late 2001. However, the new American administration has made it clear that trust will come after verification. Consequently, future American aid comes with conditions,

targets socioeconomic development of Pakistan’s northwest and northeast regions—especially prone to anti-American insurgencies. Next year, 2010, can be a watershed year in the complex U.S.-Pakistan relationship. There is strong potential for a renewed alliance that is determined to effectively interdict the Taliban-led and Al Qaeda-related transnational insurgency by simultaneously draining the swamp, protecting the population, and providing enduring socioeconomic development and governmental efficacy.

In conclusion, the transnational Pashtun insurgency can best be defeated through a reexamination of key policy assumptions and learning from past failures, notably Pakistan’s COIN-FOIN paradox. With the support and leadership of the U.S., a new regional COIN effort should be put forward to all stakeholders (e.g., Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India) with clear, realistic, and locally sensitive best practices of grand strategy COIN. ↑

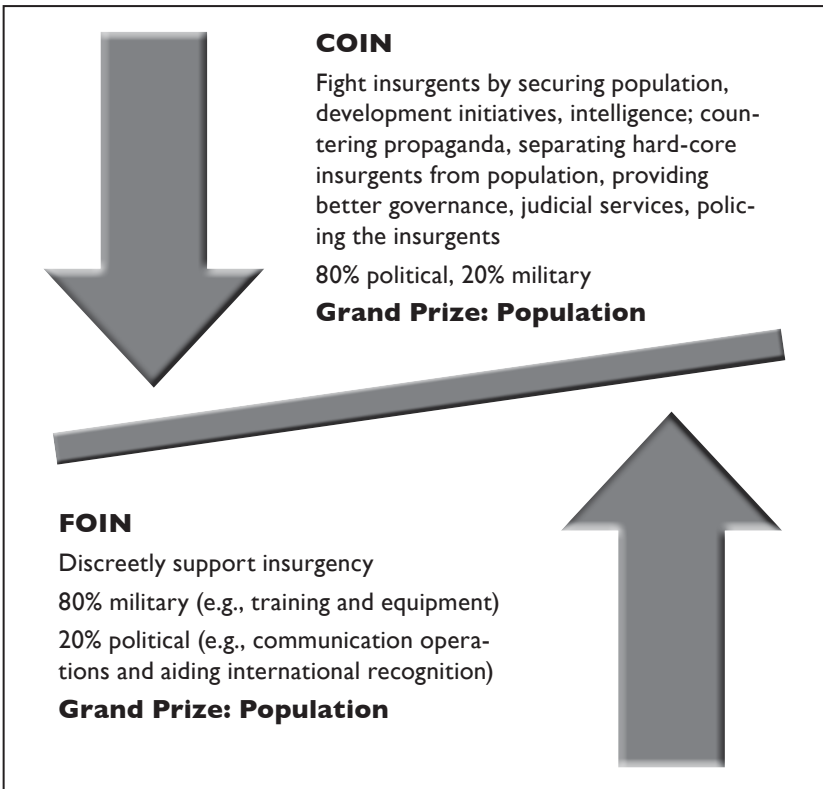


Figure 14. COIN vs. FOIN

Appendix A. Terrorist Attacks on U.S./Western Targets in Pakistan 2001 to 2008

28 October 2001 **Catholic Church, Bahawalpur**
Police personnel and 17 persons, including 5 children, killed

23 January 2002 **Karachi**
U.S. journalist Daniel Pearl abducted

17 March 2002 **Protestant Church, Islamabad**
5 persons killed

8 May 2002 **Sheraton Hotel, Karachi**
9 French and 5 Pakistanis, including the suspected suicide bomber, killed

14 June 2002 **U.S. Consulate, Karachi**
10 persons, including 5 women, killed

13 July 2002 **Archaeological site, Mansehra**
12 persons, including 7 Germans, injured

5 August 2002 **Christian Missionary School, Murree**
6 Pakistanis killed

9 August 2002 **Mission Hospital, Taxila**
3 women, 1 alleged Al Qaeda operative, killed

25 September 2002 **Idara Amn-o-Insaaf (Institute for Peace and Justice), a Christian charity, Karachi**
7 persons killed and 3 others injured

25 December 2002 **United Presbyterian Church near Sialkot, Punjab province**
3 women killed and 15 persons injured in a grenade attack

28 February 2003 **United States (U.S.) Consulate in Karachi**
Two policemen guarding the Consulate are killed and 5 others injured by an unidentified gunman

15 May 2003 **21 British and U.S. gas stations owned by Royal Dutch/Shell Group and Caltex**

5 persons injured during serial bomb blasts at 21 gas stations

3 May 2004 **Chinese nationals working on a sea-port project in Gwadar**

3 Chinese engineers killed and 11 persons, including 9 Chinese nationals, injured in a car bomb attack

26 May 2004 **Pakistan-American Cultural Centre and residence of the U.S. Consul-General in Karachi**

2 persons killed and at least 33 others, mostly police and media personnel, wounded when two car bombs explode in succession

15 November 2005 **KFC restaurant in Karachi**

At least 3 people killed and 20 others, including 2 South African women, injured in a powerful car bomb explosion in front of restaurant

2 March 2006 **U.S. Consulate in Karachi**

A U.S. diplomat—identified as David Fyfe, his Pakistani driver, and a Rangers official killed and 54 persons injured in a suicide car bombing near the U.S. Consulate

15 March 2008 **Luna Caprese restaurant in Islamabad**

A bomb blast at the Italian restaurant killed a Turkish woman, Inder Baskar, who worked for a Turkish relief agency, and wounded about 15 other foreigners, including some U.S. diplomats

2 June 2008 **Danish embassy, Islamabad**

A suspected suicide bomber blew up his car outside the Danish embassy, killing at least 8 people and injuring 30 others

- The Danish Foreign Minister said a Pakistani cleaner employed at the embassy and a Danish citizen of Pakistani origin died and 3 other local employees were injured, but the 4 Danish staffers of the embassy were unharmed
-

26 August 2008 **The U.S. Consulate's Principal Officer Lynne Tracy**

Lynne Tracy escaped a gun attack in Peshawar, capital of the NWFP; she was en route to the consulate situated on the Rehman Baba Road in a bulletproof car when gunmen opened fire

- Even as her car managed to speed away to safety, an auto-rickshaw driver was injured
-

Appendix B. Pakistan: Selected Timeline 2000 to 2008

Source: British Broadcasting Company (BBC)¹²²

2000 April	Nawaz Sharif sentenced to life imprisonment on hijacking and terrorism charges.
December	Nawaz Sharif goes into exile in Saudi Arabia after being pardoned by military authorities.
2001 June	On the 20th, General Pervez Musharraf names himself president while remaining head of the army. He replaced the figure-head president, Rafiq Tarar, who vacated his position earlier in the day after the parliament that elected him was dissolved.
July	Musharraf meets Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee in the first summit between the two neighbors in more than 2 years. The meeting ends without a breakthrough or even a joint statement because of differences over Kashmir.
September	Musharraf swings in behind the U.S. in its fight against terrorism and supports attacks on Afghanistan. U.S. lifts some sanctions imposed after Pakistan's nuclear tests in 1998, but retains others put in place after Musharraf's coup.

Kashmir tensions

2001 October	India fires on Pakistani military posts in the heaviest firing along the dividing line of control in Kashmir for almost a year.
December	India imposes sanctions against Pakistan to force it to take action against two Kashmir militant groups blamed for a suicide attack on parliament in New Dehli. Pakistan retaliates with similar sanctions. India, Pakistan mass troops along common border amid mounting fears of a looming war.
2002 January	President Musharraf bans two militant groups—Lashkar-e-Toiba and Jaish-e-Mohammad—and takes steps to curb religious extremism. Musharraf announces that elections will be held in October 2002 to end 3 years of military rule.
April	Musharraf wins another 5 years in office in a referendum criticized as unconstitutional and fraught with irregularities.

May 14 people, including 11 French technicians, are killed in a suicide attack on a bus in Karachi. The following month 12 people are killed in a suicide attack outside the U.S. consulate in the city.

Missile tests

2002 May Pakistan test fires three medium-range surface-to-surface Ghauri missiles, which are capable of carrying nuclear warheads. Musharraf tells nation that Pakistan does not want war but is ready to respond with full force if attacked.

June Britain and U.S. maintain diplomatic offensive to avert war, urge their citizens to leave India and Pakistan.

August President Musharraf grants himself sweeping new powers, including the right to dismiss an elected parliament. Opposition forces accuse Musharraf of perpetuating dictatorship.

October First general election since the 1999 military coup results in a hung parliament. Parties haggle over the make-up of a coalition. Religious parties fare better than expected.

November Mir Zafarullah Jamali is selected as prime minister by the National Assembly. He is the first civilian premier since the 1999 military coup and a member of a party close to General Musharraf.

2003 February In Senate elections, the ruling party win most seats in voting to the upper house. Elections are said to be the final stage of what President Musharraf calls transition to democracy.

June NWFP votes to introduce Sharia law.

Kashmir ceasefire

2003 November Pakistan declares a Kashmir ceasefire, which is swiftly matched by India.

December Pakistan and India agree to resume direct air links and to allow overflights of each other's planes from the beginning of 2004 after 2-year ban.

President Musharraf survives an attempt on his life; bombs explode under a bridge seconds after his car passes over it.

2004 February Leading nuclear scientist Dr Abdul Qadeer Khan admits to having leaked nuclear weapons secrets. Technology is said to have been transferred to Libya, North Korea, and Iran.

April Parliament approves creation of military-led National Security Council. Move institutionalizes role of armed forces in civilian affairs.

May Pakistan is re-admitted to the Commonwealth.

	Factional violence in Karachi: senior Sunni cleric shot dead; bomb attack on Shia mosque kills 16, injures 40.
June	Military offensive near Afghan border against suspected Al Qaeda militants and their supporters after attacks on check-points. Earlier offensive, in March, left more than 120 dead.
August	Shaukat Aziz is sworn in as prime minister. In July he escaped unhurt from an apparent assassination attempt.
December	President Musharraf says he will stay on as head of the army having previously promised to relinquish the role.
2005 January	Tribal militants in Balochistan attack facilities at Pakistan's largest natural gas field, forcing closure of main plant.
April	On the 7th, bus services—the first in 60 years—operate between Muzaffarabad in Pakistani-administered Kashmir and Srinagar in Indian-controlled Kashmir. More than 200 suspected Islamic extremists are detained at premises that include religious schools and mosques. The move comes after deadly attacks in the British capital; three of the bombers visited Pakistan in 2004.
August	Pakistan tests its first nuclear-capable cruise missile.
Kashmir quake	
2005 October	On the 8th, an earthquake—with its epicenter in Pakistani-administered Kashmir—kills tens of thousands of people. The city of Muzaffarabad is among the worst hit areas.
2006 January	Up to 18 people are killed in a U.S. missile strike, apparently targeting senior Al Qaeda figures, on a border village in the north.
February	More than 30 people are killed in a suspected suicide bomb attack and ensuing violence at a Shia Muslim procession in the northwest.
April	A suspected double suicide bombing kills at least 57 people at a Sunni Muslim ceremony in Karachi.
August	Security forces kill prominent Balochistan tribal leader, Nawab Akbar Bugti. Protests over his death turn violent.
October	A raid on an Islamic seminary in the tribal area of Bajaur bordering Afghanistan kills up to 80 people, sparking antigovernment protests. The army says the madrassa was a training camp for militants.
December	Pakistan says it has successfully test-fired a short-range missile capable of carrying a nuclear warhead.

2007 January	Islamabad rejects an assertion by the head of U.S. National Intelligence that Al Qaeda leaders are hiding out in Pakistan.
January–June	Tension mounts between the government and the radical Red Mosque in Islamabad.
February	Bombings in different parts of the country, including at Islamabad’s Marriott Hotel and the international airport, kill a number of people. 68 passengers, most of them Pakistanis, are killed by bomb blasts and a blaze on a train travelling between the Indian capital New Delhi and the Pakistani city of Lahore. Pakistan and India sign an agreement aimed at reducing the risk of accidental nuclear war.
March	President Musharraf suspends the Chief Justice Iftikhar Mohammed Chaudhry, triggering a wave of anger across the country. First joint protests held by the parties of exiled former Prime Ministers Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif.
March–April	Officials say around 250 people have been killed in fighting between South Waziristan tribesmen and foreign militants said to be linked to Al Qaeda.
May	Several are killed in Karachi during rival demonstrations over dismissal of Chief Justice Chaudhry. Subsequent strikes paralyze much of the country. A bomb blast in a hotel in Peshawar kills 24.
June	President Musharraf extends media controls to include the Internet and mobile phones amid a growing challenge to his rule.
July	Security forces storm the Red Mosque complex in Islamabad following a week-long siege. Supreme Court reinstates Chief Justice Chaudhry. Ms. Bhutto, President Musharraf hold a secret meeting in Abu Dhabi on a possible power-sharing deal.
August	Supreme Court rules Nawaz Sharif can return from exile.
September	Mr. Sharif returns but is sent back to exile within hours.
October	Musharraf wins most votes in presidential election. The Supreme Court says no winner can be formally announced until it rules if the general was eligible to stand for election while still army chief.

- Nearly 200 people die in fighting with Islamic militants in North Waziristan, stronghold of pro-Taliban and Al Qaida groups.
- Ex-Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto returns from exile. Dozens of people die in a suicide bomb targeting her homecoming parade in Karachi.
- November General Musharraf declares emergency rule while still awaiting Supreme Court ruling on whether he was eligible to run for reelection. Chief Justice Chaudhry is dismissed. Ms. Bhutto is briefly placed under house arrest.
- A caretaker government is sworn in.
- New Supreme Court—now staffed with compliant judges—dismisses challenges to Musharraf's reelection.
- Pakistan's Chief Election Commissioner announces that general elections are to be held 8 January 2008.
- Nawaz Sharif returns from exile again.
- Musharraf resigns from army post and is sworn in for second term as President.
- December On the 15th, the state of emergency is lifted.
- On the 27th at an election campaign rally in Rawalpindi, Benazir Bhutto is assassinated.
- 2008 January Elections are postponed to 18 February.
- Suicide bomber kills more than 20 police officers gathered outside the High Court in Lahore ahead of an antigovernment rally.
- Up to 90 fighters are killed in clashes in the tribal region of South Waziristan, near the Afghan border, where militants have been openly challenging the army.
- February In parliamentary elections, the two main opposition parties gain a clear majority. They later agree to form a coalition government.
- March Pakistan People's Party (PPP) nominee Yusuf Raza Gillani becomes prime minister.
- May The disgraced Pakistani nuclear scientist, Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan, says allegations he passed on nuclear secrets are false and that he was made a scapegoat.
- August The two main governing parties agree to launch impeachment proceedings against President Musharraf.
- Mr. Musharraf resigns. Senate Speaker Muhammad Sumroo becomes acting President.

PPP leader Asif Ali Zardari—Benazir Bhutto’s widow—says he will be the party’s candidate in the presidential election set for 6 September.

Former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif pulls his PML-N out of the coalition government, accusing the PPP of breaking its promise to approve the reinstatement of all judges sacked by former President Pervez Musharraf.

September Asif Ali Zardari elected by legislators as Pakistan’s new President.

Marriott Hotel in Islamabad is devastated in a suicide truck bombing that leaves at least 50 dead. An Islamist militant group claims responsibility.

October Earthquake in southwestern province of Balochistan leaves hundreds dead.

November President Zardari warns the U.S. military that missile strikes on Pakistani territory are counterproductive.

The government borrows billions of dollars from the International Monetary Fund to overcome its spiraling debt crisis.

December India says militants who carried out the Mumbai terrorist attacks in November had Pakistani links, and it urges Pakistani action. Islamabad denies any involvement in the attacks but promises to cooperate with the Indian investigation.

2009 February Government agrees to implement Sharia law in northwestern Swat Valley in an effort to persuade Islamist militants there to agree to permanent ceasefire.

March Gunmen in Lahore attack a bus carrying the Sri Lankan cricket team. Five police officers are killed and seven players injured.

After days of public protests, the government gives in to opposition demands and announces the reinstatement of sacked former Chief Justice, Iftikhar Chaudhry and other judges dismissed by former President Pervez Musharraf. The main opposition leader, Nawaz Sharif, calls off a mass protest march.

At least 40 people are killed when gunmen storm a police academy in Lahore.

April Swat agreement breaks down after Taliban-linked militants seek to extend their power base. Government attempts to reimpose its writ over northwestern districts controlled by militants.

July The Pakistani and Indian prime ministers pledge to work together to fight terrorism at a meeting in Egypt irrespective of

- progress on improving broader relations. The Supreme Court acquits opposition leader Nawaz Sharif of hijacking charges, removing the final ban on his running for public office.
- August Pakistan issues a global alert for 13 suspects over November's attacks in the Indian city of Mumbai. Interpol said the alert asks member countries for help in locating the fugitives and to report any leads to Pakistan. President Zardari orders the suspension of judges appointed under emergency rule in 2007, after the Supreme Court ruled the emergency declared by former President Musharraf to have been unconstitutional.
- The leader of Pakistan's Taliban, Baitullah Mehsud, reported dead in U.S. drone attack. Ali Sher Hyderi, head of Pakistan's largest extremist organization Sipah-e-Sahaba, killed by militants.
- October New Taliban leader Hakimullah Mehsud meets journalists from his clan in South Waziristan to counter reports of his death. He pledges revenge for the drone attack that killed Baitullah Mehsud.

Endnotes

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 - c. United Nations Accessibility Map 2008: East and South Afghanistan, available at [www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWFiles2009.nsf/FilesByRWDocUnidFilename/SNAA-7V9345-full_report.pdf/\\$File/full_report.pdf](http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWFiles2009.nsf/FilesByRWDocUnidFilename/SNAA-7V9345-full_report.pdf/$File/full_report.pdf), slide 29; accessed October 2009.
3. Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Mohammadi is a local insurgent group demanding Sharia (Islamic law) in place of the Pakistani constitutional legal system in the Malakand Division of Pakistan, near the tribal areas and home to the Swat Valley. The February 2009 Swat peace selectively cedes to TSNM demands.
4. AQA refers to a virtual network of local, regional, and global extremist Islamist groups using chaos and violence to further common religio-political goals.
The Durand Line is the de facto border between Afghanistan and Pakistan that was drawn up by Sir Durand in 1890 in hopes of making Afghanistan a buffer state between Tsarist Russia and British India.
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Mary Louise Kelly, "With New Boss, Gates Shifts Focus to Afghanistan," *NPR*, 27 January 2009, available at www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=99906717; accessed October 2009.

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See *U.S. Government Counterinsurgency Guide*, United States Government Initiative, January 2009, www.state.gov/documents/organization/119629.pdf; accessed October 2009.
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See International Council on Security and Development (ICOS) press release, “Eight years after 9/11 Taliban now has a permanent presence in 80% of Afghanistan,” available at www.icosgroup.net/modules/press_releases/eight_years_after_911; accessed October 2009.
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Anthony H. Cordesman, “Total U.S. Casualties: Patterns in Total KIA and WIA in Iraq and Afghanistan 2001-2008” in *The Afghan-Pakistan War: The Rising Threat: 2002-2008*, CSIS, 11 February 2009, p. 37. (“KIA” is Killed in Action, and “WIA” is Wounded in Action.)
Also Jason H. Campbell and Jeremy Shapiro, *Afghanistan Index: Tracking Variables of Reconstruction and Security in Post 9/11 Afghanistan*, Brookings, 23 September 2009, p. 5, available at www.brookings.edu/foreign-policy/~media/Files/Programs/FP/afghanistan%20index/index.pdf; accessed October 2009.
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 - a. Stephen P. Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2006).
 - b. Husain Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2005).
 - c. Dennis Kux, *The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies* (Washington, D.C.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).
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