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Pakistan

Can the United States Secure an Insecure State?

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Preface

Pakistan is pivotal to key U.S. security interests. This book is intended to help policymakers and analysts understand the security challenges inherent in and emanating from Pakistan as of this writing (August 2009). The authors exposit likely developments in Pakistan's internal and external security environments within the next ten years; assess Pakistan's national will and capacity to solve its problems, especially those relating to security; describe U.S. interests in Pakistan; and suggest policies for the U.S. government to pursue to secure these interests. The book concludes with a number of recommendations for the U.S. government and the U.S. Air Force concerning how the United States could forge a broad yet effective relationship with this complicated state.

This current effort is part of a larger body of RAND research on South Asia, including

- *The Counterterror Coalitions: Cooperation with Pakistan and India*, by C. Christine Fair, MG-141-AF, 2004.
- *Limited Conflicts Under the Nuclear Umbrella: Indian and Pakistani Lessons from the Kargil Crisis*, by Ashley J. Tellis, C. Christine Fair, and Jamison Jo Medby, MR-1450-USCA, 2001.
- *Securing Tyrants or Fostering Reform? U.S. Internal Security Assistance to Repressive and Transitioning Regimes*, by Seth G. Jones, Olga Oliker, Peter Chalk, C. Christine Fair, Rollie Lal, and James Dobbins, MG-550-OSI, 2006.
- *Stability in South Asia*, by Ashley J. Tellis, DB-185-A, 1997.

- *War and Escalation in South Asia*, by John E. Peters, James Dickens, Derek Eaton, C. Christine Fair, Nina Hachigian, Theodore W. Karasik, Rollie Lal, Rachel M. Swanger, Gregory F. Treverton, and Charles Wolf Jr., MG-367-1-AF, 2006.

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Summary

In the days following the tragic events of 9/11, Pakistan became a crucial partner in the U.S. counterattack on al Qaeda and al Qaeda's ally, the Afghan Taliban. Pakistan permitted the United States to use its airspace; granted overland access to Afghanistan; and employed its army, police, and paramilitary organizations to capture al Qaeda activists. With the resurgence of the Afghan Taliban in Afghanistan in 2005, the United States refocused on stabilizing Afghanistan. It began pressuring Islamabad to counter the Afghan Taliban, which had ensconced themselves in the tribal areas along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. To secure Pakistan's cooperation in pursuit of U.S. policy goals, the United States provided the country some \$11 billion in assistance between September 11, 2001, and the end of 2008.

Despite this largesse, Pakistan has become more—not less—insecure; anti-Americanism has intensified, rather than diminished. Despite its early commitments to fighting al Qaeda, Pakistan has been hesitant to prosecute the fight against the Afghan Taliban; some of the military and political leadership of the Afghan Taliban openly operates out of the Pakistani cities of Quetta, Peshawar, and Karachi. While Pakistan has lost more military, paramilitary, and police personnel than any other ally, disturbing reports continue to surface about Pakistan's continued support for the Afghan Taliban. The use of militant groups, including the Taliban, has remained an important instrument for Pakistan's security forces in its regional strategy. In recent years, Pakistan moderated but did not eliminate support for jihadi groups that had focused on Kashmir. Many of these groups have relocated to

the tribal areas, from which they stage attacks in Afghanistan and Pakistan. From 2004 to the time of this writing,¹ Pakistani security forces have launched various campaigns to oust Pakistani Taliban from parts of the tribal areas and the Northwest Frontier Province.

Although the Musharraf era came to an end in 2008 and the country returned to civilian rule, it is uncertain whether the current change will prove enduring or whether Pakistan will follow its historical pattern of alternating between civilian and military rule. The ability of Pakistan to combat militants is questionable, as are the country's economic prospects. These problems persist alongside concerns about nuclear proliferation from Pakistan. Because of this combination of concerns about nuclear proliferation and stability, Pakistan's role as sanctuary for al Qaeda and Afghan insurgents, and political instability, calls are mounting in the United States for a new approach to Pakistan.

The broad expanse of U.S.-Pakistan engagement shows that both countries hold a fundamentally different hierarchy of goals that each seeks to secure through engagement. Until very recently, Washington has not tried to persuade Islamabad to reorder its goals or at least to be more engaged in helping Washington achieve its goals in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the wider region in exchange for U.S. financial assistance. Yet, until U.S. and Pakistani goals are brought into greater alignment and unless meaningful progress is made in securing critical U.S. interests, Washington may grow increasingly disinclined to lavish Islamabad with financial inducements and may even conclude that Pakistan is an unsuitable partner for some or all forms of U.S. allurements.

Where Is Pakistan Heading?

Arguably, a Pakistan at peace with itself and with its neighbors is a necessary but insufficient condition for security in South Asia. Yet it is far from clear that such a future is possible for Pakistan, even though

¹ August 2009.

it is perhaps optimal. The most likely near-term future is a Pakistan that “muddles” along, neither failing outright nor managing to right its course. Less likely futures include an increasingly theocratic or Islamist state or even a breakup of the state itself. More likely, Pakistan may evolve into a praetorian and authoritarian state tightly under the control of the military and intelligence agencies. All of these options augur more instability inside and outside Pakistan and merit significant efforts to retard their eventuation.

While a stable Pakistan is the preferred outcome to minimize the threats within and emanating from Pakistan, the country’s troublesome past and contemporary problems suggest that it is likely to continue to be politically unstable, engage in dangerous attempts to alter the territorial status quo with India, interfere in Afghanistan, and rely upon militants as a tool of foreign policy. Pakistani military and civilian elites are divided over who should wield power and how. High illiteracy rates and poor health care combine to cloud Pakistan’s future. The influx of poor and poorly educated young men into the labor force provides fodder for militant radicalization. Wide disparities in income contribute to political instability. The surge in food and energy prices on international markets in 2007 and 2008 led to popular unrest.

However, not all is dark. Population growth has slowed. Pakistanis are slowly becoming better educated. Economic growth accelerated between 2000 and 2007, in great part because of improved economic policies, as the Pakistani government has haltingly liberalized the economy and privatized state-owned enterprises. Employment had grown substantially. The Persian Gulf provided an outlet for poorer, less well-educated Pakistanis to find work. Remittances had boosted living standards sharply in the home districts of these expatriate workers. More recently, the decline in international prices of fuels and food have made these products more affordable. The key question is how quickly Pakistan can restore rapid growth following the balance-of-payments crisis in fall 2008 and the global economic recession.

Pakistan's Ability to Mitigate Sources of Insecurity

On its own, Pakistan is poorly positioned to contend with its perceived external threats. Unfortunately, Pakistani leaders are unlikely to fundamentally reconsider the way they view their neighborhood. Neither India nor Afghanistan currently has an interest in or faces the necessity to acquiesce to Pakistan's territorial demands. India, in particular, contends that Pakistani claims to Kashmir are illegitimate and tends to argue that Pakistan's fears of India are ill-founded. India rightly notes that Pakistan has commenced every war between the two with the exception of the 1971 war and has been primarily responsible for the enduring proxy war over Kashmir. Afghanistan's reluctance to recognize its border with Pakistan and episodic irredentist claims on Pakistan's Pashtun territories serve to exacerbate the insecurities of Pakistan's leaders. Many of Pakistan's security and military elites have yet to conclude that militant groups endanger the Pakistani state and therefore pose more harm than good to supreme national interests. This view lingers because many within the security forces still see militant groups as a useful instrument to keep Afghanistan and India off balance. In light of the existential nature of Pakistan's concerns, Pakistan's leaders are likely to continue policies of subconventional warfare absent a concerted international effort to make such policies more costly to Pakistan.

Notwithstanding elegant political rhetoric, many political elites have been reluctant to embrace their own war on terror, even though the state itself has been targeted by militants. Until recently, rather than trying to extirpate internal threats, Pakistan's leaders often attempted to placate these groups. Such decisionmaking was based on the belief that the state has been targeted because of its alliance with the United States, not because militant groups wish to take power. Some of Pakistan's leaders believed the danger from militants would disappear if Islamabad were to step back from Washington's embrace. More recently, some Pakistani officials and analysts have called for the need to counter the threat posed by militants. Beginning in April 2009, operations in the Swat valley and southern Waziristan are per-

haps outcomes of this putative change in beliefs about Pakistan's internal threats.

Unfortunately, even if the entire Pakistani government resolved to eliminate the threats it faces, it lacks the ability to do so effectively. The armed forces are not trained or proficient in counterinsurgency operations; the country lacks a competent domestic intelligence agency geared toward fighting militancy; and Pakistan's police are poorly trained, ill-equipped, and often corrupt. Indeed, the country's entire system of justice is decrepit. To achieve constitutional rule of law, politicians will need to seriously address the failings of the system of justice.

If the Pakistani state is to become healthier, military and civilian elites will have to agree on the constitutional basis for running the country and rigorously commit to upholding the constitution. Such steps most certainly include competent civilian control over the military. If the military remains chastened and if the civilian political elite refrains from turning to the military to advance its own intrigues, Pakistan could enter an extended period of civilian rule. However, based on Pakistan's history, the country's ruling elites are more likely to resort to business as usual unless they experience a major shock.

On a more positive note, Pakistan's armed forces appear to have developed procedures and systems to better prevent the proliferation of nuclear materials unsanctioned by the state. Pakistan's armed forces have shown no interest in letting subnational groups obtain nuclear materials or technologies. They have been interested in securing "stand-off" assistance from the United States to improve nuclear security. Such assistance would allow Pakistan to ensure that the United States gains little visibility into the program.

Pakistan will not only need to continue to follow prudent macro-economic policies, including adherence to the terms of its Standby Agreement with the International Monetary Fund, it will also need to invest more in infrastructure, especially roads and electric power, if growth is to rebound from the current downturn. More and more-effective public spending on education and health care is also needed if Pakistan's human capital is to be improved. The Pakistani government does not currently have institutions, policies, or procedures in place to make these improvements.

How Effective Have U.S. Policies Toward Pakistan Been?

Despite Washington's provision of considerable assistance, the United States and Pakistan have different goals concerning Afghanistan and the numerous militant groups operating in and from Pakistan. The last eight years have seen too few returns on the massive U.S. expenditures on Pakistan. While Pakistan's military has provided sporadic support against al Qaeda, it stands accused of facilitating the Taliban's efforts to regain power in Afghanistan. The military has failed to pursue policies that would advance security in the region, owing to shortcomings both in political will and capability.

Pakistan's military has little enthusiasm for counterinsurgency. In addition, it faces institutional motivations to sabotage peace overtures to its neighbors. If civilians are able to hold on to power and take a more assertive role in formulating Pakistan's security policy, Pakistan may be able to adopt more-peaceful policies toward its neighbors.

Pakistan and the United States have not yet forged a consensus on goals and how to use the resources available to achieve these goals. Regrettably, the United States has not seriously held Pakistan accountable for its activities and policies that undermine U.S. policy objectives in Afghanistan and elsewhere, fearing that reproof will cause Pakistan to cease cooperating with the United States even on the limited basis that it currently does. Part of the failure was due to the U.S. focus on Pres. (and Gen.) Pervez Musharraf and the Pakistan Army. But after eight years of U.S. funding to Pakistan, we have seen that possibly no amount of money could have convinced Pakistan's government to engage in effective and comprehensive counterinsurgency operations.

The United States has not invested in building a civilian government in Pakistan. U.S. funding to enhance civilian capabilities through investments in the police and rule of law, the parliament, and human development has been relatively small. U.S. assistance programs need to be better configured to meet these needs and contribute to the social and political development of Pakistan.

A New Approach to Pakistan

After more than eight years of ad-hoc U.S. engagement of Pakistan focused upon an individual (Musharraf) and his institution (the Pakistan Army), the United States undertook a number of reviews of the “Afghanistan-Pakistan Problem.” The newly elected Obama administration tasked Bruce Reidel to conduct a review of reviews that culminated in a white paper.² The strategy that emerged from this process identified the problem of “Af-Pak” and suggested that Pakistan must be stabilized to stabilize Afghanistan. While that document identified a set of strategic priorities with respect to Afghanistan, a new approach to Pakistan was only adumbrated.

Moreover, the document stepped back from some of the more-expansive notions laid out by then-presidential candidate Barack Obama. During the campaign, Obama stressed the need for a regional solution that recognized the role of the Indo-Pakistan security competition in stabilizing the region. However, neither the white paper nor the remit of Special Envoy to the “region” Richard Holbrooke includes this mandate, in large measure because of the efforts of the well-healed Indian lobby.³ It is not obvious how a regional approach that is not genuinely *regional* will prevail.

Our book compliments and advances some of the concepts in that white paper while proposing other initiatives not addressed in that document. We argue, as does the white paper, that the U.S. government should adopt policies that permit the United States to engage more effectively with Pakistan to secure mutual security interests. However, we further argue that the strategy should be officially reoriented to focus upon Pakistan, rather than Afghanistan. New policies should include the following:

- Develop a strategic framework to guide and restructure the relationship with Pakistan.

² White House, “White Paper of the Interagency Policy Group’s Report on U.S. Policy Toward Afghanistan and Pakistan,” March 27, 2009.

³ Laura Rozen, “India’s Stealth Lobbying Against Holbrooke’s Brief,” *Cable*, January 23, 2009.

- Provide assistance for the development of civilian institutions and of Pakistan's civil society.
- Avoid the temptation to support a "strong man" to pursue U.S. interests.
- Restructure military assistance:
 - Rules concerning Coalition Support Funds should be tightened and rigorously enforced to make Pakistan more accountable for how it spends these funds.
 - Sales or grants of major weapon systems should be a conditional reward for actual cooperation, not an inducement for desired cooperation.
 - Communicate the desire to forge a lasting relationship with the military in the context of developing civilian control, including pursuit of a status of forces agreement (SOFA). Pakistani rejections of a SOFA may indicate Islamabad's actual unwillingness to forge a strategic relationship with the United States despite claims to the contrary.
- Develop a regional strategy that quietly emphasizes a Pakistan-India and a Pakistan-Afghanistan rapprochement while signaling the U.S. commitment to remain in Afghanistan. India's involvement in the region is critical to stabilizing the region, and, therefore, India needs to be engaged. However, India should be brought into this regional problem in a way that does not rehyphenate U.S. relations with both India and Pakistan.⁴

These policies should be implemented concurrently to the best extent possible. (See pp. 181–197.)

Recommendations for the U.S. Air Force

The U.S. Air Force can make a unique contribution to U.S. policy toward Pakistan. While Pakistan's military forces are dominated by

⁴ For a discussion of "de-hyphenation," see C. Christine Fair, *The Counterterror Coalitions: Cooperation with Pakistan and India*, Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, MG-141-AF, 2004a.

the army, the U.S. Air Force can improve the U.S. government's understanding of Pakistani Air Force personnel, especially leaders; capabilities; and, perhaps most importantly, how Pakistani Air Force personnel perceive their strategic situation by interacting more through exchanges, training, and exercises. The U.S. Air Force should review the Military Personnel Exchange Program, the Attaché Program, and the International Affairs Specialist Program to increase the focus of each program on Pakistan.

The U.S. Air Force, like the rest of the U.S. armed forces, would benefit from a greater understanding of Pakistani society, the history of the U.S.-Pakistani relationship, and the operating environment in and around Pakistan. The U.S. Air Force would benefit from putting more resources into building and maintaining knowledge about Pakistan. The International Airman program will help but is too limited.

The U.S. Air Force can improve the Pakistani military's capability to conduct counterinsurgency operations by providing equipment and training. Pakistan has been a strong contributor to international peacekeeping and humanitarian operations. U.S. Air Force training can help Pakistan maintain and even enhance its capabilities in these areas. The U.S. Air Force should also consider increasing the number and duration of training events in Pakistan and with Pakistani officers in the United States. In addition to such high-profile events as RED FLAG, the U.S. Air Force, along with the other services, should do what it can to bring Pakistanis to the United States. The U.S. Air Force should support increasing the number of slots available through the International Military Education and Training grant program and other programs. Finally, given the dominance of the Pakistan Army over Pakistan's other armed forces, the United States should communicate the importance of "jointness" across the services. (See pp. 197–201.)

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Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
ANP	Awami National Party
BCC	Border Control Center
CSF	Coalition Support Fund
DCG	Defense Consultative Group
DFID	Department of International Development
DoD	Department of Defense
DSCA	Defense Security Cooperation Agency (U.S. Department of Defense)
ESF	Economic Support Fund
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
FC	Frontier Corps
FCR	Frontier Crimes Regulation
FMF	Foreign Military Financing
FMS	foreign military sales
FY	fiscal year
GAO	U.S. Government Accountability Office

GDP	gross domestic product
HM	Hizbul Mujahideen
HQ	Headquarters
HUA	Harkat ul Ansar
HUJI	Harkat ul Jihad Islami
HUM	Harket ul Mujahideen
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IMET	International Military Education and Training
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRI	International Republican Institute
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force (NATO's force in Afghanistan)
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence
JI	Jamaat-e-Islami
JM	Jaish-e-Mohammad
JUI	Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam
JUI-F	Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam (Fazlur Rehman)
JUI-S	Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam (Sami ul Haq)
JWG-CTLE	Joint Working Group on Counter-Terrorism and Law Enforcement
LeT	Lashkar-e-Taiba
LNO	liaison officer
MMA	Muttahida-Majlis-e-Amal
MQM	Muttehida Quami Mahaz

NCA	National Command Authority
NPT	Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty
NWFP	North-West Frontier Province
PAF	Project AIR FORCE
PEACE	Pakistan Enduring Assistance and Cooperation Enhancement
PIPA	Program on International Policy Attitudes
PLA	China's People's Liberation Army
PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PML-Q	Pakistan Muslim-League-Quaid-e-Azim
PNRA	Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority
PPP	Pakistan's People's Party
SBA	Stand-By Agreement
SOFA	status of forces agreement
SPD	Strategic Plans Division
SPDC	Social Policy and Development Centre
SSG	Special Services Group
SSP	Sipah-e-Sahaba-e-Pakistan
TAPI	Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India pipeline
TNSM	Movement for the Enforcement of Islamic Laws
TTP	Taliban Movement of Pakistan
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

Introduction

Purpose

The events of 9/11 again focused Washington's attention on Pakistan, a country that had been subjected to layers of sanctions and had teetered precariously toward international pariah status because it had tested nuclear weapons, been engaged in the proliferation of nuclear and missile technologies, been subjected to several military coups, and supported militant groups that terrorized its neighbors. The 9/11 attacks and the subsequent U.S. decision to oust the Taliban regime in Afghanistan permitted Pakistan to become, virtually overnight, one of the United States' most important allies in what has become known as the "global war on terror" or "overseas contingency operations."¹ Pakistan's value to the United States was evident. Its proximity to Afghanistan, long-standing policy of intervening in its neighbors' domestic affairs, and professional army made Pakistan a critical partner for the

¹ In summer 2001, there was an interagency review that concluded that the United States should lift sanctions against India for its nuclear tests of 1998. As a result of this review, the U.S. government chose to lift Glenn-Symington sanctions related to India's 1998 nuclear test. Such a move would allow more rapid expansion in U.S.-Indian military and strategic ties. At the same time, the interagency process concluded that the United States should also remove the test-related sanctions against Pakistan with the understanding that the other sanctions would remain in place. Since the other sanctions duplicated many—but not all—of the restrictions, Pakistan would benefit very little from this policy change. In contrast, had Washington lifted the test-related sanctions against India alone, Pakistan (and the rest of the international community) may have seen such a move as deeply inequitable as it was India that initiated the 1998 reciprocal nuclear tests. For a longer discussion on this topic, see Fair, 2004a.

United States' and, later, NATO's efforts in Afghanistan to hunt down and destroy al Qaeda and apparently irreconcilable elements of the Taliban.

Five years after initial U.S. operations in Afghanistan, the United States and NATO began to meet growing resistance, in part because U.S. forces and resources had been diverted from Afghanistan to Iraq. The tribal regions on Afghanistan's border with Pakistan had become havens for the Afghan Taliban and al Qaeda. Throughout 2007 and 2008, official testimony and leaks from U.S. intelligence and other U.S. governmental agencies about Pakistan's active support for the Afghan Taliban rocked the U.S.-Pakistan relationship. Since then, Pakistan has drawn widespread scrutiny about its role in the Afghan conflict. The nature and volume of U.S. support for Pakistan and the soundness of the U.S.-Pakistan relationship are currently being questioned.

Despite Pakistan's reluctance to turn against the Taliban, the United States will find it difficult to walk away from the country and will do so only at great geopolitical cost. Militant groups based in the tribal regions and throughout the country, Pakistan's nuclear arsenal, and past Pakistani government willingness to provide nuclear technologies to other governments make Pakistan a danger to U.S. and regional security. Pakistan's internal instability is also cause for concern. Pakistan's relationship with India remains fraught with tensions. The Indo-Pakistan security competition has complicated regional politics and U.S. and NATO operations in Afghanistan. As the second-largest Muslim nation after Indonesia, Pakistan is also important as the United States and other Western nations seek to improve their image in the Muslim world. Anti-Americanism is pervasive in Pakistan despite U.S. assistance totaling more than \$11 billion since 9/11.

Pakistan's problems are historical and structural. It split from India when both countries gained independence from British rule in 1947. At the time, Pakistan was conceived as a natural home for India's large Muslim population, though not necessarily as a Muslim state. Since independence, Pakistan has been chronically unstable, alternating between civilian and military rule and experiencing perpetual difficulties with separatist movements—not only in the tribal areas, but also in Baluchistan. As a result of this instability, Pakistan has

remained poor. Living standards now lag behind India's; prior to partition, they were higher in West Pakistan than the average for the rest of British India.

After 9/11, the United States began a generous—albeit transactional—program of military and economic aid. In 2004, Washington designated Pakistan a “major non-NATO ally,” which afforded Islamabad expedited access to spare parts and other military supplies. Most U.S. aid was designed to induce Pakistan's military to cooperate in the fight against al Qaeda and the Afghan Taliban operating in the tribal areas. Military assistance has been complemented by economic assistance intended to raise living standards in hopes that militancy would decline. While U.S. military assistance has proven the more controversial, all these programs have been criticized for being ineffective.

Inspired by frustration with Pakistan's own inability and unwillingness to clamp down comprehensively on militants within its borders, the United States has carried out military strikes in Pakistan's tribal areas. These attacks have riled Pakistanis, fueling anger at the Pakistani government for its inability to prevent U.S. attacks. Some Pakistanis have criticized their government for being unable to control the rising tide of militants. While some of the U.S. unilateral attacks target the same militants that Pakistan itself claims to be fighting, the strikes have complicated U.S.-Pakistan relations. They have diminished the value of other U.S. efforts, including economic and military assistance. Yet, as long as militants have a safe haven in Pakistan, Afghanistan is vulnerable to attacks. As long as Pakistan is unable to control the tribal areas, pressure for U.S. operations will continue.

These considerations have prompted calls for a reconsideration of U.S. strategy toward Pakistan. A growing number of observers believe that U.S. strategy would be more effective if aid were conditioned on progress on combating al Qaeda and militants and if U.S. efforts were more focused on stabilizing and developing Pakistan's democratic political institutions and economy.

Pakistan's future remains uncertain. Although the Musharraf era came to an end in 2008 and the country has returned to civilian rule, that change may not prove enduring. Pakistan may follow its histori-

cal pattern of alternating between civilian and military rule. Whether Pakistan will seriously combat militancy is also unsure, as are the country's economic prospects.

Organization

This book describes Pakistan's likely future course so as to inform U.S. efforts to achieve an effective foreign policy strategy toward the country. It concludes with options for making U.S. policy more effective.

Following this introduction, the book examines trends in key areas of Pakistan's political, military, and economic landscape. This chapter begins with an overview of Pakistan's political developments, identifying the major patterns in Pakistan's political history and explaining the forces that drive them. Pakistan's army has played a central role in the country's politics throughout its history. That role and the army itself are given special consideration, as is Pakistan's nuclear program. Alongside political and military factors, demographic and economic forces will also play a key role in the evolution of Pakistan's future politics. Key demographic and economic trends are examined at the end of Chapter Two.

Chapter Three turns to the question of Pakistan's own policy choices. It assesses the capabilities and effectiveness of Pakistan's government, the government's choice of policies, and its future options. Pakistan's own efforts to create a democracy have been lackluster, in part because of the army's institutional interests and the Pakistani elite's ambivalence about playing by democratic rules. Although Pakistani governments have attempted to foster economic growth and improve living standards, results have been mixed when compared with India's. Pakistan's economy did, however, experience a boom until 2008. However, in that year Pakistan experienced spikes in the prices of fuel and food, a balance-of-payments crisis, and widespread unrest over deteriorating economic conditions.

Since 9/11, the United States has played a major role in Pakistan. Chapter Four describes U.S. and Pakistani interests, drawing atten-

tion to areas in which interests overlap and diverge. The chapter also explains what has driven U.S. policy to date.

The last chapter provides recommendations for improving U.S. policies toward Pakistan. It identifies specific policy changes that the U.S. government should make as well as broader considerations for the future of U.S. foreign relations with Pakistan. It concludes with some specific recommendations for the U.S. Air Force.

Research Approach

Our recommendations are based on an empirical analysis of developments in Pakistan and an assessment of the effectiveness of U.S. policy to date. The political and political-military analysis draws on elite interviews, polling data, and statistical data on Pakistan's armed forces. The demographic and economic analyses draw on primary data and analyses from Pakistanis and international economic organizations. The assessment of Pakistan's own policies is based on similar sources, as well as on government documents and a close reading of the assessments of several outside observers. The discussion of U.S. policy is based both on interviews with U.S. policymakers and on U.S. policy documents, many of which are readily available on the Web. The policy recommendations are based on an assessment of the findings in all these areas.

Pakistan's Future: Is Past Prologue?

This chapter identifies several impediments to a stable, secure Pakistan and discusses how each of these may develop over the coming ten-year time horizon. Admittedly, other outcomes are possible; however, the outcome explored in this volume is perhaps the optimal one. The first section of this chapter details the problematic history of constitutionalism in Pakistan. The second section addresses a particularly important derivative problem of the failure of Pakistan's elites to agree on a constitutional framework: the imbalance in power between civilians and the military, especially the army's extensive role in making political decisions. The third section explores in some detail key nuclear challenges emanating from the state. Namely, what is the future potential willingness of governments to provide nuclear technology and how likely is it that the state's nuclear security will be breached by nonstate actors. That section also discusses the role of the army and intelligence services in promoting subconventional conflicts in Pakistan's neighbors. The fourth section describes key political parties and their likely future evolution. The fifth section addresses Pakistan's myriad internal security challenges. The sixth, seventh, and eighth sections detail demographic trends, Pakistan's economic prospects, and social development progress, respectively. The chapter concludes with a discussion of social and economic trends and where Pakistanis are likely to be in 2015 in terms of incomes and living conditions.

Failed Constitutionalism and Governance

Nations need an agreed-upon set of rules by which political decisions are made and power transferred if they are to prosper. This may be a popularly agreed-upon constitution or similar compact binding the government and the governed. Without such a compact, groups constantly jockey for power. Transfers of power are chaotic and often violent. Decisions go unmade or are made and then retracted.

Pakistan has repeatedly failed to promulgate an enduring constitution: It has had *five* constitutions since independence in 1947. Its most recent constitution, that of 1973, has been significantly altered in form and substance. Nonetheless, the 1973 constitution in its idealized form remains the lodestone of political legitimacy. Unfortunately, within the coming decade, it is unlikely that Pakistan's political, military, and bureaucratic elites will be able to agree upon and sustain a working parliamentary democracy as set down in the 1973 constitution. This is likely to be true whether Pakistan reverts to a military government or remains under the nominal control of civilians. The armed forces have long favored a presidential system and military leaders have frequently suspended the constitution, followed by an imposition of a president-dominated system. After long periods of military governance, civilians find it difficult (or even undesirable) to reverse these policies to diminish the power of the president and restore a truly parliamentary system.

The past and likely future failure to create a constitutional democracy stems from fundamental disagreements among Pakistan's military, its civilian leaders, and civil society—a category that includes Islamists. Since 1947, these groups have contested whether Pakistan should be a presidential or parliamentary system, where the balance of civil-military power should reside; the appropriate role for Islam in the state; the balance between federal and local power; and whether and how the state should incorporate areas such as the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA).¹ The failure of constitutionalism in Pakistan is

¹ Paula R. Newberg, *Judging the State: Courts and Constitutional Politics in Pakistan*, New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1995; and Zulfikar Khalid Maluka, *The Myth of Constitutionalism in Pakistan*, Karachi/New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

deeply problematic because many of Pakistan's internal and even external security challenges stem from the state's failure to establish a constitutional order that is honored.

Central Governance in Dispute

Even though Pakistan has been governed directly by the military for more than half of its existence and indirectly for the remainder, according to opinion polls most Pakistanis still prefer democratic government. The demands for democracy become most pronounced after periods when Pakistanis have experienced several years of military rule. The missteps of military governments evoke a clamor for democracy, which recedes after invariably flawed civilian governments come to power.² Ironically, military leaders and their supporters within the ranks and beyond espouse democracy as an ideal state, even though they have often contended that Pakistanis are not ready for it owing to Pakistan's lack of development, pervasive illiteracy, and dysfunctional political institutions. All military rulers have chosen to maintain a gloss of democracy to provide greater legitimacy. When Gen. Pervez Musharraf seized power in 1999, he did not declare martial law, in contrast to his predecessors, General Ayub Khan and General Zia-ul-Haq. He insisted on being referred to as "President" rather than "General."³

Civilian elites have ostensibly preferred parliamentary democracy, and military elites have preferred a presidential system. Pakistan has oscillated between some variety of one or the other form since independence in 1947.⁴ All military rulers have imposed presidential systems.

² C. Christine Fair, Clay Ramsay, and Steve Kull, *Pakistani Public Opinion on Democracy, Islamist Militancy, and Relations with the U.S.*, Washington, D.C.: Program on International Policy Attitudes, United States Institute of Peace, Working Paper, A Joint Study of World-publicopinion.org and the United States Institute of Peace, February 2008. For figures demonstrating Pakistani fears about the 2008 elections and their nonmilitary preferences, see International Republican Institute (IRI), *IRI Index: Pakistan Public Opinion Survey, January 19–29, 2008*, 2008a.

³ However, at the end of his tenure as Chief of Army Staff in November 2007, he declared emergency rule, an extra-constitutional action and tantamount to martial law.

⁴ Herbert Feldman, *A Constitution for Pakistan*, Karachi/New York: Oxford University Press, 1956; Leonard Binder, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan*, Berkeley, Calif.: University of

After the restoration of civilian governance, the political parties have had difficulty restoring the powers of the prime minister at least in part because the parties have been weakened during the military's tenure.⁵ Since coming to power in February 2008, the current civilian government has not shown any interest in diminishing presidential powers at least in part because Pakistan's civilian president, Asif Zardari, enjoys those powers.⁶

Pakistanis widely accept as legitimate the constitution of 1973, forged under Zulfikar Bhutto. That constitution mandated a parliamentary system with the prime minister as the head of government and a president with limited powers. It also called for a bicameral legislature with an indirectly elected senate and a directly elected national assembly. The latter became the more powerful of the two bodies. That constitution and the parliamentary system it laid out have functioned for fewer than seven years since 1973.⁷ Despite the restoration of democracy in February 2008, the new civilian leadership has yet to restore many of the checks and balances and freedoms stipulated in the original constitution, but that were undermined under Musharraf.

Changes to the constitution that undermined Pakistan's democracy included amendments by General Zia, who came to power in a

California Press, 1961; Craig Baxter, Yogendra K. Malik, Charles H. Kennedy, and Robert C. Oberst, *Government and Politics in South Asia*, 5th ed., Boulder, Col.: Westview Press, 2002.

⁵ Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, Karachi/New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

⁶ In Pakistan, the constitutional amendment that concentrates power in the hands of the president is known as "Article 58(2)." Also known as the Eighth Amendment, it empowers the president to dissolve the government and the parliament ("Constitution [Eighth Amendment] Act, 1985: An Act Further to Amend the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan," *Gazette of Pakistan*, Extraordinary, November 11, 1985). It was introduced during General Zia's tenure.

⁷ It functioned for about four years under Bhutto before Zia declared martial law and suspended the constitution. He imposed a presidential system by amending the constitution. Despite the restoration of democracy, that amendment was not reversed until 1997 under Nawaz Sharif. Again Musharraf imposed a presidential system in 1999. The foregoing suggests that strictly speaking, Pakistan's parliamentary system has functioned for between six and seven years since 1973.

coup in 1977, that increased the power of the president to both appoint and dismiss the prime minister and to dissolve the national assembly, although not the senate. The president was also granted the right to appoint ministers and provincial governors. General Zia also introduced an Islamization program to bring Pakistan's laws into conformity with Islam. Subsequent civilian governments, including the current civilian one, have not succeeded in permanently and comprehensively overturning many of these changes.⁸ Musharraf further reduced the powers of the National Assembly by creating a National Security Council, dominated by the military and aimed at ensuring the military a permanent role in government decisionmaking.⁹ By the time Musharraf stepped down as army chief, he had introduced many amendments to the constitution that reordered the centers of state power. Despite the elections in February 2008 and return to nominal civilian governance, Musharraf's amendments to the constitution remain intact as of this writing.

The Center's Relations with the Provinces and Other Areas

Disputes over the devolution of authority to the provinces, as in Baluchistan, and the constitutional status of key areas, such as FATA, will remain major political issues with important implications for Pakistan's internal stability. Despite commitments by past governments to devolve more power to Baluchistan (and other provinces) and to reconsider the constitutional status of FATA, few believe that the central government will be willing to fulfill these commitments. First, Pakistani governments, especially military ones, prefer the status quo, particularly for FATA, which has long been a base from which militant groups, working on behalf of the military and intelligence agencies, can be cultivated and launched. Second, all parties realize that

⁸ General Zia introduced Federal Sharia Court in 1979, which has since reviewed hundreds of "shariat positions" challenging laws on the basis of Islam and has completed a comprehensive review of Pakistan's laws for "repugnancy" to Islam. He also created the Shariat Appellate Bench of the Supreme Court, which considers appeals from the Federal Sharia Court. See Hamid Khan, 2001. See especially Chapters 26–29 on General Zia's various initiatives and their import, pp. 509–553, and "General Elections, March 1977," pp. 627–680.

⁹ See text of "Legal Framework Order, 2002: Chief Executive's Order No. 24 of 2002," *Gazette of Pakistan*, Extraordinary, August 2002.

changing the status quo, especially in FATA, will be extremely difficult and will likely bring about greater insecurity in the near term even if reforms are needed for longer-term stability. Skeptics rightly note that the state has been unable to effectively govern settled areas. How can it do so in FATA, which lacks a police force, courts, and other public services? Third, the state's desire to suppress the price of natural gas, which is an important source of energy for the rest of the country, will limit the state's willingness to devolve authority to Baluchistan, which contains considerable natural gas resources.

The contentious issue of how the center relates to the provinces and territories has been an underlying factor in several provincial ethnic conflicts since 1947. Provinces tend to have a distinct ethnic flavor. FATA and the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) are overwhelmingly populated by Pashtuns (also called Pakhtuns and Pathans), Punjab by Punjabis, Sindh by Sindhis, Baluchistan by Baluch, and Azad Kashmir by groups who speak variants of Kashmiri. Like most other developing countries, rural dwellers have migrated to the major cities. However, the ethnic character of the provinces persists with important exceptions. Sindh's urban areas are also populated by Mohajirs (Muslim speakers of Urdu who came from northern states of India such as Bihar and Uttar Pradesh after the partition) and Pashtuns. Karachi is now home to more Pashtuns than any other city in Pakistan.¹⁰ Quetta is home to many Punjabis and Pashtuns. Baluchistan harbors pockets of Pashtuns who have lived there for centuries. The Punjab, as the seat of government and agriculture, attracts people from across the country.

As a result of the ethnic composition of the provinces, central-provincial issues have a tendency to develop an ethnic character, with disgruntled ethnic groups accusing the center of "Punjabi chauvinism." Complaints about the dominance of Punjab have centered on such issues as unfair access to government jobs, unfair distribution of

¹⁰ According to the most recent 1998 census, Karachi's population numbered approximately ten million. That census suggests the following breakdown by mother tongue, which correlates with ethnicity: Urdu, 48.52 percent; Punjabi, 13.94 percent; Pashto, 11.42 percent; Sindhi, 7.22 percent; Baluch, 4.34 percent; Seraiki, 2.11 percent; and others, 12.4 percent. See findpk.com, *Visit Pakistan*, "Urban Centers/Maps of Pakistan: Karachi," not dated.

resources, and inequitable policies. The central government has also been accused of spending proportionately more on Punjab.¹¹

Ethnocentrism is a problem. Pakistan lost Bangladesh in its 1971 civil war in part because West Pakistanis viewed Bengalis, who are the dominant ethnic group in former East Pakistan, as the “lesser Pakistanis.” West Pakistan deprived East Pakistan of political representation proportional to its population. The 1973 constitution, forged in the wake of the Bangladesh separation, devolves extensive powers to the provinces, including control over natural resources. Successive civilian and military regimes have refused to implement these provisions.¹²

Residents of Baluchistan are deeply upset about the central government's policy of refusing to pay market prices for Baluch natural gas while failing to improve access to electricity and public services for residents of the province. Because of the lack of local economic opportunities, Baluch have migrated to other provinces. The Baluch also are upset that the construction of military cantonments and the Chinese project to construct a deepwater port at Baluchistan's Gwadar Port have not resulted in more local jobs and construction projects. The national government has also failed to build roads within the sprawling province that would connect it to key Pakistani cities. As Pakistan's most sparsely populated province, Baluchistan will never have the representation needed in the national assembly to get a bigger share of the pie, and its grievances are apt to endure.¹³ A number of Baluch militant groups have sought to achieve by force what they have not been able to achieve through the political system.

The current problems in FATA are another manifestation of Pakistan's constitutional failures, failures that are unlikely to go away over the course of the next ten years. FATA are governed by a colonial-era

¹¹ For a recent discussion of Pakistan's internal frictions, see Selig Harrison, *Pakistan: State of the Union*, Washington, D.C.: Center for International Policy, 2009.

¹² See Craig Baxter, “Constitution Making: The Development of Federalism in Pakistan,” *Asian Survey*, Vol. 14, No. 12, December 1974, pp. 1074–1085.

¹³ See Harrison, 2009; International Crisis Group, *Pakistan: The Forgotten Conflict in Baluchistan*, Islamabad/Brussels, Asia Briefing No. 69, October 22, 2007b; and Frédéric Grare, *Pakistan: The Resurgence of Baluch Nationalism*, Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Carnegie Paper No. 65, January 2006.

legal regime, the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR). FCR enshrines several principles—such as collective punishment—that have been ruled unconstitutional by Pakistan’s high courts to no avail. While FCR shields FATA residents from the responsibilities of Pakistani citizenship (e.g., paying taxes), it also deprives them of protections such as due process and separation of police, judicial, and executive authority.

Rather than extending Pakistan’s legal system to FATA, the government has exercised presidential authority through the governor of NWFP, acting through political agents, tribal consultative bodies (jirgas), tribal elders (maliks), and tribal militias (lashkars). The political agent of the seven FATA agencies acts as judge, juror, and prosecutor, with no appellate mechanisms for those who seek redress. The Frontier Corps (FC)—a poorly trained, poorly equipped paramilitary organization composed largely of local Pashtuns and officers from the Pakistan Army—is formally responsible for law and order in FATA. Since independence, no government has acted to change the separate and unequal status in FATA. There are few prospects that the FATA legal status will be changed, despite recent proclamations by the new government to do so.¹⁴ This hesitancy to contend with FATA is arguably due to the fact that Pakistan’s security establishment has benefited from using FATA as a buffer zone on the Afghan border, free from public scrutiny, from which it can stage secretive operations in Afghanistan or elsewhere.¹⁵

Successive government decisions to leave FCR intact rather than to extend the constitution to FATA have resulted in little formal representation by citizens of FATA in the national assembly and no provincial representation. With minimal government representation from

¹⁴ See Nasir Iqbal, “Panel Formed to Review FCR,” *Dawn*, April 25, 2008. For a comprehensive account of numerous FATA-related issues, see Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema and Maqsoodul Hasan Nuri, eds., *Tribal Areas of Pakistan: Challenges and Responses*, Islamabad, Pakistan: Islamabad Policy Research Institute, Hanns Seidel Foundation, 2005.

¹⁵ Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos: The United States and the Failure of Nation Building in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Central Asia*, New York: Viking, 2008a.

FATA, Islamabad has come under little domestic pressure to develop the area and extend the formal writ of law to it.¹⁶

Exacerbating these center-provincial concerns, all of Pakistan's military leaders (Ayub, Zia, and Musharraf) have introduced similar versions of purported "local governance" regimes. These schemes resulted in a greater concentration of power at the center by devolving resources and authority from the provinces to the districts, while failing to decentralize resources from the center to the provinces.¹⁷ These "local government" schemes have generally allowed the central government to provide resources directly to the district level, bypassing the provincial government.¹⁸ Through these local government schemes, military governments developed their own patronage networks, displacing those of civilian political parties. The military governments hoped to use the districts to strip political parties of their local power bases. These plans resulted in a greater concentration of power at the center, a diminished role for provincial governments, and the erosion of politics at the district level, while producing little in the way of local government control. Civilians tend to undo military-promulgated local government regimes once they regain power in an effort to reverse the harm these regimes pose to their personal or party interests.

The concept of local government has enjoyed little legitimacy among the different stakeholders in the state and polity alike because of its strong association with autocratic military governments.¹⁹ How-

¹⁶ Prior to 1996, when adult franchise was introduced, maliks served as the Electoral College, which elected representatives from each of the seven agencies. In 1996, the adult franchise was extended to FATA. However, the government did not extend the Political Parties Act, which permits political parties to organize. Islamist parties had access to the mosques and madaris (which is the plural of madrassah). In 1997, for the first time, residents of the agencies elected mostly ulema to the national assembly. See the discussion in C. Christine Fair and Peter Chalk, *Fortifying Pakistan: The Role of U.S. Internal Security Assistance*, Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2006.

¹⁷ See Hamid Khan, 2001, pp. 884–889. Also see Ali Cheema, Asim Ijaz Khwaja, and Adnan Qadir, "Local Government Reforms in Pakistan: Context, Content and Causes," in Pranab K. Bardhan and Dilip Mookherjee, eds., *Decentralization and Local Governance in Developing Countries: A Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2006.

¹⁸ Districts are a third tier of governance, falling beneath the province.

¹⁹ See Hamid Khan, 2001, pp. 884–889. Also see Cheema, Khwaja, and Qadir, 2006.

ever, there is some evidence that Pakistani citizens appreciated aspects of Musharraf's local government measures, even if the political classes did not. The civilian political elites may have some difficulty reversing the devolution under Musharraf. It is too early to determine whether Musharraf's local government scheme will be demolished or preserved, perhaps with some modification such as making local government elections party based. Even if the regime is retained, it may not contribute to meaningful local government. Local officials often lack the training to manage government operations well. However, some form of properly designed local government would improve the quality of public services in Pakistan and, over time, develop better political parties.

The Army: Guarantor of an Insecure State?

One of the most enduring and recalcitrant impediments to the creation of a democratic political system in Pakistan is the dominance of the army and the inability of civilian institutions to control it. Many observers, within and outside of Pakistan, expect the army will return to power within the decade. After eight years of military rule and Musharraf's deliberate efforts to weaken the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and the Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) (PML-N), the parties have been diminished and show little capacity to govern effectively. Politicians are wary of antagonizing the military and cautious in exerting control over it despite the fact that the military is the weakest it has been perhaps since 1971, when it lost Bangladesh. Worse, the political parties seem to prefer the military to be in power rather than as a rival and actively use the military to undermine political competition. The zero-sum attitude of the political class diminishes the likelihood of any united civilian front against military dominance of the state. Many analysts of Pakistan expect that the army, which stepped down in fall 2007, may well return when public opinion again turns against the inept civilian leadership. Even though the military's record is poor, civilians have historically welcomed military intervention after periods of civilian ineptitude, legitimizing military rule.

Pakistan has been governed by the army for more than half of its 61 years. It has had four military leaders since independence in 1947: Ayub Khan (1958–1969); Yayha Khan (1969–1971); Zia-ul-Haq (1978–1988); and Pervez Musharraf (1999–2008). When the military has been out of power, it has played a prominent role in government by pressuring the political parties, undermining popularly elected governments by manipulating party rifts, and even creating new political parties (e.g., Pakistan Muslim-League-Quaid-e-Azim [PML-Q] and PML-N) to act as their political proxies, which the army (with assistance from the intelligence and police agencies) then helps to prevail at the polls.

The army's dominance is due to historical reasons. Pakistan came into being as an insecure state, with a territorial dispute over Kashmir and a contested border with Afghanistan. Many Pakistanis harbor a deep, persistent belief that India does not accept Pakistan as a separate state and seeks to reabsorb it. This view is an article of faith among the polity and military alike. (The establishment actively nurtures this perception through curricula in Pakistani schools and management of the public discourse about its neighbor.)²⁰ In light of Pakistan's revisionist agenda, the absence of a rigorous national security debate, and civilian leaders capable of restraining the army, the army has pursued a variety of reckless policies at home and abroad. While the army and civilian elites alike often refer to the threat India poses to Pakistan, Pakistan has initiated every war it has fought with India with the exception of the 1971 war.²¹ These policies have both sustained the Indo-Pakistan security competition and confirmed the reality of the Indian threat

²⁰ See Husain Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military*, Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005; Khurshed Kamal Aziz, *The Murder of History: A Critique of History Textbooks Used in Pakistan*, Lahore, Pakistan: Vanguard Books, 1993; A. H. Nayyar and Ahmed Salim, *The Subtle Subversion: The State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan—Urdu, English, Social Studies and Civics*, Islamabad, Pakistan: Sustainable Development Policy Institute, 2003; Iftikhar Ahmed, "Islam, Democracy and Citizenship Education: An Examination of the Social Studies Curriculum in Pakistan," *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, Vol. 7, No. 1, December 15, 2004.

²¹ In that war, India intervened because Pakistan's attacks on Bengalis drove them into Indian territory, which precipitated a humanitarian crisis.

among Pakistanis, who are often ignorant of their army's activities, including its culpability in commencing hostilities, sponsoring insurgents, and failing to achieve victory in its varied efforts.²²

While India has been and will remain an important strategic opponent for Pakistan, Pakistan's insecurity is not restricted to its eastern border. When Pakistan became independent, Afghanistan opposed Pakistan's entry into the United Nations and refused to accept the internationally designated border between the two states, claiming parts of Pakistan that were inhabited by Pashtuns.

Pakistan has long sought to cultivate influence in Afghanistan and deny India the same. Pakistan largely succeeded in doing so until 2001 by supporting the Taliban, which confined India's influence to the Panjshir Valley where India—along with Iran, Russia, Tajikistan, and others—assisted the Northern Alliance. Pakistan's relations with Iran have been turbulent for decades owing to Iran's support of militarized Shia elements in Pakistan in the 1980s and Pakistan's past and ongoing support of militant Sunni elements operating within and beyond Pakistan.

These historical factors explain in part why the army sees itself, and is seen by many Pakistanis, as the guarantor of Pakistan's security in an insecure region. Pakistan's civilian institutions have been unable to restrain the army because of their own weaknesses and because they ultimately embrace or at least tacitly accept this narrative. (As described below, the political elites also benefit in key ways from the army's role in politics.) During the army's various tenures, it has expanded its control over business assets; cultivated and co-opted bureaucratic, industrial, and political elites; diminished opposition to the concept of military intervention by accumulating ever-more stakeholders; and signed lucrative strategic partnerships with the United States. Washington, through its patronage of the army and lucrative supply relationship, has

²² Most Pakistanis did not and do not believe that their country began the wars in 1947 and 1965 or that their country killed Bengalis in the 1971 war. Pakistani media incorrectly characterized the Pakistanis as winning, and many Pakistanis believed they had won the conflicts until the varied terms of the armistices revealed otherwise. See discussions in Shuja Nawaz, *Crossed Swords: Pakistan, Its Army, and the Wars Within*, Karachi/New York: Oxford University Press, 2008b.

done much to bolster the army's status and position within Pakistan. U.S. willingness to support military dictators while claiming to support democracy has antagonized Pakistanis. U.S. continued support of President Musharraf was an important precipitant of anti-U.S. sentiment.²³ With each round of failed military government, the civilian political system has found it more difficult to govern once the army leaves. The current civilian government is encountering these same problems.

In light of the major role the army plays politically and economically in Pakistan and the concomitant retarded development of the civilian institutions that could otherwise control the military, the army is unlikely to disengage from politics permanently. It is likely to return to power over the course of the next ten years. Even if the army were to decide—for its own institutional reasons—that continued political intervention corrodes morale, discipline, and professionalism; without a simultaneous increase in the civilians' political will and capacity to govern, future detachments from politics are likely to be transient.

The Army's Preeminent Role in Decisionmaking

The army's willingness to intervene politically and economically stems from its enduring belief that it is the preeminent guardian of Pakistan's foreign and domestic interests, and also of the "ideology" of Pakistan, variously construed.²⁴ This view is generally shared by the citizenry, and it persists despite the polity's cyclical disgruntlement with the missteps taken by military leaders when they directly hold power. This notion that the military (especially the army) is the guarantor of the state stems in great measure from the ways in which the subcontinent

²³ See, among others, Hassan Askari Rizvi, *The Military and Politics in Pakistan: 1947–1997*, Lahore, Pakistan: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2000b; Hassan Askari Rizvi, *Military, State and Society in Pakistan*, London: Palgrave, 2000a; Ayesha Siddiqi, *Military Inc.: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy*, London: Pluto Press, 2007; Nawaz, 2008b; Dennis Kux, *The United States and Pakistan, 1947–2000: Disenchanted Allies*, Washington, D.C., and Baltimore, Md.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and the Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.

²⁴ Yayha Khan portrayed the army as the protector of Pakistan's "ideological frontier," and this role has endured. See Haqqani, 2005. See the chapter "Defending Ideological Frontiers," in particular, pp. 51–86.

was partitioned. Early on, severe disputes emerged with India over rights to water, the distribution of government (including military) assets from the former British India, and territorial disputes, the most famous of which concerns Kashmir.

The army, with its central role in national decisionmaking and its desire to change the status quo with India, has taken many risks that have led the country into repeated conflicts and near conflicts with India.²⁵ The limited incursion in Kargil in 1999 illustrates the consequences of the army's insular decisionmaking. Pakistan's Northern Light Infantry seized territory within India's Kargil Dras sector, masquerading as mujahideen as part of Pakistan's deception and denial campaign. In an effort to preserve operational security, the army *did not* involve the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), the other service chiefs, or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Nor did the army fully explain the nature of the operation and its import to Pakistan's civilian prime minister, Nawaz Sharif. The foreign minister was eventually asked to defend to the international community an aggressive military move that had been hidden from him for as long as possible. The chief of the Air Staff was called in at the last minute to devise plans to counter Indian air assaults even though his service had not been privy to the incursion.²⁶ On July 4, 1999, Prime Minister Sharif solicited the assistance of U.S. President Bill Clinton as India intensified its military response. President Clinton insisted that Pakistan respect the sanctity of the "Line of Control." While the army was forced to vacate the seized territory, the army believed that Kargil was a tactical success undermined by weak politicians. The army's failure to learn the lessons of past incur-

²⁵ See Devin T. Hagerty, "Nuclear Deterrence in South Asia: The 1990 Indo-Pakistani Crisis," *International Security*, Vol. 20, No. 3, Winter 1995, pp. 79–114; Chris Gagné, "Conflict Prevention and Risk Reduction: Lessons from the 1990 Crisis," in Michael Krepon, Chris Gagné, and Henry L. Stimson Center, eds., *Nuclear Risk Reduction in South Asia*, New Delhi: Vision Books, 2003; Andrew C. Winner and Toshi Yoshihara, "India and Pakistan at the Edge," *Survival*, Vol. 44, No. 3, January 2002, pp. 69–86.

²⁶ C. Christine Fair, "Militants in the Kargil Conflict: Myths, Realities, and Impacts," in Peter Lavoy, ed., *Asymmetric Warfare in South Asia: The Causes and Consequences of Kargil*, Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. 231–256.

sions suggests that Kargil-like episodes may well be repeated should the army decide that doing so would advance its interests.²⁷

Regional Security and Risk Taking

Kargil represents an extreme extension of the Pakistan Army's propensity to take "calculated risks," where the likelihood of success is low. Pakistan's calculated risks have almost always relied upon proxy elements (or security forces pretending to be militants) to prosecute unconventional conflicts. Pakistan has lacked the ability to defeat India in a conventional military confrontation. In a future, longer conflict, India's advantages will likely be overwhelming. The differences in capability are likely to increase over the next decade, cementing Pakistan's status as the inferior military power and making unconventional warfare relatively more attractive. It is important to note that India's conventional dominance is often exaggerated because of unjustified assumptions that higher defense expenditures and more equipment automatically translate into a better force. There are reasons to believe that this may not be the case in the near term. However, Pakistan takes it as an article of faith that India is conventionally dominant.²⁸ In the cases of 1947 and 1965 (over Kashmir), the initial use of proxies resulted in all-out war with India. In 1971, Pakistan also used proxy elements to counter Indian-backed proxies that were aiding the insurgency in East Pakistan.²⁹ In 1999, Pakistan did not use proxy elements;

²⁷ There are multiple interpretations of Kargil. Stephen Cohen, in his review of our book, offered the explanation that Kargil was a tactical defeat but a strategic success in that "it got the Indians talking once again." While conceding the value of this view, we do not espouse this interpretation here. See Ashley J. Tellis, C. Christine Fair, and Jamison Jo Medby, *Limited Conflicts Under the Nuclear Umbrella: Indian and Pakistani Lessons from the Kargil Crisis*, Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, MR-1450-USCA, 2001. For a discussion of the army's failure to integrate the ISI, the other service chiefs, or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, see Fair, 2009.

²⁸ For more nuanced discussions, see Ashley J. Tellis, *Stability in South Asia*, Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, DB-185-A, 1997; and John H. Gill, "India and Pakistan: A Shift in the Military Calculus?" in Ashley J. Tellis and Michael Wills, eds., *Strategic Asia, 2005–06: Military Modernization in an Era of Uncertainty*, Seattle, Wash.: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2005.

²⁹ While India's backing of the Bengali insurgent force, the Mukti Bahini, is well known, Pakistan use of proxies of its own in that conflict is less well-known. Pakistan's Jamaat-e-

however, the claim that the incursions were made by mujahideen represents the outer limits of Pakistan's proxy strategy. In 1999, Pakistan's strategy again backfired as the conflict gained Pakistan nothing and nearly resulted in a wider war.

Pakistan's army has indulged in such risky behavior when it has decided that it needs to act to secure its interests and when it believes that it can exploit a window of Indian weakness. Pakistan's army has repeatedly decided that action now will be more likely to bring success than if it defers action to a time when the chances of victory will be even slimmer. While prospects for victory are low, the army has believed that taking a risk is better than taking no action. However, to lessen the risk of retaliation or escalation, Pakistan has preferred to operate through proxies in Kashmir, India, and Afghanistan or as state actors disguised as nonstate actors, believing that such subterfuge affords it some degree of plausible deniability. Moreover, nuclear weapons have allowed Pakistan to prosecute subconventional conflicts with considerable impunity.³⁰

Despite the rapprochement over Kashmir since 2003, fears about India have driven the Pakistan Army to support a suite of policies that have destabilized the region. In pursuit of "strategic depth" in Afghanistan, it has sought to and continues to (unsuccessfully) cultivate that state as an area of Pakistani influence. Pakistan openly supported various mujahideen groups in Afghanistan from 1989 to 1994 and the Taliban from 1994 until 2001.³¹ Pakistan is also accused of continuing to support groups within the Afghan Taliban, such as Jalaluddin

Islami (JI), which opposed Bengali independence, organized a number of militant groups (e.g., al-Badr, al-Shams, and Razakars), which were armed by the army and which were used to combat the Mukti Bahini. These Pakistan-backed Jamaat militant groups are widely held responsible for mass murder, rape, and pillaging in East Pakistan. See Ishtiaq Hossain and Noore Alam Siddiquee, "Islam in Bangladesh Politics: The Role of Ghulam Azam of Jamaat-I-Islami," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 3, 2006, pp. 384–399.

³⁰ See Tellis, Fair, and Medby, 2001; Fair, 2009.

³¹ See the discussion in C. Christine Fair, "Pakistan's Relations with Central Asia: Is Past Prologue?" *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 2, April 2008. Also see Pamela Constable, "Attacks on U.S. Drive Pakistan to a Crossroads: Musharraf's Decision to Back West Holds Political Risk, Opportunity," *Washington Post*, October 8, 2001, p. A15.

Haqqani, Gulbaddin Hekmatyar, and the “Quetta Shura,” in spite of its security partnership with the United States to combat terrorist groups.³²

Pakistan's perceptions of an adverse security environment have worsened since 9/11. These perceptions should be a key concern for U.S. policymakers because they increase the probability of conflict in South Asia. Musharraf entered into an alliance with the United States for three reasons. One, he sought to protect Pakistan's nuclear weapons program. Two, he sought U.S. intervention to resolve the Kashmir issue with some acknowledgment of Pakistan's interests. Three, he wanted to preempt Indian overtures to forge better ties with the United States to counter Pakistan.³³ Pakistan has not just failed to achieve these goals; from its point of view, its position has been significantly undermined. The U.S.-Indian nuclear deal and the impossibility of a comparable deal with Pakistan together are perhaps one reason—but not the only reason—for Pakistan's determination to expand its arsenal as fast as possible.³⁴ Similarly, U.S.-Indian relations have become broad based and strategic. While the United States has quietly encouraged both countries to resolve the Kashmir issue, the most probable solution means ratifying some version of the status quo, a position that Pakistan has not yet embraced.³⁵

The U.S.-led Afghan war has created many challenges for Pakistan. Some elements within the Pakistan Army believed that Pakistan should have changed course on the Taliban even before 9/11. The Taliban offered few advantages and imposed heavy costs on Pakistan. Nonetheless, the Taliban did curtail Indian influence in Afghanistan. In post-9/11 Afghanistan, India has become Afghanistan's most important regional ally. It has opened or reopened several consulates in border provinces; secured sensitive contracts to build the Ring Road,

³² Seth G. Jones, “Pakistan's Dangerous Game,” *Survival*, Vol. 49, No. 1, March 2007, pp. 15–32.

³³ Within days of 9/11, India offered to let the United States use its air bases to attack Afghanistan. See Fair, 2004a.

³⁴ Bruce Riedel, “Pakistan and the Bomb,” *Wall Street Journal*, May 30, 2009.

³⁵ Fair, 2004a.

which connects Herat, Kabul, and Kandahar; and has deployed the paramilitary Indo-Tibetan Police Force to provide security for Indian personnel in the country. India currently enjoys—as it has tended to do historically—much closer relations with Kabul than does Islamabad.³⁶

Since 2003, Pakistan has complained to India about its “excessive” consular presence. It has accused India of exploiting its access in Afghanistan to support militants in Baluchistan, tribal areas, and attacks within the Pakistani heartland. India and Afghanistan have blamed Pakistan’s ISI and Pakistan-backed militant groups for attacks on Indian and Afghan targets within Afghanistan, including the dramatic July 2008 attack on the Indian embassy in Kabul and assassination attempts against Afghan President Hamid Karzai.³⁷

Since the fall of the Taliban, Afghanistan has emerged as an important theater for Indo-Pakistani security competition. Fears of Indian encirclement are not limited to Delhi’s presence in Afghanistan. India’s relations with Iran, rapprochement with China, and access to Central Asian states (including two bases in Tajikistan), animate Pakistan’s concerns that it is being surrounded by hostile states or states friendly to India.³⁸

In light of these developments in Pakistan’s neighborhood and Pakistan’s past approaches to contending with its perceived threats, Pakistan is taking steps to manage these risks. Pakistan’s tribal areas are a known sanctuary where Taliban, al Qaeda, and a raft of other militant groups enjoy domicile, health care, recruitment facilities, and training centers.³⁹ Increasingly, observers believe that Pakistan is

³⁶ See Fair, 2008.

³⁷ Scott Baldauf, “India-Pakistan Rivalry Reaches into Afghanistan,” *Christian Science Monitor*, September 12, 2003; Sudha Ramachandran, “Now It’s War Against India in Afghanistan,” *Asia Times*, July 9, 2008. Pakistani Senator Mushahid Hussain accused India of training Baluch militants in Afghanistan—see M. H. Ahsan, “RAW Is Training 600 Baluchis in Afghanistan”: Mushahid Hussain,” *Boloji.com*, May 14, 2006.

³⁸ See Fair, 2008.

³⁹ Numerous U.S. intelligence and military officials have attested that Pakistan’s tribal areas are used as sanctuaries for these groups. See J. Michael McConnell, *Annual Threat Assessment of the Intelligence Community for the Senate Armed Services Committee*, Washington, D.C.: Office of the Director of National Intelligence, February 27, 2008; John D. Negroponte,

providing state support to the Afghan Taliban operating in Afghanistan, while working with the international community to eliminate al Qaeda. Accusations abound that Pakistan's paramilitary FC as well as retired and serving ISI personnel are aiding and abetting the Taliban. Even Musharraf conceded the role of retired ISI personnel in Afghanistan during the August 2007 Peace Jirga in Kabul.⁴⁰

International, Afghan, and Pakistani sources have provided increasing evidence that such Pakistan-based militants as Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and Jaish-e-Mohammad (JM) are operating against international and Afghan forces in Nuristan and Kunar, among other Afghan provinces.⁴¹ Ahmed Rashid alleges that President Musharraf himself was not only aware of these pro-Taliban activities but ordered them. Rashid argues that early U.S. decisions to use a small footprint, to rely upon "warlords" distrusted by Pakistan to provide security, and to demur from "state building" telegraphed to Islamabad that Washington was not serious about bringing stability to Afghanistan. Driven by the imperatives of geography, Pakistan's leadership determined that it was in its best interest to continue supporting the Taliban.⁴² This calculation has yet to change. A key challenge for U.S. policymakers will be to convince Pakistan's new civilian and military leadership that intervening in Afghanistan is not in Pakistan's strategic interests or will be to put in place policies that make Pakistan's adventurism more costly. Currently, there are few signs that Pakistan's assessment and strategy will change over the course of the next several years.

Annual Threat Assessment of the Director of National Intelligence, Washington, D.C.: Office of the Director of National Intelligence, January 11, 2007.

⁴⁰ Taimoor Shah and Carlotta Gall, "Afghan Rebels Find a Haven in Pakistan, Musharraf Says," *New York Times*, August 12, 2007.

⁴¹ This information is based on author fieldwork in Afghanistan between June and October 2007; also, see Kathy Gannon, "Pakistan Militants Focus on Afghanistan: Jihadist Groups Are Increasingly Attacking U.S., NATO Forces in Afghanistan," *Associated Press*, July 14, 2008.

⁴² Rashid, 2008a.

Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons: Sources of Security and Insecurity

While Pakistan values nuclear weapons because they deter India, the international community views them as threats to regional and international security. There is little that Pakistan can do over the next ten years that would seriously dampen concerns about its program, especially because Pakistan has been heavily involved in nuclear proliferation. There are few signs that the Pakistani government has made it impossible to renew these activities.⁴³ Pakistani government employees have transferred nuclear technology to other states. Insiders within the military or nuclear scientific community *could* pass technologies to state or nonstate actors in breach of Pakistan's security measures. (There are few long-time Pakistan analysts who believe that this is likely, however, given the importance that Pakistan ascribes to its arsenal.) Alternatively, some analysts posit that outsiders could circumvent Pakistan's command-and-control arrangements to obtain nuclear materials or devices. However, this scenario is even less credible than the former.⁴⁴ Whether or not fears of nuclear proliferation are justified, nuclear security will remain a concern as a result of the evolving nature of the proliferation threat, the continued interest of state and nonstate actors in acquiring these weapons, and regional conflicts that may lead to yet another Indo-Pakistan military crisis, with predictable concerns about escalation to nuclear use.⁴⁵

⁴³ Of course, Pakistan, like every other nuclear weapons state, can only implement programs to manage existing risks. It is unlikely that Pakistan—or any other country—can prevent renewed proliferation activities.

⁴⁴ For a solid discussion of real and imagined threats to nuclear security, see Stephen P. Cohen, Statement Before U.S. Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Subcommittee on Federal Financial Management, Government Information, Federal Services, and International Security Hearing on Addressing the U.S.-Pakistan Strategic Relationship, Washington, D.C., June 12, 2008.

⁴⁵ For an example by a well-placed official in the Obama transition team of posited scenarios of Pakistan becoming a jihadist state and inheriting the arsenal, see Riedel, 2009.

Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons

On May 11, 1998, India tested five nuclear devices. After much deliberation and after failed international intervention, on May 28, 1998, Pakistan tested six devices to signal nuclear parity. Despite these claims of nuclear one-upmanship, analysts have questioned the veracity of Indian and Pakistani claims about the numbers and kinds of devices tested, as well as about the purported yields announced.⁴⁶ However, while the details of the tests are still debated, Pakistan and India are now indisputably overt nuclear weapons states, and they have continued to develop their nuclear weapons programs. Possession of nuclear weapons has permanently altered their standing as military powers. Within Pakistan, the program enjoys widespread support among the public as well as within the security establishment. The weapons are viewed as a guarantee of Pakistan's survival as a state and as instruments to advance Pakistan's standing internationally as a nuclear-weapons state.⁴⁷ Reliable command and control and safety arrangements are key components of Pakistan's nuclear deterrent. The control and organization of Pakistan's nuclear infrastructure falls under the Strategic Plans Division (SPD), a joint-staff organization dominated by the army. Pakistan has implemented a series of measures to ensure the safety of its nuclear arsenal. These measures are designed both to reassure external audiences and to ensure that the army retains control over the arsenal.

⁴⁶ Robert S. Norris, "India and Pakistan, at the Crossroads," paper presented at the Sixth ISODARCO Beijing Seminar on Arms Control, October 29–November 1, 1998, Shanghai, China; T. C. Wallace, "The May 1998 India and Pakistan Nuclear Tests," *Seismological Research Letters*, Vol. 69, 1998, pp. 386–393; Dan M. Davis and Lynn R. Sykes, "Geologic Constraints on Clandestine Nuclear Testing in South Asia," in *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, Vol. 96, No. 20, September 28, 1999, pp. 11,090–11,095.

⁴⁷ A. Q. Khan, the "father" of the Pakistan nuclear bomb, is seen as a national hero. In a June 2008 national poll of Pakistanis, 67 percent said that they would support Khan for president. See IRI, *IRI Index: Pakistan Public Opinion Survey, June 1–15, 2008*, 2008c.

The Proliferation Challenges

In the minds of many analysts and policymakers, A. Q. Khan's proliferation network underscores the potential threat that Pakistan poses. (It is important to note that Khan was not a weaponeer per se; however, he had access to plans and enrichment technology.) A. Q. Khan's global proliferation network is known to have supplied Iran, Libya, and North Korea with expertise and technology to assist in their nuclear programs.⁴⁸ This included centrifuge technology for uranium enrichment, a key technological barrier in developing nuclear weapons. Computer files containing design blueprints for compact nuclear weapons were uncovered in the possession of three Swiss associated with Khan's smuggling network.⁴⁹ Khan's proliferation activities reversed the very network Pakistan used to develop its nuclear weapons: Rather than receiving illicit assistance to develop nuclear weapons, Pakistan provided it.

The possibility that Khan had the sanction, official or unofficial, of his government to sell nuclear materials and technologies on behalf of the Pakistan state cannot be ruled out. However, the extent to which the Pakistani state and army have been complicit in his actions has not been determined.⁵⁰ Pakistan is keen to close the affair. Khan was arrested by Pakistani authorities in 2004 after details of his activities had been publicly revealed. He received only a light admonishment from Musharraf. Khan had been shielded from more severe punishment by his widespread domestic popularity as the "father" of Pakistan's bomb. International investigations into the reach and extent of his network were hampered when Pakistani authorities blocked the

⁴⁸ For detailed accounts, see International Institute for Strategic Studies, *Nuclear Black Markets: Pakistan, A. Q. Khan and the Rise of Proliferation Networks: A Net Assessment*, London, 2007; Gordon Corera, *Shopping for Bombs: Nuclear Proliferation, Global Insecurity, and the Rise and Fall of the A. Q. Khan Network*, Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

⁴⁹ David Albright, Institute for Science and International Security, cited in "The Nuclear Network of A. Q. Khan: A Hero at Home, a Villain Abroad," *Economist*, June 19, 2008.

⁵⁰ Corera, 2006; David Armstrong and Joseph Trento, *America and the Islamic Bomb: The Deadly Compromise*, Hanover, N.H.: Steerforth Press, 2007; Adrian Levy, *Deception: Pakistan, the United States and the Secret Trade in Nuclear Weapons*, New York: Walker & Co., 2008. See also Seymour M. Hersh, "The Deal: Why Is Washington Going Easy on Pakistan's Nuclear Black Marketers?" *New Yorker*, March 8, 2004.

United States and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) from interviewing Khan. Publicly, the United States exerted little pressure to reverse this decision, fearful of jeopardizing its agreements with Pakistan to counter terrorism.

Pakistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs has taken the lead in reassuring other countries by introducing measures to tighten export controls. The Strategic Export Controls Division was established in 2005, with legislation prohibiting the export from Pakistan of either nuclear materials or expertise. Reportedly, Pakistani citizens known to have nuclear technological expertise have been told their responsibilities under the law. Customs and border police have been trained in techniques for visually detecting nuclear contraband.⁵¹

Although Pakistan has exported nuclear technologies to other states using nonstate channels, it has not provided nuclear materials or technologies to nonstate actors as end-state users. It is true that Western intelligence agencies determined that in 2000, Sultan Bashirudeen Mahmood, the former chief designer and director of the country's Khoshab Atomic Reactor, and Abdul Majid, a retired Pakistani nuclear scientist, had met with al Qaeda, including allegedly contacting Osama bin Laden directly.⁵² Mahmood had been director of nuclear power at the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission until 1999, while Majid had worked on nuclear fuel at the Pakistan Institute of Nuclear Science and Technology.⁵³ Mahmood concedes that he met with bin Laden. However, he claims that he did so to garner support for his charity, Ummah Tameer-e-Nau (loosely translated as *Islamic Revival*). Fortunately, Mahmood was a bit of a "crackpot," in the words of Ahmed Rashid. He authored treatises on how global energy demand can be met by harnessing the power of Jins ("genies"), the numbers of angels

⁵¹ Don Camp, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for South and Central Asian Affairs, Statement Before the U.S. Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, June 12, 2008; International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2007, pp. 115–116.

⁵² Steven Mufson, "U.S. Worries About Pakistan Nuclear Arms: Officials Try to Guard Against Arsenal, Radioactive Material Going to Terrorists," *Washington Post*, November 4, 2001, p. A27; Rashid, 2008a, pp. 120–121.

⁵³ International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2007, p. 107.

that can stand on a pin, and the quantum mechanics of the end of days. More important, he was not a weapons expert.⁵⁴

In addition to these concerns, Pakistan has the fastest growing arsenal in the world, according to Riedel among others.⁵⁵ China, again, has been instrumental to Pakistan. While Pakistan has tried to develop plutonium-based weapons since the 1990s and continues to produce plutonium for weapons, China provided assistance to Pakistan's plutonium program. Pakistan's 40–50 megawatt heavy-water Khushab plutonium production reactor has been operational since 1998. However, Pakistan is building two more heavy-water reactors that will augment its plutonium production capability. All of this suggests that Pakistan plans to continue increasing its arsenal.⁵⁶

The accumulated weight of these concerns—of Pakistan's past proliferation record and its separate challenges of Islamist militancy—have inspired U.S. fears that militants will obtain access to Pakistan's nuclear arsenal or technology and use them against the United States or its allies. This transfer could occur with the assistance of individuals within the nuclear establishment, via a regime that is sympathetic to militant ideologies, or through forcible seizure of nuclear materials or weapons. Such doomsday scenarios are common among Western commentators on Pakistan.⁵⁷ The manner in which these narratives conflate all of the major strands of Western concern over Pakistan—political instability, Islamist militancy, and nuclear weapons—probably explains why these various threats sustain credence.

⁵⁴ Ahmed Rashid charitably refers to Mahmood as a “crackpot.” Rashid, 2008a, p. 121. See also Douglas Frantz with David Rohde, “A Nation Challenged: Biological Terror; 2 Pakistanis Linked to Papers on Anthrax Weapons,” *New York Times*, November 28, 2001.

⁵⁵ Riedel, 2009.

⁵⁶ Paul K. Kerr and Mary Beth Dunham Nikitin, *Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons: Proliferation and Security Issues*, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, updated May 15, 2009.

⁵⁷ See, for example, Adrian Levy and Catherine Scott-Clark, “How the West Summoned Up a Nuclear Nightmare in Pakistan,” *Sunday Times* (London), September 2, 2007; Michael O'Hanlon, *Pakistan's Collapse, Our Problem*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, July 2, 2008.

Organization and Security of Pakistan's Nuclear Infrastructure

It is in Pakistan's supreme national interest that its nuclear arsenal remains operational and survivable. Achieving this goal requires well-organized systems and oversight to protect the arsenal from internal and external threats. In light of the A. Q. Khan debacle, the United States has both pressured Pakistan to improve and assisted it in improving the security of its nuclear weapons. The convergence between these rationales—of internal will and of external encouragement—has yielded several measures that have substantially improved Pakistan's nuclear stewardship.⁵⁸

All aspects of Pakistan's nuclear weapons arsenal—size and posture, doctrine for use, and prospects for future expansion—are driven overwhelmingly by the country's security concerns about India. Although the exact size of Pakistan's arsenal is unknown, it is believed to consist of at least 60 nuclear warheads, and possibly as many as 120.⁵⁹ Facilities for the production and support of this capability are dispersed across the country, including the Khan Research Laboratory in Kahuta and heavy-water reactors in Khushab. The production of highly enriched uranium is considered to be ongoing.⁶⁰ A desire to seek more and larger-yield nuclear weapons cannot be ruled out. It is likely that Pakistan is already reconsidering the nature and size of its program in light of India's progress in forging security relations with the United States, Israel, and China and the ratification of the U.S.-Indian civil-

⁵⁸ Although specific details of the security measures remain classified, experts attest to their cumulative impact as having made Pakistan's nuclear assets "impervious to virtually all threats that might be imagined as materializing in peacetime." See Ashley J. Tellis's testimony, U.S. Congress, 110th Cong., 2nd Sess., U.S.-Pakistan Relations: Assassination, Instability and the Future of U.S. Policy, Hearing Before the Subcommittee on the Middle East and South Asia of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, January 16, 2008a, p. 10.

⁵⁹ Kerr and Nikitin, 2009; Shaun Gregory, *The Security of Nuclear Weapons in Pakistan*, West Yorkshire, UK: Bradford University, Pakistan Security Research Unit, Brief No. 22, November 18, 2007a.

⁶⁰ Kerr and Nikitin, 2009.

ian nuclear deal.⁶¹ Pakistan possesses both air- and land-based nuclear delivery methods, and it maintains a general deterrent stance against India. Maintaining broad parity with India is likely to inform decisions about the future size and state of the Pakistani arsenal.

Command and control has been formalized through the creation of the National Command Authority (NCA) in 2000. NCA is the country's topmost decisionmaking body on issues pertaining to Pakistani nuclear affairs, including nuclear use. Its ten-member body is headed by the country's president and also includes the prime minister and army chief of staff. However, the army-dominated SPD is responsible for oversight of the nuclear weapons program. SPD is currently headed by a retired army lieutenant general. It acts as the secretariat of NCA and has the responsibility for the implementation of policies and measures relating to the nuclear arsenal. These tasks include the physical security of Pakistan's nuclear complex and, after the exposure of A. Q. Khan's network, the prevention of further leaks.⁶² In practice, this means that the relationship between the president who heads NCA, and the army that runs SPD, is the principal basis upon which Pakistan's nuclear policy decisionmaking and management rest.

SPD has implemented a number of improved security measures, including those for the physical security of nuclear sites, based on multi-tiered perimeter defense, and for storing the weapons. During normal operations, missiles are reportedly not mated with the warheads, and the fissile cores are not inserted in the warheads. These components are held in different locations.⁶³ SPD's Technical Directorate is responsible for acquiring technology to improve Pakistan's nuclear security. In this capacity, it has worked with countries, including the United States, to

⁶¹ The U.S.-Indian civilian nuclear deal essentially recognizes India as a *de jure* nuclear power, provides bilateral mechanisms to provide India with technical and material support to its civilian nuclear program, and commits the United States to work with international partners and organizations to secure Indian access to nuclear fuels and technology for its civilian program.

⁶² On Pakistan's nuclear oversight reforms, see International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2007, pp. 107–117.

⁶³ Comments by Ashley Tellis to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Middle East and South Asia, March 18, 2008a, p. 55; Gregory, 2007a.

purchase communications and surveillance technologies. While it is unconfirmed whether Pakistan has received permissive action links—technical controls on the weapons that require code-based access to arm the warhead—senior Pakistani weapons scientists have suggested that this is the case.⁶⁴ The accumulated effects of these developments is that despite the political turbulence in Pakistan, U.S. intelligence states:

[T]he ongoing political transition in Pakistan has not seriously threatened the military's control of the nuclear arsenal, but vulnerabilities exist. The Pakistan Army oversees nuclear programs, including security responsibilities, and we judge that the Army's management of nuclear policy issues—to include physical security—has not been degraded by Pakistan's political crisis.⁶⁵

International Significance of Pakistan's Nuclear Challenges

Although the exact scale and details of U.S. assistance to Pakistan's nuclear security have not been made public, Washington is estimated to have invested between \$50 and \$100 million in programs that are thought to encompass assistance, including setting up export controls, establishing methods to assist in the safe storage and transport of nuclear materials, and permitting technology transfers that allow Islamabad to buy sensors and other technologies from U.S. firms to better equip its nuclear sites.⁶⁶ The wider significance of this assistance has been that for the first time, the United States has effectively acknowledged Pakistan's status as a nuclear power.

Pakistan's nuclear aspirations have been a principal sticking point in its relations with the United States. While the 1976 Glenn and 1977 Symington Amendments to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 were adopted in response to India's nuclear test in 1974 in an effort to halt

⁶⁴ Andrew Koch and Kristin Rayhack, "Political Fallout: The Threat to Pakistan's Nuclear Stability," *Jane's Intelligence Review*, December 13, 2007.

⁶⁵ See McConnell, 2008.

⁶⁶ The estimation of \$100 million comes from interviews with Bush administration officials conducted by David E. Sanger and William J. Broad, the authors of "U.S. Secretly Aids Pakistan in Guarding Nuclear Arms," *New York Times*, November 18, 2007.

further proliferation, these amendments also affected U.S.-Pakistan relations. The Symington Amendment of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 prohibits most forms of U.S. assistance to countries that are found to traffic in nuclear enrichment equipment and technology outside of the international safeguards. The Glenn Amendment prohibits U.S. assistance to any nonnuclear weapons state that, among other things, tests a nuclear device.⁶⁷ (In 1979, Pakistan was in violation of the Symington Amendment because it covertly constructed a uranium enrichment plant. Washington aid to Islamabad was possible through the use of presidential waivers.)

At the height of the cooperative U.S.-Pakistani effort to expel the Soviet Union from Afghanistan, the U.S. intelligence community determined that Pakistan's nuclear program was reaching fruition. Technically, the massive U.S. military aid program to Pakistan would have been illegal according to the Symington Amendment. To accommodate the strategic imperatives of providing assistance to Pakistan and the emergent reality that Pakistan's pursuit of nuclear weapons capability merited sanctions under the Symington Amendment, the Pressler Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act was passed in 1985 with the active involvement of Pakistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was keen to find a way around this impasse. The Pressler Amendment made U.S. support conditional on an annual presidential assessment and certification that Pakistan did not have nuclear weapons. This presidential certification was granted five years running, allowing the assistance program to continue even while Pakistan continued

⁶⁷ The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) recognizes only five nuclear weapons states: the United States, China, Russia, France, and the United Kingdom. India, Pakistan, and Israel are not signatories to the NPT; they acquired nuclear weapons outside of the NPT; and they are not recognized nuclear weapons states. See Robert M. Hathaway, "Confrontation and Retreat: The U.S. Congress and the South Asian Nuclear Tests," *Arms Control Today*, January/February 2000; Barbara Leitch LePoer et al., *India-Pakistan Nuclear Tests and U.S. Response*, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, CRS Report 98-570, updated November 24, 1998; and Jeanne J. Grimmett, *Nuclear Sanctions: Section 102(b) of the Arms Export Control Act and Its Application to India and Pakistan*, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, CRS Report 98-486, updated September 19, 2001.

developing its nuclear weapons capability.⁶⁸ Pakistan was not penalized until 1990 when U.S. interest in the region lapsed after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. It is ironic that most Pakistanis vilify the Pressler Amendment as “targeting” Pakistan when in fact it was designed to permit aid to continue in spite of U.S. knowledge of the advanced state of Pakistan’s weapons program.

Eleven years later, 9/11 motivated the United States to formally abandon its efforts to roll back Pakistan’s nuclear program. By helping to secure Pakistan’s nuclear arsenal, the United States has through its actions endorsed Pakistan as a nuclear weapons state, although no public declaration has been made. While the U.S. government has been forced to recognize Pakistan as a nuclear weapons state, Pakistan is aware of foreign, including U.S., concerns about the risks Pakistan poses to the international community.

Pakistan is vexed by U.S. efforts to provide India with civilian nuclear assistance both because the deal recognizes India as a responsible nuclear power (a claim Pakistan rejects) and because it reflects the significance of the U.S.-Indian relationship. Pakistani government officials believe, with justification, that India is more culpable than Pakistan in bringing nuclear weapons to the subcontinent. They contend that Pakistan had little choice but to develop a nuclear capability once India began pursuing these weapons. Pakistanis rarely—if ever—acknowledge that most of the American and global nonproliferation legal structures were developed in response to India’s test in 1974. Rather, they argue that India suffered few consequences for developing nuclear weapons, while Pakistan has been unfairly punished for doing the same. Pakistanis frequently point to the U.S. decision to cut off all military aid in 1990 when President George H.W. Bush declined to certify that Pakistan had not crossed critical nuclear redlines under the Pressler Amendment.

⁶⁸ For a discussion of Pakistan’s collusion in the initial formulation of the Pressler Amendment: Husain Haqqani, speaking at the Heritage Foundation (Marvin Weinbaum, James McCormick, Husain Haqqani, and Lisa Curtis, “Pakistan Crisis and U.S. Policy Options,” Washington, D.C.: Heritage Foundation, lecture hosted by Walter Lohman, November 27, 2007).

Pakistani officials regularly opine that the U.S.-Indian civilian nuclear deal will enable India to advance its nuclear program. They argue that poorer Pakistan will have difficulty matching this effort without military assistance from its partners. The average Pakistani does not understand why India should be given preferential treatment, especially in light of Pakistan's losses in the war on terror. Pakistanis tend not to believe A. Q. Khan ran a nuclear arms bazaar. Clearly after the A. Q. Khan events, a deal between Pakistan and the United States comparable to the one between the United States and India is highly unlikely given the prevailing political sentiments about Pakistan and the various threats it poses to itself and the region. So far, Pakistan's efforts to cultivate a parallel deal with China have not fructified.⁶⁹

Apart from affecting Pakistan's relations with the United States, Pakistan's nuclear status has also affected South Asian regional stability. There have been three crises over Kashmir since Pakistan has had a covert nuclear weapons capability (1989 onward) and overt capability (1998 onward). The first is the 1990 crisis, in which both states nearly went to war over the activities of ISI-backed militants in Indian-administered Kashmir. The second was the limited-aims Kargil war in 1999. The third was the stand-off along the Indian border in 2001–2002 following the December 2001 attack on the Indian parliament by militants based in Pakistan. All three prompted international fears of escalation and potential nuclear use. The international community tried to use diplomatic pressure to diffuse tensions quickly.⁷⁰

Until the Kargil episode, some analysts believed that nuclear weapons might have a stabilizing effect on Indo-Pakistani relations because of the “stability-instability paradox,”⁷¹ the assertion that nuclear weap-

⁶⁹ Stephen Cohen, in his review of this manuscript, suggested that China (or perhaps France) may in fact be willing to provide such a deal even if a deal with the United States is unlikely.

⁷⁰ See Hagerty, 1995; P. R. Chari, Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, and Stephen Philip Cohen, *Perception, Politics and Security in South Asia*, London: Routledge Curzon, 2003; P. R. Chari, Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, and Stephen Philip Cohen, *Four Crises and a Peace Process: American Engagement in South Asia*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2007.

⁷¹ See Robert Jervis, *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution: Statecraft and the Prospect of Armageddon*, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989.

ons can stabilize security competition between two adversaries by precluding a major war between them.⁷² Evidence from the Indo-Pakistan security dyad suggests that nuclear capabilities *facilitate* conflict at the lower end of the conflict spectrum because decisionmakers may believe that nuclear weapons provide immunity against escalation.⁷³

The Kargil conflict underscored the importance of nuclear weapons to Pakistan's strategy toward India and Kashmir. It also provided strong evidence that nuclear weapons have been destabilizing. Pakistan's possession of these weapons was a critical *precondition* that enabled the planning and execution of the Kargil conflict inasmuch as such weapons ostensibly provided immunity against a full-scale Indian retaliatory response.⁷⁴ Pakistan's strategic assets deterred both Indian conventional and nuclear threats. Nuclear weapons were instruments by which Pakistan could galvanize international intervention on its behalf in the event that the political-military crisis spun out of control. India showed that it understood the value of Pakistan's nuclear assets by not escalating.⁷⁵ Pakistan publicly acknowledged this understanding: in April 1999, Musharraf (then the Chief of Army Staff) announced that even though nuclear weapons rendered large-scale conventional wars obsolete, proxy wars were very likely.⁷⁶ After the conflict subsided, numerous sources reported that Islamabad "bran-

⁷² For a discussion of proponents of this view, see Neil Joeck, *Maintaining Nuclear Stability in South Asia*, New York: Oxford University Press for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, Adelphi Paper, 0567-932X, 1997.

⁷³ Michael Krepon and Chris Gagné, "Introduction," in Michael Krepon and Chris Gagné, eds., *The Stability-Instability Paradox: Nuclear Weapons and Brinkmanship in South Asia*, Washington, D.C.: Henry L. Stimson Center, June 2001. See also S. Paul Kapur, "Ten Years of Instability in a Nuclear South Asia," *International Security*, Vol. 33, No. 2, Fall 2008, pp. 71–94.

⁷⁴ Tellis, Fair, and Medby, 2001.

⁷⁵ Tellis, Fair, and Medby, 2001; Timothy D. Hoyt, "Kargil: The Nuclear Dimension," paper presented at the Kargil Book Project Conference, Monterey, Calif., May 30–31, 2002.

⁷⁶ Hoyt, 2002. See also, "Pak Defence Strong, Says Army Chief," *Independent*, April 19, 1999; Kargil Review Committee, *From Surprise to Reckoning: The Kargil Review Committee Report*, New Delhi, December 15, 1999; New Delhi/Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2000.

dished” nuclear threats during the crisis via ambiguous, but formal, statements by senior Pakistani policymakers. Pakistan also telegraphed the nuclear threat by activating at least one Pakistani missile base and possibly readying several missile systems.⁷⁷

While the nuclearization of South Asia has been stabilizing at the higher end of the conflict spectrum but destabilizing at the lower end, the conclusions that India and Pakistan have drawn from recent conflicts are dangerous for regional security. For Pakistan’s part, it believes that its possession of nuclear weapons in both crises *deterred* India from launching a larger offensive. For India’s part, it believes that its capability *compelled* Pakistan to back down. Such different conclusions do not bode well for the initiation, management, or conclusion of future conflicts.

India’s frustration with Pakistan’s use of subconventional approaches under the nuclear umbrella and desire to create a conflict space from which to punish Pakistan for its use of proxy elements or deter it from using these elements have resulted in various efforts to promulgate an Indian doctrine of limited war. India’s experience with the limited conflict in Kargil suggests to Indian strategic elites that “limited war” is indeed possible. This concept was formally introduced to the Indian and global publics in January 2000 when Indian political and military leaders argued that, based on the experience of Kargil, it was possible to wage a conventional war of limited objectives and dura-

⁷⁷ Raj Chengappa, “Pakistan Threatened India with Nuclear Weapons: Army Chief,” *Newspaper Today*, January 12, 2001; Bruce Riedel, *American Diplomacy and the 1999 Kargil Summit at Blair House*, Philadelphia, Penn.: Center for the Advanced Study of India, University of Pennsylvania, Policy Paper Series, 2002; Tellis, Fair, and Medby, 2001. There are some problems with the interpretation of these reports. For example, it is unclear whether the Pakistani ministers brandishing such threats had the legitimate authority to do so (e.g., Pakistan’s Religious Affairs Minister Raja Zafarul Haq who warned that Pakistan could resort to the nuclear option). Moreover, the “activation” of the missile systems could also have been a misreading. Any mobilization observed could have been a defensive move to protect Pakistan’s nuclear weapons from a preemptive Indian strike rather than an effort to enhance their operational readiness. The utility and danger in such signaling resides in conflicting interpretations and the potential reactions that they may elicit on the part of the adversary. While India and Pakistan have systems in place for advance notification of missile testing and for facilitating communication between military staffs, neither has a comprehensive crisis management system.

tion and contain this conflict below the nuclear threshold.⁷⁸ India's most recent innovation in this regard is the "Cold Start" doctrine, which was unveiled in 2004. Cold Start is intended to permit Indian forces to quickly mobilize to retaliate against Pakistan-supported militancy or other subconventional provocations. This doctrine calls for combined arms operating jointly with air support and signals a dramatic departure from the defensive orientation embraced since 1947.⁷⁹

Despite enthusiasm for this within India's military, it is unlikely to become an operational doctrine any time soon. It has served as a means to nudge the Indian interagency process on Pakistan. The outrageous Mumbai terrorist attack perpetrated by Pakistan's LeT in November 2008 will likely encourage India to redouble its efforts to make Cold Start operational. The Mumbai attack demonstrated the few militarily satisfactory options to punish and thereby deter Pakistan for permitting such groups to operate. However, Pakistan believes that India is going forward with Cold Start and is likely considering how it can respond to or subvert this effort.

While both states ponder what their future conflict space may look like, both have sustained a ceasefire in Kashmir and a bilateral dialogue since 2003, which addresses, among other issues, the Kashmir impasse. While little of substance has emerged from this dialogue, the main achievement has been to dampen the conflict in Kashmir. This dialogue and reduction of violence in Kashmir had been sustained at least in part because of Musharraf's policy of "moderated jihad" in Indian-held Kashmir and in part because of Indian patience despite episodic but large terrorist attacks within India by groups tied to Pakistan. In the wake of the November 2008 Mumbai attack, India suspended the so-called composite dialogue. The fate of this process is uncertain at the time of this writing.

Over the longer term, Pakistan's embrace—howsoever tentative—of peace with India is uncertain. While Pakistan's leaders understand

⁷⁸ George Fernandes, "The Dynamics of Limited War," inaugural address given to the Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi, January 5, 2000.

⁷⁹ Walter C. Ladwig III, "A Cold Start for Hot Wars? The Indian Army's New Limited War Doctrine," *International Security*, Vol. 32, No. 3, Winter 2007/2008, pp. 158–190.

that they cannot change the status quo in Kashmir through military means, despite the improved atmospherics over Kashmir, Pakistan's army may continue to take risks and continue supporting militant groups to undertake risks on behalf of the army. Moreover, Afghanistan has emerged as a new and dangerous theater for Indo-Pakistani brinkmanship. Without resolving the Indo-Pakistan security competition, the prospects for conventional and nuclear conflict will persist at least through the next decade.

Pakistan's Problematic Political Landscape

Pakistan's political parties are weak, highly centralized, and dominated by key personalities. This state of affairs is unlikely to change over the next ten years as a result of Musharraf's successful past efforts to sideline Pakistan's major political parties in an effort to promote his own preferred party. It will take some time for Pakistan's parties to regain what little institutional capacity they had prior to Musharraf's intervention.

The current political problems are not new. Pakistan's political parties have historically been weak, vulnerable to co-optation by Pakistan's military and intelligence agencies. Through offers of benefits and threats of punishment, the military regimes have persuaded various politicians to join new political parties that the regimes have formed to act on their behalf. Ayub Khan carved out the Convention Muslim League. General Zia also established a Muslim League under the leadership of Mohammad Khan Junejo. Both of these parties deliberately appropriated the name of the political movement, the Muslim League, that founded Pakistan. Musharraf, employing the services of the ISI to threaten and offer benefits, co-opted numerous politicians to populate his PML-Q.⁸⁰ However, while Islamist parties have drawn the attention of Western capitals, they have not fared well in free and fair elections.

⁸⁰ See discussion in International Crisis Group, *Authoritarianism and Political Party Reform in Pakistan*, Islamabad/Brussels, Asia Report No. 102, September 28, 2005; Rashid, 2008a; Stephen P. Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2004.

There are now four principal non-Islamist parties in Pakistan and two main Islamist parties.⁸¹ With the exception of the Awami National Party (ANP) and JI, these parties have similar weaknesses. They tend to be centered on key personalities who demand loyalty and who tend to govern their parties through fiat rather than democratic procedures. PPP, PML-N, and the Muttehida Quami Mahaz (MQM) are often derisively referred to as tightly held “personality cults.” With the exception of JI, these parties are not democratically organized. The parties dole out opportunities to contest constituencies (“tickets”) according to party loyalty and patronage rather than an individual’s political following or ability to govern. Decisionmaking, to varying degrees, is tightly controlled by powerful party secretariats in which party constituencies are narrowly represented. Pakistan’s parties, while issuing manifestos, do not often develop policies that differentiate one party from the other. They rarely center their campaigns on policy issues. With the exception of JI, the parties do not support policy research. Pakistan has no truly independent organizations to develop public policy options or to lead debates.

Most parties are strongly regionally based. This is true of PPP, which is strongest in Sindh, even though PPP has a stronger national standing than the other parties. The main constituencies are rooted in local castes, clans, ethnicities, or family interests. Political leaders tend to be more interested in providing patronage and seeking rents while in power than they are in providing better government services. At best, parties aggregate provincial or ethnic interests rather than national interests. While they do form coalitions, these coalitions are undergirded by the mathematics of distributing power and patronage rather than a policy-driven political consensus or the needs of the citizens.⁸²

⁸¹ In addition to these political parties, Pakistan has many smaller parties that represent particular sectarian religious, ethnic, or regional political interests. Muttehida Quami Mahaz and the Awami National Party are intensely regional parties, representing Karachi Mohajirs and Pashtuns, respectively. Whereas the Awami National Party is currently an ally of the Pakistan’s People’s Party–led government, Muttehida Quami Mahaz was an important component of the pro-Musharraf coalition.

⁸² International Crisis Group, 2005; Rashid, 2008a; Cohen, 2004; Hamid Khan, 2001; Baxter et al., 2002, pp. 169–240.

Pakistan's political malaise is tied to chronic political turbulence: With the exception of the 2002 national assembly, no government has ever served its full term. (While that assembly served its term, there were two prime ministers and one interim prime minister during that period.) Parties have little expectation that they will serve out a full term. This expectation conditions party elites to maximize rents during their tenure because they are likely to spend several years in opposition or, in the case of a military coup, in jail. Opposition parties need not—and thus do not—allow a sitting government to serve its term because they have extra-constitutional means to prorogue the national assembly and win in early elections. Both the PPP and the PML-N have prevailed upon the army to interfere with and destabilize sitting governments. The army has been willing to play this role because it ensures the fractious political nature of politics and minimizes the odds of serious efforts to deprive the army of its power. Because of the ability of the army and the ISI to destabilize a sitting government, most prime ministers are wary of antagonizing the military by challenging its preferred courses of action. Not surprisingly, few governments have had the strength to exercise civilian control over the military. The end result has been that Pakistanis have rarely been able to judge the politicians through the exercise of the ballot box in free and fair elections. Politicians have not been held repeatedly accountable to the electorate through elections.⁸³

Principal Political Parties

PPP emerged from the post-1971 Pakistan as the dominant political party. It has been and remains most firmly rooted among the dominant feudal landlords of rural Sindh. It is the only party that enjoys national standing, although some observers believe that it is becoming more regional following Benazir Bhutto's death.⁸⁴ While PPP has often purported to have solid "left of center" credentials, it has formed alliances with religious parties when needed. Its founder, Zulfikar Bhutto, actually pioneered the Islamization of Pakistan by outlawing alcohol

⁸³ See various discussions of civilian military intrigue in Siddiqua, 2007.

⁸⁴ Author discussions in Pakistan in April 2008.

and gambling, declaring the Ahmediyas to be non-Muslim, and by deliberately cultivating cultural ties with Arab states after the loss of Bangladesh in 1971.⁸⁵

Underscoring the dynastic rather than democratic organization of the party, Benazir Bhutto took over after her father's assassination. When Bhutto's last will and testament was read following her assassination, she declared that the reins of the party should fall to her college-age son, Bilawal Bhutto Zardari. While he completes his studies, the effective leadership of the party fell to her widower Asif Zardari.⁸⁶ The party leadership is likely to be successfully transferred to her son, intimating that little is likely to change in Pakistan's largest, most national party over the course of the next decade.

Opposite the PPP in the political spectrum is Sharif's PML-N, which is right of center. PML-N traditionally draws its support from the Punjab; it particularly appeals to Punjab's elites, especially owners of large amounts of land (the "feudals"), the urban business community industrialists, and former bureaucrats. PML-N is also popular among the well educated and religious conservatives. The party won the second largest portion of seats in the national assembly and became a part of the governing coalition in 2008.

ANP has evolved considerably in the last decade. In the past, ANP espoused socialism and staunch secularism, sought to remain with India at partition, and vigorously promoted Pashtun nationalism and Pakhtunistan or Pakhtunwa (the desire to unite the Pashtuns of both Afghanistan and Pakistan in a single homeland). In light of Afghanistan's irredentist claims on Pashtun territory in Pakistan, ANP had been a perpetual irritant to the central government. ANP's traditional support base is limited to ethnic Pashtuns in parts of NWFP, FATA, and Pashtun areas of Baluchistan. In recent years, because of the large number of Pashtuns who have migrated to Karachi, ANP has organized in Karachi, where it now rivals MQM and Sindhi nationalists.

⁸⁵ Zulfikar Bhutto had hoped that by appealing to Islam he could dampen the ethnic tensions that were emergent within the state and that brought about the loss of Bangladesh.

⁸⁶ See discussion in International Crisis Group, 2005; Cohen, 2004, pp. 134–137; Baxter et al., 2002, pp. 202–203.

Whereas in the 2002 elections, Pashtuns in the frontier and Baluchistan tended to vote for the Islamist party Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI), in the 2008 election, ANP experienced a surprising resurgence, soundly defeating JUI. (In some areas JI also did well.) This victory reflected Pashtun discontent with the poor performance of the Islamist provincial government in NWFP, growing concerns about Islamist militancy, and the belief that JUI was accommodating the militants' agenda and activities too much.

ANP has supported Pakistani national goals, seeking to establish a role for itself counter to the Islamist militancy that has arisen in Pashtun areas in recent years. While many were optimistic that ANP could help contain the militants, it has not been successful thus far, in part, because dealing with the militants is in the military's portfolio—not in that of the political parties. In spite of its limited remit, ANP has tried to engage the Pashtun public on the problem of Islamist militancy even if the army is not seeking a solution. Baitullah Mehsud, a leader of the Pakistani Taliban, perhaps in recognition of ANP's popularity and its stand against militancy, warned the liberal ANP to quit the government or brace for retaliation. Despite his threats, ANP has continued to oppose the Pakistani Taliban and other militants.⁸⁷

The fourth significant party is MQM or United National Movement. Prior to 1997, MQM was known as the Mohajir Quami Mahaz, reflecting the fact that its primary constituency is the largely urban, Urdu-speaking Mohajirs in Sindh. While MQM is rooted to this ethnic group, it is not necessarily tied to a region, although its traditional stronghold has been Karachi and other cities in Sindh. While MQM has a strong following among the middle and lower-middle class, it obtains funds from Mohajir traders and business houses. MQM's principle leader, Altaf Hussain, has retained control over his party despite living outside of Pakistan, as did Bhutto and Sharif. MQM came into being as a counterbalance to Zulfikar Bhutto's efforts to mollify ethnic Sindhis, who felt oppressed by the Mohajirs who had settled in Kara-

⁸⁷ Daud Khatak, "Baitullah Mehsud's Threat to ANP: Political Leaders in NWFP Tread Cautiously," *Daily Times*, July 20, 2008. While ANP condemned this, both PML-N and PPP did not and even offered exculpatory explanations for the threat.

chi and other parts of Sindh. In the 1980s, MQM was associated with attacks against ethnic Sindhis and Baloch in Karachi. MQM, while a successful political party, still retains a mafia-like reputation among its political opponents. MQM was a political ally of Musharraf, himself a Mohajir, because he opposed PPP in Sindh.

Compared with PPP and PML-N, Islamist parties tend to have the most clearly articulated ideologies. They tend to follow particular sectarian traditions, with the notable exception of JI. JI is the largest and most ideologically coherent of Pakistan's Islamist political parties. Founded in 1941 by Maulana Abu al-A'la Mawdudi, JI eschews sectarian divisions. Like other Islamist parties in Pakistan, it has sought to use domestic politics to advance Islamic issues. JI vigorously opposed the Family Law Ordinance of 1961, which eventually gave women limited rights concerning divorce, polygamy, and remarriage. It opposed the Women's Protection Bill, which passed in November 2006 and reversed some of the most controversial aspects of General Zia's Hudood Ordinance. JI has built a large, nationwide chain of schools as well as madaris and runs many medical clinics in an effort to expand its presence throughout Pakistan. These social services have enabled JI to cultivate political support and expand its organization. JI is organized in cells along Leninist organization lines; it runs several affiliated organizations aimed at expanding its ranks. Most notable among these is Al Huda, an educational and outreach organization that mostly targets women through adult Islamic education and other Islamic remedial educational and social programs.⁸⁸ Syed Munawar Hasan is the amir (leader) of JI.⁸⁹

JI, more so than the other religious parties in Pakistan, has maintained an active international religious-political agenda. Consonant with this role, JI has taken positions and influenced Pakistan's foreign policies concerning Afghanistan and Indian-administered Kashmir. It

⁸⁸ Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr, *International Relations of an Islamist Movement: The Case of the Jama'at-i Islami of Pakistan*, New York: Council on Foreign Relations, February 2000; Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr, *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution: The Jama'at-i Islami of Pakistan*, Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1994; International Crisis Group, *Pakistan: The Mullahs and the Military*, Islamabad/Brussels, Asia Report No. 49, March 20, 2003.

⁸⁹ Until March 2009, the amir was Qazi Hussain Ahmed, who was amir from 1987 to 2009.

has considerable reach internationally. It played an important role in the Afghan jihad against the Soviets, funneling money from ISI to JI-influenced groups and training some mujahideen. JI is believed to have tight control over several “indigenous” militant organizations operating in Indian-administered Kashmir (e.g., Hizbul Mujahideen (HM) and Al-Badar). JI has ties with the Ikhwanul Muslimeen (the Islamic Brotherhood of Egypt) and with Bangladeshi and Indian chapters of JI. The writings of Mawdudi have been influential throughout the Muslim world, generating considerable interest in JI far beyond Pakistan. JI also runs research organizations, such as the Islamabad-based Institute of Policy Studies, which conducts and publishes research on domestic and foreign policy issues confronting Pakistan and critical issues in contemporary Islam and the Muslim world.⁹⁰

The Pakistani public generally believes that JI conducts party business in ways that are more democratic than the mainstream parties. It is perceived as less corrupt and more disciplined. It is a tightly knit organization with a strong following among the urban middle class, the bureaucracy, the military, and other educated professionals. It has had long-standing ties with the military and intelligence agencies. In recent years, a number of high-profile military personalities have joined JI. Despite its ideological coherence, military patronage, and often-lauded “street power,” JI’s showing at the polls has been unimpressive. In the 1993 general elections, it allied with smaller religious parties and won only six seats. It boycotted the 1997 elections. In the 1980s, it forfeited its political position in Karachi to MQM. JI was the second-largest component of the Islamist coalition, Muttahida-Majlis-e-Amal (MMA), which contested general elections in 2002 and local government elections in 2005.⁹¹ Under the banner of MMA, JI was able to regain some ground in Karachi because of conflicts with MQM and because of popular support for MMA, mostly from Pash-tun migrants to the city. JI enjoys support north of the Khyber and in other parts of NWFP, where it competes with JUI. In Punjab, much of JI’s power base overlaps with the constituency of PML-N. JI boycotted

⁹⁰ Nasr, 1994 and 2000; International Crisis Group, 2003.

⁹¹ Nasr, 1994 and 2000; International Crisis Group, 2003.

the 2008 elections, believing that the military would rig the vote to its disadvantage. Its decision contributed to the collapse of MMA in that election.

If one looks only at electoral outcomes as a measure of strength, it is easy to underestimate the importance of JI. When measured in organizational skills, political experience, and influence within the state, JI is probably the most powerful religious lobby in Pakistan. It will remain an important source of influence within the military and an important actor in Pakistan's civil society. Its alleged ties to al Qaeda, support for the Taliban, and a raft of other Islamist militant groups merit continued concern.⁹²

JUI was the largest component of MMA and the single most important Deobandi political organization in Pakistan.⁹³ JUI is divided into several personality-focused factions, the most important of which is led by Fazlur Rehman (Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam [JUI-F]). A second faction led by Sami ul Haq (Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam [JUI-S]) was also prominent until recent years. JUI factions routinely contest elections and have formed alliances with nonreligious parties (e.g., PPP and PML-Q).

Both Rehman and Sami ul Haq have inherited their religious and political leadership roles, and both control vast networks of Deobandi madaris. Rehman's influence extends to most of NWFP and even the Pashtun areas of Baluchistan. These madaris provide party workers and political leadership to JUI. They have also educated cadres and leaders of the Afghan mujahideen and other Afghan militias, including the Taliban and the Deobandi militant organizations. JUI is deeply implicated in supporting a wide array of Deobandi militants, including the Afghan and Pakistani Taliban, and various sectarian and other militant groups operating within Pakistan and the region. JUI enjoys overlapping membership with many of these groups, as the Deobandi mili-

⁹² See various discussions of JI support of Islamist militancy in Rashid, 2008a.

⁹³ Deoband is a puritanical, Islamic reform movement that began in what is now Deoband, India. It is one of the important interpretive Muslim traditions in Pakistan.

tant groups emerged from a shared network of madaris and mosques, and they espouse the same religious ideology as JUI.⁹⁴

While adherents to the Deobandi tradition remained a small minority through the 1970s, General Zia cultivated the Deobandi mullahs to give himself a degree of religious authority to add to his political clout. Since the late 1970s, Deobandis' influence has grown substantially. At present, Deobandis are thought to represent some 15 percent of the Pakistani populace; they control the largest share of madaris in Pakistan.⁹⁵ JUI has been the most vocal in demanding that Pakistan be a "Muslim" state. Deobandi organizations are responsible for the anti-Shia violence that has taken place in recent decades.

While JUI and JI were important partners in MMA, differences between JUI-F and JI emerged over the willingness of the former to cooperate with Musharraf. Consequently, the alliance began to fray, and MMA is now defunct. Unlike JI, JUI participated in the 2008 elections. JUI was soundly defeated in NWFP, in part because JI worked to undermine it in those areas and elsewhere. Should the current government fall and fresh elections be called, JI would probably participate. However, given the public distaste for the Islamist parties, neither JI nor JUI would be expected to do well. Both parties will retain their ability to mobilize their supporters and bring them into the streets. These Islamist parties remain a potent source of pressure on the government.

Pakistan's Internal Security Challenges

Pakistan is likely to experience a continued proliferation of militant groups that target Afghanistan, India, domestic political groups and leaders, and Pakistan's security forces and intelligence agencies. Deo-

⁹⁴ For a discussion of MMA officeholders facilitating the Afghan Taliban and other militant groups, see various discussions in Rashid, 2008a.

⁹⁵ There are no robust data detailing sectarian commitments among Pakistanis. While Deobandis control the largest portion of Pakistan's registered and affiliated madaris, Barelvis have more shrines in Pakistan than do the Deobandis. See Institute of Policy Studies, *Pakistan: Religious Education Institution, An Overview*, Islamabad, Pakistan, 2002.

bandi groups are most likely to pose the greatest security challenges to the Pakistani government and citizenry alike. Pakistan's handling of its growing problems will be hampered by the Pakistani army's preoccupation with India, Afghanistan, and Kashmir. Because of these security concerns, Pakistan's security forces are unlikely to make a strategic move away from using militants as instruments of policy and move decisively against them. The Pakistani government is likely to engage some militants in hopes of securing domestic peace, while seeking to eliminate leaders intent on destabilizing the state. However, the government has not been successful in its efforts to eliminate key militants, and its efforts to confront them have come at a high price in terms of loss of life, encouraging wider forms of militancy and galvanizing public support against military action.⁹⁶

While Pakistan continues to contend with Baloch insurgents in Baluchistan, key leaders have been eliminated. Because the sources of the conflict have not been addressed, the state will likely continue to suppress Baluch political and militant organizations alike. However, because Baluchistan is the least populous province with the lowest population density, this conflict will not seriously challenge the state. While Mohajirs, Pashtuns, Sindhis, and Baloch are likely to engage in violence in Karachi over access to jobs, markets, real estate, positions within the government, racketeering, and business opportunities, the state has been able to keep a handle on the violence—albeit with massive use of force and human rights violations. Shia-Sunni clashes are likely to continue because of the Deobandi. These conflicts could become bloodier if Iran resumes its past support for Shia groups within Pakistan.

The most serious challenge to state authority and security will be the ongoing developments in the tribal areas and NWFP. The state has a demonstrable record of engaging militants with an excessive use of force followed by bouts of appeasement and accommodation of mili-

⁹⁶ See discussion in Manjeet Singh Pardesi, "The Battle for the Soul of Pakistan at Islamabad's Red Mosque," in C. Christine Fair and Sumit Ganguly, eds., *Treading on Hallowed Ground: Counterinsurgency Operations in Sacred Spaces*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 88–116.

tants. Until April 2009, the Pakistan government seemed to lack the capability and will to deny the militants unfettered ability to establish “micro-emirates” of sharia. At the time of this writing, it remains unclear whether the army will prevail. Its operations have displaced more than three million people from Swat and FATA, and the army has demonstrated a striking inability to hold ground that it has cleared of militants at a high price. Worse, the Pakistani civilian bureaucracy has proven unable to provide government services and security to the conflict-affected areas. What is clear is that the army has not declared war on all militants: only those operating under the banner of the Pakistani Taliban. Other groups that claim to target India remain functional. It remains to be seen what—if anything—will compel the Pakistani state to abandon militancy as a tool of foreign policy.

There are two wild cards in this discussion. The first is the views of the national security establishment. Since the July 2007 Red Mosque affair, there has been a debate within Pakistan about the need to abandon government support for militants as a foreign policy tool.⁹⁷ Pivotal events, such as the assassination of key army leaders by Islamist militants, could lend added impetus to this debate. Second, the Pakistani populace may demand a different approach if militant groups continue to attack such cities as Lahore, Rawalpindi, and Islamabad in the Punjab heartland and if the public’s preferred approach of “peace deals” fail to provide security.⁹⁸ Indeed, as of June 2009, there is evidence that this is taking place. Polling by the Program on International Policy Attitudes from May 2009 suggests that Pakistanis have become some-

⁹⁷ In summer 2007, the Pakistan Army moved in and essentially leveled Islamabad’s Red Mosque. Militants had ensconced themselves in the mosque and in the adjoining girls’ madrassah. Activists based in the mosque pursued vigilante purity campaigns in nearby markets, harassed women who were not completely veiled, and kidnapped “massage therapists” and police officers among other criminal activities. The mosque had long been a redoubt of Islamist and sectarian militants and had been well-known to the ISI.

⁹⁸ Polling on these issues has been consistent. See Fair, Ramsay, and Kull, 2008. See also Gallup Pakistan, “Press Release on Benazir Bhutto’s Assassination,” January 11, 2008; IRI, 2008c.

what more supportive of military strikes, less optimistic about the ability of peace deals to bring peace, and thus, less supportive of them.⁹⁹

Islamism, Militancy, and the State

For decades Pakistan has used both Islamism and militant Islam as tools of foreign and domestic policy. Civilian and military governments alike have co-opted Islamists to garner legitimacy and to insulate their regimes from opposition. Most recently, MMA was Musharraf's opposition of choice emerging from the 2002 elections. The various relationships between the security establishment and the Islamist political parties have also served other purposes. Many Islamist political parties have had important ties with Islamist militant groups that have been active in India, Indian-administered Kashmir, Afghanistan, and within Pakistan. These groups have been employed by the army and intelligence agencies as proxies through which the state prosecutes its interests in those theaters. The state worked through JI and Deobandi institutions to cultivate and provide assistance to the "mujahideen" during the internationally supported jihad to expel Soviet forces from Afghanistan. The state also relied upon Deobandi organizations to fulfill a similar role during the Taliban period. Many Deobandis, JI, and other sectarian organizations were mobilized to support militants in Kashmir.

Until the commencement of the U.S.-led "global war on terror," the military and religious leaders and militant groups generally shared similar perceptions of threats and objectives. Prior to 2002, it was possible to distinguish distinct types of militant groups that varied in sectarian outlook, objectives, and theaters of operation. Several militant groups focused on Kashmir and India. While these groups shared operational focus, they differed in their sectarian outlooks: LeT is an Ahl-

⁹⁹ Polling available from IRI has long shown that Pakistanis overwhelmingly support peace deals and are ambivalent about military operations. This trend held even during the most recent survey fielded in March 2009. See IRI, *IRI Index: Pakistan Public Opinion Survey, March 7–30, 2009*, 2009. A Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) poll, fielded in May 2009, found that Pakistanis are less ambivalent about military action and more ambivalent about peace deals (prerelease communications with PIPA on June 19, 2009; author C. Christine Fair helped with that survey effort).

e-Hadith organization; Al Badr and HM are tied to JI; and Harkat ul Ansar (HUA), Harkat ul Mujahideen (HUM), Harkat ul Jihad Islami (HUJI), and JM share ties with the Deobandi religious and political leadership.¹⁰⁰ While these groups may have espoused larger goals (e.g., fomenting Hindu-Muslim discord in India, supporting jihads in other theaters), they largely remained focused upon Kashmir and acted either in Indian-administered Kashmir or the Indian hinterland to achieve these goals.¹⁰¹

The most prominent Islamist sectarian groups are the anti-Shia Deobandi organizations, such as Lashkar-e-Jhangvi and Sipah-e-Sahaba-e-Pakistan (SSP), which also functioned as a political party. These sectarian and India/Kashmir-focused Deobandi groups always had overlapping memberships with each other and with different components of JUI. JUI and these Deobandi groups forged ties with the Taliban, which came out of Pakistan's Deobandi madaris.

Many of these Kashmir-oriented and sectarian groups cemented ties with the Afghan Taliban leadership through Deobandi madaris and shared militant networks, camps, and supply lines in Afghanistan. Many, especially Deobandi groups, developed networks with al Qaeda and became their local operatives in Pakistan. Al Qaeda's presence in Pakistan prior to 9/11 probably relied heavily upon these networks. Prior to 9/11, Pakistan's varied militant groups enjoyed political patronage, support from the military and intelligence agencies, and overt public support. Groups routinely and openly solicited donations and recruited members throughout Pakistan.¹⁰²

Pakistan has been subject to a number of ethnic militant conflicts. Apart from the Baluchistan conflict, in the 1980s conflicts in Sindh resulted in military action to restore peace to Karachi after

¹⁰⁰ These groups have been banned and have reformed under new names, unfamiliar to most readers. We have retained the more familiar names while noting that the groups no longer use them.

¹⁰¹ C. Christine Fair, "Militant Recruitment in Pakistan: Implications for Al-Qa'ida and Other Organizations," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 27, No. 6, November/December 2004b, pp. 489–504.

¹⁰² Author fieldwork in Pakistan in 2000 involved visiting "recruitment" and "fundraising" stalls during Eid in Lahore.

armed conflict between the ethnic Mohajirs and ethnic Sindhis. There have also been other episodes of violence, such as anti-Shia attacks in the Northern Areas and past bouts of ethnic conflict in the Pashtun areas (e.g., FATA and NWFP). Despite popular perceptions to the contrary, these insurgent and militant activities are not connected to the wider Islamist militancy in Pakistan.¹⁰³

The Post-9/11 Militant Landscape

Pakistan has become increasingly unstable since 9/11. The influx of members of the Afghan Taliban and al Qaeda after they were forced out of Afghanistan has been a major factor in the deteriorating security situation. U.S. and Pakistani policies to combat al Qaeda and deal with the Taliban have at times exacerbated Pakistan's security problems. Under pressure from the United States, the Pakistani government stopped or diminished official support for the Afghan Taliban and other such groups. In the wake of the 2001–2002 Indo-Pakistan military crisis and the allegations that the attack on the Indian Parliament in December 2001 was conducted by Pakistan-based militant groups, the U.S. government pressured the Pakistani government to scale back militant activities in India and Kashmir. In response, President Musharraf forged a new policy of “moderated jihad” in Kashmir.¹⁰⁴

Many militant groups bridled at these restrictions. While LeT and the various JI-backed groups retained party discipline, some of the Deobandi groups resisted directives from the Pakistan government. Such groups as JM splintered; some factions began to attack the Pakistani state. Many of the Deobandi groups, such as HUJI, HUA,

¹⁰³Theodore P. Wright, “Center-Periphery Relations and Ethnic Conflict in Pakistan: Sindhis, Muhajirs, and Punjabis,” *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 23, No. 3, April 1991, pp. 299–312; Charles H. Kennedy, “The Politics of Ethnicity in Sindh,” *Asian Survey*, Vol. 31, No. 10, October 1991, pp. 938–955; Farhat Haq, “Rise of the MQM in Pakistan: Politics of Ethnic Mobilization,” *Asian Survey*, Vol. 35, No. 11, November 1995, pp. 990–1004; International Crisis Group, *Discord in Pakistan's Northern Areas*, Islamabad/Brussels, Asia Report No. 131, April 2, 2007a; International Crisis Group, 2007b; Grare, 2006; International Crisis Group, *Pakistan's Tribal Areas: Appeasing the Militants*, Islamabad/Brussels, Asia Report No. 125, December 11, 2006.

¹⁰⁴See discussion in Fair and Chalk, 2006.

and HUM, began targeting key members of the Pakistani leadership, including Musharraf himself. Sectarian groups, such as LeT and SSP, working with other Deobandi groups, attacked Pakistani and foreign interests and individuals, including Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz, the Karachi Corps Commander General Hayat, Minister of Interior Aftab Khan Sherpao, French engineers in Karachi, and a Christian church in Islamabad.¹⁰⁵ Many militant groups relocated personnel, training, and other facilities to various parts of FATA, where they began training Afghan and Pakistani insurgents and making incursions into Afghanistan.¹⁰⁶

South and North Waziristan and Bajaur tribal agencies have been the primary sanctuaries for al Qaeda, Afghan and Pakistani Taliban, and allied fighters. Under U.S. pressure, Pakistan prosecuted military operations against militants in FATA starting in 2002. Pakistan's operations in FATA varied in scale, intensity, and efficacy. They largely targeted al Qaeda elements (including Central Asians). When Washington has applied extreme pressure, select Afghan Taliban activists have also been targeted. In response to Islamabad's 2004 operations in South Waziristan, a FATA-based Pashtun insurgency developed in South Waziristan. It then spread to North Waziristan and Bajaur. Insurgents began operating in most of the agencies and even adjoining settled areas.

Throughout the FATA agencies and nearby areas, locally operating Pakistani Taliban use coercion to take resources. They suppress local dissent by eliminating tribal elders and other religious, political, and government authorities who oppose them, among other measures. They have mobilized deepening Pashtun antipathy toward the Musharraf-led military policies, his alliance with the United States, and the American "occupation" of Afghanistan to develop support among Pashtuns. The Pakistani Taliban have also been accepted as providers of security

¹⁰⁵For discussions of the reorganizations see Amir Mir, *The True Face of Jihadis*, Lahore, Pakistan: Mashal Books, 2004; Zahid Hussain, *Frontline Pakistan: The Struggle with Militant Islam*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.

¹⁰⁶Author interviews in Kabul between June and October, 2007. See also "FATA Militants Commit to Fight in Afghanistan," *Daily Times*, July 15, 2008; Gannon, 2008.

and swift (if draconian) justice. As a result, they have successfully established micro-emirates modeled after the (Afghan) Taliban's regime in Afghanistan in some territories in which they are present.¹⁰⁷

Episodic but deadly U.S. incursions into South and North Waziristan and Bajaur have contributed to the Talibanization of FATA and adjoining areas. In October 2006, U.S. Hellfire missiles struck a madrassah in Damadola (Bajaur), reportedly a stronghold of al Qaeda.¹⁰⁸ Some 82 people were killed, many of them students. Within one week, Pakistani Taliban, likely working with Deobandi groups such as LeT and SSP, launched their first suicide attack against Pakistani security forces, targeting an army training center in Dargai in Malakand, outside of FATA.¹⁰⁹ Since then, Pakistani Taliban have used suicide attacks against a wide range of Pakistani government targets in FATA and beyond. The Pakistan Army has been incapable of employing effective counterinsurgency tactics against the Pakistani Taliban. The Pakistani security forces have had problems with morale and allegiance. Soldiers, especially in FC, have often balked at fighting relatives, friends, coreligionists, and compatriots who have joined the ranks of the insurgents. Soldiers have deserted, stating that they did not join the army to kill Pakistanis.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷See, inter alia, Graham Usher, "The Pakistan Taliban," *Middle East Report Online*, February 13, 2007; Laila Bokhari, *Waziristan—Impact on the Taliban Insurgency and the Stability of Pakistan*, Kjeller, Norway: Norwegian Defense Research Establishment, FFI/RAPPORT-2006/02894, 2006; Shafiq Ahmad, "Unstoppable Taliban," *Herald*, March 2007, pp. 76–78; Zaffar Abbas, "Enduring Failure," *Herald*, February 2006, pp. 52–58; M. Ilyas Khan, "Back to the Drawing Board: Pakistan's Military Establishment Needs to Urgently Rethink Its Afghan Policy," *Herald*, February 2006a, pp. 59–61.

¹⁰⁸The U.S. government does not formally acknowledge airstrikes in Pakistan, in part because the drone program is generally a CIA program. See GlobalSecurity.org, "MQ-9 Reaper," October 11, 2008; "US drone strike kills 27 in Bajaur," *The Nation* (Pakistan), October 26, 2009; and Fred Burton and Scott Stewart, "Gunning for Al Qaeda Prime," *Stratfor*, June 27, 2007.

¹⁰⁹M. Ilyas Khan, "'Ominous Omens' for Pakistan's Army," *BBC News*, November 8, 2006b.

¹¹⁰Usher, 2007; C. Christine Fair, Nicholas Howenstein, and J. Alexander Thier, *Troubles on the Pakistan-Afghanistan Border*, Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, Peace Briefing, December 2006; Ghafar Ali Khan, "The Lost Frontier?" *Herald*, July 2007; Zahid

To avoid direct engagement, the military has signed more than half a dozen agreements with militants in the Waziristan, Bajaur, Swat, and other locales. These deals have ratified the Pakistani security forces' defeat in these areas. They also bestow legitimacy on the Pakistani Taliban as political entities. All of the agreements recognize the Pakistani Taliban groups as bargaining partners, compensate them for their human and material losses (but do not ask the Taliban to compensate their victims), and allow the Taliban to retain their weapons and to establish sharia. In return, the Taliban agree to cease and desist from harboring foreign militants, to refrain from engaging in operations in Afghanistan, and to cease targeting Pakistani state assets and personnel. The Pakistani security forces do not insist on incorporating means of verifying these commitments in the agreements. As a consequence, the militants have honored these accords only in the breach.¹¹¹ NATO and U.S. military commanders in Afghanistan have also noted, with dismay, that immediately after an agreement has been signed, attacks in Afghanistan go up sharply.¹¹²

Part of the current and future challenge of reducing attacks in Pakistan (and Afghanistan) stems from the large number of separate but related militancies that exist across the Pashtun belt. Each insurgent group has local roots in the agencies in which it operates. They are bound by, or restricted in their mobility and expansion by, tribal politics. Despite these challenges to forming "grand alliances," in October 2007 credible Pakistani press reports stated that five different militant groups were operating under the banner of the Tehrik-e-Taliban-e-Pakistan (the Taliban Movement of Pakistan [TTP]). By December 2007, TTP had reportedly coalesced around the leadership of Baitullah Mehsud. However, few believe TTP was tightly controlled by Mehsud. Rather, TTP appears to be more of a network of militant command-

Hussain, "Are We Losing the War Against Militancy?" *Newsline*, July 2008; Hassan Abbas, "A Profile of Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan," *CTC Sentinel*, Vol. 1, No. 2, January 2008, pp. 1–4.

¹¹¹ Usher, 2007; Sharad Joshi, "Is Pakistan Appeasing the Taliban?" *Foreign Policy in Focus Strategic Dialogue*, June 13, 2008.

¹¹² Ahmed Rashid, "Pakistan's Prickly Foreign Relations," *BBC News*, June 10, 2008c. See also Jones, 2007.

ers who are allied, sometimes tactically and episodically.¹¹³ As the term “Pakistani Taliban” is used by Pakistani sources, this book uses this term for brevity. The Pakistan Taliban, howsoever constituted, are distinct from the Afghan Taliban even though they claim to espouse allegiance to the Afghan Taliban’s amir (leader) Mullah Omar. They have set goals of imposing sharia in their localities. (Longtime analysts of this insurgency doubt the coherence ascribed to the movement while recognizing the importance of local jihadi leaders).¹¹⁴ TTP and the recently killed Baitullah Mehsud are believed to be responsible for a sustained suicide attack campaign that spanned 2006 through much of 2009 throughout Pakistan, including the assassination of Benazir Bhutto and attacks against police in Lahore, the Federal Investigative Agency Office in Lahore, the Naval War College in Lahore, ISI headquarters in Rawalpindi, and Pakistani security forces in the Pashtun belt.

The Pakistan military’s cessation of direct action in January 2008 was followed by a sharp decline in suicide attacks in Pakistan. Many Pakistanis supported the agreements at least in part because they restored a modicum of normalcy. However, the decline in violence came at a price. The state ceded territory and sovereignty throughout FATA and other Pashtun areas to these groups. The militant infrastructure has remained intact, and militants have been allowed to expand their operations, making FATA one of the most important al Qaeda redoubts. Many terrorist operations in Europe have been planned in FATA or have used terrorist training facilities in FATA. Militant attacks in Afghanistan have motivated the United States and NATO to act, destroying targets in FATA. These operations have further roiled the Pashtun militants. If the status quo persists, over the course of the next decade these groups will continue to proliferate, consolidate gains, and destabilize the region and Pakistan as a whole.

¹¹³ Abbas, 2008.

¹¹⁴ Author conversations with Mariam Abou Zahab in July 2008.

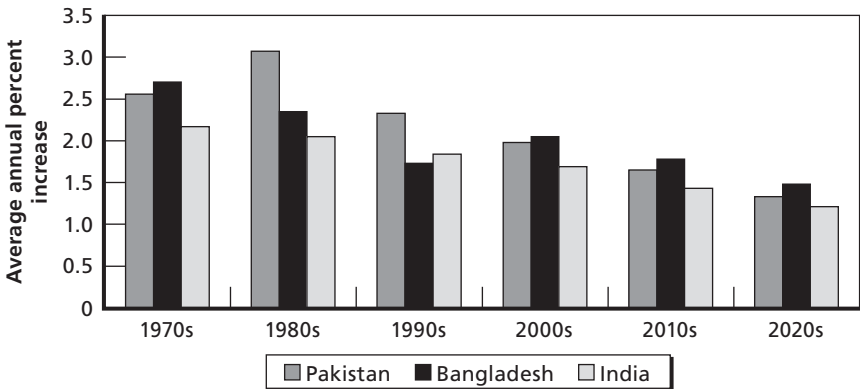
Demographic Trends

Population Growth

Pakistan has a population of 173 million, making it the sixth most populous country in the world and the second most populous Muslim country after Indonesia.¹¹⁵ Of Pakistan's four provinces, Punjab is the most populous, accounting for 37 percent of the total, followed by Sindh (24 percent), NWFP (14 percent), and Baluchistan (5 percent).¹¹⁶

Pakistan's population was growing rapidly until the 1990s, after which rates of growth fell (see Figure 2.1). Although mortality rates

Figure 2.1
Comparison of Population Growth Rates in Pakistan, Bangladesh, and India



SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau, various years.

NOTES: An alternative source of population projections, UNDP, projects slightly higher growth rates in Pakistan between 2005 and 2015 than the U.S. Census Bureau, 1.9 percent compared with 1.8 percent. Projections of population growth rates for Bangladesh differ much more substantially, 1.6 percent (UNDP) compared with 1.95 percent (U.S. Census Bureau).

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¹¹⁵ See Central Intelligence Agency, *CIA World Factbook*, "Pakistan," July 2008. For a somewhat lower figure, see United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), *Indicators—2007/2008 Report*, New York: Human Development Report Office, 2007/2008b, p. 245.

¹¹⁶ Social Policy and Development Centre (SPDC), *Social Development in Pakistan, 2006–2007*, Karachi, 2007. Pakistan includes not only these four provinces but also the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), Islamabad Capital Territory, Azad Kashmir, and Gilgit Baltistan (pieces of Kashmir). The remaining population resides in these areas.

began to fall in the 1950s, fertility rates began to decline significantly only since the 1970s. They remain around four children per woman.¹¹⁷

Across Pakistan, rural areas have significantly higher fertility rates than urban areas. These higher rates of population growth are putting pressure on wages in rural areas and are likely to increase the disparity between rural and urban standards of living.¹¹⁸

Pakistan's fertility rates have fallen more slowly than India's. Some analysts cite lack of access to family planning; others point to cultural factors that encourage the desire to have more children. Studies tend to support the latter. Increasing opportunities for education for girls also reduce fertility rates, more so than increased access to family planning services.¹¹⁹ The desire to have more children appears to be affected by economic and cultural determinants.¹²⁰

The U.S. Census Bureau and the United Nations project that population growth rates will continue to decline because of declines in fertility rates over the next two decades. Slower population growth rates are likely to be beneficial to future governments, slightly easing future pressures for public services. However, Pakistan's very large, poor population will continue to challenge the ability of Pakistan's government to provide public services. Moreover, a return to more rapid rates of growth would compound the government's problems.

Urbanization

In addition to experiencing a youth bulge, Pakistan, like many developing countries, has faced rapid growth in its urban population (see

¹¹⁷ Exact estimates of fertility rates differ. UNDP puts it at 4 children per female for 2000–2005 (UNDP, 2007/2008b, p. 245); U.S. Census Bureau puts it at 3.7 (U.S. Census Bureau, *International Data Base (IDB)*, “Country Rankings,” 2000–2005).

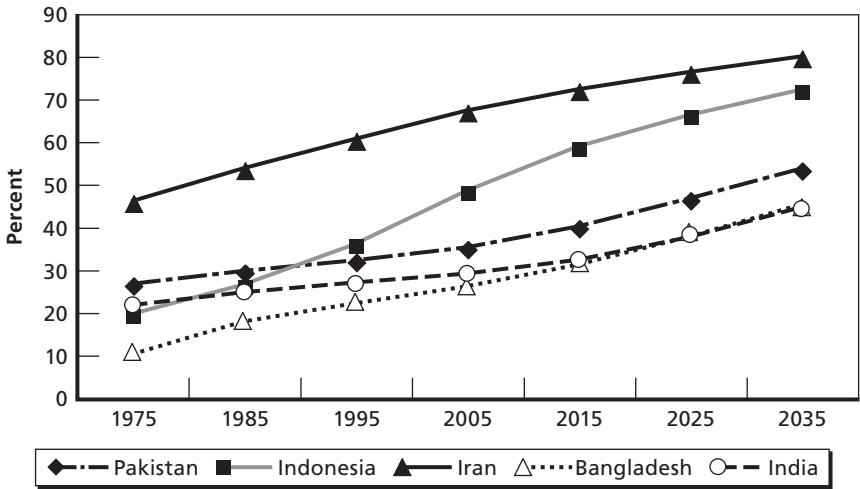
¹¹⁸ On regional differences, see also Shireen J. Jejeebhoy and Zeba A. Sathar, “Women's Autonomy in India and Pakistan: The Influence of Religion and Region,” *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 27, No. 4, December 2001, pp. 687–712.

¹¹⁹ Zeba A. Sathar, Cynthia B. Lloyd, Cem Mete, and Minhaj ul Haque, “Schooling Opportunities for Girls as a Stimulus for Fertility Change in Rural Pakistan,” *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 51, No. 3, April 2003, pp. 677–698.

¹²⁰ Zeba A. Sathar and John B. Casterline, “The Onset of Fertility Transition in Pakistan,” *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 24, No. 4, December 1998, pp. 773–796.

Figure 2.2). Although Pakistan's population is not yet as urbanized as in more-developed countries, recent decades have witnessed a steady influx into Pakistan's cities, eight of which will be home to over one million people by 2010.¹²¹ With a population of 13 million in 2010, Karachi is already a megacity, the second largest in the Muslim world after Dhaka in Bangladesh (population 14.8 million).¹²² Urbanization is projected to continue to accelerate in the next decade. Karachi's projected average annual growth rate for 2005–2015 is 3.1 percent, just behind the world's fastest growing cities of Lagos, Nigeria, and Dhaka, which are growing at 3.2 percent.

Figure 2.2
Population Living in Urban Areas



SOURCE: United Nations, *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2007 Revision Population Database*, New York: United Nations, Development, Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2007.

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¹²¹Faisalabad, Gujranwala, Hyderabad, Karachi, Lahore, Multan, Peshawar, and Rawalpindi.

¹²²United Nations, *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2005 Revision*, "Fact Sheet 7, Mega-Cities," New York: United Nations, Development, Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2005.

Urban conditions, like living conditions in much of the rest of Pakistan, are often poor. In Karachi, 40 percent of the population lives in slums that receive few, if any, public services. Because of popular dissatisfaction with the government, police often spend their time controlling demonstrations rather than preventing or investigating crimes.¹²³ However, judging from the continued influx of people, cities offer better economic prospects than the countryside. Moreover, during the recent period of rapid economic growth in Karachi, the city government has attempted to provide better services.¹²⁴

The Economy

Economic Growth

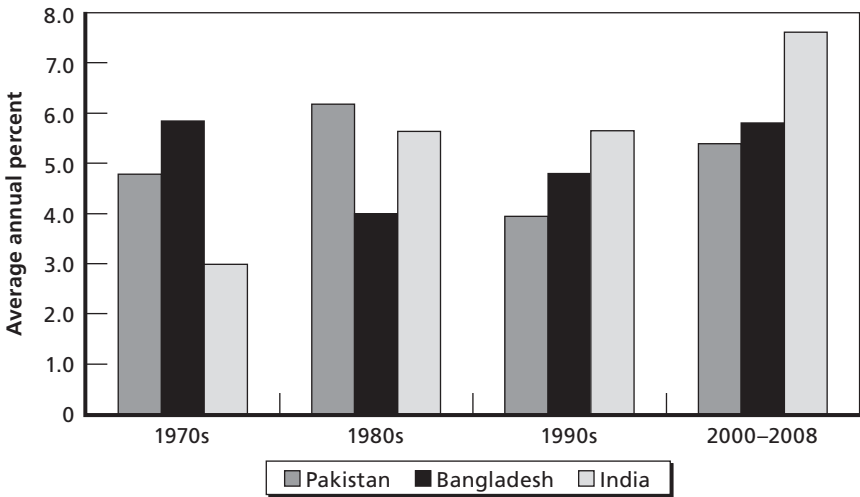
Between 2000 and 2008, economic growth in Pakistan was stronger than in the 1990s, averaging 5.4 percent between 2000 and 2008, up from 3.9 percent in the 1990s (see Figure 2.3). Pakistan has participated in the acceleration in economic growth in this decade that has taken place across most of the developing world, including on the Indian subcontinent. Better macroeconomic management, trade liberalization, and some progress on reducing microeconomic impediments to economic growth have been key factors in more-rapid growth. Sales of state-owned assets to private investors have helped improve the productivity of capital, reduced drains on the budget from loss-making state-owned enterprises, and brought in additional revenues to the government.

Pakistan has not enjoyed the very rapid rates of growth as India, which has averaged 7.6 percent per year in this decade. When translated into growth in per capita income, the differences are quite large: between 2000 and 2008, on average per capita gross domestic prod-

¹²³Ellen Brennan-Galvin, "Populations on the Move: Crime and Violence in an Urbanizing World," *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 56, No. 1, Fall 2002, pp. 123–145.

¹²⁴In April 2009, Nazim (Mayor) Syed Mustafa Kamal of Karachi was chosen the best mayor in Pakistan by the Canada Pakistan Friendship Association. Although the association is not unbiased, the award did reflect Kamal's efforts to improve public services.

Figure 2.3
Comparison of Growth Rates in Pakistan, Bangladesh, and India



SOURCE: International Monetary Fund, *International Financial Statistics*, various years.

RAND MG910-2.3

uct (GDP) in Pakistan rose 3.4 percent; in India, it was rising by 5.4 percent per year. Rapid growth in India has generated very tangible increases in incomes, especially for the rising Indian middle class. Pakistan's middle class has grown and enjoyed rapid growth in incomes, but the slower rate of growth has not lifted as many people out of poverty as in India and has not generated the same degree of economic dynamism.

Growth in Pakistan has been fairly solidly based. All sectors have contributed to growth, but increases in output in manufacturing, financial services, and government services have been especially strong. Like elsewhere in the developing world, the telecommunications industry has been an important driver; because of the spread of cell phones, the number of telephones (fixed line and mobile) per 100 people has jumped from 2 in 2000 to 25 in 2006. The penetration rates continue to rise. Through 2008, merchandise exports have been rising at an average annual rate of 12.0 percent per year, almost twice as fast as in India and faster than in Bangladesh. Exports have been an

important driver of growth in manufacturing. Remittances sent home by the many Pakistanis working abroad, primarily in the Persian Gulf, have also boosted growth. Remittances ran an estimated \$6 billion in 2007, about one-third of the value of exports. Agriculture, Pakistan's most important sector, has grown more slowly than GDP. Output of major crops has more or less kept pace with population growth, while livestock output has grown much more rapidly than the population.

In fall 2008, Pakistan experienced a balance-of-payments crisis. Part of the crisis was due to domestic factors: The Pakistani government had failed to improve its fiscal balance by reining in spending on subsidies and capital investment. Global economic conditions contributed heavily to Pakistan's problems. Sharp increases in global prices of food and petroleum products resulted in sharp increases in subsidies to cover the cost of government-controlled prices for food and for imported fuel. Higher expenditures on subsidies added to Pakistan's fiscal problems, while higher prices for oil resulted in large increases in Pakistan's import bill. The global financial panic made it impossible for Pakistan to finance its current account deficit. After searching for alternative solutions, Pakistan signed a Stand-By Agreement (SBA) with the International Monetary Fund on November 24, 2008. Despite the continued deterioration in the global economy, Pakistan has generally adhered to its SBA, although the IMF and Pakistan agreed to relax the target for the budget deficit in 2009 when Pakistan failed to generate sufficient tax revenues to meet the target. The exchange rate has stabilized, but growth in GDP is projected to slow to 2.5 percent in 2009, according to the International Monetary Fund, and potentially 1 percent, according to the World Bank.¹²⁵

Inflation and Fiscal Balance

Until 2008, Pakistan was able to avoid extreme bouts of inflation through enforcement of reasonable monetary policy. After accelerating

¹²⁵International Monetary Fund, *Pakistan: 2009 Article IV Consultation and First Review Under the Stand-By Arrangement—Staff Report*, Washington, D.C., IMF Country Report No. 09/123, April 2009, p. 30; the World Bank, *Global Development Finance: Charting a Global Recovery*, Washington, D.C., 2009, p. 137.

in the last few years of rapid growth, consumer price inflation surged to 25 percent in 2008 as commodity prices jumped.¹²⁶ The increases are due to the rising prices of food and oil. Inflation averaged 8 percent per year between 2003 and 2007. Inflation has eased as commodity prices have fallen but is still uncomfortably high, running 17.2 percent in March 2009.

Pakistan has had difficulty in maintaining its fiscal balance. Budget deficits have been running 4.3 percent of GDP, excluding external grants, and between 3.7 and 4.0 percent when grants are included. Foreign borrowing, privatization receipts, and high rates of domestic savings have made it possible for the Pakistani government to finance these deficits; money creation has also played an indirect role. In 2008, a sharp increase in subsidy payments to restrain increases in food and imported fuel prices resulted in a large increase in the budget deficit, which contributed to the balance-of-payments crisis in fall 2008.

A bigger problem than the size of the deficits has been the modest revenue base upon which government finances rest. Tax revenues as a share of GDP are just 11 percent of GDP. By way of comparison, India collects 18 percent of GDP in tax revenues. This 7 percent difference greatly affects government expenditures in Pakistan. The Pakistan government spends an average of 20 percent of GDP, of which the military takes 20 percent. The Indian government spends 28 percent of GDP, of which 10 percent goes to the military. Although neither the Pakistani nor the Indian governments are models of efficiency, revenue constraints in Pakistan have severely limited both public investment and expenditures on public services. Pakistan's very limited tax base increases its vulnerability to sharp shifts in revenues, from the domestic tax base or from donors or lenders abroad, or in expenditures, as was the case in 2008.

Employment, Income Growth, and Poverty

Employment growth has been strong in Pakistan in this decade, rising by 29 percent between 2000 and 2007, more than double the rate of

¹²⁶Government of Pakistan, Statistics Division, Federal Bureau of Statistics, *Monthly Review on Price Indices*, Islamabad/Karachi, Pakistan, August 2008a.

growth in the population (12 percent). In addition, large numbers of Pakistanis work outside of the country, especially in the Persian Gulf, which has provided additional employment opportunities, often for young Pashtun men from poor areas, such as FATA.

Strong economic growth and demand for labor in the Gulf resulted in a fall in the unemployment rate, from 7.8 percent in 2000 to 5.3 percent in 2006. However, significant regional variations in unemployment remain. The unemployment rate in NWFP is substantially higher than in Sindh or Punjab.¹²⁷ Typical of poorer countries, rural rates of unemployment are lower than urban rates, even though urban incomes are higher. Because of the lack of a social safety net, everyone in rural areas needs to find some sort of work. Higher incomes in urban areas make it possible for individuals to rely on family or friends while they extend their job search.

Pakistan's high fertility rates in the 1980s and 1990s and declining infant mortality rates have created a youth bulge: a disproportionately large share of the population is younger than 30. Pakistan's fast-growing, young population is one of the many reasons the country has been a source of concern. Domestic and international analysts often opine that young, unemployed men are susceptible to recruitment into militant groups despite the lack of support for this contention in the literature, which tends *not* to look at Pakistan.¹²⁸ Other studies *do*

¹²⁷SPDC, 2007, p. 166.

¹²⁸See Alan B. Krueger and Jitka Maleckova, *Education, Poverty, Political Violence and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?* Cambridge, Mass.: National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper No. 9074, July 2002b; Alberto Abadie, *Poverty, Political Freedom, and the Roots of Terrorism*, Cambridge, Mass.: National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper No. 10859, October 2004; James Piazza, "Rooted in Poverty? Terrorism, Poor Economic Development, and Social Cleavages," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 2006, pp. 159–178; Alan B. Krueger and Jitka Maleckova, "Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 17, No. 4, 2003, pp. 119–144; Alan B. Krueger and Jitka Maleckova, "The Economics and the Education of Suicide Bombers: Does Poverty Cause Terrorism?" *The New Republic*, June 24, 2002a, pp. 27–33; Claude Berrebi, *Evidence About the Link Between Education, Poverty and Terrorism Among Palestinians*, Princeton, N.J.: Industrial Relations Section, Princeton University, No. 477, 2003; Peter L. Bergen and Swati Pandey, "The Madrassa Scapegoat," *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 2, Spring 2006, pp. 117–125; Marc Sageman, *Understanding Terror Networks*, Philadelphia, Penn.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004, pp. 61–98.

find that if the young population is gainfully employed, the chances that young people will participate in armed rebellion are significantly reduced.¹²⁹ For these reasons, the connections between poverty and unemployment on the one hand and supply of militant manpower on the other cannot be dismissed altogether in the case of Pakistan. If economic growth does not keep pace with the growth of the population, militant organizations may find it easier to recruit high-aptitude young men because the pool of “applicants” may be larger and the applicants may have better skills than those applicants in periods of greater economic growth. While economic growth need not bring about a complete cessation of militant labor supply, it can restrict the pool of better-qualified militants, thus reducing the quality of possible terror, if not the incidence.¹³⁰ The key to ensuring that Pakistan’s youth bulge does not have a destabilizing effect will, therefore, be to create conditions for more-rapid economic growth and to ensure that regional disparities that could create grounds for serious grievances are ameliorated.

Despite recent growth in per capita GDP, Pakistan remains a poor country: In 2008, per capita GDP was just \$887 at market exchange rates and \$2,700 at purchasing-power-parity exchange rates in 2005 dollars. Average wages were correspondingly low. Growth was not spread evenly: Urban areas have fared better than rural areas. Nationally, rural poverty rates have been over 60 percent higher than in urban areas. The situation in FATA is the most distressing. Per capita income there is half the national level; 60 percent of the population lives below the poverty line.¹³¹

Remittances from Pakistanis working abroad, especially in the Persian Gulf, reduce these disparities. Wages in the Gulf of just a few hundred dollars a month go a long way in Pakistan. In 2007, remit-

¹²⁹For a discussion, see Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, “Greed and Grievance in Civil War,” *Oxford Economic Papers*, Vol. 56, No. 4, 2004, pp. 563–595.

¹³⁰See Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, “The Quality of Terror,” *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 49, No. 3, July 2005, pp. 515–530. For a discussion, see C. Christine Fair, “Militant Recruitment in Pakistan: A New Look at the Militancy-Madrasah Connection,” *Asia Policy*, Vol. 4, July 2007, pp. 107–134.

¹³¹International Crisis Group, 2006, p. 9.

tances financed over 5 percent of household consumption expenditures, and much more in poor, rural areas.

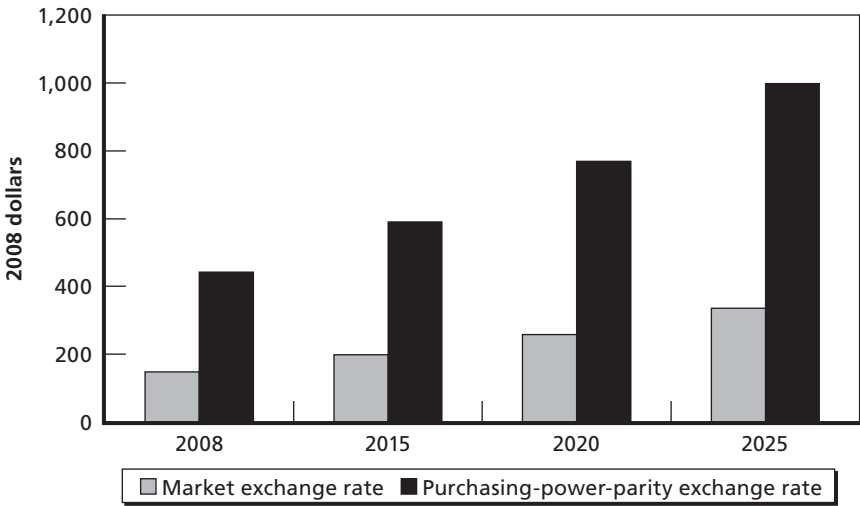
Because food looms so large in household budgets, changes in the relative price of food as well as economic growth have a major impact on living standards for the vast majority of Pakistanis. Increases in oil and food prices in 2008, coupled with price controls on food, hit everyone hard, especially the urban poor. Shortages due to price controls and higher prices led to riots and demonstrations. Declines in commodity prices in the latter part of 2008 and during 2009 have helped, but if relative prices for food go back up, poor urban households will be the big losers.

Economic Outlook

What will Pakistan's economic future likely be? As noted above, Pakistan, along with many other developing countries, is undergoing a sharp adjustment in its balance of payments. Growth has slowed sharply, and the economy might even contract if agriculture does poorly in 2009. However, both the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank project that growth will gradually accelerate in 2010 and 2011, eventually returning to the rates of the earlier part of this decade if levels of violence can be maintained and macro and microeconomic policies stay on course. On the whole, economic policies have been more sensible in this decade than in the 1990s. Pakistan has adhered to its SBA with the International Monetary Fund. The Zardari government appears intent on continuing the drive to liberalize and privatize. If Zardari refrains from exacerbating current levels of corruption, continues privatization, and keeps the budget under control, growth should resume, especially if remittances from the Persian Gulf resurge.

Figure 2.4 shows Pakistan's GDP through 2025 in 2008 dollars at market and purchasing-power-parity exchange rates, assuming economic growth follows the path projected by the World Bank and then grows at the same average rate as between 2000 and 2008, 5.4 percent per year. Under these assumption, by 2025 Pakistan's GDP at purchasing-power-parity exchange rates would run \$1 trillion (2008 dollars) and would be 2.2 times larger than in 2008. Between 2008 and 2025, per capita GDP would rise at an average annual rate of 3.3 percent

Figure 2.4
Growth in GDP in Pakistan Through 2025



SOURCE: RAND projections.

RAND MG910-2.4

and would be 80 percent higher in 2025 than in 2008. Under this scenario, households would enjoy solid gains in income, although Pakistan would remain a lower-income developing country in 2025, with a per capita GDP of \$4,600 per year at purchasing-power-parity exchange rates. The disparity between the size of Pakistan’s and India’s economies would continue to widen. Pakistan would be unable to maintain defense spending at anywhere near India’s levels.

Social Development

For good and ill, trends in population growth, education, and health care will play important roles in determining political stability and political outcomes in Pakistan. Many indicators of social development in Pakistan are low, even compared with other low-income countries. It ranks 137th on the United Nation’s Human Development Scale, well below Indonesia, another poor Muslim nation, which comes in at

107th.¹³² Pakistan scores poorly in terms of infant mortality, literacy, female enrollment in schools, and access to public health care, to name just a few indicators. The weaknesses of Pakistan's government in providing public services have contributed to slower progress in these areas than in Indonesia or India.

To compound the general problem of poor government services, access to and quality of services varies dramatically across the country. Excluding FATA, Sindh and Baluchistan tend to score lowest in terms of social development.¹³³ Infant mortality is much higher in Baluchistan than in Punjab. Youth literacy is six times higher in some districts in Pakistan than in others. Immunization coverage has expanded in some provinces, while stagnating or even declining in others.

Education

Pakistan's educational system functions poorly. Although Pakistan and India had comparable levels of literacy at partition, Pakistan now lags significantly behind India. In 2006, the literacy rate was 49.9 percent, compared with the regional average of 59.6 percent and the Indian rate of 61 percent, although in both instances statistics are of doubtful quality.¹³⁴ According to official statistics, literacy rates have been rising; the rate was only 42.9 percent in 2000.

Within Pakistan itself, there are significant variations between literacy rates for males and females, between rural and urban areas, and between provinces. Female literacy has been rising, but it is significantly lower than the rates for males.¹³⁵ According to official Pakistani

¹³²India's Muslim population was 138 million according to the 2001 census; Indonesia's population in 2005 was 226 million, roughly 88 percent of which were Muslims (Census of India, *Census 2001*, "India at a Glance, Religious Composition," New Delhi, India: Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, not dated).

¹³³The World Bank, *Attaining the Millennium Development Goals in Pakistan*, Washington, D.C., Discussion Paper Series, No. 37839, May 1, 2005b, p. iii.

¹³⁴The World Bank, *Education Statistics Version 5.3*, Washington, D.C., 2005a.

¹³⁵The male literacy rate is 65 percent, compared with a 40 percent rate for females (SPDC, 2007, p. 152). See also Masooda Bano, *Pakistan Country Case Study*, Paris, France: United Nations Educational Scientific Cultural Organization, 2008/ED/EFA/MRT/PI/11, 2007, p. 14.

figures, in 2007, the female literacy rate was 42.4 percent, and the male rate 67 percent.¹³⁶ Similarly, while the mean number of years spent in school has increased for both sexes, females on average spend less than half as much time in school as males.¹³⁷ Literacy is much higher in Punjab and Sindh than in NWFP or Baluchistan.¹³⁸ The divergence between male and female literacy rates is also noticeably greater in Baluchistan and NWFP than elsewhere in the country. Overall, literacy rates are even lower in FATA, where very few women can read.¹³⁹

In response to the poor state of public education (in which the vast majority of students are enrolled), parents have increasingly enrolled their children in private education. Children from wealthier families not only receive a much better education and have correspondingly better economic prospects, they are imbued with a different cultural worldview than the children who pass through the public educational system.¹⁴⁰

Poorer families will sometimes send their sons to Pakistan's Islamic seminaries, or madaris. Education in Pakistan has received substantial attention in Western discussions of Pakistan's future on account of the madaris, which have sometimes been portrayed as hotbeds of Islamic radicalism. Recent research has shown that the madaris are neither as prevalent nor as universally involved in militant recruitment as previously believed. Reliable statistics are difficult to obtain, but studies have found that less than 1 percent of all full-time students

¹³⁶Government of Pakistan, Statistics Division, Federal Bureau of Statistics, *Labour Force Survey: 2007–2008, Twenty Seventh Issue*, Islamabad, Pakistan, December 2008b.

¹³⁷Males spend an average of 8.2 years in school, versus an average of 3.4 years for females (SPDC, 2007).

¹³⁸SPDC, 2007, p. 118.

¹³⁹International Crisis Group, 2006, p. 9.

¹⁴⁰On this subject see Shahid Javed Burki, "Educating the Pakistani Masses: The World Needs to Help," Testimony Before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations at the Hearing Combating Terrorism Through Education: The Near East & South Asian Experience, Washington, D.C., April 19, 2005.

are enrolled in madaris.¹⁴¹ The belief that the majority of madaris are training grounds for terrorists is also without basis in fact.¹⁴² However, some research has shown that those educated in the madaris tend to support violence more readily than do those educated elsewhere. This fact does not necessarily mean that madaris propagate militant ideologies; parents with such views may choose to send their children to madaris. Madaris may reflect the entrenched pro-militancy views of a particular segment of the population rather than being the source of those views. This said, a number of scholars have expressed particular concern about the content of educational curricula in the madaris. Government-issued textbooks in the public schools have also drawn criticism for encouraging intolerance.

Health

Infant mortality is a key indicator of the overall health of a country. Pakistan's infant mortality rates are high: 79 deaths per thousand births in 2005, compared with India's rate of 56 and Bangladesh's rate of 54. This figure is down from 85 deaths per thousand births in the 1990s in Pakistan.¹⁴³ Infant mortality is much higher in rural areas than in urban areas and in some regions than others. The number of births in medical institutions in Baluchistan is less than half the national average, a fact that is reflected in higher rates of infant mortality. Infant mortality is likely to continue to decline, but the extent of the decline will depend on how rapidly sanitation improves, the extent of expansion of female schooling, and especially the expansion of immunization.¹⁴⁴

Preventable disease is still a major cause of death in Pakistan. While the 1990s saw progress on eradicating polio and controlling tuberculosis, routine immunization rates remained substandard, espe-

¹⁴¹ C. Christine Fair, *The Madrassah Challenge: Militancy and Religious Education in Pakistan*, Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2007a, p. 95.

¹⁴² Fair, 2007a.

¹⁴³ UNDP, *Indicators—2007/2008 Report*, New York: Human Development Report Office, 2007/2008b.

¹⁴⁴ The World Bank, 2005, pp. 15–17.

cially in rural areas.¹⁴⁵ Immunization rates also vary across provinces, with Baluchistan significantly below the national average.¹⁴⁶ Disease is in part the result of the lack of access to clean water and sanitation. Again there are significant variations between rural and urban areas as well as across provinces, with access to clean water in Punjab significantly below the national average, though improving.¹⁴⁷ Such low levels of health have repercussions on economic productivity and poverty levels. As the World Bank puts it, parts of Pakistan are caught in a “vicious cycle of illness, low productivity, and poverty.”¹⁴⁸

Concluding Remarks

A stable Pakistan at peace with itself and with its neighbors is a necessary precondition for security throughout South Asia. Yet, this chapter has argued that because of Pakistan’s troublesome past, structural problems run deep. A lack of consensus among elites, especially the military leadership and civilians, over how and who is to wield power, the use of militants to pursue foreign policy and security goals, high illiteracy rates, and poor health care combine to cloud Pakistan’s future. The continued influx of poor and poorly educated young men into the labor force may well create a cohort that is ripe for radicalization.¹⁴⁹ Wide disparities in income and development and the weaknesses of Pakistan’s educational and health systems will continue to contribute to political instability.

¹⁴⁵The World Bank, *Improving Human Development Outcomes in Pakistan*, Washington, D.C., a Background Note Prepared by the World Bank for the Pakistan Human Development Forum (January 24–26, 2002), Islamabad, No. 29940, January 2002, pp. 3–4.

¹⁴⁶Rates in Baluchistan were reported at 48 percent in 2005–2006, as compared with a national average of 71 percent. See SPDC, 2007, p. 160.

¹⁴⁷The rate of access was 27 percent in Punjab with a national average of 34 percent in 2005–2006 (SPDC, 2007, p. 161). The same data show that access is significantly lower for females in all regions except NWFP, which has the highest overall rates.

¹⁴⁸The World Bank, *Pakistan Public Expenditure Management: Strategic Issues and Reform Agenda, Vol. I*, Washington, D.C., Report No. 25665-PK, January 28, 2004, p. 13.

¹⁴⁹Cohen, 2004, pp. 233–235.

On the other hand, the rate of growth in population has slowed dramatically, down from over 3 percent in the 1980s to less than 2 percent per year. Pakistanis are becoming better educated. According to Pakistani statistics, literacy rates have been rising. Economic growth accelerated between 2000 and 2008, in part because of more-enlightened economic policies, as the Pakistani government has haltingly liberalized the economy and privatized state-owned enterprises. Employment grew substantially before the recent balance-of-payments crisis. The Persian Gulf provided an outlet for poorer, less well-educated Pakistani laborers to find work. Remittances boosted living standards sharply in the home districts of these expatriate workers.

Political and policy decisions by Pakistani elites will be key to determining whether Pakistan can break out of the patterns of the past. In the next chapter, we examine the ability of Pakistani institutions to make and implement decisions that could put Pakistan on course for a brighter future.

Pakistan's Ability to Mitigate Sources of Insecurity

There are many potential outcomes for Pakistan's future. It could become an authoritarian, praetorian state along the lines of Egypt. It could become a nuclear-armed, dysfunctional, and failing state held together by the sinews of the army, provided that the army itself remains coherent. It could over time become an increasingly Islamist or even theocratic state. The state could even break away along ethnic fissures or fail to resurrect itself after a devastating war with India. Arguably, these different scenarios have their own degrees of possibility and their own pathways for emerging.¹ However, this book contends that the future that offers the most hope for the state and its citizenry while dampening the threat that Pakistan poses to itself, the region, and the international community is a stable democracy, with the armed forces and intelligence agencies under firm civilian control.

While this is the best scenario, it is by far not the most likely one. The previous chapter identified several challenges that augur for continued instability in Pakistan. If Pakistan is to become a truly stable state, it will have to forge an enduring democratic constitution and a sustained commitment to uphold it, create a more efficient and effective legal system that upholds the rule of law, and establish greater constitutional civilian control over the military. It will need to eliminate the

¹ Stephen Cohen explores several alternative futures in Cohen, 2004, pp. 267–299. Specifically, he explores whether and how the following futures could materialize: the rise of authoritarianism, the rise of an Islamist state, the possible breakup of the country, and the future of the state following a major war with India.

many militant groups operating in and from the country. Pakistan will need to ensure its nuclear arsenal is secure. The Pakistani government will need to create an environment conducive to economic growth and improve and expand public services. This chapter analyzes the likelihood and the means by which Pakistan may surmount these challenges. As will become apparent, the supporting analyses offer few sources of optimism that Pakistan can successfully meet these challenges. While Pakistan's ability or lack thereof may in some measure relate to U.S. activities in and policies toward Pakistan, this chapter focuses on Pakistan's own internal capacity to redress these varied challenges.

The Constitution and Civil-Military Relations

The inability of Pakistan's elites to agree on how to rule the country and the failure of the civilian leadership to competently control the military are part and parcel of the same problem and will likely require a joint solution. The military leadership is unlikely to abandon politics and government until it is convinced that the civilians can govern effectively. However, the development of civilian government has been retarded by the army's interference in politics.

Some potential solutions concerning a constitutional arrangement that might satisfy civilian and military elites may not be satisfactory for resolving other issues, such as the distribution of power and resources between the central government and the provinces and territories. Both the national civilian and military elites tend to favor centralizing power, whereas the provincial elites wish to disperse it. The intelligence services are likely to resist revising FATA's special status for historical and strategic reasons. However, many civilian leaders are likely to keep parts of Musharraf's devolution plan. Civilian and military elites are likely to agree on some local government measures that will placate the demand of most voters for the devolution of more powers to the provinces and territories.

Radical Reform Needed for Pakistan's Political Parties

Pakistan's political parties will need to change how they operate if the country is to stave off another military takeover. Throughout the 1990s, both PPP and PML-N, when in opposition, successfully prevailed upon the army chief or the president to dismiss the government so as to precipitate early elections. If civilian rule is to prevail, the parties will have to develop greater competence and discipline themselves to refrain from turning to the military or the president in an effort to return to power early. Their recent long spell out of power may restrain the parties for a time, but there are few signs that the parties have become more willing to play the role of loyal opposition and contest power through the ballot box rather than turning to the military.

The parties will also need to develop substantive policy platforms and then be ready to be held accountable by the electorate for the success or failure of their platforms. To date, the parties remain focused on personalities, ethnic groups, and clan and family politics. They appear to continue to be more interested in dispensing patronage than delivering public services. Stripping the president of his right to dissolve the government would deprive the political opposition and the military of the easiest means of deposing a sitting government.

The repeated use of the military by political leaders for political purposes has had a corrosive effect on the political system that will be difficult to overcome. At present, political parties and their elected representatives have little expectation of serving out their terms. Their first order of business is to provide patronage to their supporters, new and old. They have pursued policies that personally enrich themselves, their families, or their coterie of key supporters. This political corruption, coupled with bureaucratic corruption, has had a deleterious effect on Pakistan's economy and is a major reason why government services are so poor.² The tendency to "loot today" rather than "invest in tomor-

² For example, Khwaja and Mian found that politically connected firms borrow 45 percent more and have 50 percent higher default rates than those without political connections. They estimate the economy-wide annual costs of this state of affairs as 0.3 to 1.9 percent of GDP. A. Khwaja and A. Mian, "Do Lenders Favor Politically Connected Firms? Rent Provision in an Emerging Financial Market," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 120, No. 4, November 2005, pp. 1371–1411. Also see Mushtaq H. Khan, "Bureaucratic and Political Corruption in

row” in turn makes the case for ousting a sitting government all the stronger.

The roots of this patronage problem are deep and related to the way in which the British laid democratic institutions on top of local-level patronage systems. Both the British and subsequent authoritarian regimes worked to ensure that politics have remained local so as to retard the development of well-organized, well-established national political parties that would challenge their authority. Because politics are so local, candidates tend to be elected because of their local influence based upon tribal, community, ethnic, sectarian, or biradari (clan) ties. Candidates are able to obtain local financial support and support from the local bureaucracy. This focus on local power bases has reduced political parties in Pakistan to mere “aggregates of individual power holders in various localities.”³ Over time, *both* the voter and the candidate have learned that it is patronage—not policy—that is at stake during an election.

Patronage generally trumps policy.⁴ Patronage motivates politicians to focus on building new schools and clinics rather than maintaining infrastructure. Politicians try to put more supporters on the government payroll rather than improve the quality of government services. Patronage is an important political instrument in Pakistan because of the absence of such interest groups as unions or organizations that in other societies represent broader interests.⁵

Pakistan,” report submitted for the Operations Evaluation Department, World Bank, Washington, D.C., December 2001. Also see Zahid Hasnain, *The Politics of Service Delivery in Pakistan: Political Parties and the Incentives for Patronage 1988–1999*, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, South Asia Poverty Reduction and Economic Management, Working Paper, May 2005.

³ Mohammad Waseem, *Democratization in Pakistan: A Study of the 2002 Elections*, Karachi/New York: Oxford University Press, 2006, p. 15.

⁴ Hasnain, 2005; Waseem, 2006.

⁵ Christopher Candland, “Workers’ Organizations in Pakistan: Why No Role in Formal Politics?” *Critical Asian Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 1, March 2007, pp. 35–57. The lawyers’ movement is new and was effective at bringing about Musharraf’s political demise. But it is not organized around an articulated set of policies, such as reforming judicial appointments; rather it sought to achieve particular aims, such as the reversal of Musharraf’s actions.

Several other characteristics of Pakistan's political system perpetrate the patronage system. Most of the information that most voters receive about a candidate's credentials for political office concerns the candidate's ability to deliver benefits. Because the political parties are so weak, politicians rely solely on their own reputation for election—rather than on the party's platform or set of policy goals.⁶ This information problem is exacerbated by Pakistan's low literacy rates.

Long periods of military rule have contributed to party factionalism. The lack of intra-party elections weakens party organization and discipline. Even though parties, such as PPP and PML-N, are highly personalized, they do not put forward a coherent set of policies. Under the current system within PPP and PML-N, people in the inner circle receive key posts, and candidates engage in intra-party patronage to secure access to this circle.⁷

Parties are polarized along ethnic, religious, social, tribal, and clan lines. This polarization makes patronage attractive, because both supporters and opponents are easily identified. Politicians know whom they want to reward and whom they want to punish. Heterogeneity of preferences across these groups explains in some measure the lack of interest in providing public services: What one group considers desirable, another may oppose. Polarization reduces the accountability of elected officials because voters automatically support candidates from their own ethnic, tribal, clan, or sectarian background. Cleavages between and among these groups make it difficult for national parties to aggregate interests.

Patronage politics complicates the provision of government services, including education. The lack of a well-educated, well-informed Pakistani public diminishes the likelihood that voters will demand good policies instead of access to patronage.

Pakistan's political parties could do a number of things to enhance their power and popularity if they so chose. They could seek to improve public services, lay out coherent policy positions, work to minimize

⁶ Hasnain, 2005; Andrew Wilder, *The Pakistani Voter*, Karachi/New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

⁷ Hasnain, 2005.

party factionalization by instituting intra-party elections, and commit to abide by electoral rules rather than relying on the military and other extra-constitutional means to come to power. Parties can implement party disciplinary measures to ensure compliance with their policies. Parties can also seek outside help in developing their political capacity.⁸ They can invest in designing attractive policies by supporting think tanks, public policy research organizations. (With one important exception, the independent Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency, the major think tanks in Pakistan currently are funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defense, and they do not generate independent policy papers.)

Parties could also convene the constitutionally mandated standing committees in the national assembly and senate and ensure that those committees confine their activities to the issues that have been assigned to them. Standing committees are supposed to exist for every ministry, including defense. The government could also establish an organization akin to the U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) that would review government activities and hold government officials accountable. Televising activities in the National Assembly and otherwise expanding media coverage of the government would help improve transparency. Given the political will, Pakistan's political parties have a variety of means to improve the system.

Pakistan's political parties will have to work with other civilian institutions to stabilize and develop the political system. Pakistan needs an independent judiciary. Historically, Pakistan's judiciary has been used and abused by civilian and military governments alike. The courts have long been responsive to pressures (political and physical) to alter their rulings to suit both military and civilian governments. The decline of judicial independence and power can be traced to 1955 (a mere eight years after independence) when Gov. Gen. Ghulam Mohammad dissolved the Constituent Assembly (tasked with framing

⁸ The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) has a small program that has sought to train political party activists. Political consultants have been key in other countries. See Clifford J. Levy, "U.S. Political Strategists Help Shape Ukraine Parliamentary Campaign," *New York Times*, September 28, 2007.

Pakistan's first indigenous constitution) and dismissed the government of Muhammad Ali Bogra. The courts ruled to uphold the dismissal, concluding, "That which otherwise is not lawful, necessity makes lawful." This "doctrine of necessity" has been used repeatedly to justify coups. Pakistan's judges also conduct judicial reviews of government policies, often explicitly to justify coercive acts.⁹

Making the judiciary independent will be difficult. Judicial reform will require a sustained commitment by the government and a willingness to respect the rule of law; no government in recent history has done so. Pakistanis have discussed setting up a broader process for judicial appointments that would involve the national assembly, bar councils, and bar associations. Currently, the executive makes all appointments. To raise judicial standards, Pakistan needs clear rules for promoting judges to higher courts. Because judges receive such low salaries, corruption is virtually built into the system. A living wage with strong accountability measures would help stem corruption, which pervades the subordinate judiciary and parts of the superior judiciary. The judiciary should establish disciplinary bodies that, among other things, dismiss justices who knowingly take actions that undermine the constitution. Every military regime has asked justices to uphold their provisional constitutional orders. While some judges have resigned, many have stayed on and made decisions that violate their oath to uphold the constitution. No professional disciplinary actions are taken to hold these justices accountable following the fall of each regime. In addition, the operations of the courts could be streamlined and expedited.¹⁰ However, as the International Crisis Group notes, "the history of Pakistan's judiciary demonstrates that merely having clear rules is

⁹ Ayesha Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defense*, Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1990; Cohen, 2004, pp. 57–58. Also see Zulfikar Khalid Maluka, *The Myth of Constitutionalism in Pakistan*, Karachi/New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

¹⁰ International Crisis Group, *Building Judicial Independence in Pakistan*, Islamabad/Brussels, Asia Report No. 86, November 9, 2004c; Moeen Cheema, "Safeguarding Judicial Independence in Pakistan," *Jurist*, April 2, 2007; Maluka, 1995.

insufficient to prevent the erosion of the rule of law, the laws also must be respected.”¹¹

Establishing judicial independence and improving legal competence are key steps if Pakistan is to establish the rule of law. The judiciary should take a more forceful stance in ensuring that laws and government actions are in accord with the constitution. Because judges staff the Pakistan Election Commission, judges have to be independent if elections are to be free and fair. Unfortunately, judicial reform is unlikely to attract the attention it needs because of the association of key judges with the “lawyers’ movement” and the effort to force Musharraf’s resignation. Even profoundly corrupt judges are now popular. Consequently, few politicians will have the political fortitude to impose judicial reforms.

Reasons for Optimism?

The end of the Musharraf regime provided some fleeting optimism that Pakistan’s civilian political elites would be able to establish a strong, civilian government. Many Pakistanis hoped that the mainstream parties would be able and willing to address their many weaknesses. The unique, but short-lived, PPP/PML-N coalition government gave some hope that both parties’ leaders had learned that it is in their best interests to forge an alliance in support of democracy rather than resort to their traditional practice of undermining each other through the military and the office of the president. Those hopes were dashed when Sharif withdrew support for the coalition, ostensibly because the two parties held different views about “restoring the judiciary,” a popular public concern since the emergence of the March 2007 lawyers’ movement mentioned above that developed in opposition to Musharraf’s illegal dismissal of Chief Justice Iftikhar Mohammad Chaudhry.¹²

¹¹ International Crisis Group, 2004c, p. 12.

¹² Chaudhry’s judicial activism threatened a suite of Musharraf’s preferred policies. While the Pakistan Supreme Court ruled against the legality of Musharraf’s dismissal of Chaudhry and reinstated him, Chaudhry along with several other justices were again dismissed when they refused to take oath to Musharraf in November 2007 under the Provisional Constitutional Order.

Since the collapse of that peculiar coalition, the parties have remained in an unproductive rivalry that has taken considerable attention from the various crises imperiling the state. In March 2009, in the wake of intensifying public protests demanding reinstatement of Chaudhry, the government reinstated the justice. This was a significant defeat for Zardari.¹³ Given the political gains won following Sharif's "principled" opposition to Zardari, if Sharif were cleared to stand for election, there would be few reasons for him to seek some sort of political accommodation with his rival Zardari, as has been hoped. After Chaudhry's restoration, the Supreme Court declared in May 2009 that Sharif could stand for election.¹⁴

The civilian government did force Musharraf to resign. Both PPP and PML-N agreed to begin impeachment proceedings; impeachment requires a two-thirds majority in the parliament and national assembly. Having no interest in seeing Musharraf subjected to such a process, which might turn into a referendum on the army and its political role, the army appears to have pressured Musharraf to resign. Musharraf's departure, with or without prosecution, is a victory for civilian control over the military. It should serve as a deterrent to future military intervention. It was also an enormous accomplishment for the two political parties' leadership.

The country's political institutions remain weak following eight years of Musharraf's explicit and successful efforts to hollow out PML-N and PPP. Consensus on the critical issues of the constitution, judicial reform, and political party reform will remain hard to reach. Similarly, there are few prospects that the government will seriously address relations between the center and the periphery, especially the problems in Baluchistan and in FATA. In the early weeks of his government, Prime

¹³ Nick Schiffrin, "Pakistani Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhry Reinstated: Government Caved to Protestors' Demand After Threat of March to Islamabad," *ABC News*, March 16, 2009. This was a significant defeat for Zardari, who had opposed reinstatement. Zardari feared that Chaudhry would reverse some of the key legal orders promulgated by Musharraf that absolved Zardari of pending criminal cases and cleared the way for his political participation.

¹⁴ Declan Walsh, "Pakistan Lifts Election Ban on Nawaz Sharif," *Guardian*, May 26, 2009.

Minister Yousef Geelani announced that the government would abolish FATA's FCR, extend the Political Parties Act (which would allow political parties to operate there), and integrate FATA into the rest of Pakistan. He resolved to set up a parliamentary committee to explore the best way of moving forward. These initiatives have already stalled. Pakistani security managers, especially the military brass, are no doubt dubious that the benefits of integrating FATA will be worth the financial, political, and security-related costs.

Pakistan's government is likely to use the near-term challenges as a convenient excuse to demur from pursuing difficult political decisions concerning relations between the center and the provinces. The insurgency in Baluchistan quieted down after a number of key militant leaders were executed. Confident that the state can handle the Baluchistan insurgency by military means, the government is unlikely to pursue long-term political solutions to address the sources of ethnic conflict in the province.

Taming the Military?

A democratic constitutional order will not emerge in Pakistan as long as the military intervenes periodically to run the state. If Pakistan is ever to be truly ruled only by civilians, the civilian elites must develop institutional competence and discipline and respect for the constitution, while the army must realign its priorities and conclude that it is in a professional army's best interests to keep out of politics. Currently, top generals not only believe that the army can and should take over the government when they decide the civilian government has failed, they also believe that the army can run the country better than the civilians—against all evidence. These institutional perceptions are a function of an army culture, characterized by a disdain for civilian politicians and their institutions and a belief in the army's superior understanding of the state's needs and the army's superior ability to satisfy them.¹⁵ These views are perpetuated through the army's educational institutions. Civilian control over the military will require the army to reorient formal and informal military education to effect a

¹⁵ For a useful discussion about the army's sense of self, see Nawaz, 2008b.

cultural shift across the army. It will also require the army to exercise greater institutional discipline. All officers take an oath that commits them to abjure political involvement, but the army rarely punishes its own for violating that oath.

Beyond educational reform, the army's command structure needs to be decentralized. This change would make it more difficult for the army to stage coups. Such a reorganization might be built on the restructuring begun in 2007, which created three new commands: Northern, Southern, and Central, which are to be responsible for the administrative arrangements for the army's nine corps that fall within these commands.¹⁶ These regional commanders could be made into four-star generals, thus helping dilute the Chief of the Army's pervasive influence. The Pakistan Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee could simultaneously serve as the principal military advisor to the government. Currently, the Chief of the Army plays this role, concentrating an extraordinary amount of power in his hands.¹⁷ A broader recruitment base is also needed to make the army more truly nationally representative and less beholden to specific provincial, ethnic, or language interests. Currently, Punjabis are still overrepresented (although less than in the past) as are Pashtuns.

While civilians do not control the military, another military coup is unlikely in the next few years unless internal developments erode precipitously beyond the control of civilian leadership. Army morale is lower than at any time since the 1971 loss of Bangladesh. Officers and soldiers have lost considerable respect. Pakistanis hold the army responsible for the Musharraf regime.¹⁸ The army's leadership is intent on restoring morale and rebuilding respect for the army among the populace. The diminished standing of the army will dampen army inclinations to interfere in civilian affairs, as shown by the decision of general officers to distance the army from the Musharraf impeachment

¹⁶ Brig. Arun Sahgal (ret.), "Pakistan Creates Army Commands to Mollify Restive Military," *Boloji.com*, May 13, 2007.

¹⁷ See Nawaz, 2008b, pp. 580–581.

¹⁸ IRI, 2008a and c.

proceedings.¹⁹ Oddly, the army benefits from ongoing civilian ineptitude in handling the country's varied challenges because the army again appears more competent by comparison.

Recent polling data suggest that Pakistanis' approval of the army has been in good measure restored. In March 2009, the International Republican Institute (IRI) conducted a nationally represented survey of Pakistanis, during which 80 percent of respondents had a positive assessment of the army. This was a sharp increase from November 2007, when only 55 percent had a favorable opinion of the army, which ranked below the courts and the media. Nonetheless, IRI's spring 2009 data find that a larger majority of respondents in 2009 (74 percent) believed that the army "should have no role in the civilian government," compared with 49 percent in October 2008 and 62 percent in June 2008.²⁰

Army chief General Kayani appreciates that the United States wants the Pakistani Army to submit to greater civilian oversight. He has been anxious to give at least the appearance of civilian control. Whether Kayani is a true supporter of democracy remains to be seen. But he kept the army out of the February 2008 elections, withdrew army personnel from civilian posts, and, in a surprising departure from army norms, has even briefed the prime minister on counterinsurgency operations in FATA.²¹

None of these developments constitute a permanent disavowal of political interference. The presidential-dominant system remains and may even become a permanent feature of the amended constitution. This in and of itself is not a bad thing, provided that it represents a consensus position rather than a political point of contention. As popular

¹⁹ Farhan Bokhari, "Army Walks away from Musharraf," *Financial Times*, August 14, 2008.

²⁰ IRI, 2009 and 2008c.

²¹ One correspondent wrote of the April 2008 brief, "In an unprecedented development, Pakistan's security establishment on Wednesday gave an extensive briefing to the country's top political leadership on internal and external security situation and the state of war on terrorism." See Afzal Khan, "War on Terror: Kayani Briefs Political Bigwigs," *Tribune* (Chandigarh), April 3, 2008. See also "Army Briefs PM on NWFP Situation," *Nation*, June 25, 2008.

opinion about the army improves, the public may again embrace military rule as an alternative to civilian ineptitude. Pakistan's military and civilian elites will likely be unable of their own accord to address these challenges of constitutionalism and civilian control over the military. Personal and corporate interests are likely to trump national interests in the absence of some significant pressure on the system, either through external pressure or through unexpected domestic events.

Countering Internal Security Threats

Pakistan's military, paramilitary, and police forces have been repeatedly mobilized to combat insurrections and domestic unrest. These conflicts are often ethnically based or sectarian. Some involve criminals. The security forces have also been engaged in putting down civil unrest, including riots and demonstrations. The security forces mounted two counterinsurgency campaigns against Pashtun militias in 1947–1958 and in 1973. Pakistan is currently battling Pashtun militants in FATA and parts of the settled Pashtun areas.²² The government launched counterinsurgency campaigns in Baluchistan in 1948, 1958–1959, 1962–1963, and 1973–1976.²³ While Pakistan's conventional military approach met with considerable success in Baluchistan and Sindh, this approach has not fared well in FATA or adjoining Pashtun areas in NWFP.

Pakistan's military officers and senior security officials do not view all forms of militancy as fundamental threats to the state. They continue to abet militancy in some forms, largely because they view militants as potential assets in their competition with India and other countries in the region. While Baluch militants and the Pakistani Tal-

²² According to Zahid Hussain (2007, p. 120), "It was a bloody 18-month fight and the officers never hoped to repeat it."

²³ The 1973 conflict began when Zulfikar Bhutto dismissed the tribal government, provoking an insurrection to which he responded by deploying some 20 Pakistani battalions. It resulted in several thousand Pakistani military dead. Brian Cloughley, *A History of the Pakistan Army: Wars and Insurrections*, Karachi/New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 258.

iban in FATA and Swat are seen as a threat, other militant groups acting in and from Pakistan are ignored or even enjoy support from the military or the intelligence services. Even if the state resolved to act against these militants, it may not have the capacity to do so effectively. While the Pakistani public overwhelmingly believes that many militant groups are threats to Pakistan's security, some important public groups support some of these militant groups and their goals.²⁴

The Strategic Use of Militants

The willingness of Pakistan's government or security services to dispense with militant groups will hinge either on the government's success in achieving its foreign policy goals in some minimal measure with more traditional diplomatic and political tools or, less likely, on altering its goals altogether. From Pakistan's vantage point, its security environment has worsened in recent years, especially regarding issues Pakistan holds to be of paramount importance. India's economic growth and its partnerships with the United States, Israel, Russia, Afghanistan, Iran, the Central Asian republics, and China, along with its military modernization and nuclear arsenal, are making it less and less likely that Pakistan will be able to change the status quo concerning Kashmir. Pakistan also believes that it will be more vulnerable to attacks from Afghanistan, owing to India's presence there and Kabul's discomfort with Islamabad. (While the cordial relations between Afghanistan's President Karzai and Pakistan's President Zardari are encouraging, they do not mitigate Pakistan's strategic concerns about Afghanistan.) For these reasons, Pakistan's security forces are likely to continue to nurture their ties with the militant groups they have fostered, financed, and trained.²⁵

Many observers expected that the Pakistani security forces would reconsider the value of militants after the onslaught of suicide bombers against military, paramilitary, police, and civilian targets throughout Pakistan and following the Red Mosque standoff in summer 2007. There was some evidence to this effect. When Pakistan's National Secu-

²⁴ Fair, Ramsay, and Kull, 2008.

²⁵ Rashid, 2008a.

rity Council convened to discuss the threat of “Talibanization” of Pakistan, a document was presented that formally conceded the gravity of the threat from al Qaeda and the Taliban. Interior Minister Sherpao, himself a survivor of two suicide attacks, had good reasons to pursue the issue. Then—President General Musharraf attended this meeting and was warned “that Islamic militants and Taliban fighters were rapidly spreading beyond the country’s lawless tribal areas and that without ‘swift and decisive action,’ the growing militancy could engulf the rest of the country.”²⁶ After that meeting, both international and domestic observers were optimistic that Pakistan would reverse the general policy of appeasement and crack down on militant groups.

During the months of the standoff at the Red Mosque, the militants took police officers hostage, seized a children’s library, captured and detained women purported to be prostitutes and madams, rampaged neighborhood shops selling “non-Islamic” merchandise, and harassed women on foot and in their vehicles for various sartorial offenses. The military finally launched a commando raid on the Lal Masjid and adjacent Jamia Hafsa madrassah to ferret out militants who were once considered their proxies. (The Lal Masjid was a known ISI asset for years and was a popular redoubt for Deobandi militant groups, such as Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, SSP, and JM and its leadership.²⁷) Pakistanis throughout the country were shocked to find a nest of vigilante militants ensconced in the middle of Islamabad in the Red Mosque.

The operation claimed hundreds of lives; many of the dead were children. The deaths turned the public against the operation and sparked a wider crisis in Swat because many children killed were from Swat and other frontier areas. Shortly thereafter, Maulana Fazlullah and his militant group, the Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Shari’at-e-Mohammad (Movement for the Enforcement of Islamic Laws, or TNSM), began seizing public offices in Swat, attacking police and paramilitary outposts, and establishing parallel systems of government. After a lethargic response that relied on poorly trained police and paramilitary forces,

²⁶ Jane Perlez and Ismail Khan, “Taliban Spreading, Pakistani President Is Warned,” *New York Times*, June 30, 2007.

²⁷ See Pardesi, 2008.

the army moved in to retake the Swat valley. The army attempted to broker a deal with TNSM in spring 2008, which, like previous deals, was on terms favorable to the militants.²⁸ However, that peace deal evaporated, and the army again was eventually forced to reengage in operations.

In February 2009, the government again made overtures to the militants for peace. The security forces had proven unable to hold territory and secure the population. The citizens of Swat, vulnerable to the militants and to the military's excessive use of force, were battle weary and strongly supported a new attempt at a peace deal along the lines of the failed 2008 deal. The militants soon broke the deal by expanding into Buner, even nearer to Islamabad. That move may have been "strategic overreach" for the militants. The army and other security forces moved heavily to repel the militants from Buner and Swat. This time, the army had more support for military operations, and there was less support for peace deals. However, the human costs have been enormous, with more than three million internally displaced people, wholesale destruction of towns and communities, and populations that hold the government—not the militants—accountable for their suffering. At the time of this writing, it is too early to tell how successful the government will be in holding territory and mobilizing the state to rebuild and resettle those citizens who may be willing to return to Swat. The government has also mobilized to pursue Pakistani Taliban ensconced in South Waziristan, and an additional 1.5 million internally displaced people are expected to flee that area.

A number of analysts have also noted that the Pakistani state has actively pursued al Qaeda—albeit with U.S. assistance and constant pressure—and has episodically pursued sectarian groups that create problems in localities marked by sectarian violence. However, this is only true to a limited degree. Because Deobandi sectarian groups often have overlapping membership with key Kashmir-oriented groups, the

²⁸ Pardesi, 2008; Imtiaz Ali, "Pakistan's Military Offensive in Swat May Be Start of Long Campaign," *Terrorism Focus*, Vol. 4, No. 40, December 5, 2007, pp. 2–3; Jane Perlez, "Pakistan Strikes New Peace Deal in Taliban-Held Swat," *International Herald Tribune*, May 22, 2008b; C. Christine Fair, "Pakistan Loses Swat to Local Taliban," *Terrorism Focus*, Vol. 4, No. 37, November 13, 2007b, pp. 3–4.

state has not sought to eliminate them completely. Because some Pakistanis fear that Iran may again stoke Shia political aspirations, Pakistan's security managers see the presence of anti-Shia militias in Shia strongholds as an important counterbalance. Anti-Shia groups have served strategic purposes in the northern area and in key FATA agencies, such as Kurram, where Shia are more prevalent. The leader of SSP, Tariq Azzam, was allowed to successfully contest a national assembly seat in the 2002 general election because he agreed to support Musharraf and his PML-Q.²⁹ LeT, along with the numerous Deobandi groups that were raised and nurtured for the Kashmir theater, was largely exempted from Pakistan's "war on terror." Musharraf did attempt to moderate their activities, depending on the degree of satisfaction he received from the peace process with India and the degree of pressure placed on him by the United States.³⁰ Pakistan's hesitance to proscribe, much less eliminate, LeT (operating under the name of Jamaat ul Dawa) under intense international pressure after the Mumbai attack demonstrates the state's reluctance to dispense with a potential asset and substantiates the utility that LeT still offers the state.

It is unlikely that the Pakistani government has abandoned its old allies, the Afghan Taliban. The Afghan Taliban continue to be important to Pakistan because events in Afghanistan have not gone Pakistan's way. When the United States entered Afghanistan, it often relied on warlords that were hostile to Pakistan and were, in many cases, trained by India.³¹ The new Afghan government quickly gave India access of the sort that had been denied under the Taliban period. For these and other reasons, Ashley Tellis has concluded that "the temptation to hedge against potentially unfavorable outcomes in Kabul—protecting the Taliban as some sort of a 'force in being'—only appeared more and more attractive and reasonable to Pakistan."³²

²⁹ Fair, 2004b.

³⁰ Fair and Chalk, 2006; Ashley J. Tellis, *Pakistan and the War on Terror: Conflicted Goals, Compromised Performance*, Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2008a.

³¹ Rashid, 2008a.

³² Tellis, 2008a, p. 12.

The Pakistani government has targeted groups that explicitly target it, although frequently ineptly and with too much force, resulting in numerous civilian casualties. The result has been deepening animosity toward the government among local inhabitants of the Pashtun belt. The army has sought to make deals with some groups that operate in both Pakistan and Afghanistan (e.g., militants under the command of Baitullah Mehsud and Nek Mohammad). In these deals, the militants promise to cease operations against Pakistan. Such promises are easily broken. Pakistan gets the worst of both worlds: The United States and Afghanistan become upset with the Pakistani government because they experience increased attacks from groups that now have a safe haven in Pakistan, and Pakistan continues to suffer from attacks by militants in FATA, NWFP, and major cities throughout Pakistan.

Pakistan's willingness to tolerate and even cultivate some militant groups is rooted in the belief among some in the army's leadership that these groups are critical for the defense of Pakistani interests against the nation's larger strategic threats. Because of this belief, the policy of tolerating militants is likely to persist until the leaders of Pakistan's army see the costs of supporting militants mount.³³

Musharraf, when he was both president and army chief, nurtured the belief that he alone directed Pakistan's efforts in the war on terror. In reality, his orders reflected the consensus among his corps commanders and other important generals.

Although Pakistani civilian politicians and their interlocutors have gone to great lengths to burnish their antiterrorism credentials, a civilian-led Pakistan may not view militant groups all that differently than the army does and may use them accordingly. The civilian leadership is likely to see al Qaeda as a threat. However, Benazir Bhutto's assassination should have galvanized a greater rejection of al Qaeda and other militants. Unfortunately, many Pakistanis believe that Musharraf or his allies were responsible for her death.³⁴

³³ See discussion in Tellis, 2008a; Fair, 2004a; Fair and Chalk, 2006.

³⁴ According to a nationwide poll by Gallup Pakistan, nearly half of the sample suspected government agencies (23 percent) or government-allied politicians (25 percent) to have been behind her death. See Gallup Pakistan, 2008.

The civilian leaders' past record suggests that Pakistan, even under a civilian rule, will continue to support or tolerate homegrown or Pakistan-supported militants. Key civilian leaders have engaged in political deals with the anti-Shia SSP and other Islamist parties. Pakistan increased support for the Taliban in Afghanistan during Benazir Bhutto's second term in office. Gen. (Ret.) Nasrullah Babar, her Minister of the Interior, had served as inspector general of FC and as the governor of NWFP. He had been responsible for running ISI operations in Afghanistan in her father's government. The Taliban received training, financing, and other forms of support through the military and intelligence services.³⁵ These practices continued under Nawaz Sharif. Civilian governments have generally supported the Kashmir jihad. Because civilian governments are even more sensitive to public sentiment than are military governments, they would be unlikely to move decisively away from a policy of appeasement toward the Pakistani Taliban, unless popular sentiment against the Pakistani Taliban increases because, for example, the Pakistani Taliban target Pakistani civilians more frequently.

The persistent willingness to preferentially segment militant groups in this way presages further security challenges for Pakistan, the region, and the international community. The post-9/11 militant milieu does not permit a facile separation of groups from one another. Anti-Shia and Kashmir-oriented groups are now located in FATA, from which they operate in Afghanistan and also attack the Pakistani state throughout the country. Protecting such groups as JM not only ensures that the Pakistani state will continue to be targeted, it also ensures that foreigners will continue to have access to JM facilities for training, as safe havens, and to prepare for attacks outside of Pakistan. When foreign terrorists have used these facilities, Pakistani security and intelligence agencies often seem more interested in covering up the fact than preventing such uses from reoccurring. The case of Rashid Rauf, a relative of JM leader Maulana Masood Azhar, exemplifies this tendency. Rauf was involved in the 2006 trans-Atlantic airline con-

³⁵ Rashid, 2008a; and Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia*, New Haven, Conn.: Yale Nota Bene Books, 2001.

spiracy. He is a British national of Pakistani origin who escaped from custody in Islamabad when the police let his uncle drive him back to jail in a “comfortable van” following a court appearance. Rauf’s uncle stopped at a local fast-food restaurant and then a mosque, where Rauf escaped. The British authorities had requested that Rauf be extradited.³⁶ If he had been tried in Britain, it is likely that Rauf would have provided the international community more visibility into JM and its international connections. But JM remains a protected ISI asset. ISI would not want to have more information revealed about its connections to JM because that would further strain Pakistan’s relations with the United States and the United Kingdom.

The Pakistan Government’s Ability to Tackle the Militant Threat

The Army and the Frontier Corps. Pakistan’s government lacks the ability to decisively eliminate militant groups even if it should choose to do so. Along with elements from FC, Pakistan’s army has repeatedly mounted operations against militants in FATA, but the army has had a very mixed track record, suggesting a considerable lack of capabilities as well as deficiencies in will. These two problems are mutually reinforcing: The army’s lack of capacity to successfully defeat militants contributes to its lack of will to try.

Musharraf first ordered the army’s XI Corps and elite Special Services Group (SSG) commandos into FATA in 2002. The incursion upset the decades-old equilibrium whereby the state allowed local officials and representatives of the central government in FATA to run the area’s affairs. By winter 2008, some 120,000 troops from the army and FC were stationed in or adjacent to FATA; the heaviest concentration of troops was in southern areas.

The security forces’ large footprint was heavily subsidized by U.S. Coalition Support Funds, which are intended to reimburse the Pakistan government for the incremental costs associated with deploying units and conducting operations in support of the war on terror. Many in FATA view the Pakistani Army, which draws personnel primarily from outside of FATA (fewer than one in five soldiers hails from the

³⁶ “Rashid Rauf Escaped with His Uncle,” *Dawn* (Karachi), December 18, 2007.

frontier), as a foreign occupier, operating on behalf of the United States. FATA residents also hold the United States responsible for injuries to family members and fellow tribesmen in Afghanistan.³⁷ The alienation and resentment of the local population have frustrated army efforts to secure their cooperation. The local population often works against the army, warning and providing support to insurgents and foreign fighters of army movements. Because the local population has worked with ISI and FC for decades in support of militants in the area, locals were skeptical that the state was serious about eliminating these groups.³⁸

Difficulties in winning over the locals aside, the infantry has faced several other problems operating in FATA. The Pakistani Army has no counterinsurgency doctrine; it remains a large, conventional force, raised and trained to fight a conventional war against India's army on the plains of Punjab. Pakistan's army much prefers its current orientation to that of a counterinsurgency force to be used against other Pakistanis.³⁹ This conventional orientation is perhaps most problematic when it comes to the army's rigid command structure, which does not permit senior officers to delegate decisionmaking to local commanders. In counterinsurgency operations, delegation is vital. In contrast, India has had to develop a reasonably sophisticated counterinsurgency doctrine to counter the numerous insurgencies it confronts. Despite its previous lack of success, the Pakistan XI Corps continues to use large deployments and intense and indiscriminate firepower, using heavy munitions with extensive collateral damage. It also uses deeply unpopular cordon-and-search operations.⁴⁰

³⁷ See Nawaz, 2008b, p. 571.

³⁸ For various discussions of FC and other local and institutional support for the mujahideen and later the Taliban, see Rashid, 2008a.

³⁹ C. Christine Fair and Seth Jones, "Pakistan's War Within," *Survival*, Vol. 51, No. 6, December 2009–January 2010; "No Counter-Insurgency Training Needed: Kayani," *The News*, May 17, 2009; conversations with senior Pakistani officers at Brookings in July 2009 and at several meetings at the National Defense University, most recently in April 2009.

⁴⁰ Julian E. Barnes, "Pakistan Plans a Push into Its Tribal Areas," *Los Angeles Times*, July 29, 2008.

It is important to understand that while the United States uses the vernacular *counterinsurgency* to describe the desired approach and concomitant capabilities to be adopted by the Pakistani Army, Pakistani officers describe their activities as *low-intensity conflict*, which is at the lower end of the conventional spectrum, rather than a form of irregular warfare. U.S. analysts have for too long assumed that the difference was semantic rather than doctrinal. This doctrinal difference may account for the divergence between how Pakistan has conducted these operations and how the United States wishes it were to do so.

The Pakistan Army's doctrinal and operational shortcomings are exacerbated by the inhospitable terrain of the tribal areas, the army's weak logistical abilities, shortcomings in Pakistan's technical intelligence, and the unfriendly local population. The army's problems also pertain to other areas. After the insurgents took over Swat, FC was deployed first. When it failed, the regular army was called in. It chose to attack with air strikes, which killed a large number of civilians as well as insurgents.⁴¹ The cumulative effect of these challenges explains the tactical problems that the army has encountered and its concomitant reliance on excessive force.

In light of the army's aversion to counterinsurgency operations and discomfort operating in areas with which it is unfamiliar, analysts within and outside of Pakistan have argued that FC should be the counterinsurgency force of choice in FATA. At first blush, this suggestion has some appeal, given that, although FC commanders are regular army officers, FC cadres are recruited from FATA and, therefore, have local knowledge, language skills, and a refined sense of the human terrain. But the downsides are great. FC has long trained militants—including the Taliban. FC is riddled with militant sympathizers: some FC families also have sons fighting in these militant groups. Since at least 2004, there has been consistent evidence that elements of FC have been helping the Afghan Taliban. Some FC units have even targeted

⁴¹ Conversations with U.S. military officials in the Office of Defense Representation Pakistan, at the U.S. Embassy in Islamabad in April 2008; with U.S. officials in the Office of the Secretary of Defense in May and July 2008; and with U.S. officials at the U.S. Central Command in August 2008. Also see Tellis, 2008a.

U.S. and allied troops in Afghanistan.⁴² Because the army has a large component of Punjabis and fewer Pashtuns, many in FATA view it as a foreign force collaborating with the United States. FC personnel trust neither the regular army nor the Americans.

FC has always been a poorly trained, poorly equipped paramilitary force under the authority of the Ministry of Interior but under operational control of the XI Corps based in Peshawar. FC is not configured for static employment. It does not have emergency medical evacuation capabilities or other capabilities desirable for counterinsurgency operations. Defenders of the corps (rightly) point out that given its lack of training and equipment, it is unfair to expect the corps to challenge the Taliban when the Taliban enter its areas of responsibility.

In short, FC is neither well motivated to deal with the militant threat nor trained or equipped adequately to do so. It has often suffered reverses. When operations have failed to meet Pakistani governments' objectives, the governments have repeatedly chosen to negotiate agreements with Taliban and local militant leaders rather than continue to try to defeat them through military force. Since 2004, the government has signed more than six such agreements—all following army reverses in the region.

These deals, at least temporarily, permitted the army to scale back its operations, a move widely desired by officers and the rank and file alike. While these accords have often been followed by a drop in violence domestically, they have invariably resulted in increased violence in Afghanistan. In spite of or because of these deals, militants have expanded their presence across FATA or into more settled areas, such as Swat.⁴³

⁴² For an account from 2004 involving the Tochi Scouts, see M. Ilyas Khan, "Mixed Signals," *Herald*, March 2004, pp. 63–65. For revelations about FC complicity and a U.S. attack on FC positions firing on U.S. troops in Afghanistan, see Peter Beaumont and Mark Townsend, "Pakistan Troops 'Aid Taliban': New Classified US Documents Reveal That Mass Infiltration of Frontier Corps by Afghan Insurgents Is Helping Latest Offensive," *Observer*, June 22, 2008.

⁴³ "Editorial: Finally, Boots on Ground in Swat," *Daily Times* (Islamabad), November 27, 2007.

In an effort to boost the counterinsurgency capabilities of the XI Corps and FC and in hopes that enhancing capacity would increase the security forces' will to fight, the United States has proposed a Security Development Plan that will build security capabilities along the entire Pakistan-Afghanistan border, including Baluchistan, FATA, and NWFP. This plan involves building two FC training institutions and using U.S. special operations commandos to train select trainers in FC. Special operators would also train the Pakistan Army's elite commando force, SSG. SSG units have tended to be more effective at the tactical level, at least in part because of U.S. training. However, there are too few of them to make a difference at the theater level.⁴⁴ The plan also calls for setting up six Border Control Centers (BCCs), three in Afghanistan and three in Pakistan, to be staffed by NATO, Pakistani, and Afghan officers.⁴⁵

Questions persist about the commitment—even loyalty—of the Pakistan Army. On the one hand, the army has sustained unprecedented operations against TNSM and the Pakistani Taliban since August 2008 in Bajaur and since fall 2007 in Swat. This stands against other, less encouraging, realities. The Pakistan military has not moved against Jalaluddin Haqqani and his network, Gulbaddin Hekmatyar and his associates, or those operating under Maulvi Nazir's command in FATA. Nor has the government done anything to act against Taliban key leadership in Quetta and elsewhere. Reports persist that the military and intelligence agencies are actively assisting the Taliban as a matter of policy.⁴⁶

U.S. efforts to train the Pakistan FC trainers has met with Pakistani resistance at times. A June 2008 U.S. bombing of an FC post that fired on Americans was used as the official excuse to delay train-

⁴⁴ Tellis, 2008a, p. 26.

⁴⁵ See John D. Negroponte, "Pakistan's FATA Challenge: Securing One of the World's Most Dangerous Areas," Testimony Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, D.C., May 20, 2008.

⁴⁶ K. Alan Kronstadt and Kenneth Katzman, *Islamist Militancy in the Pakistan-Afghanistan Border Region and U.S. Policy*, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, November 21, 2008.

ing, although the facilities were being constructed.⁴⁷ However, Pakistani officials said that the planned training facility in NWFP⁴⁸ is too sensitive and will draw attacks.⁴⁹ Some analysts suspect that Pakistani officials are not that keen on the program because of their ambivalence about providing FC with resources: The state has had to contend with Pashtun insurgencies in the past and is loath to have a capable FC that might assist future uprisings. This concern may have intensified as the Pashtun insurgency in Afghanistan has strengthened. The Pakistani government is also concerned about the threats posed by Pashtuns in Afghanistan. Kabul continues to deny the validity of the border (the Durand Line).

Other aspects of the Security Development Plan have suffered numerous delays for various reasons, including security and political developments. First, suspicions still linger about the Pakistan Army's commitment to becoming a better counterinsurgency force. In the months following Gen. Ashfaq Parvez Kayani's appointment, reporters, analysts, and even U.S. officials claimed that the new army chief would embrace the challenge of mounting more effective counterinsurgency operations. They were convinced that he would promulgate a counterinsurgency doctrine and develop niche army counterinsurgency capabilities.⁵⁰ However, by summer 2008 it became clear that this early optimism was unwarranted. Kayani had refused further training for the army.⁵¹ Whether this decision reflected his own personal views or those of most of Pakistan's generals is unclear. Kayani has probably backed away from counterinsurgency training with the

⁴⁷ See Jane Perlez, "Pakistani Anger over U.S. Airstrike Remains," *International Herald Tribune*, June 17, 2008c.

⁴⁸ The exact location of the center is not publicly available. Some reports suggest that it is in NWFP, while others suggest that it is in FATA.

⁴⁹ Author conversations with U.S. officials in the Department of Defense (DoD) and the U.S. Central Command in July 2008.

⁵⁰ For one optimistic account of the general, see John Barry, Zahid Hussain, and Ron Moreau, "The General's New Mission—Pakistan's Latest Army Chief Holds the Key to Next Week's Vote, and to the Future of His Unstable Nation," *Newsweek*, February 18, 2008.

⁵¹ Peter Spiegel and Josh Meyer, "U.S. Debates Acting on Its Own in Pakistan," *Los Angeles Times*, August 23, 2008, p. A1.

United States and vigorous counterinsurgency operations in order to restore institutional morale and repair the relationship between the army and the citizenry. By late 2008, U.S. officials reported seeing greater Pakistani cooperation.⁵²

Inter-Services Intelligence. While the Pakistan government has repeatedly stated its commitment to U.S. goals in the war on terror or overseas contingency operations, accumulating evidence suggests that the ISI's activities could undermine support for those very goals. While rumors to this effect have been circulating for years, U.S. administration officials tended to downplay them to avoid criticizing Musharraf, who was seen as a pivotal ally in the war on terror. As Musharraf's record became increasingly suspect and as his political fortunes declined, open confrontation with Pakistan over the ISI has become increasingly common. In July 2008, a high-level Central Intelligence Agency emissary traveled to Pakistan to present evidence that the ISI

had deepened their ties with some militant groups that were responsible for a surge of violence in Afghanistan, possibly including the suicide bombing this month of the Indian Embassy in Kabul.⁵³

Within the Pakistan security establishment, the ISI is probably the biggest obstacle to effective action against the militants. This is true even though the ISI is controlled and to an extent staffed by the Pakistan Army. The 10,000-strong ISI includes civilians, retired military and serving military personnel, and a host of contractors.⁵⁴ The ISI has nurtured militant groups and is most likely to continue to do so.

Some ISI officers have been managing Pakistan's ties with these militants for years. They have both personal and institutional loyalties to some militants. They are hesitant to break these ties. The ISI, like many intelligence agencies, enjoys considerable operational latitude.

⁵² Kronstadt and Katzman, 2008.

⁵³ Mark Mazetti and Eric Schmitt, "CIA Outlines Pakistan Links with Militants," *New York Times*, July 30, 2008.

⁵⁴ Shaun Gregory, "The ISI and the War on Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 30, No. 12, December 2007b, pp. 1013–1031.

Many ISI activities are not subject to scrutiny because the agency uses funds that are “off the books,” employs human assets with dubious pasts, and uses retired case officers who execute sanctioned programs with plausible deniability. As Ashley Tellis has explained, ISI operatives are regulated by “directive control” rather than “detailed control.” This affords operators the flexibility needed to achieve strategic goals without securing prior approval for every action. The ISI operates through a chain of command that sets broadly defined policy objectives. This structure allows for low-level freedom of action in the service of strategic goals, while shielding the top leadership from having to take responsibility for any particular activity. While many intelligence agencies operate this way, the ISI’s sweeping involvement in domestic affairs requires this structure to shield high-level leaders, such as Musharraf, from unsavory domestic activities (e.g., manipulating elections and political parties and harassing foes).⁵⁵

These institutional characteristics suggest that the ISI will continue to support the Afghan Taliban and India-focused militants despite Islamabad’s purported commitment to the war on terror. The ISI clearly lacks the will to eliminate many militant groups. However, the driving factor behind ISI collusion with the militants remains the state’s belief that these groups have strategic utility.⁵⁶

In addition, the ISI has lost control of many—but by no means all—of the groups that it once fostered. Early in the war on terror, U.S. officials and analysts believed that because the ISI had a successful track record running insurgencies (e.g., in Kashmir and Afghanistan), it could be an excellent counterinsurgency tool. This assumption now seems invalid. Although most groups (with the important exceptions of HM and the Afghan and Pakistani Taliban) were created by the ISI and the military, they have been able to develop their own sources of support and, therefore, pursue their own independent goals without depending on the ISI. It also appears that new groups are forming without past institutional ties to the Pakistani military and intelligence agencies. In the past, the ISI was able to engineer splits in groups and

⁵⁵ For a more robust discussion about the ISI and its various problems, see Tellis, 2008a.

⁵⁶ Tellis, 2008a.

intra-group rivalry to curb their strength and to ensure they remained dependent on the ISI. Over time, the ISI also lost control over these splinter groups, especially the Deobandi groups, some of which began to attack the state.⁵⁷ In a recent interview with the *New York Times*, one former Pakistani intelligence official warned that Pakistan was unable to contain some of the groups it raised and nurtured, explaining, “We indoctrinated them and told them, ‘You will go to heaven.’ You cannot turn it around so suddenly.”⁵⁸

The Police and Rule of Law. Local police forces and corresponding civilian intelligence agencies are more appropriate for counter-insurgency and counterterrorism operations than are military forces, which are oriented toward external enemies. Yet Pakistan’s police have been neglected. While the United States has spent billions of dollars on Pakistan’s army, it has spent precious little enhancing Pakistan’s policing capabilities.⁵⁹

Pakistan’s police lack the most rudimentary investigatory capabilities. Pakistan has only one functioning forensics lab.⁶⁰ There are also too few police officers—especially female police officers.⁶¹ In

⁵⁷ Note that the exception is LeT, which remains under ISI control and has never targeted the state.

⁵⁸ Carlotta Gall and David Rohde, “Militants Escape Control of Pakistan, Officials Say,” *New York Times*, January 15, 2008.

⁵⁹ Between fiscal year (FY) 2002 and FY 2008, the United States spent a total of \$267 million in Pakistan on all programs (including border security) under the U.S. Department of State Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs. In contrast, it spent \$1.6 billion on Pakistan’s Foreign Military Financing (FMF) and nearly \$6 billion on coalition support funds, purportedly to help support the Pakistan Army’s counterinsurgency efforts. See K. Alan Kronstadt, “Direct Overt U.S. Aid and Military Reimbursements to Pakistan, FY2002–FY2010,” prepared for U.S. Congressional Research Service, August 7, 2008a (updated August 3, 2009).

⁶⁰ See discussion of forensics in Fair and Chalk, 2006.

⁶¹ Because men and women are not supposed to intermingle in Pakistan, female police officers and female police stations are needed. Although the first female station was established in 1994 during Benazir Bhutto’s second tenure, few such stations have since been established. In some provinces such as NWFP, women officers are not allowed to leave the station without permission from senior male officers. Up to 70 percent of the women in police custody are subjected to physical and sexual abuse. Even though police officers are not permitted to

Punjab, there is only one police officer per 480 people. Data on Pakistan's major cities suggest that they are all well below their authorized end-strength. In Islamabad, some 60 percent are engaged in protecting government officials, leaving few to protect the general public.⁶² In addition to their low numbers, the police are also poorly equipped to handle the security challenges besetting Pakistan. They possess too few vehicles, secure communications, weaponry, and protective and other such equipment.⁶³

The police are, moreover, deeply politicized. They are employed by local officials for personal services. They have engaged in human rights violations and other offenses. They are poorly paid, corrupt, and feared and reviled by the citizenry. Transparency International Pakistan consistently ranks the police as the most corrupt institution in Pakistan.⁶⁴

The police are unable to protect the populace from criminals or terrorists. The system of courts and prisons and their staffs are inadequate and rife with corruption. Given the reputation of law enforcement agencies in Pakistan, few citizens use the police and courts to resolve problems. Rather, they rely on religious, family, tribal, or ethnic councils to resolve disputes.⁶⁵ One survey of citizens in the Punjabi police district of Gujranwala found that 73 percent of respondents did not even know how to call the police. The same survey found that 76 percent would not call the police to report a crime they witnessed and that 95 percent said that they would not give evidence against

detain or interrogate women without the presence of female staff or without formal registration of charges, illegal detention of women is common. Women are frequently detained for days before being formally charged, as reported by the National Commission on the State of the Women. See Azka Tanveer, "Police and Gender Crimes: Protection vs. Perpetration," [Sustainable Development Policy Institute] *SDPI Research and News Bulletin*, Vol. 13, Nos. 2 and 3, March–June 2006, pp. 14–15.

⁶² International Crisis Group, *Reforming Pakistan's Police*, Islamabad/Brussels, Asia Briefing No. 157, July 14, 2008, p. 18.

⁶³ Fair and Chalk, 2006.

⁶⁴ Transparency International Pakistan, *National Corruption Perception Survey: 2006*, Karachi, Pakistan, August 2006.

⁶⁵ Fair, Ramsay, and Kull, 2008.

an alleged criminal.⁶⁶ Few citizens know how to file a complaint with the police, and the police often refuse to accept complaints. It is well-known that wealthy individuals can use bribery to prevent a complaint from being filed against them or to obtain a filing against a foe.⁶⁷

Until 2002, the legal basis for the police was the Police Act of 1861, a relic from the colonial era. The act structured the police as an instrument to control the population rather than to protect the citizenry.⁶⁸ When Musharraf took over the government in 1999, he attempted to reform the police through his National Reconstruction Bureau. Early attempts culminated in Police Order 2002, which was generally perceived to be an improvement over the colonial-era law. Many high-level police officials interviewed believed that this would transform the police into an effective force that could protect and serve Pakistan's citizens.⁶⁹ The United States contributed to these changes through a small program to provide police assistance.

Unfortunately, police reform did not take place as expected. With the election of the National Assembly in 2002, amendments were added that diminished the provisions that would have insulated the police from politicians. Critics of the changes believed that the police were statutorily dependent on the whims of local politicians.⁷⁰ The International Crisis Group has argued that police reform did not

⁶⁶ See Azhar Hassan Nadeem, *Pakistan: The Political Economy of Lawlessness*, Karachi/New York: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 337–352.

⁶⁷ Author interviews with lawyers, judges, civil society workers, human rights activists, and politicians in April 2008. Police use considerable discretion in deviating from appropriate procedure. They have been known to file First Information Reports without adequate justification and have refused to do so when clear evidence is presented. This behavior has generated considerable attention in the context of crimes against women and minorities and high-profile “blasphemy” cases, which are often pursued against religious minorities. See, for example, U.S. Department of State, *2006 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices*, “Pakistan,” Washington, D.C.: Under Secretary for Democracy and Global Affairs, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, March 6, 2007a.

⁶⁸ The British promulgated the Police Act of 1861 throughout British India following the mutiny of 1857. See discussion in Fair and Chalk, 2006.

⁶⁹ Author interviews in January 2005. See Fair and Chalk, 2006.

⁷⁰ Author interviews in Lahore, Islamabad, and Quetta in April 2008. Meetings included local government officials, police officials, and civil society representatives, among others.

go forward because, in the end, Musharraf's military-led government did not want reform. Musharraf used the police for political ends, particularly in the latter years of his tenure. In 2007, he relied heavily on the police to crack down on democracy advocates and those protesting his dismissal of judges. After declaring emergency-cum-martial law in November 2007, Musharraf used the police as the "coercive instrument of choice." They were also used to harass the regime's opponents in the February 2008 elections.⁷¹

Pakistan's judicial system is deeply corrupt, compounding the problems posed by the police. The quality of Pakistan's legal training has declined since independence. Pakistan's judges are drawn from a pool of inadequately trained lawyers. There are too few judges; it is not unusual for judges to have several hundred cases on the docket per day.⁷² Cases are heard piecemeal and can take years to resolve. Because judges are paid so little, the lower judiciary is particularly vulnerable to bribes.

The standards of Pakistan's prisons and jails are also poor. Human rights are frequently violated within their confines. Overcrowding is a serious problem, exacerbated by the sluggish judicial system.⁷³

The system of appointing, promoting, compensating, and moving police personnel functions poorly. Because of the high cost of living in Pakistan's burgeoning cities, subsidized housing is needed, especially for the rank and file. Unlike the military, which enjoys an expansive system of retirement and housing benefits, the police enjoy few comparable benefits.

Police forces need better training in handling crime scenes, evidence collection, ballistics, and basic forensics. Pakistan also needs specialized policing skills, such as for cyber crimes, criminology, and centers of excellence for forensic science. (The trial regarding Daniel Pearl, the reporter who was kidnapped and murdered by terrorists in Pakistan in early 2002, involved no forensic evidence.) Laws may have

⁷¹ International Crisis Group, 2008.

⁷² April 2008 author interviews in Pakistan with judges, lawyers, and professors of law.

⁷³ Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, *State of Human Rights in 2007*, Lahore, Pakistan, 2007.

to be changed to permit the introduction of modern evidence. Judges may need to be trained to understand such evidence. There is still a tendency to rely on confessions to obtain convictions. Finally, the police forces also need substantially improved equipment.

In some places, such as FATA and parts of Baluchistan, there are no police. In those areas, the government relies on tribal militias (called *lashkars* or *levies*), FC, and the Pakistan Army. In other parts of the country, the Pakistan Rangers, another paramilitary force, are used. These institutions are not substitutes for a community policing organization and are not likely to be an effective solution for providing justice in these insurgency-ridden areas.⁷⁴ There are no plans to extend the police force into FATA because such an extension would require dispensing with the colonial-era legal regime that governs FATA in favor of integrating FATA into the country's legal system.

The statutes that govern policing need to be clarified and inconsistencies resolved. Police Order 2002 has been amended several times, yet it is often not clear how the police are to operate and under whose authority because of conflicting legal guidelines. The International Crisis Group suggests that the parliament should take up this issue. In light of the unique social, ethnic, tribal, and other circumstances of each province, the legislation should be sent to the provinces for review. An accountability body with independent and elected members would be useful. Such "public safety commissions" were called for in Police Order 2002 but were never set up as originally envisioned.

The military's involvement in policing needs to be curbed. Currently, the police force has a 10 percent reserved quota for military personnel. The military also posts serving and retired personnel to the police-run intelligence bureau. Finally, dedicated efforts are needed to ensure a greater female presence in the police force to protect female victims and alleged perpetrators alike.⁷⁵

Reforming Pakistan's police does not appear to be beyond the capabilities of the Pakistani state. Experiments have been conducted with the Motorway Police force and have had excellent results. The

⁷⁴ See discussion in International Crisis Group, 2008.

⁷⁵ International Crisis Group, 2008.

Motorway Police officers earn nearly three times as much as an ordinary police officer and face tough accountability measures. A livable wage with a strong system of accountability has resulted in an effective force. Motorway Police officers enjoy the support of the citizenry and have a reputation for being above bribery.⁷⁶

Curbing corruption among the police and judiciary will require higher pay. Police officer wages are as low as \$140 per month. Some officers have to hitchhike to work because their meager salaries do not permit other modes of transportation.⁷⁷ While this is in some measure a resource issue, pay scale reform will likely have to take place within the context of civil service reform, which has had an abysmal track record.⁷⁸ With adequate political will, this record could be overcome. However, few politicians will seek to antagonize the state bureaucracy by making such a move. The army may be unwilling to support such programs if the programs infringe on the army's privileges or its ability to manipulate domestic politics.

A key, but often overlooked, element of meaningful police reform is changing the behavior and expectations of Pakistan's citizens. Working to create conditions whereby police officers are less inclined to accept or demand bribes must occur in tandem with efforts to encourage the public to refuse to pay bribes when asked or to decline to offer bribes. While it may be difficult to persuade adults of the value of respecting the rule of law, civics classes could help introduce such values to school children. However, civics classes have been abandoned in the Pakistani public school system. Pakistan's civil society organizations could become partners with the public school system in fostering a society that respects the rule of law.

A review of Pakistan's actions to counter its internal foes demonstrates an overreliance on conventional force and excessive use of

⁷⁶ Fair and Chalk, 2006.

⁷⁷ See International Crisis Group, 2008.

⁷⁸ Mohammad Mohabbat Khan, "Resistance to Major Administrative Reforms in South Asian Bureaucracies," *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, Vol. 57, No. 1, March 1991, pp. 59–73; the World Bank, *A Framework for Civil Service Reform in Pakistan*, Washington, D.C., December 15, 1998.

military force executed by the army and FC. The army has resisted moving toward developing a counterinsurgency capability because this presumably would undercut its conventional orientation toward India. This situation does not augur well: The counterinsurgency literature is clear that civilian-led—rather than army-led—strategies are more successful. Such an approach puts police and civilian intelligence and investigative agencies in the lead, with the army playing important support roles. Police are needed to hold ground and maintain security after the army clears an area of militants. Yet Pakistan's tribal areas have no police organizations per se. FC is a paramilitary organization, and the tribal levies and lashkars are little more than militias rather than policing organizations. In the rest of Pakistan, police forces are poorly equipped, poorly trained, and provided with low salaries and virtually no death benefits to protect their families. The Pakistani central and provincial governments have proven unable to prepare for the civilian needs of areas following military actions. Without competent police forces to hold areas and integrated civilian input to rebuild them, the long-term success of counterinsurgency operations is in doubt, in part because the army continues to see these as army operations.⁷⁹

Pakistan's Foreign Policy

Pakistan's security elites believe that the country confronts several external threats. Moreover, parts of the security establishment (especially the army) have a vested interest in preserving the status quo. If Pakistan were to resolve its disputes with India and Afghanistan, would the army be able to lay claim to the power and resources that it does today? Given Pakistan's predilection for the status quo, change will

⁷⁹ See Hassan Abbas, "Transforming Pakistan's Frontier Corps," *Terrorism Monitor*, Vol. 5, No. 6, March 30, 2007; Hassan Abbas, *Police & Law Enforcement Reform in Pakistan: Crucial for Counterinsurgency and Counterterrorism Success*, Clinton Township, Mich.: Institute for Social Policy and Understanding, April 2009; Seth G. Jones and Martin C. Libicki, *How Terrorist Groups End: Lessons for Countering al-Qa'ida*, Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, 2008; C. Christine Fair and Sumit Ganguly, eds., *Treading on Hallowed Ground: Counterinsurgency Operations in Sacred Spaces*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

be difficult. Pakistan may well continue to nurture external conflicts through the use of militant proxies, with the corresponding implications for conflict in India and Afghanistan.

Foreign Policy Objectives

Pakistan was born an insecure state, having a territorial conflict with India and an ill-defined western border with Afghanistan. The sense of insecurity arising from these conditions has encouraged Pakistan's propensity toward military risk taking, as well as its practice of using a bevy of militant groups to project its interests into Afghanistan, Kashmir, and India. Pakistan continues to fear further territorial dismemberment after the 1971 loss of Bangladesh and thus tends to view its risky gambles primarily as defensive measures aimed against outside aggressors. At various times, as payback for India's assistance in freeing Bangladesh, Pakistan has sought to destabilize India by exploiting India's own internal divisions.⁸⁰ In pursuit of strategic depth in Afghanistan and in an effort to stave off irredentist claims on its Pash-tun areas, Pakistan has exploited ethnic fissures in Afghanistan by supporting groups presumed to be sympathetic to Islamabad.

These regional concerns drive Pakistan's continued support of some militant groups. One would think that if Pakistan could attenuate the threats it perceives through means less inimical to international security, it would. Unfortunately, Pakistan has few diplomatic or political means to resolve its outstanding security concerns—in large part because of its support for militants and its insistence on using the army to set the parameters of foreign policy. Few countries are willing to condone Pakistan's strategy for dealing with its security threats, even if they acknowledge the importance that Pakistan attaches to its regional threat perceptions.

The conflict over Kashmir, a central issue for Pakistan's elites, tends to strengthen and perpetuate the role of the army in Pakistani political life. One historian describes this relationship as “a fetish of national identity,” around which Islamists and nationalists alike have

⁸⁰ Both India and Pakistan have long sought to aggravate each others' separatist movements to further their national security agendas. See Cohen, 2004, p. 228.

coalesced and been inspired.⁸¹ While India would probably be willing to recognize the existing division of the province along the Line of Control, Pakistan insists on territorial change, variously defined. No Pakistani leadership could abandon this long-standing objective in totality. From the army's perspective, the Kashmir conflict justifies an outsized military budget and its overwhelming role in Pakistani politics. The conflict is central to the army's claim that it is the custodian of the state.⁸²

Since 1989, Pakistan has supported militants' disruption in Kashmir in the hope of bleeding India into concessions—a strategy that has to date failed to change India's negotiating position or to weaken India's resolve. The ability of Pakistan's diplomats to explore other approaches is constrained by vested interests seeking to preserve a state of confrontation with India over Kashmir despite the rapprochement between the two countries over other issues. The upshot is that as long as the army maintains its central role in foreign policy, the dispute is apt to continue.

Pakistan's objectives regarding its troubled western border are ambiguous. While it would make strategic and economic sense for Pakistan to support the stabilization of Afghanistan, many Pakistanis fear that a stable Afghanistan, under any undue influence from the former Northern Alliance, could become a platform from which India could exacerbate Pakistan's internal problems.⁸³ Pakistan has kept its options open. Some of those within Pakistan's security apparatus would like to restore Afghanistan to "client" status, that is, an Afghanistan that adopts foreign and domestic policies that reflect Pakistan's interests. Although prospects for such a turn of affairs are bleak since the Afghan Taliban were routed, residual aspirations remain after Pakistan's repeated success in playing "king-maker."⁸⁴ Afghanistan's irredentist

⁸¹ Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan at the Crosscurrent of History*, Oxford, England: Oneworld, 2005, pp. 100, 131–132.

⁸² The view of GEN (ret.) Talad Msood, cited in Ahmad Faruqui, *Rethinking the National Security of Pakistan: The Price of Strategic Myopia*, Surrey, U.K.: Ashgate, 2003, p. 10.

⁸³ See Fair, 2008.

⁸⁴ Cohen, 2004, pp. 219, 324.

claims have long been an irritant—and an outright security threat—to Islamabad.⁸⁵ Yet a contradiction lies at the heart of Pakistan's approach to Afghanistan—while Islamabad claims to oppose Kabul's desire to revise the Durand Line, it is Pakistan's policy of using militants that has led to repeated violations of the existing border. The border is ill-defined, and Pashtun families routinely cross it to trade on one side or the other. However, as with Kashmir, Pakistan has no political strategy for resolving the border issue; it has chosen to rely primarily on its client militants, military, and intelligence agencies.

Pakistan's objectives in Iran and in Central Asia after the collapse of the Soviet Union have also been beset by contradictions.⁸⁶ On the one hand, Pakistan, along with many other countries, would like to participate in the exploitation of Central Asia's resources. Pakistan would like to cooperate economically. It has sought to do so, especially through the Economic Cooperation Organization.⁸⁷ However, the impulse to deny India the benefit of these resources and to prevent India from consolidating security relationships with these states, thereby encircling Pakistan, has befuddled its engagement strategy. Trade remains small, in large part because stability in Afghanistan—something that has been conspicuously absent for several decades—would be essential for Pakistan to have access to these markets. Iran has meanwhile developed closer security ties with India since 2000, while Tajikistan has granted India access to one (and possibly two) of its air bases.⁸⁸ Pakistan's hand in fostering Afghanistan's instability has earned the ire of other regional powers, short-circuiting Pakistan's attempts to develop economic relations with Central Asia and generally

⁸⁵ For a historical account, see Khurshid Hasan, "Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 2, No. 7, September 1962.

⁸⁶ "Pakistan has a long cherished desire to cultivate . . . trading, economic and cultural ties with . . . Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan." Ahmad Rashid Malik, "Pakistan's Trade and Diplomacy Toward Central Asia: A Case Study of Uzbekistan During 1991–2007," *IPRI Journal*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, Winter 2008.

⁸⁷ The Economic Cooperation Organization is a regional organization aimed at fostering greater economic cooperation between ten territorially adjoining Muslim states. For more information, visit the organization's Web site.

⁸⁸ See Fair, 2008.

exemplifying how Pakistan has allowed its security agenda to trump its economic interests.

For all the predominance security has received in the national agenda—influencing how Pakistan is governed through the domination of the state by the army and draining its coffers in support of its defense budget—this policy has not made Pakistan more secure. Pakistan's military has frequently been overconfident of its ability to manage the external security challenges it faces. A near-total reliance on tactical opportunism has denied Pakistan a comprehensive strategic vision that would make the country permanently more secure.⁸⁹

Foreign Policymaking

Pakistan's foreign policy decisions have been made by a small group within the ruling elite housed within the army and intelligence agencies. This group has lacked imagination and vision and has shackled Pakistan's foreign policy to the objectives of the security establishment. Highly centralized decisionmaking has immunized Pakistan's foreign policy from Pakistan's domestic political disturbances. Despite oscillations between military and civilian rule, Pakistan has shown continuity in its approach to managing its external challenges. The concentration of decisionmaking within the hands of a small group of people has stunted the development of a wider institutional base from which to generate foreign policy, marginalizing the country's civilian political institutions and precluding even the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from providing meaningful input in setting Pakistan's course in approaching its external challenges.⁹⁰

Even when not holding power directly, Pakistan's military regimes have exerted influence on civilian rulers, creating a circular relationship between the excuse these regimes derive from Pakistan's intensively insecure external environment to intervene politically and the enduring nature of these external insecurities. The army high command and

⁸⁹ Ijaz Khan, *Pakistan's Strategic Culture and Foreign Policy Making: A Study of Pakistan's Post 9/11 Afghan Policy Change*, New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc., 2007, p. 115; Cohen, 2004, pp. 270, 273.

⁹⁰ Ijaz Khan, 2007, p. 115.

the intelligence agencies have used the country's external threats as the rationale for their sweeping powers and calls for resources. Because peace undermines the status of these institutions, incentives to resolve outstanding threats have become distorted. The army and intelligence agencies have succeeded in large measure because other decisionmakers tend to share their views that Pakistan exists in a hostile environment. Pakistan's schools, both public and religious, and the media have fostered this view.

The National Assembly and the Senate each possess their own Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs. Traditionally, these committees have made a negligible mark on foreign policy. Pakistan's constitution grants no role to parliament on foreign policy; the cabinet is free to commit Pakistan to international agreements or to change foreign policy without parliamentary scrutiny. Nor does parliament possess the power to oversee ambassadorial or other high-level diplomatic appointments. The lack of an institutional mechanism ensuring civilian scrutiny, or a culture of wider consultation and debate outside the national security establishment, ensures structural constraints on foreign policy even under civilian-led rule.⁹¹

The contortions in Pakistan's Afghan policy are illustrative. Pakistan forsook the Afghan Taliban in favor of partnering with the United States in 2001. Musharraf could change policy without even consulting his fellow senior officers or the cabinet.⁹² Musharraf would later contend that "No democratically elected government could have moved so quickly."⁹³ In contrast, civilian governments have had little latitude in foreign policy. Historically, they decided not to deviate too greatly from the interests of the army; otherwise, they risked being removed from office.

Pakistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the diplomatic corps are marginalized. One former foreign secretary said of Pakistan's foreign policy decisions, "wherever they are made, they are not made in the for-

⁹¹ Ijaz Khan, 2007, pp. 10–11, 124–126.

⁹² Faruqui, 2003, pp. xviii–xxiv.

⁹³ Quoted in Hussain, 2007, p. 46.

eign office of Pakistan.”⁹⁴ Pakistan’s economic engagement abroad has been delegated to the foreign ministry—Musharraf announced that his criteria for evaluating the performance of his ambassadors would be based squarely on the amount of commercial activity that they could generate for Pakistan.⁹⁵ Diplomats who represent Pakistan in global and regional bodies, such as the United Nations and the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, find themselves frequently saddled with the task of having to excuse embarrassing domestic turns of events—regular dismissals of prime ministers and federal governments, coups, and periods of martial law. Limiting damage to Pakistan’s reputation is their stock in trade. Reflecting the predominance of political appointees in Pakistan’s foreign policy, of the 20 men and women who have represented Pakistan in Washington as ambassadors, only 6 have been from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.⁹⁶

Pakistan’s Defense Ministry (especially Army General Headquarters) plays the decisive role in driving Pakistan’s foreign policy. Defense diplomacy is a major tool in Pakistan’s foreign relations. Security engagements are one of the foundations on which Pakistan has built its relationships with China, Saudi Arabia, and the United States. Sino-Pakistani defense cooperation includes regular joint military exercises; the joint development of the JF-17 Thunder strike aircraft; a considerable transfer of Chinese military technology, including key components for Pakistan’s nuclear weapons; and important assistance in developing Pakistan’s ballistic missile arsenal.

The Saudi relationship is based on the closeness between the intelligence agencies of the two countries and trade in conventional weapons. Pakistan’s emphasis on national security drives these patterns. For its part, Saudi Arabia is attracted to Pakistan as an international partner and as a military ally.

⁹⁴ Former Foreign Secretary of Pakistan, Niaz A. Naik, quoted in Ijaz Khan, 2007, p. 115.

⁹⁵ Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir*, London: Simon & Schuster, 2006, p. 306.

⁹⁶ Khalid Hasan, “Ambassadors: A Passing Show,” *Daily Times*, Islamabad, Pakistan, June 1, 2008.

Other parts of the Pakistan government have at times exerted great influence on foreign policy: the Afghan Trade Cell, a part of the Pakistani Interior Ministry, ran policy by the Taliban during the early 1990s.⁹⁷ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs knew that Pakistan's support for the Taliban was resulting in increasing international isolation, earning the ire of Iran, India, and the United States, but it was powerless to steer Pakistan away from this course.

Pakistan's Alliances and Regional Insecurities

Pakistan's antagonistic border relationship with India has driven Pakistan to seek alliances with other regional powers.⁹⁸ By virtue of its strategic location at the juncture of South Asia, Central Asia, and the Middle East, Pakistan has been regularly sought out by those with interests in the region, resulting in alliances and partnerships with China, Saudi Arabia, and intermittently with the United States. However, the tangible practical benefits these alliances have brought Pakistan do not include diplomatic backing for Pakistan's position on Kashmir. The absence of a shared stance concerning India has denied Pakistan the opportunity to use these alliances to push India for concessions on Kashmir.

Sino-Pakistani relations are a partial exception. They date back to 1950 when Pakistan was among the first states to recognize the People's Republic of China. Relations deepened after the 1962 Sino-Indian war, uniting both countries in mutual antipathy to New Delhi. However, improving Sino-Indian relations over the past two decades have reduced this rationale somewhat. Yet Sino-Pakistan relations have endured these changing conditions. China remains Pakistan's most consistent and enduring partner. The persistence of close ties is traceable to geopolitical realities. China receives a favorable territorial corridor linking its mainland to the Indian Ocean, which is important for economic and strategic reasons, and a hedging option against the

⁹⁷ Ijaz Khan, 2007, p. 10.

⁹⁸ Cohen, 2004, pp. 87, 270.

(currently improbable) event of a future downturn in relations with India. India would find a simultaneous two-front war with China and Pakistan difficult.

For its part, Pakistan continues to benefit from important legacies arising from its history of close relations with China. The enduring stability of this relationship has allowed Pakistan to consider its northern border with China secure.⁹⁹ Diplomatic support from Beijing, however, has not been unconditional, as shown when it opposed Pakistan during the 1999 Kargil offensive against India. China's formerly unstinting backing of Pakistan's strategic gambles against India has dampened since its own rapprochement with India.¹⁰⁰

Despite losing the more overt forms of Chinese backing for its stand against India, Pakistan continues to enjoy significant material support from China. China has provided Pakistan with arms and technologies for its ballistic missile program. China is also funding important infrastructure projects in Pakistan. The flagship project is the Gwadar deepwater port in southwestern Pakistan. Pakistan's own domestic security woes have begun to jeopardize the relationship. Chinese workers have been sporadically targeted by antigovernment militants: Three Chinese were shot dead in Peshawar in July 2007; three Chinese engineers were killed in Baluchistan in February 2006; and a car bomb killed three Chinese technicians working on the Gwadar Port project in May 2004. Beijing applied diplomatic pressure on Islamabad to resolve the Lal Masjid siege in 2007 when Chinese nationals became targets for vigilantes operating from this mosque. Another factor complicating relations is that Chinese Muslim dissidents from the Xinjiang province have allegedly trained in Pakistan with other Islamist militants. China has cooperated with Pakistan to contain these militants. Were these militants to become more of a threat, China would probably look upon Pakistan less favorably.

⁹⁹ The border delineates the territory between Xinjiang and Pakistan using the Karakoram Range as the boundary. For discussion of its origins, see W. M. Dobell, "Ramifications of the China-Pakistan Border Treaty," *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 37, No. 3, 1964.

¹⁰⁰ John W. Garver, "The Future of the Sino-Pakistani Entente Cordiale," in Michael R. Chambers, ed., *South Asia in 2020: Future Strategic Balances and Alliances*, Carlisle Barracks, Pa.: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, November 2002, pp. 385–447.

Pakistan's most important bilateral Middle Eastern relationship is with Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia's wealth has funded mutually beneficial security cooperation. Pakistan has received grants for oil purchases and funding for weapons programs, reportedly including its nuclear weapons project.¹⁰¹ In exchange, Saudi Arabia has received military equipment, training, and intelligence cooperation. Ties between the countries deepened through the joint enterprise of funding and arming the mujahideen against the Soviet Union in the 1980s, through their mutual support of the Taliban in the following decade, and through Saudi involvement in funding the expansion of Pakistan's madaris that have provided the institutional underpinnings for fostering both movements. It also dates back to Zulfikar Bhutto's attempts to anchor Pakistan more firmly in the Middle East after Pakistan was defeated by India and Bangladesh seceded. General Zia intensified these efforts to forge ties with Arab Gulf states, especially Saudi Arabia. Both Pakistan and Saudi Arabia are predominantly Sunni Islamic states (with important and worrisome Shia minorities), both fear Iran's foreign policies, and both aspire to provide leadership to the Muslim world. These common characteristics have further strengthened ties. Saudi Arabia has also noted that Pakistan's Army and intelligence agencies are desirable partners in a regional bloc, and it sees Pakistan as a helpful ally in hemming in a regionally belligerent Shia Iran.¹⁰² Pakistan also benefits from the large number of expatriates who work in Saudi Arabia and the rest of the Gulf. An estimated 600,000 Pakistanis are employed in Saudi Arabia alone.¹⁰³

Because of its role in the world and its military might, the United States in principle should provide Pakistan's security establishment with a greater sense of security through its military assistance and training. However, the United States has been an intermittent ally. Pakistani foreign policymakers are pessimistic about the durability of U.S. assistance. As the two countries' strategic interests have converged and

¹⁰¹ International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2007, p. 83.

¹⁰² Cohen, 2004, p. 122.

¹⁰³ Jane's Sentinel Country Risk Assessments, *External Affairs—Pakistan*, updated October 26, 2008.

diverged over the years, relations have oscillated between partnership and estrangement: After allying with the United States early during the Cold War, Pakistan's relations with it deteriorated during the 1960s and 1970s because of the 1965 and 1971 wars with India. The partnership was renewed during the 1980s' jihad, but fell apart again during the 1990s, only to be renewed again after 2001.

These oscillations are due in part to the lack of enduring and broad-based convergence over strategic goals. The United States has never shared Islamabad's view in entirety that India was a source of instability, despite Washington's Cold War-era vexation over India's alliance with the Soviet Union. The United States has tended to engage Pakistan only as a facilitator of the security concerns of the day—confronting the Soviet Union, and, more recently, international terrorism.¹⁰⁴ While Pakistan's foreign policy elites value U.S. assistance, they are skeptical that an enduring relationship can be developed, leading Pakistan to believe that it ought to draw upon U.S. largesse as heavily as possible whenever it becomes available because economic and military assistance will inevitably dry up when the most recent U.S. regional concern runs its course.¹⁰⁵

Even though good relations are intermittent, during those periods Pakistan has benefited greatly from its relations with the United States. Pakistan was welcomed back into the international mainstream after being ostracized on account of its 1998 nuclear tests. Better relations with the United States have allowed Pakistan to maintain and strengthen its military capabilities. By contrast, Musharraf's initial hopes in 2001 that U.S. support would translate into at least some endorsement of Pakistan's Kashmir policy have not been realized. For Pakistan, which is locked in security dilemmas with its neighbors, U.S. support is needed to counter Indian strengths, but the United States has declined to proactively and publicly intervene. Pakistan remains

¹⁰⁴Kux, 2001.

¹⁰⁵This alliance dynamic—of Pakistani security cooperation being provided to the United States in exchange for U.S. largesse—has always governed periods of U.S.-Pakistan partnership. For a historical account, see Shirin Tahir-Kheli, *The United States and Pakistan: The Evolution of an Influence Relationship*, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1982, pp. xi, 24, 106.

diplomatically isolated because of its use of militants in Kashmir and alienated over its meddling in Afghanistan.

It is unhelpful for the United States to view its relations with Pakistan through a purely bilateral lens. Deepening Indo-U.S. ties have exacerbated Pakistan's insecurity about the growth of Indian power. Managing Afghan-U.S.-Pakistan relations presents more-immediate challenges because of the deep antipathy between Kabul and Islamabad. India's role in Afghanistan's rehabilitation, while desirable within some contexts, has stoked Pakistan's fear of encirclement by its perennial Indian foe.

The Pakistan Army has near-complete control over Pakistan's nuclear program.¹⁰⁶ (Parts of the nuclear fuel cycle are in facilities that are managed outside of the army's control and the army has no oversight over the civilian applications within the nuclear program.) Although the program was initiated under the civilian rule of Zulfikar Bhutto, civilian politicians in Pakistan have subsequently been kept outside of nuclear policy circles. Accordingly, the strategic priorities of Pakistan's army determine the will and the capacity to prevent proliferation and keep the arsenal safe.

Pakistan's nuclear weapons arsenal provides the country with a great deal of security in relation to India. Because of its importance, the army is intent on ensuring that the arsenal remains secure from a homegrown theft of nuclear materials, penetration of the nuclear complex by a foreign country or groups, or other threats. Since becoming an overt nuclear weapons state in 1998, Pakistan has implemented a number of measures that have significantly improved its command-and-control arrangements. In response to the potential of an insider threat or nonstate rogue, Pakistan has adopted a personnel screening program modeled on U.S. systems in order to vet and psychologically profile personnel employed by Pakistan's SPD to guard the arsenal.¹⁰⁷

There are limits to the extent these measures can ensure against proliferation. Like any system, the measures cannot preclude the pos-

¹⁰⁶Stephen Cohen, in his review of this document, noted that "the army does not have the scientists or physicists to know what goes on in the weapons labs, the latter have twice proven to be the source of leaks."

¹⁰⁷Koch and Rayhack, 2007.

sibility that an individual with commercial or other motives could infiltrate SPD. SPD is a large organization, employing between 8,000 and 10,000 personnel. In any organization of that size, some individuals will, almost invariably, be unreliable or potentially corruptible. For example, a study of similar programs for U.S. personnel with nuclear weapons duties estimates that 4 to 5 percent of such a group is potentially unreliable, although “potentially unreliable” does not necessarily mean the individual would engage in treasonous activities.¹⁰⁸ Leakage or corruption from within the nuclear establishment remains a possible route through which Pakistan’s nuclear technology might escape.

However, the systems are strong enough that in most instances, proliferation of nuclear technologies and materials can only be undertaken with the approval of the army. (For these reasons it is hard to believe that A. Q. Khan assisted North Korea with its nuclear program without approval from the army.) Pakistan is believed to have increased its assistance to North Korea’s nuclear programs during the 1990s through a cooperative defense agreement. Islamabad is reported to have helped Pyongyang acquire centrifuges in 2000.¹⁰⁹ In fact, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto claimed to have been personally involved in these transactions with North Korea. During a state visit in 1993, she reportedly smuggled in critical data on uranium enrichment to facilitate a missile deal with Pyongyang.¹¹⁰ For its part, North Korea provided Pakistan with ballistic missile technology.¹¹¹

Pakistan might conceivably provide Saudi Arabia with nuclear weapons technologies following the successful detonation of an Iranian nuclear weapon. Pakistan’s close ties with Saudi Arabia combined with Saudi Arabia’s concerns about Iran could lead Pakistan to help Saudi

¹⁰⁸Gregory, 2007a, p. 5.

¹⁰⁹A. Q. Khan has reneged on his 2004 confession that he acted as an isolated actor in authorizing the transfer of Pakistan’s nuclear materials to North Korea. “Pakistan ‘Knew of Nuclear Flight,’” *BBC News*, July 4, 2008.

¹¹⁰Glenn Kessler, “Bhutto Dealt Nuclear Secrets to N. Korea, Book Says,” *Washington Post*, June 1, 2008, p. A16.

¹¹¹Sharon A. Squassoni, *Weapons of Mass Destruction: Trade Between North Korea and Pakistan*, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, CRS Report for Congress, Order Code RL31900, updated March 11, 2004a, p. 12.

Arabia acquire or build its own nuclear weapons. Saudi Arabia is suspected of having provided financial support for Pakistan's nuclear program with this goal in mind. The connections between the two countries' defense and intelligence establishments are deep, dating back to collaboration in assisting the Afghan mujahideen against the Soviet Union during the 1980s.¹¹² Moreover, in 1982, Pakistan stationed an armored brigade in Tarbuk, Saudi Arabia, to protect Saudi Arabia. The brigade remained in place until 1988 under a defense agreement that broke down when Saudi Arabia demanded that only Sunni personnel come to the kingdom. General Zia rejected this demand on the principle that there is no sectarian discrimination in the Pakistan Army.¹¹³

It is the authors' assessment that for Pakistan to deliberately transfer nuclear technology to a nonstate actor—not as a conduit for a larger deal but as the end recipient—is much harder to envisage. Despite the close ties between parts of Pakistan's military and intelligence community on the one hand and the country's Islamist militant groups on the other, Pakistan's army has no interest in permitting these groups to acquire nuclear materials or technologies. Such a transfer arguably would endanger Pakistan itself.

Pakistan's nuclear deterrent is premised on a "first-use" nuclear policy, despite President Zardari's August 2008 proclamation that he supports a no-first-use policy.¹¹⁴ LTG Khalid Kidwai, the senior officer in command of SPD, has identified the following redlines, which, if crossed, could trigger a nuclear response from Pakistan:

1. India occupies a large part of Pakistan in a military attack.
2. India destroys a significant portion of Pakistan's land or air forces.
3. India attempts to strangle Pakistan economically.
4. India attempts to subvert or destabilize Pakistan.¹¹⁵

¹¹²International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2007, p. 83.

¹¹³Barbara Crossette, "Confrontation in the Gulf; Pakistanis Agree to Join Defense of Saudi Arabia," *New York Times*, August 14, 1990.

¹¹⁴"Pakistan Ready for No First Use of Nukes: Zardari," *The News*, November 23, 2008.

¹¹⁵Responses to questions from the Landau Institute, an Italian arms control institution, in an interview with General Kidwai about Pakistan's policies on the use of nuclear weap-

Because events could easily be misinterpreted to fit into any of these categories, the risk of escalation on the Indian subcontinent is high.¹¹⁶

Pakistan possesses two nuclear power stations; a third power station, CHASNUPP 2, is currently being built with Chinese support. The Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority (PNRA) is responsible for making sure that Pakistan is prepared to deal with nuclear or radiological emergencies.¹¹⁷ In 2006, it initiated a national Nuclear Safety and Security Action Plan in this regard. In association with the International Atomic Energy Agency, PNRA has provided nuclear safety training to required personnel. It has established a National Nuclear Security Emergency Co-ordination Centre tasked with tracking the movement of all nuclear materials in Pakistan and with organizing a national response with mobile response teams in the event of a nuclear accident.¹¹⁸ Despite these measures, with both a civilian and military nuclear infrastructure to defend, the possibility cannot be ruled out of a successful terrorist attack on Pakistan's fixed nuclear infrastructure through air or land vehicle-borne attack, heavy weaponry, or even a swarming assault by dismounted attackers.¹¹⁹

ons. Paulo Cotta-Ramusino and Maurizio Martellini, "Nuclear Safety, Nuclear Stability and Nuclear Strategy in Pakistan: A Concise Report of a Visit by Landau Network—Centro Volta," Como, Italy: Centro Volta, January 2002.

¹¹⁶ For expositions of escalation issues and nuclear threats, see Chari, Cheema, and Cohen, 2003 and 2007.

¹¹⁷ "In Pakistan, nuclear regulatory matters are overseen by the Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority (PNRA). PNRA was established through a Presidential Ordinance of 22 January 2001. PNRA is empowered to devise, adopt, make and enforce regulations and orders for nuclear safety and radiation protection to all types of nuclear installations and nuclear substances." International Atomic Energy Agency, *Pakistan*, Vienna, Austria, 2003.

¹¹⁸ Mohammed Saleem Zafar, *Vulnerability of Research Reactors to Attack*, Washington, D.C.: Henry L. Stimson Center, April 2008, pp. 30–32.

¹¹⁹ Zafar, 2008.

Economic Policies

Macroeconomic Policies

Pakistan's economic policy institutions have done a credible job maintaining macroeconomic stability. Until 2008, the State Bank of Pakistan kept average annual inflation rates in single digits for a decade. The State Bank of Pakistan has become more proficient and more independent. It reduced subsidized lending and direct lending to the government, two policies that in other countries have led to rapid growth in the money supply and hence inflation.

The budget process is well-established, although spending plans are not always implemented. As noted in Chapter Two, budget deficits have run close to 4 percent of GDP in recent years, on the borderline of being uncomfortable. The Pakistani government has not been able to rely exclusively on the domestic market to finance its deficits. Grant aid was an important source of budgetary finance in 2002, covering 64 percent of Pakistan's budget deficit. But foreign grants have declined sharply since then, covering only 8 percent of the budget deficit in 2007. In that year, borrowing on the domestic market covered about half of budgetary financing needs, and privatization receipts and foreign borrowing covered the rest. When foreign financing became more difficult in 2008, Pakistan's budget deficits helped precipitate a balance-of-payments crisis.

Because tax revenues as a share of GDP are relatively low, Pakistan has a hard time increasing government expenditures. But more government spending is needed to correct deficiencies in public infrastructure and the educational system. To keep the economy growing strongly, educational levels will need to rise and public infrastructure, especially roads, will need to be expanded and improved. Electric power generation will also need to be increased. These goals need funding if they are to be achieved.

Pakistan's low rate of taxation is due to its government's unwillingness to expand the tax net, not because of deficiencies in collecting taxes. The Central Bureau of Revenue has improved its performance in collecting taxes greatly in recent years. It is in the process of becoming more politically independent; as part of that process, it is being

renamed the Federal Bureau of Revenue. The Pakistani government has difficulty in increasing tax revenues, not because of deficiencies in collection, but because taxes cover such a narrow part of the economy. The government relies on indirect taxes, primarily sales and excise taxes, for 70 percent of the revenues of the Central Bureau of Revenue. However, these taxes do not apply to the agricultural sector nor to much of the service sector. Since agriculture accounts for a fifth to a quarter of GDP, depending upon the harvest, this is a large share of the economy to leave untapped. In addition, special exemptions are rife.

The Pakistani government makes very limited use of taxes on property. For countries in which incomes are hidden as a matter of course, property taxes are an effective means of taxation because they are levied on tangible assets. However, Pakistan's landed classes, both the traditional feudal families and retired military officers, who have become a new land-owning class, fiercely resist property taxes.

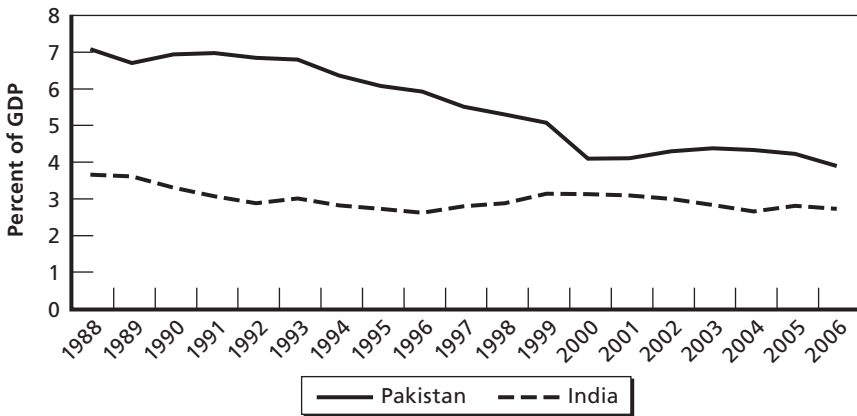
Government Defense Spending and Other Military Revenues

As noted in Chapter Two, Pakistan lags behind comparable countries in terms of spending on public services such as education and health care as a share of GDP.¹²⁰ Political opposition to expanding the tax base is one reason for Pakistan's lower expenditures as a share of GDP, but military spending is also partly to blame.

In 2006, Pakistan's military budget accounted for 16.5 percent of total government spending and 22 percent of federal government spending. It ran 3.8 percent of GDP (see Figure 3.1). In contrast, India spent 2.7 percent of its GDP on the military in 2006. These differences have important implications for development spending. If Pakistan were to cut the share of military spending to that of India, shifting those resources to education, it could increase spending on education by 55 percent. To a great extent, the Pakistani government has already embarked on this shift. The share of military spending in GDP halved between 1988, when it was 7 percent of GDP, and 2006. The decline in this ratio is due in part to economic growth; military spending has been growing in recent years, but not as rapidly as the economy. How-

¹²⁰The World Bank, 2004, p. 2; 2002; and 2005a and b.

Figure 3.1
Pakistan's and India's Military Spending as a Share of GDP



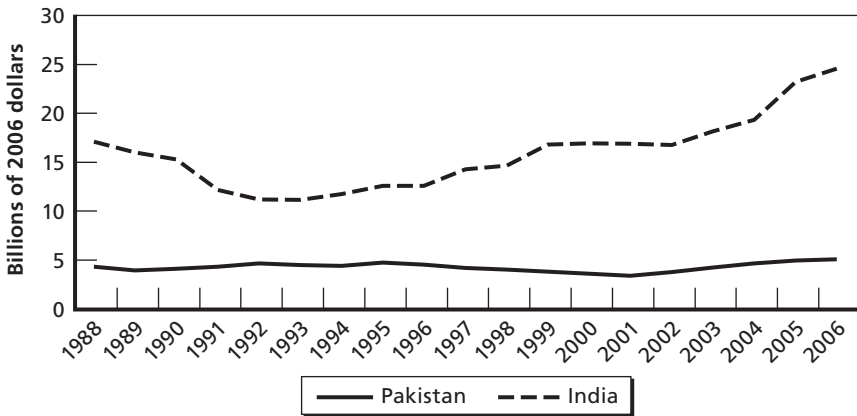
SOURCES: Calculated from military expenditures in domestic currencies from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute's military expenditure database, which is available at the institute's Web site, and GDP statistics from the International Monetary Fund's International Financial Statistics database, which is available at the IMF Web site.

RAND MG910-3.1

ever, throughout much of the period, spending has declined in constant dollar terms (see Figure 3.2), reflecting a shift in government spending priorities, a shift that took place under a president from the military.

India's larger economy, more-rapid rates of economic growth, and the Pakistani government's need to invest more in education, public health care, roads, and electricity are narrowing the strategic choices facing the Pakistani military. Although the share of GDP that India devotes to military spending has fallen, in constant dollars it has soared. In 2006, India spent \$24.3 billion on its military, putting its military budget among the top ten in the world. Some of the increase has been due to the real effective appreciation of the Indian rupee against the dollar: The Indian rupee has been stronger against the dollar than has been the Pakistani rupee. But this appreciation is a reflection of the stronger Indian economy. Although Pakistan's official military budget has been growing, as shown in Figure 3.2, expenditures as a share of GDP have declined. Yet even though Pakistan still spent a consid-

Figure 3.2
Official Defense Spending in 2006 Dollars



SOURCES: Calculated from military expenditures in domestic currencies from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute's military expenditure database, which is available at the institute's Web site, and GDP statistics from the International Monetary Fund's International Financial Statistics database, which is available at the IMF Web site.

RAND MG910-3.2

erably higher share of its GDP on its military than did India, total spending—\$4.8 billion in 2006—was just one-fifth of what India spent.

In light of these differences in expenditures, the Pakistani military believes that it will be unable to finance a conventional force that can defend against that of India's. Driven by its beliefs about its conventional positioning vis-à-vis India, the Pakistani military may either continue to take refuge in unconventional approaches, such as the use of militants, or, it is hoped (but it is unlikely), seek an accommodation with India over outstanding issues and over time move toward friendly relations.

In June 2008, the Pakistani military submitted a two-page budget for all services to the senate with a breakdown under six separate headings. PPP had promised that it would demand a more detailed budget from the military. The army, appreciating the domestic and international environment, obliged. Previously, the military had submitted just one number, the overall amount of funds requested. How the money was to be spent was not subject to scrutiny. The budget

still does not capture all costs; military pensions, for example, are not included. Moreover, the submission of a more complete budget to the senate had little more than symbolic importance. Neither the senate nor the national assembly, under Article 82 of the Constitution, can change the defense budget request.¹²¹

Although the budget provides funds for military operations and procurement, the Pakistani military has obtained additional sources of funding for both active-duty and retired officers. The Pakistani military controls land, industrial assets, commercial establishments, and other assets through a complicated network of foundations, state-owned companies, cooperatives, and other entities. This complex web, christened “Milbus” by Ayesha Siddiq, provides Pakistani officers with additional income while serving and jobs and assets after they retire.¹²² Milbus provides economic inducements for officers to remain loyal to the military as an institution and to seek to protect its political role in Pakistan.

These additional funds, however, do little to improve the operations of the military. They are primarily directed at enhancing the incomes of officers. China’s People’s Liberation Army (PLA) controlled a similar web of companies; officers profited handsomely from economic activities. Those Chinese officers most heavily involved in these activities became more interested in running these businesses than in military affairs. In the late 1990s, the Chinese government, concerned about the lack of focus on military affairs, forced the PLA to sell off these businesses. Although ostensibly profits from the companies were to fund PLA operations, in practice, profits ended up lining the pockets of the officer corps. Pakistan’s military businesses appear to have produced similar results.

Regulatory Policies and Privatization

Like India, Pakistani political elites have slowly warmed to liberalizing the economy. Economic policymakers have reduced tariffs, eliminated some special exemptions and treatment for politically favored indus-

¹²¹ Mumtaz Alvi, “Senate Debates Defense Budget for First Time,” *The News*, June 18, 2008.

¹²² Siddiq, 2007.

tries or companies, and privatized a number of large state-owned companies. Privatization has had the added benefit of attracting foreign investment. Prior to this decade, the absence of foreign investment in Pakistan was notable.

These policy changes have played a key role in the acceleration of economic growth in this decade. Policymakers in the new civilian government indicate that economic policies are likely to continue along this course. If they do so, the economy is more likely to resume solid growth.

While more liberal economic policy measures have contributed to growth, several factors have put a brake on it. As discussed in Chapter Two, Pakistan's high illiteracy rates and poorly performing system of education are one set of factors. Electric power blackouts are another. Demand for electricity has surged as the economy has grown, but Pakistan's government has been loath to raise tariffs on electric power even though the greatest users of electricity are the better off. Although the government says it is interested in attracting private investment into the power sector, higher tariffs and more flexibility on pricing will be necessary to attract investors. In the interim, the government's own financial constraints will slow investment in this sector, in turn retarding growth. Pakistan also lacks roads, especially all-weather roads. The government has begun to invest more, but until better roads extend more widely across the country, poorer, more remote regions will not share in the recent increases in per capita incomes to the same extent as people with better access to markets.

Policies for Social Development

Despite efforts to increase social investment and improve the delivery of basic services, as noted in Chapter Two, Pakistan compares unfavorably with the performance of other countries with similar per capita incomes. To close this gap, not only is more spending desirable, but funds need to be spent more effectively. Corruption and lack of capacity at all levels are problems. Some provinces, such as Punjab, have more competent bureaucracies and are hence better able to run pro-

grams effectively. Others have difficulty. Spending will also need to be spread more equitably. Currently, it is unequally distributed both across regions and between urban and rural areas.

The government has sought to get more out of its spending and generally improve service provision by devolving responsibilities to the provinces. Many international donors, including the World Bank, have welcomed this measure on the grounds that it would increase accountability and hence the general quality of services. However, devolution has been partial. Although devolution may help make service provision more accountable to its clientele, there is no guarantee that it will avoid the problems of corruption that exist at the provincial and federal levels. The capacity of most local governments to cope with financing is often quite limited.¹²³

Population Policy

Pakistan's government has set a goal of providing universal access to family planning services by 2010. It hopes that by providing education about family planning and better access to contraceptives, fertility rates will fall to replacement levels by 2020.¹²⁴ Two ministries—the Ministry of Population Welfare and the Ministry of Health—are responsible for implementing family planning policy. Although the former deals exclusively with population issues, the latter is the bigger player, providing close to two-thirds of Pakistan's family planning services.¹²⁵ Private doctors, nongovernmental organizations, and a sizeable informal health sector are important providers of family planning services.¹²⁶

¹²³On devolution, see Zahid Hasnain, *Devolution, Accountability, and Service Delivery: Some Insights from Pakistan*, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, Policy Research Working Paper, No. 4610, April 2008; International Crisis Group, *Devolution in Pakistan: Reform or Regression?* Islamabad/Brussels, Asia Report No. 77, March 22, 2004a; Asian Development Bank, Department for International Development, and the World Bank, *Devolution in Pakistan: Overview of the ADB/DfID/World Bank Study*, Islamabad, July 2004; SPDC, *Devolution and Human Development in Pakistan, Annual Review*, Karachi, 2006–2007.

¹²⁴Government of Pakistan, UN Population Fund, *Pakistan Population Assessment*, Islamabad, Pakistan, January 2003, p. 2.

¹²⁵Government of Pakistan, 2003, p. 57.

¹²⁶Government of Pakistan, 2003, p. 2.

These institutions have contributed to a drop in fertility rates over the past decade, as increases in per capita incomes, urbanization, and rising educational levels among women of child-bearing age have shifted the preferences of Pakistani households toward smaller families. Foreign support for population planning has also played a role, but a much smaller one than in Bangladesh. Pakistan has received a small fraction of the international support for population policy that Bangladesh has received.¹²⁷

For cultural and religious reasons, Pakistan had been slower than India and East Asian countries to aggressively seek to reduce fertility rates. Although in the 1960s Ayub Khan set up family planning programs to reduce fertility rates, this policy was largely unsuccessful, even though it was considered one of the most progressive family planning policies in the Muslim world. General Zia attempted to win support from religious conservatives by distancing himself from Khan's efforts. During Zia's term, spending on family planning was reduced and family planning outreach curtailed. Population growth accelerated during his rule. After Zia's death in 1988, Pakistani governments renewed efforts to slow population growth.¹²⁸ The government's seventh five-year plan (1988–1993) sought to lower the fertility rate through public information campaigns, expanding family planning services, and broadening the availability of contraceptives.¹²⁹ In 2002, the government set an ambitious goal of reducing the population growth rate to 1.9 percent per annum and the total fertility rate to 4.0 children per woman by 2004. Although it failed to meet these targets by 2004, the second goal was met shortly thereafter, and progress is being made toward the first.

¹²⁷For example, in 2000 Pakistan received \$23 million in aid, while Bangladesh got \$85 million. United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), *Financial Resource Flows for Population Activities in 2004*, New York, 2006, pp. 54, 58.

¹²⁸Mehboob Sultan, John G. Cleland, and Mohamed M. Ali, "Assessment of a New Approach to Family Planning Services in Rural Pakistan," *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 92, No. 7, July 2002, pp. 1168–1172; John Cleland and Louisiana Lush, "Population and Policies in Bangladesh, Pakistan," *Forum for Applied Research and Public Policy*, Vol. 12, No. 2, Summer 1997, pp. 46–50.

¹²⁹Government of Pakistan, 2003, p. 51.

Health Policy

Pakistan still has developing country health problems. Mortality rates during childbirth and for infants are still high. Communicable diseases are still major causes of death. However, chronic diseases are rising in importance: diabetes; diseases related to smoking, such as lung cancer and heart disease; and tuberculosis are major causes of death.

Policies to deal with these health problems differ. To combat infant mortality and death during childbirth, Pakistan needs more female health professionals and a more equitable distribution of primary health care facilities and health care professionals. Some 21 percent of facilities do not have female staff; the male-to-female staff ratio in the health field is 7 to 1.¹³⁰ More nurses and female staff are needed, especially to improve family planning services, but women are often reluctant to work at publicly funded primary care facilities because of low salaries and poor facilities. Moreover, locations and physical arrangements are often not conducive to female clients.¹³¹

Some improvements in the quality of services provided to female Pakistanis have been achieved through the "Lady Health Workers," a program developed by the government in the early 1990s. Run through the Ministry of Health, the program hires educated women to serve as mobile health professionals, carrying contraceptives and other medications to the homes of rural women. Studies suggest that the program has had some success in increasing contraceptive use.¹³² Despite the positive evaluations, the program is reportedly short on pharmaceuticals and contraceptives, and the health facilities to which patients are referred after consultation are often unable to provide the requested services.¹³³

Pakistan's health professionals are distributed very unevenly. Although teaching hospitals are overstaffed at times, facilities in rural villages are understaffed, in part because doctors prefer urban areas

¹³⁰Government of Pakistan, 2003, p. 59.

¹³¹Government of Pakistan, 2003, pp. 59–62.

¹³²Sultan, Cleland, and Ali, 2002.

¹³³Government of Pakistan, 2003, p. 56.

where incomes are higher. Many public health care facilities that serve the poor are understaffed; some stand empty. Many lack pharmaceuticals and other supplies.

As with other public services, graft remains a problem in the public health care system. Health care workers routinely ask for additional payments to provide treatment or drugs in addition to what the government provides them. Providers of goods and services to the Ministry of Health are subject to the same pressures to provide kickbacks as other providers to the Pakistani government. Improvements in public health care will entail a reduction in these types of problems as well as increased expenditures.

Education Policy

Weaknesses in Pakistan's educational system pose a major risk to sustaining rapid economic growth over the long term. The deficiencies in public education also contribute to social stratification. The wealthy attend Western-style private schools; the poor attend inferior public schools or madaris, although some better-off students also attend madaris.¹³⁴

Government education policy initiatives have proliferated since the end of the 1990s. The government created "A National Education Policy for 1998–2010, a Ten-Year Prospective Development Plan," which was adopted for 2001–2015, and the "National Plan of Action on Education for All," which was prepared in collaboration with the United Nations Educational Scientific Cultural Organization. These plans aimed to achieve universal primary education by 2010 and 78 percent literacy by 2011.¹³⁵ The government has also committed itself to reduce inequalities based on sex and to improve the quality of primary education.¹³⁶ To implement these plans, an education sector reform

¹³⁴Tariq Rahman, "Education in Pakistan: A Survey," SPO Discussion Paper Series, Discussion Paper No. 2, February 2003; Fair, 2007a.

¹³⁵Bano, 2007, p. 21.

¹³⁶Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency, *Education for All in Pakistan: Key Issues*, January 2008, p. 6.

program was introduced in 2002. In general, these programs have recognized the problems but have produced middling results.

Inadequate funding is one problem. Musharraf increased education's share of the budget and national income. Spending on education rose from 1.82 of GDP in 2001 to 2.12 percent in 2005. This was a significant increase (21 percent) in real terms, although Pakistan still spends less in terms of GDP than Bangladesh (2.4 percent) or India (3.8 percent).¹³⁷ Spending on education still falls short of the government's goal of 4 percent, a level the United Nations Educational Scientific Cultural Organization has set as an appropriate target. In light of other pressures on the budget, achieving the 4 percent target anytime soon is unlikely. The international community could fill the gap. Doing so effectively can be difficult, however, as the World Bank has discovered, because of corruption and low levels of administrative capacity.¹³⁸

The government has given greater priority to having girls attend primary school. Because schools are segregated on the basis of sex, more women teachers are needed to teach the influx of girls attending primary school. The government is also attempting to establish socially acceptable conditions for girls in public schools, such as proper bathrooms, privacy walls, and transportation that will not put the girls at risk of honor violations. Locating schools closer to villages is important in this regard. One of the most important factors in a family's decision to enroll girls in primary school is the distance to the school. Enrolling more girls in schools will not only improve general levels of education, but will also help bring down fertility rates.¹³⁹

The government has introduced programs targeted at increasing school enrollment among girls through vouchers and stipends. The Tawana Pakistan program provides girls between the ages of 5 and 12 a school nutrition package. This program was rolled out between 2002

¹³⁷Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency, 2008, p. 11.

¹³⁸Maurice Boissiere, Safiullah Baig, Manisha Modi, and Fareeha Zafar, *Evaluation of World Bank Assistance for Primary Education in Pakistan*, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, Paper No. 39154, 2007.

¹³⁹Fair, 2007a.

and 2006 in 29 of the poorest districts in Pakistan.¹⁴⁰ The government has also set up a program in Punjab that gives families a monthly stipend of 200 rupees if they enroll their daughters in grades 6 through 8. By keeping girls in school, the program should increase the supply of female teachers.¹⁴¹ Preliminary studies indicate that the stipend program appears to have contributed to a moderate increase in female enrollments at both the primary and secondary levels.¹⁴² In addition to programs aimed at rewarding families for enrolling their daughters in school, the government has also experimented with voucher programs for the urban poor.

These programs may deserve to be expanded, but they are aimed largely at the demand side of the educational system rather than the problems on the supply side. Efforts to expand public-private partnerships, for example, through nongovernmental organization teacher training or getting corporations involved in the educational system, have been viewed as generally positive but underutilized. The incentive structure of the educational system has tended to encourage either rapid expansion at the expense of improvements in the quality of education or targeted efforts to improve access.¹⁴³

Educational spending is heavily concentrated on staff, so capital budgets are starved. Consequently, the physical conditions of Pakistan's public schools are poor. A government survey of public schools found that 38 percent had no boundary wall, 32 percent no drinking water, 56 percent no electricity, 41 percent no bathroom facilities, and 7 percent no building whatsoever.¹⁴⁴ This situation is a consequence of the system of patronage. Political parties gain support by providing

¹⁴⁰Bano, 2007, pp. 20–21.

¹⁴¹Bano, 2007, p. 21.

¹⁴²Nazmul Chaudhury and Dilip Parajuli, *Conditional Cash Transfers and Female Schooling: The Impact of Female School Stipend Program on Public School Enrollments in Punjab, Pakistan*, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, Policy Research Working Paper 2102, December 2006.

¹⁴³Boissiere et al., 2007, p. 23.

¹⁴⁴Government of Pakistan, Statistics Division, Federal Bureau of Statistics, *National Education Census 2005: Pakistan*, Islamabad, Pakistan, 2005.

government jobs; teaching positions are relatively easy to increase and allocate. Because of the patronage system, teachers are often not hired on merit. Some teachers purchase posts from politicians and then take second jobs, using their teaching salary to augment their incomes.¹⁴⁵ Not surprisingly, teacher absenteeism is a major problem; more-senior (and thus better paid) teachers are absent the most often.¹⁴⁶ There have even been reports of “ghost schools,” schools that exist only on paper and yet pay salaries to their “staffs.”

The system of patronage has a severe impact on quality of service. Pakistani teachers and teaching methods are often substandard. Many teachers are poorly trained. If Pakistan's public schools are to attract students, the quality of the teaching and the curriculum must get better. The recent increase in enrollment in private schools—even among the poor—is evidence that parents prefer schools that hire and fire teachers on the basis of performance.¹⁴⁷

Despite providing positions for patronage reasons, Pakistan suffers from a shortage of teachers, especially in rural areas. On average, primary schools in NWFP have only two teachers. In some rural schools, one teacher teaches five primary grades.¹⁴⁸

In theory, devolution should improve the quality of education at the local level by resolving the problem of poor teacher performance, improving the physical condition of schools, and encouraging more parental involvement. Prior to devolution, Pakistan's school system still worked under the administrative structures inherited from British rule

¹⁴⁵ Hasnain, 2005.

¹⁴⁶ Male and (especially) female teachers in public schools are more likely to be absent than their private school counterparts. For data on higher-paid (e.g., more senior) teachers being more likely to be absent in public schools compared with their counterparts in private schools, see Tahir Andrabi, “A Dime a Day: The Possibilities and Limits of Private Schooling in Pakistan with Tahir Andrabi Public Event,” a PowerPoint presentation at the United States Institute of Peace, Washington, D.C., February 27, 2007, slide number 46. Also see Tahir Andrabi, Jishnu Das, and Asim Ijaz Khwaja, *A Dime a Day: The Possibilities and Limits of Private Schooling in Pakistan*, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, Policy Research Working Paper 4066, November 1, 2006.

¹⁴⁷ See discussion in Boissiere et al., 2007, pp. 15–16.

¹⁴⁸ Fair, 2007a.

in 1947. These structures left education policy highly centralized at the provincial level.¹⁴⁹ After devolution, district governments received the lead responsibility for determining the location of schools, arranging funding for construction, and monitoring and evaluating schools and teachers.¹⁵⁰ Because devolution did not transfer fiscal authority to the local level, many teachers remain on the payroll of the provincial government, the effective power of the district political leaders remains limited, and political interference from the provincial level continues.¹⁵¹

Conclusions

Pakistan is ill-positioned to contend with its perceived external threats on its own. Neither India nor Afghanistan has any interest in or necessity to acquiesce to Pakistan's demands. Without resolution of these concerns (or the unlikely abandoning of these concerns), Pakistan is likely to continue its policies of subconventional warfare.

Pakistan's elites do not appear to share the overriding concern of much of the rest of the world about Pakistan's militants, although events since April 2009 suggest that this could be changing. At the time of this writing, it is too early to divine whether these events will be part of a permanent restructuring of security perceptions or merely transient. The security forces still see militant groups as a useful instrument to keep Afghanistan and India off balance. Inside Pakistan, many—but not all—political elites have been reluctant to accept the war on terror as their own. Many more seem inclined to believe that Islamabad's internal problem stems from cooperation in the unpopular war on terror and Washington's insistence that Islamabad wage war on the tribal areas.

The gap between the conventional capabilities of India's army and Pakistan's is likely to increase. The difference in defense spend-

¹⁴⁹ Boissiere et al., 2007, p. 11.

¹⁵⁰ International Crisis Group, *Pakistan: Reforming the Education Sector*, Islamabad/Brussels, Asia Report No. 84, October 7, 2004b, p. 6.

¹⁵¹ For an example, see International Crisis Group, 2004b, p. 24.

ing between India and Pakistan has become overwhelming: In 2006, India spent five times more than Pakistan on defense. Pakistan's military leadership will be loath to abandon the use of militants to pursue its security goals when it believes its conventional position is slipping badly—especially since Pakistan incurred relatively few costs for its reliance on proxy elements, at least until recently.

Even if the Pakistani government takes the problem of militants more seriously, it currently lacks the capacity to deal with them effectively. The Pakistani Army is designed for a conventional war against India. FC is poorly trained and poorly equipped; many of its soldiers are sympathetic to the insurgent groups. The police are also poorly trained and equipped, corrupt, and distrusted by the population.

If the Pakistani state is to become healthier, military and civilian elites will have to agree on the constitutional basis for running the country. If the military remains chastened and if the civilians refrain from turning to the military to advance their own intrigues, Pakistan may have entered an extended period of civilian rule. However, based on its past history, Pakistan's ruling elites are more likely to resort to business as usual unless they experience substantial pressure, internal or external, to cooperate or at least not to turn to the military to settle disputes.

As part of creating an accepted constitutional arrangement, politicians will need to seriously address the failings of the system of justice. Changes in management will be needed to enforce accountability and wages raised to attract better candidates. As with the police, judges and other employees of the courts need to be held accountable for their performance. The judiciary also deserves higher wages to attract better-qualified personnel. Legal proceedings need to be conducted more efficiently. More judges and courts are also in order.

On a more positive note, Pakistan's armed forces appear to have developed procedures and systems to prevent the proliferation of nuclear materials if they so choose. Pakistan's armed forces have shown no interest in letting subnational groups obtain nuclear materials or technologies. They appear interested in securing "standoff" assistance from the United States to improve nuclear security systems.

Between 2000 and 2008, Pakistan enjoyed more-rapid economic growth than in the previous decade. The balance-of-payments crisis of 2008 and 2009 has triggered a sharp slowdown in growth. However, policymakers have responded sensibly, adhering to Pakistan's Stand-by Agreement with the International Monetary Fund. They also appear to have reached a consensus that further privatization of state-owned assets, liberalization of trade, and a shift toward cost-recovery prices for utilities are needed to resume rapid growth after the current balance-of-payment crisis ends. However, Pakistan will also need to invest more in infrastructure, especially roads and electric power, if rapid growth is to resume. More and more-effective public spending on education and health care is also needed if Pakistan's human capital is to be improved.

How Effective Have U.S. Policies Toward Pakistan Been?

Divergent Priorities and Conflicted Aims: U.S. and Pakistani Objectives

U.S. Objectives

The United States has several policy goals that it seeks to advance through its engagement with Pakistan. First, and foremost, the U.S. government wants Pakistan to be an effective partner in the war on terror. The United States wants to ensure continued use of Pakistani military, police, and intelligence assets to eliminate al Qaeda leadership and cells within the territory of Pakistan. The United States would also like Pakistan to make it more difficult for al Qaeda and other militants to recruit and train new members. The United States would like Pakistan to deny these groups the ability to operate without fear of reprisal.

The United States also needs Pakistan's support to continue the war in Afghanistan. It needs continued access to Pakistan's airspace. The United States also needs transit rights. Currently, most supplies for U.S. efforts in Afghanistan, including fuel, move from the port in Karachi to Torkham on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border, from where it is shipped to Bagram Airbase in Afghanistan. Access to Pakistani supply bases has been important.

The U.S. government has increasingly sought Pakistan's cooperation against the Afghan Taliban and other groups that cross the border to attack foreign and Afghan security forces in Afghanistan.

The United States has pressed Pakistan to stop these groups from crossing the border.

This policy goal is of recent vintage. The U.S. focus on the Afghan Taliban reemerged after they resurfaced as a serious force in 2005. As late as 2006, when U.S. President George W. Bush met with President Musharraf during a visit to Pakistan, he was loath to raise the issue of Taliban sanctuaries in Pakistan so as not to imperil Pakistani support for combating al Qaeda. One senior U.S. official interviewed by Ahmad Rashid explained that “to hunt the Taliban we would have taken away our focus on al-Qaeda, and that was not possible because al-Qaeda posed the main threat to the U.S.”¹

The United States has periodically pressed Pakistan to clamp down on militant groups operating in Indian-administered Kashmir and in India proper. Ashley Tellis, among others, has criticized U.S. policy regarding these militants because the U.S. government has not consistently demanded that Pakistan terminate all support for them and work to eliminate them. Pakistan’s policy of segmenting the militant landscape between those who are useful to Pakistan and those who are not is nearly impossible to implement because of the overlapping membership of these groups. As one of the few countries where radicalized aspirant terrorists can obtain training, *any* active training camp poses a threat to international security. A tacit tolerance of Pakistan’s reliance on a raft of (purportedly Kashmir-focused) groups and encouragement for Pakistan to eliminate al Qaeda, the Afghan Taliban, and their supporters are not effective policies.²

¹ See Rashid, 2008a, p. 369. Prior to the Taliban resurgence in 2005, U.S.-Pakistani cooperation was focused on al Qaeda. In 2007, the U.S. government began to pressure Pakistan’s government to be more proactive in pursuing the Taliban. Until summer 2007, just a few Taliban leaders of any repute had been captured or killed by Pakistani forces. Some high-level Taliban were arrested only to be released as a part of various deals: Mullah Obaidullah Akhund, deputy to Mullah Mohammad Omar, was arrested in late 2006 or early 2007 only to be released. He was reportedly arrested again in 2008. Ismail Khan, “Mullah Omar’s Deputy Obaidullah Captured,” *Dawn*, March 2, 2007; Sami Yousafzai and Ron Moreau, “While Pakistan Burns: If You Think Musharraf’s Wrong to Free Jailed Taliban Members While He Busts Dissidents, Wait Until You Hear Who’s Back on the Loose,” *Newsweek Web Exclusive*, November 9, 2007.

² Fair and Chalk, 2006; Tellis, 2008a.

The United States would like Pakistan and India to resolve all outstanding disputes, including the conflict over Kashmir, and has pressed them to do so. The United States fears that any conflict, low intensity or conventional, could quickly escalate. The U.S. government has been a quiet supporter of the current Indo-Pakistan “peace process” that has continued, albeit with few tangible outcomes, since late 2003.

Curiously, the U.S. government has not thrown its weight behind a rapprochement between Pakistan and Afghanistan until quite recently. Following the white paper and the appointment of Ambassador Richard Holbrooke as Special Envoy to Pakistan and Afghanistan, it would appear that this might be changing. At a minimum, such a rapprochement should address the use of Pakistan’s territory as a safe haven for the Taliban and other groups that cross the border to attack Afghanistan. It would also have to address another outstanding source of tension, the refusal of the Afghan government to recognize the Durand Line as the border.³ The Durand Line has been recognized by every other country as the demarcated international border between the states. Given that many of Pakistan’s security concerns in Afghanistan stem from its competition with India and India’s expanded influence there, it remains to be seen how the United States can succeed since the Indo-Pakistan relationship was removed from Holbrooke’s remit as the result of effective Indian lobbying to resist such inclusion.

The United States, under President Barack Obama’s administration, has made stability in Pakistan an urgent foreign policy priority. Earlier in this decade, the U.S. government presumed that under Musharraf, Pakistan was stable; only belatedly did it come to appreciate the extent of unhappiness with his rule within the military, as well as among the civilian political and commercial elites. He was accused of pursuing policies that served his personal interests rather than those of the nation. After March 2007 when the lawyers’ movement gathered steam and calls for Musharraf’s resignation intensified, the U.S. government began seeking a power-sharing agreement that would bolster Musharraf with Benazir Bhutto’s democratic legitimacy. The plan

³ Sir Mortimer Durand, then Foreign Secretary of the British Indian government, and Abdur Rahman Khan, Amir of Afghanistan, agreed upon the Durand Line in 1893.

failed following Bhutto's assassination. The wobbly political establishment has been unable to lead a national dialogue on Pakistan's future and the threat posed by militants.

The U.S. government is concerned about the threat of nuclear proliferation from Pakistan through state-sponsored networks or through the penetration of the nuclear establishment by terrorists or criminals. Since the Pakistan Army controls the country's nuclear assets with little or no civilian input, U.S. policymakers worry about the stability of the army. They also worry about events that could make nuclear weapons or technologies vulnerable to theft, for example, if the army were to split or another Indo-Pakistani war were to break out. The United States is also concerned about the possibilities of theft of nuclear materials were there to be a breakdown in the army chain of command or in the physical systems to protect the security of the arsenal. The U.S. government is interested in working with both Pakistan and India to minimize the chance of nuclear conflict. If Pakistan and India once again near conflict, both countries have adopted policies of readying their nuclear arsenals as tensions rise, increasing the probability that the confrontation could go nuclear.

Although the U.S. government has always claimed to support democracy in Pakistan, other goals have often been of greater importance. U.S. administrations have rarely pursued democracy vigorously. They have forged close working relationships with Pakistani military leaders willing to cooperate on other pressing issues. They have tended to subscribe to the idea that the Pakistan Army is a modernizing institution in Pakistan as it was in Turkey. U.S. (and British) leaders routinely praised Musharraf for his efforts to bring "enlightened moderation" to Pakistan.

Subjugating democracy to other policy goals has arguably contributed to political instability. U.S. policymakers have made short-term tradeoffs in favor of supporting the Pakistani military rather than bolstering democratic institutions. They concede that they feared abandoning or even diluting support for the military because the United States might lose the benefits that the Pakistani military is able to deliver. This hesitance derives in part from the U.S. government's belief that by focusing on the army it is able to ensure results, albeit often

minimal, in the near term. The United States has seen near-term results as more valuable than less tangible longer-term benefits from supporting the growth of civil society and democratic institutions, support that may never become fruitful.

Although counterterrorism has been the preeminent U.S. policy goal since September 11, 2001, the U.S. government has vacillated among these other goals. Democracy appeared to be given greater support from summer 2007 onward. At that time, the U.S. government pushed to end the state of emergency and called for free and fair elections in Pakistan. This new emphasis on democracy was somewhat uneven: In the run up to the election, the U.S. government was quiet about irregularities in voter registration, the clear bias of the caretaker government, and the dubious composition of the election commission. This silence suggests that the U.S. government was less concerned about democratic processes being restored than about reviving Musharraf's standing through elections.

Even policies to curtail nuclear proliferation have been subordinated to the global war on terror. By 2000 (if not earlier), the United States had penetrated part of A. Q. Khan's network, the network through which Pakistani nuclear technologies were sold or shared with other governments. In 2002, press reports exposed this network and that Musharraf and the previous army leadership had known of A. Q. Khan's activities. The U.S. and Pakistani governments quickly worked out a means of diffusing this controversy: Khan would be placed under house arrest, the Pakistani government would answer some (but not all) questions posed by the United States, and the U.S. government would work to minimize the impact of the revelations domestically and internationally. Despite these agreements, neither the United States nor any other foreign government has been permitted to talk to Khan.⁴ As noted above, this propensity to subordinate critical nuclear proliferation objectives to other security interests is not new. The Carter, Reagan, George H. Bush, Clinton, and George W. Bush administrations have all been criticized for tolerating Pakistan's development and

⁴ David Albright and Corey Hinderstein, "Unraveling the A. Q. Khan and Future Proliferation Networks," *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 2, Spring 2005, pp. 111–128.

export of nuclear technologies. These administrations found it more important to gain and sustain Pakistan's cooperation to eject the Soviet Army from Afghanistan and to pursue al Qaeda.⁵ Sharon Squassoni (then of the Congressional Research Service) wrote of this puzzling situation that "Over time, the U.S. threshold of proliferation tolerance has risen from Pakistan's acquisition of technology to its possession of a nuclear device and then to nuclear testing (in 1998)" and queried whether "the threshold [has] now risen to the point where the United States is seeking to sidestep laws aimed at penalizing states that supply nuclear technologies, rather than those that receive such aid?" She suggests such a policy could explain the U.S. government's failure to pursue strenuously the involvement of the Pakistani government in Khan's activities.⁶

Pakistan's Objectives

When President Musharraf explained his decision to participate in the U.S.-led war on terror, he listed three major goals that would be compromised were he to choose not to do so. First, he explained that

our critical concerns, our important concerns can come under threat. When I say critical concerns, I mean our strategic assets and the cause of Kashmir. If these come under threat it would be a worse situation for us [than not joining the United States].

He explained that failure to participate would allow India to more freely pursue its objectives to undermine Pakistan's interests in the region:

Let us now take a look at the designs of our neighboring country [India]. They offered all their military facilities to the United States. They have offered without hesitation, all their facilities, all their bases and full logistic support. They want to enter into any alliance with the United States and get Pakistan declared a terrorist state. They want to harm our strategic assets and the

⁵ Armstrong and Trento, 2007; Levy, 2008. See also Hersh, 2004.

⁶ See Sharon A. Squassoni, "Closing Pandora's Box: Pakistan's Role in Nuclear Proliferation," *Arms Control Today*, April 2004b.

Kashmir cause. . . . What do the Indians want? They do not have common borders with Afghanistan anywhere. It is totally isolated from Afghanistan. In my view, it would not be surprising, that the Indians want to ensure that if and when the government in Afghanistan changes, it shall be an anti-Pakistan government.⁷

His speech also outlined several important goals that would be protected or even advanced by cooperating with the United States. First, by cooperating with the United States, Pakistan could ensure that its nuclear weapons would not be imperiled. Second, the United States would protect Pakistan's interests in Kashmir. Third, cooperation would preempt a U.S.-Indian alliance. Fourth, an alliance would limit Indian influence in a post-Taliban Afghanistan.⁸ Musharraf also hoped that cooperation with the United States would result in more-active U.S. efforts to resolve the Kashmir dispute.⁹

Pakistan also seeks to acquire military platforms and training that will enhance its capabilities against India. An examination of Pakistani purchases of U.S. military equipment—either with U.S. funds, Pakistani funds, or a mix of both—demonstrates a persistent focus on procuring weapons designed to counter conventional threats. Pakistan has purchased

- eight P-3C Orion maritime patrol aircraft and spares
- six C-130E transport aircraft and spares
- up to 60 mid-life update kits for F-16A/B combat aircraft
- eighteen new F-16C/D Block 50/52 combat aircraft, with an option for 18 more
- F-16 armaments, including 500 Advanced Medium-Range Air-to-Air Missiles.

⁷ See speech of Pervez Musharraf, "Address by General Pervez Musharraf, President of Pakistan, Delivered as a Broadcast on Radio and Television from Islamabad on September 19, 2001," transcript, *Vital Speeches of the Day*, October 1, 2001.

⁸ See speech of Musharraf, 2001.

⁹ See discussion in Fair, 2004a, especially pp. 19–27.

Some of these systems can be used in Pakistan's counterinsurgency efforts, including maintenance packages for 20 AH-IF Cobra attack helicopters and ordnance that can be used in its fight against militants. However, most of these weapons have been purchased for use in conventional operations.¹⁰

After the United States and India began negotiating a civilian nuclear agreement in 2005, Pakistan argued that its sacrifices in the war on terror should merit comparable consideration. Pakistan intimated its desire for such a deal during President Bush's March 2006 visit to India and Pakistan. President Bush bluntly rejected such appeals, arguing that India and Pakistan "had different needs and different histories," in a reference to Pakistan's A. Q. Khan affair.¹¹

Some analysts have suggested that a criteria-based approach to such a deal with Pakistan could be possible. Presumably the criteria could be tied to access to A. Q. Khan, greater visibility into Pakistan's program, and submission to safeguards, among others. The logic behind this proposal is simple. The prospect for such a deal undermines Islamabad's objection to the India-specific nature of the Indo-U.S. civilian nuclear deal and Pakistan's resolute beliefs that Pakistan has been forced to pursue nuclear weapons because India has. That said, Pakistan would be exceedingly unlikely to meet the criteria for such a comparable deal. Any progress toward satisfying such stated criteria would be welcome.¹²

The U.S.-Indian nuclear agreement seriously discomfits Pakistan. The Pakistani government fears that the agreement may allow India to

¹⁰ K. Alan Kronstadt, "Major U.S. Arms Sales and Grants to Pakistan Since 2001," prepared for the Congressional Research Service, August 8, 2008b.

¹¹ "Bush Rejects Nuke Deal with Pakistan," *Times of India*, March 4, 2006.

¹² Stephen P. Cohen is one of the proponents of this view, and he has articulated this possible policy option in a number of media (see the Bibliography), including in his review of this manuscript. In a recent taskforce by the Asia Society, the taskforce members also put forward some way of trying to bring Pakistan into the "global nonproliferation regime" by beginning a dialogue to explore means of recognizing Pakistan as a *de jure* nuclear power. See Asia Society Task Force, *Back from the Brink? A Strategy for Stabilizing Afghanistan-Pakistan*, New York: Asia Society, April 2009.

improve and expand its nuclear weapons arsenal.¹³ Pakistan launched a diplomatic offensive to undermine the Indo-U.S. deal, arguing that it would spark an arms race on the subcontinent, which Pakistan cannot afford.¹⁴ Pakistan also objects that the deal is India specific. Pakistan wanted the U.S. government to pursue a conditions-based policy of exceptionalism rather than an India-specific agreement. Since the Indo-U.S. nuclear agreement has been cleared by the U.S. Congress, the Nuclear Suppliers Group, and the International Atomic Energy Commission, Pakistan has become ever more insistent that it merits a comparable deal. During a July 2008 meeting at the International Institute of Strategic Studies, Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi expressed his country's desire for a similar agreement. He emphasized that the Indo-U.S. nuclear agreement must not be discriminatory in nature.¹⁵

Pakistan has sought human development and other financial assistance from the United States, although with less persistence than it has sought assistance for its strategic and military objectives. Major post-9/11 human development initiatives included educational assistance and U.S. funds for the FATA development plan. Pakistan has also sought economic and trade concessions, especially for textiles.¹⁶

With the election of a civilian government in February 2008, the focus on economic issues has increased. During a July 2008 state visit, Prime Minister Yousef Gillani sought more U.S. assistance to help Pakistan cope with skyrocketing food and fuel prices as well as education and other development needs.¹⁷ However, the push for military

¹³ Leonard Weiss, "U.S.-India Nuclear Cooperation," *Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 14, No. 3, November 2007, pp. 429–457.

¹⁴ Bruce Loudon, "Pakistan: Nuke Deal to Spark Arms Race," *Australian*, July 25, 2008.

¹⁵ "Pakistan Wants India-Like Nuclear Deal with US Qureshi," *Business Recorder*, July 25, 2008.

¹⁶ See White House, "Joint Statement on United States–Pakistan Strategic Partnership," July 28, 2008; White House, "Joint Statement on United States–Pakistan Strategic Partnership," March 4, 2006.

¹⁷ Karen DeYoung, "Pakistan Hopes Premier's U.S. Visit Will Yield Funds, Forbearance—New Government Is Considered Likely to Succeed, in Part," *Washington Post*, July 27, 2008, p. A16.

aid did not go away. During that visit the U.S. Department of State announced that Pakistan's Foreign Military Financing (FMF) allocation would support F-16 upgrades in contravention of 2008 congressional guidance that stipulated that the majority of FMF funds must go to building Pakistan's counterinsurgency capabilities. (The administration argued, apparently successfully, that the upgrades would allow the Pakistanis to better prosecute counterinsurgency.)¹⁸ The Pakistani government's continued emphasis on Pakistan's military needs suggests the civilian government seeks to reassure the army that civilian rule need not deprive the military of resources.

Pakistan's government has assiduously fought to avoid accountability for and conditions on U.S. assistance, both related to security and unrelated to it. In January 2008, Foreign Ministry spokesman Mohammad Sadiq, rejecting congressional moves to condition aid, said:

We believe that any conditionalities attached to this relationship, or assistance, is not beneficial In Pakistan, decisions won't be taken because somebody demands them. They'll be taken according to our own laws and the conditions in this country.¹⁹

Pakistani governments have been equivocal about creating a long-term broader partnership with the United States. They have avoided serious negotiations over a status of forces agreement (SOFA). They have not supported a strategic dialogue on bilateral issues beyond defense. They do not appear to want to align themselves more closely with the United States, especially if closer relations would necessitate fundamental changes in domestic and foreign policies. On the other hand, Pakistani military and civilian leaders complain that the United States has frequently "abandoned" Pakistan in the past. Many predict

¹⁸ See discussion in K. Alan Kronstadt, *Pakistan-U.S. Relations*, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, CRS Report for Congress, Order Code RL33498, updated August 25, 2008c.

¹⁹ Robert Birsell, "Pakistan Rejects Call for Conditions on U.S. Aid," *Reuters*, January 11, 2008.

that the United States will desert Pakistan again when U.S. goals in the region have been achieved.

The Problem of Conflicting Goals

The U.S. and Pakistani governments pursue different—sometimes conflicting—goals through their current partnership. The U.S. government wants Pakistan to cooperate in finding and capturing bin Laden and the rest of the al Qaeda leadership and help in defeating the Taliban and stabilizing Afghanistan. It also wishes to reduce Indo-Pakistani security competition and minimize the risks of nuclear proliferation. Pakistan seeks to improve its military capabilities against India, continues to retain the option to use militants against India, and has not vigorously attempted to suppress the Taliban and other insurgents who cross the border to attack Afghanistan.

The United States and Pakistan do have some common goals. Both wish to improve human development in Pakistan. The Pakistani government welcomes help building schools, although it resists U.S. efforts to change the educational system and curricula. Both countries wish to see Pakistan's governmental institutions, especially the police, improve. Both are concerned about nuclear security. The Pakistani government counts al Qaeda as a foe, in contrast to its more ambivalent position concerning the Taliban. Although Pakistan has not encouraged direct U.S. involvement within the borders of Pakistan to pursue al Qaeda, the government has accepted information and other assistance to combat foreign militant groups such as al Qaeda.

Different priorities and goals place both governments in a difficult dilemma. Robert Wirsing notes this

profound disconnection between the strategic outlooks of Pakistan and the United States in regard to Pakistan's domestic political interests, [observing that] the United States will need to understand that Pakistan's competition for influence in this region . . . vastly outweighs the country's interests in the war on terrorism.

The U.S. government neglects or undervalues this feature of Pakistan's strategic landscape at the U.S. government's own peril.²⁰

Unfortunately, seven years after 9/11, the U.S. government has yet to devise a comprehensive, interagency strategy that encompasses all U.S. interests in Pakistan and frankly acknowledges the differences in Pakistan's and U.S. security interests and goals.

Engaging Pakistan: U.S. Policy Instruments and Their Effectiveness

The United States initiated a partnership with Pakistan in the weeks immediately following the 9/11 attacks. It did so both to sever the Pakistan government's ties with the Taliban and as an ad hoc solution to satisfy the logistical needs of Operation Enduring Freedom. Pakistan's cooperation was viewed as crucial to denying the Taliban and al Qaeda a safe haven in Pakistan's remote regions. In 2004, the United States made this relationship more formal when it designated Pakistan as a "Major Non-NATO Ally." Among other benefits, this designation permits Pakistan to purchase or receive otherwise restricted U.S. military equipment. However, security cooperation between the two states continued to be based on a transactional arrangement whereby Pakistan participated in the war on terror in exchange for financial remuneration.

A number of other framework agreements have been signed and forums created to handle the relationship, but in general they have not functioned well. The U.S.-Pakistan Strategic Dialogue is the umbrella under which dialogue is to take place. It was launched in April 2006 and is intended to broaden the U.S.-Pakistan relationship beyond the narrow focus on defense to include increased commercial, educational, and technological exchanges and cooperation on energy, science, and

²⁰ Robert Wirsing, "Introduction: Emerging Trends and Developments in Pakistan's FATA—Implications for the United States," *NBR Analysis*, Vol. 19, No. 3, August 2008, p. 10.

technology.²¹ The strategic dialogue is run by the U.S. Department of State and Pakistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Energy cooperation was included in part to alleviate Pakistan's discontent with the U.S. effort to negotiate an agreement on civilian nuclear power with India. The United States has offered Pakistan grants for coal mining and power generation projects. However, the Pakistanis have considered these offers meager.²² The dialogue has not succeeded in shifting the balance of U.S. assistance away from defense to other areas. The relatively low priority that the U.S. and Pakistani governments have ascribed to issues that are not related to security is reflected in the period when the dialogue began: spring 2006, more than four years after the initiation of the post-9/11 U.S.-Pakistan partnership. Pakistani interlocutors contend that the Pakistani government has largely undermined this forum because any "strategic dialogue" with the U.S. government would have adverse domestic impacts.²³

The U.S.-Pakistan Strategic Dialogue, along with the Defense Consultative Group (DCG), is intended to set common objectives and allocate resources accordingly. DCG is also a forum for facilitating bilateral military contact and exchanges. It has existed since the 1950s but was rejuvenated after 9/11 in tandem with the large increases in U.S. security assistance to Pakistan. A joint statement issued by the two countries describes DCG as a "primary forum for exchanging ideas and coordinating policies regarding the war on terrorism and the other defense and security issues affecting the U.S.-Pakistan relationship."²⁴ It has two working groups:

²¹ See David Shelby, "U.S., Pakistan Launch Strategic Dialogue on Economics, Security: Discussions Also to Include Education, Science, Technology, State's Burns Says," *Washington File*, April 27, 2006; White House, "Joint Statement on United States-Pakistan Strategic Partnership," March 4, 2006.

²² U.S. Trade and Development Agency, "USTDA Grant Supports Integrated Coal Mining and Power Generation Project in Pakistan," Washington, D.C., September 12, 2007.

²³ Interview with former high-ranking army official in Lahore, April 2008.

²⁴ "Pak-US DCG Joint Statement," *Daily Times*, Islamabad, Pakistan, September 20, 2003.

- **The Security Assistance Working Group**, headed on the U.S. side by the Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA), provides a forum for discussions of military sales and support to Pakistan and repair and upgrade of existing systems.²⁵ Meetings are used by Pakistan primarily to lay out its defense equipment requests.
- **The Military Cooperation Committee** is used by the U.S. Central Command to jointly plan U.S.-Pakistan military exercises.

Both Pakistanis and Americans have experienced problems with DCG. They have criticized it for becoming a forum in which U.S. arms sales to Pakistan take center stage, while joint discussions of strategies for fighting Islamist militancy get short shrift. U.S. interlocutors have expressed concern that Pakistani participants tend to treat DCG as a “shopping opportunity,” which is an activity best reserved for the Security Assistance Working Group.²⁶ Pakistan and the United States have failed to draft a SOFA under DCG. During the latest attempt to draft a SOFA, Pakistani officials leaked proposed terms of the SOFA to a provocative, anti-U.S. media commentator who mischaracterized the agreement, suggesting that the United States wants Pakistan to cede sovereignty.²⁷ Pakistani interlocutors explain that they had misgivings about the terms of the SOFA surrounding nonreciprocity of visa waivers and legal jurisdiction should U.S. personnel in Pakistan break the law. Pakistani military and intelligence officials explained that Abu Ghraib, Bagram, and Guantanamo Bay, and the occasional—but high profile—incidents of abuse of power by U.S. troops in Iraq had diminished their belief that justice would be served in a U.S. court or mili-

²⁵ The U.S. Department of Defense, Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA) covers the provision of foreign military sales (FMS), FMF grants or loans, and International Military Education and Training (IMET). For information about DSCA, see the DSCA Web site.

²⁶ Project interviews with Pentagon officials and U.S. Central Command officials in April, June, and August 2008. See Craig Cohen, *A Perilous Course: U.S. Strategy and Assistance to Pakistan*, Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, August 2007, p. 31.

²⁷ Shireen M. Mazari, “US Yearns for Pak Capitulation,” *The News*, March 8, 2008.

tary tribunal.²⁸ The United States has been loath to cede jurisdiction in such cases to Pakistani authorities in light of U.S. and international concerns about the standards of Pakistan's judicial and criminal justice systems.

While Pakistan's reservations merit consideration, Pakistani officials chose not to negotiate the terms of a SOFA. One Pakistani official explained that the terms were so offensive that there was no need to entertain the proposal.²⁹ The United States clearly needs to rethink its approach to SOFA negotiations, which rely heavily on technical teams. For Pakistan's side, the country's willingness to repeatedly sabotage the process calls into question its claim that it wants tangible evidence of an enduring U.S. commitment. The U.S. offer of a SOFA is virtually a prerequisite to such a commitment. Pakistani lack of interest in drafting a mutually acceptable agreement suggests that perhaps the Pakistani government—not the U.S. government—wants to keep its options open. Pakistan's government seems to prefer the present no-strings-attached, transactional relationship to the development of a deeper long-term alliance.

After meetings in 2002, 2003, and 2006, DCG was not convened in 2007, largely because Musharraf declared a state of emergency in November 2007. The following months of political instability precluded a meeting. U.S. officials contend that during the next DCG meetings, the American participants will work with the Pakistanis to improve accounting measures for Coalition Support Funds (CSFs) and to ensure compliance with the fiscal year (FY) 2008 congressional requirement that \$250 million of Pakistan's \$300 million must be spent on counterinsurgency efforts.³⁰

²⁸ Conversations with Pakistani high-level military and intelligence officers in Washington, D.C., in July 2008.

²⁹ Conversations with Pakistani high-level military and intelligence officers in Washington, D.C., in June 2008.

³⁰ Conversations with civil servants in the Office of Defense Representation, Pakistan, in Islamabad, in April 2008; and with officials in the U.S. Office of the Secretary of Defense in February 2008 and May 2008.

The Joint Working Group on Counter-Terrorism and Law Enforcement (JWG-CTLE) was established after the 2002 DCG meeting to discuss cooperation in counterterrorism, counternarcotics, border security, human trafficking, and related issues. JWG-CTLE has met several times in Islamabad and once in Washington. Pakistani representatives at these meetings have been from the Interior Ministry, while U.S. representatives have come from the U.S. Department of State's Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, the Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, and the U.S. Department of Justice's Criminal Division.³¹ As of August 2008, the JWG-CTLE had met five times.³²

The Tripartite Commission was originally composed of military commanders from the United States, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. The commission seeks to foster greater understanding about the security situation in Afghanistan, especially with regard to border security. It was intended to build confidence between the Afghan and Pakistani governments. The Tripartite Commission now includes representatives from NATO's International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan (ISAF). As of April 2009, it had convened 26 times in Kabul.³³ Most recently, Pakistan delegations have included the Chief of Army Staff and the Chief of General Staff. Participants in the Tripartite Commission generally express satisfaction with how it functions, although there is almost near unanimity that it could do more to build confidence between Afghanistan and Pakistan.³⁴

³¹ See, for example, U.S. Department of State, "Media Note: Office of the Spokesman—Second Annual U.S.-Pakistan Joint Working Group on Counterterrorism and Law Enforcement," April 15, 2003; U.S. Department of State, "Joint Statement: Meeting of the Pakistan-U.S. Joint Working Group on Counter-Terrorism and Law Enforcement," September 3, 2004.

³² Kronstadt, 2008c.

³³ See "Tripartite Commission of Pak, Afghan, NATO Forces Met Today," *Geo News*, April 11, 2009.

³⁴ After the August 2008 meeting, the joint statement issued expressed "satisfaction at the existing level of cooperation and reiterated their resolve and commitment to contribute towards peace and security in this volatile region." See "ISAF Satisfied with Cooperation," *Nation*, August 20, 2008.

The commission has nevertheless faced challenges. It has failed to lessen the discord between Afghanistan and Pakistan or, for that matter, reduce the burgeoning distrust of Pakistan among the other stakeholders. In May 2007, a U.S. soldier under NATO command was shot and killed by a Pakistani FC soldier right after a Tripartite Commission meeting had been held with the aim of preventing Afghan-Pakistan border clashes. Pakistani military officials sought to put the blame for the attack on “miscreants.” U.S. and Afghan sources discounted this version.³⁵ Following the January 2008 suicide attack on the Serena Hotel, the April 2008 assassination attempt against President Karzai, and accusations on the part of the Afghan government that the ISI was involved in the attempt, there was speculation that Karzai would pull out of the commission altogether, though he did not. Pakistan too threatened to undermine the commission. In February 2008, Pakistan stopped attending the commission meetings. U.S. defense officials reported that in June 2008, meetings resumed.³⁶

Pakistan has objected to U.S. attacks on its side of the border. On June 10, 2008, U.S. forces bombed an FC outpost (Gorparai post) in the Mohmand frontier agency, killing 11 FC men. The U.S. military defended the operation, noting that the attack was called in after U.S. ground forces were “ambushed” 1,000 yards inside Afghanistan, ostensibly by Taliban fighters who retreated into Pakistan. While the U.S. Department of State offered repeated apologies, the Department of Defense (DoD) did not, explaining that “Every indication we have is that this was a legitimate strike against forces that had attacked members of the coalition.” DoD released a video of parts of the attack.³⁷

Karzai’s July 2008 threat to dispatch Afghan troops across the border and mounting U.S. incursions into Pakistani territory have left

³⁵ Interviews with U.S. and NATO personnel in Kabul in June 2007. Also see Ron Synovitz, “Afghan, Pakistani Troops Break Brief Border Silence,” *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, May 17, 2007.

³⁶ Kronstadt and Katzman, 2008.

³⁷ See Stephen Graham, “US Releases Video of Clash Along Afghan Border,” *USA Today*, June 12, 2008. See also Jonathan Karl, Habibullah Khan, and Brian Ross, “Outrage as US Bombs Pakistan Border Post, Killing 11 Soldiers: Pakistan Threatens to End ‘Cooperation’ in War on Terror,” *ABC News*, June 11, 2008.

many commentators wondering whether the commission can be effective. Pakistan's military leaders like the diplomatic language used at the commission and the positive joint statements that have been issued after the commission's meetings; these often praise the Pakistani military. Despite the rising number of attacks on Afghanistan from sanctuaries in FATA and U.S. unilateral counterstrikes, the commission's most recent statement said,

the meeting reviewed the security situation in areas along the Pakistan-Afghan border. The commission expressed satisfaction at the existing level of cooperation and reiterated its resolve and commitment to contribute towards peace and security in the region.³⁸

In the first half of 2008, the commission was in abeyance for at least four months as a result of deepening acrimony between NATO, ISAF, and Afghanistan on one side and Pakistan on the other. Pakistan and NATO officials agreed to reinstate the commission in late June 2008, during ISAF Commander Gen. David McKiernan's first trip to Pakistan since taking charge of ISAF. The meeting was scheduled for August. In the interim, a subordinate body, the Border Security Subcommittee, kept functioning.³⁹

Security Assistance Programs

Consonant with the heavy focus on counterinsurgency and counterterrorism, most U.S. aid and reimbursements have gone to support Pakistan's military. The largest single source of U.S. aid to Pakistan is the CSF program, which supports Pakistan's counterinsurgency efforts on behalf of U.S. objectives. CSFs were not intended to build capacity; rather, they were designed to reimburse Pakistan for costs incurred

³⁸ Qudssia Akhlaque, "Role of Tripartite Body Becomes Controversial," *The News*, September 5, 2008.

³⁹ See Baqir Sajjad Syed, "Islamabad, ISAF to Reactivate Tripartite Commission," *Dawn*, June 28, 2008.

during its own efforts in the war on terror. However, the Pakistani military has often used these funds to pay for operations or purchases of military equipment not tied to Pakistan's counterinsurgency efforts.⁴⁰

Total post-9/11 U.S. assistance to Pakistan has been substantial. The United States provided \$11.2 billion between FY 2001 and FY 2008 (see Table 4.1),⁴¹ the bulk of which has gone to security assistance either through military aid or reimbursements. Security-related assistance, including reimbursements, arms sales, and internal security assistance, ran \$8.1 billion. The remaining \$3.1 billion was invested

Table 4.1
U.S. Assistance to Pakistan, FY 2002–2009
(rounded to the nearest millions of dollars)

Category	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
CSFs	1,169	1,247	705	964	862	731	255	200
FMF	75	225	75	299	297	297	298	300
Other security	102	33	38	50	101	87	221	631
Economic Support Fund	615	188	200	298	337	389	347	603
Other economic support	39	86	96	90	202	132	102	747
Total	2,000	1,779	1,114	1,701	1,799	1,636	1,223	2,481

SOURCE: Kronstadt, 2008c, p. 99.

NOTES: The figures for 2008 are estimated. The figures for 2009 are for funds that have been requested as of this writing.

⁴⁰ David Rohde, Carlotta Gall, Eric Schmitt, and David E. Sanger, "U.S. Officials See Waste in Billions Sent to Pakistan," *New York Times*, December 24, 2007; "U.S. Payments to Pakistan Face New Scrutiny," *Washington Post*, February 21, 2008; "Pakistani Military 'Mis-spent Up to 70% of American Aid,'" *Guardian* (London), February 28, 2008; "Democrats Question \$6 Billion in Pakistan Aid," Associated Press, May 6, 2008; "Revamping Aid to Pakistan Is Expected in Bush Report," *New York Times*, December 7, 2008. See also "Pentagon Puts Brakes on Funds to Pakistan," *Los Angeles Times*, May 7, 2008; and "Where's the Money?" *Sunday Times* (London), August 10, 2008.

⁴¹ All figures taken from Kronstadt, 2008a and c. This balance sheet does not include U.S. funds expended on covert assistance schemes, and it does not include the figures for 2010.

in development programs.⁴² Pakistan has balked at U.S. requests for information about how CSFs have been spent, citing Pakistani sovereignty over the funds. Pakistan's unwillingness to give an accounting of how these funds have been spent has contributed to criticism of Pakistan and these programs.

Military Reimbursement

Fifty-three percent of U.S. aid to Pakistan—\$5.9 billion—has gone to direct reimbursements for the costs of Pakistan's military activities along the Afghan border through the CSF program. While other countries allied with the United States in the war on terror receive CSFs, Pakistan is the largest recipient. It has received 81 percent of all CSF reimbursements.⁴³

CSFs originally sought to encourage Pakistan to contribute militarily to Operation Enduring Freedom by reimbursing it for the cost of support operations in Pakistan.⁴⁴ The program was intended to cover incremental expenses associated with participation in the war on terror, not funds to support normal operations. Since the program began, Pakistan has claimed reimbursement for such activities as

- maritime patrols and interdiction
- combat air patrol reconnaissance and close air support
- airlift and air traffic control
- U.S. Army operations in FATA
- increased management requirements at the Pakistan Joint Staff Headquarters.⁴⁵

⁴² Kronstadt, 2008a.

⁴³ Charles Michael Johnson Jr., *Combating Terrorism: U.S. Oversight of Pakistan Reimbursement Claims for Coalition Support Funds*, Testimony Before the Subcommittee on National Security and Foreign Affairs, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Accountability Office, June 24, 2008.

⁴⁴ GAO, "The United States Lacks Comprehensive Plan to Destroy the Terrorist Threat and Close the Safe Haven in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas," Washington, D.C.: GAO-08-622, 2008, pp. 11, 13, 23.

⁴⁵ Johnson, 2008, p. 1. CSFs are received by 27 countries in total, but Pakistan is the largest recipient. DSCA has described it as essential "to encouraging coalition partners to support

In an effort to make the CSFs more transparent and hold Pakistan more to account, the U.S. Defense Comptroller issued new guidance for oversight of the program in 2003, calling for documentation of the incremental costs of support, validation that the support or service was provided, and copies of invoices or documentation supporting how the costs were calculated. GAO later found that these modest 2003 requirements were often not met. It stated,

while [the U.S. Department of] Defense generally conducted macro-level analytical reviews called for in its guidance, such as determining whether the cost is less than that which would be incurred by the United States for the same service, for a large number of reimbursement claims Defense did not obtain detailed documentation to verify that claimed costs were valid, actually incurred, or correctly calculated.⁴⁶

In general, GAO found that the process and the level of documentation used were too limited to permit an independent analyst to reconstruct the cost incurred. CSF guidance does not require DoD to evaluate the exchange rate used, which could result in overbilling. In one category of expenses reviewed, GAO found that DoD may have overpaid by \$1.25 million. GAO concluded that

few of the Pakistani claims we reviewed met the criteria contained in the Comptroller's Guidance. [The U.S. Department of] Defense reimbursed Pakistan more than \$2.2 billion, or 76 percent, of Pakistani army claims from January 2004 through June 2007, without obtaining sufficient information to support how the costs were calculated.⁴⁷

In other cases, there was inadequate documentation that the charge was incremental. GAO found surprisingly large, inexplicable differ-

U.S. military operations. Without this program . . . the U.S. would not be able to conduct these operations as capably as the indigenous forces.”

⁴⁶ Johnson, 2008.

⁴⁷ Johnson, 2008, pp. 9-10.

ences in charges for food per soldier, airman, and sailor submitted by Pakistan's army, air force, and navy. It uncovered a number of dubious reimbursements and questionable, inconsistent DoD applications of relevant guidance.

Other critics of the program have noted that Pakistan has been compensated very generously for legitimate expenses; costs have been sometimes assessed at what comparable activities would have cost the U.S. military. Other critics note that CSF payments have remained steady or increased despite a decline in Pakistani military operations following peace deals with militants. Despite large CSF payouts, Pakistan's armed forces have not performed well in counterinsurgency operations in FATA.⁴⁸ They have generally failed to learn from their mistakes.

Because CSFs go directly to the Ministry of Finance, where they can be used as the government wishes, many critics have argued that CSFs serve as little more than a bribe to secure Pakistan's continued participation in the global war on terror. According to Bush administration and military officials interviewed by the *New York Times*,

much of the American money was not making its way to frontline Pakistani units. Money has been diverted to help finance weapons systems designed to counter India, not Al Qaeda or the Taliban. . . . [T]he United States has paid tens of millions of dollars in inflated Pakistani reimbursement claims for fuel, ammunition and other costs.⁴⁹

The CSF appears to be used as a quid pro quo for Pakistani support of U.S. goals.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ See, inter alia, Craig Cohen, 2007. Also see Craig Cohen and Derek Chollet, "When \$10 Billion Is Not Enough," *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 2, Spring 2007, pp. 7–19; Greg Miller, "Pakistan Fails to Aim Billions in U.S. Military Aid at Al Qaeda," *Los Angeles Times*, November 5, 2007, p. A-1.

⁴⁹ See Rohde et al., 2007.

⁵⁰ Johnson, 2008, pp. 35–38. For example, DoD cites its reliance on Pakistan allowance of land-based transit of 40 percent of fuel and 84 percent of cargo required by Coalition forces operating in Afghanistan—a service that the United States does not specifically pay for, but upon which it is absolutely reliant.

DoD has defended the program against these criticisms. DoD officials claim, with some justification, that Pakistan's budgetary systems are inadequate to support the required documentation. They also explain that CSF payments should not scale up or scale down with operations tempo in FATA because the program pays for the fixed costs incurred from troops deployed in FATA. Because Pakistan has steadily increased the number of regular army and FC personnel in FATA, the costs should increase even if they are conducting fewer major operations. Critics acknowledge this but then query the utility of these deployments when they are not used in operations. Proponents of the CSF program also note that it is a reimbursement program and is not intended to build capacity. While acknowledging that Pakistan is probably using CSFs to buy systems to fight India, they argue that they have no ability to influence how these expenditures are used because the funds belong to Pakistan once they reach Pakistan's Ministry of Finance. DoD officials note that it is better to have 120,000 Pakistani military and paramilitary troops deployed in FATA than not—despite the decline in major operations. They also note Pakistan's large casualty figures and express gratitude to Pakistan's contributions at least in part because, since it takes over a year to reimburse Pakistan, Pakistan has to cover these costs from its own resources while it waits for reimbursement. They also argue that the United States needs to reimburse Pakistan for its costs if it is to support the United States in Afghanistan.⁵¹ Supporters of the CSF program also argue that since it is the single largest program by which money is transferred to Pakistan, it should be viewed in the wider lens of U.S.-Pakistan cooperation. Defenders of the program argue that any attempt to institute new accounting procedures for CSFs will likely widen the "trust deficit" that exists between the two countries.⁵²

⁵¹ See DoD response to the GAO findings in Johnson, 2008, pp. 34–38. This was augmented by conversations with current and serving DoD officials in Islamabad, Pakistan, in April 2008; in Washington, D.C., in February 2008 and May 2008; and at the U.S. Central Command in August 2008.

⁵² David O. Smith, "Facing Up to the Trust Deficit: The Key to an Enhanced U.S.-Pakistan Defense Relationship," *Strategic Insights*, Vol. VI, No. 4, June 2007.

However, even those DoD officials who support the program most strongly concede that the program could be tightened up, that Pakistan should provide better documentation, that Pakistan's agreements with militants have been followed by more attacks in Afghanistan, and that some of the activities that are currently billed as CSFs should be paid for under the FMF program, over which the United States has better control.⁵³

Arms Sales and Military Training

The United States has provided \$2.2 billion—20 percent of its total post-9/11 aid to Pakistan—through a number of other security-related schemes. The largest of these has been the FMF program. Since 2001, the U.S. government has provided Pakistan with nearly \$1.6 billion in FMF, with a “base program” of \$300 million per year beginning in FY 2005. FMF allocations permit Pakistan to purchase U.S. military equipment and to fund additional training—training above and beyond that provided through the International Military Education and Training (IMET) grant program. In FY 2008, the bulk of this was *supposed* to be spent on counterinsurgency training and equipment.

Through FMF, Pakistan has obtained a number of platforms that should ostensibly have improved its counterinsurgency capabilities. Critics note the propensity for Pakistan to buy conventional weapons that are not terribly useful for counterterrorism purposes, including \$227 million in FY 2008 FMF to support Pakistan's F-16 mid-life update program in contravention of congressional requirements that FMF only be used for counterinsurgency training and equipment.⁵⁴

Pakistan can also purchase U.S. defense supplies as “Excess Defense Articles.” Pakistan has purchased more F-16s after they were

⁵³ See the DoD response to the GAO findings in Johnson, 2008, pp. 34–38. This was augmented by conversations with current and serving DoD officials in Islamabad in April 2008; in Washington, D.C., in February 2008 and May 2008; and U.S. Central Command in August 2008.

⁵⁴ For a detailed accounting of Pakistan's FMF utilization, see Kronstadt, 2008a.

retired from the U.S. Air Force.⁵⁵ Pakistan also discussed the transfer of three P-3B aircraft to be modified to carry the E-2C Hawkeye airborne early warning suite, but this transaction has not moved beyond the notification stage. Major Excess Defense Articles grants since 2001 have included 14 F-16A/B combat aircraft and 16 T-37 military trainer jets, with an additional 20 pending. In addition to acquisitions through FMF, Pakistan has spent some \$4.6 billion on foreign military sales (FMS), again with a focus on conventional platforms.

Table 4.2 lists major U.S. arms sales to Pakistan. The first column (value) gives the total cost of the program, and the second (FMF), the

Table 4.2
U.S. Military Arms Sales to Pakistan in 2007

Quantity	Equipment	Value (\$M)	FMF (\$M)
8	P-3C Orion maritime patrol aircraft and refurbishment	295	295
5,250	TOW antiarmor missiles	186	186
5,600	Military radio sets	163	163
6	AN/TPS-77 surveillance radars	100	100
20	AH-1F Cobra attack helicopters (initially Excess Defense Articles, then refurbished)	48	48
60	Mid-life upgrade kits for F-16A/B combat aircraft	891	108
115	M-109 self-propelled howitzers	87	53
18	F-16C/D Block 50/52 combat aircraft (with an option for 18 more)	1,430	0
500	Advanced medium-range air-to-air missiles	629	0
100	Harpoon antiship missiles	298	0
600	Sidewinder air-to-air missiles	95	0
6	Phalanx close-in naval guns	80	0

SOURCES: Kronstadt, 2008c; Grimmett, 2008.

⁵⁵ Kronstadt, 2008a; Richard F. Grimmett, *U.S. Arms Sales to Pakistan*, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, CRS Report for Congress, Order Code RS22757, updated January 28, 2008.

extent to which this cost was underwritten by the United States. In some cases, United States has covered the entire cost of the program, but in others—notably the sale of F-16 aircraft—Pakistan has borne the entire cost.

DoD has characterized many of Pakistan's major acquisitions (e.g., F-16 fighters, P-3C patrol aircraft, and antiarmor missiles) as having "significant antiterrorism applications." Similarly, the Department of State claims that, since 2005, FMF funds have been used "solely for counterterrorism efforts, broadly defined."⁵⁶ The department's "broad" definition has come under fire from those who believe that U.S. funds should go to building specific Pakistani capabilities for counterinsurgency in FATA.

The United States has also provided training and security expertise to Pakistan through the IMET program, which allows the United States to host officers from foreign militaries. IMET encourages both military professionalization and the development of generally positive relations with the United States and officer-to-officer networks. These training and exchange programs have a great deal to offer in Pakistan's case because of the role the Pakistani Army plays in Pakistan's politics. It also provides a means of influencing the culture within and development of the Pakistani Army, including Pakistani Army attitudes toward democracy. IMET ceased when U.S.-Pakistan relations worsened in the 1990s. Between FY 2002–2004, a \$1 million IMET package was given to Pakistan annually. This amount was later doubled.⁵⁷ In FY 2006, 106 Pakistani officers were involved in IMET. In comparison, a total of 725 Pakistani military personnel benefited from other kinds of U.S. military training assistance. In most of these cases, Pakistani officers and soldiers were instructed in the use of U.S. military hardware purchased by Pakistan.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ See Richard Boucher, Assistant Secretary of State for South and Central Asian Affairs, "On-the-Record Briefing on U.S.-Pakistan Relations," December 21, 2007b, cited by Kronstadt, 2008c, pp. 60–61.

⁵⁷ Kronstadt, 2008a.

⁵⁸ U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Military Training and DoD Engagement Activities of Interest*, 2007, Washington, D.C.: Under Secretary for Arms Control and International

The Security Development Plan

The Security Development Plan is a U.S. program that aims to enhance Pakistan's ability to secure its border with Afghanistan. It is a six-year program containing several elements. Its aim is to "permanently prevent militants and terrorists from exploiting Pakistani territory as a staging ground for attacks in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and beyond."⁵⁹ The U.S. embassy in Islamabad and the U.S. Central Command developed the plan jointly in full cooperation with the government of Pakistan. From FY 2007 to FY 2008, DoD provided over \$200 million for the program, and in FY 2009, the administration was seeking at least another \$100 million in FMF for the plan under a supplemental budget request.

One element of the plan focuses on expanding, training, and equipping FC. As noted above, FC is a federal paramilitary force that belongs to the Ministry of Interior but is under operational control of the Pakistan Army's XI Corps. It consists of two separate forces, FC NWFP and FC Baluchistan, with separate Inspectors General controlling each and a combined end strength of 80,000. FC officers are seconded from the Pakistan Army and are rotated in and out of FC. FC NWFP has security duties for FATA and NWFP and has headquarters in Peshawar. FC Baluchistan is responsible for Baluchistan and has headquarters in Quetta. While FC NWFP is overwhelmingly Pashtun, FC Baluchistan includes many who are not ethnically Baluch.

FC NWFP has been employed for several years in largely ineffective operations against militants in FATA. (Pakistan refers to these operations as "low-intensity conflict.") It has suffered several defeats, and a number of units have surrendered to militants. The force is poorly configured and poorly trained to sustain counterinsurgency operations. It lacks medical evacuation capabilities, logistics, and support equipment. Despite these weaknesses, the Pakistan Army, at times, has argued that FC—not the army—is the logical counterinsurgency force. Because

Security, Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, "III. State Foreign Policy Objectives—South Central Asia Region" and "IV. Country Training Activities—South Central Asia," August 2007b; Craig Cohen, 2007, p. 33.

⁵⁹ Negroponte, 2008.

the force is largely Pashtun, troops know the language and, unlike the Pakistan Army, are not rejected as a “foreign force.”

In the most optimistic (and early) versions of the Security Development Plan, the United States planned to build two training centers (one in Baluchistan and one in NWFP) where 30 trainers from the U.S. Special Operations Command would train about 8,400 personnel, using the “train the trainer” approach, as the first part of the plan. DoD officials have explained that they hope to build an intelligence capability with FC to exploit their linguistic skills and knowledge of the human terrain.⁶⁰ Owing to security and likely political issues, this program has suffered numerous delays and setbacks. The United States has had to begin training FC trainers at another (unspecified) location, co-located with other Pakistan military facilities. It is hoped that the U.S.-trained trainers will be able to train Pakistani FC soldiers in the new facilities in the future.

The program has drawn some criticism because of FC’s historical role in supporting the mujahideen and the Taliban and continued reports of contemporary passive and active support, including Taliban infiltration of FC.⁶¹ Proponents of the plan defend FC, alleging that any FC passive support for the Taliban would diminish if FC were appropriately trained and equipped to confront the Taliban. The Taliban easily outgun them at present. Proponents of the plan in DoD discount reports of FC active support of the Taliban.⁶²

Another important element, the second part, of the Security Development Plan is the construction of six BCCs. BCCs were intended to provide NATO, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the United States a “common operational picture” of the border area and to

⁶⁰ Negroponte, 2008. Also based upon conversations with DoD personnel in April and May 2008, and with retired DoD employees in April and July 2008.

⁶¹ See Beaumont and Townsend, 2008; comments by former ISAF commander Gen. Dan K. McNeill, “A Sober Assessment of Afghanistan: Outgoing U.S. Commander Cites 50% Spike in Attacks in East,” *Washington Post*, June 15, 2008, p. A16. Also see previous discussion of the U.S. attack on an FC outpost and multiple discussions of FC in Rashid, 2008a.

⁶² Various conversations with DoD personnel in February, April, and May 2008. However, U.S. military personnel who have served in Afghanistan frequently and openly recount active FC support for the Taliban.

enhance bilateral efforts to diminish Taliban movements.⁶³ A “common picture” should foster confidence and greater cooperation between the Afghan and Pakistan military. At conception, three BCCs were to be built on Afghanistan’s side of the Durand Line and three on Pakistan’s side. One has been built thus far—on Afghan territory—at the Torkham border crossing. Another location has been identified for a second BCC, also on Afghan territory. Pakistan has stymied efforts to build a BCC on its territory and delayed sending liaison officers (LNOs) to the one that currently operates. (In early fall 2008, Pakistan dispatched its LNOs to Torkham.) Pakistan has cited security concerns as grounds for scuttling proposed BCCs on its side of the Durand Line while offering no comprehensible reason for not sending LNOs to extant BCCs. Pakistan’s demurrals significantly undermine the potential efficacy of this program.⁶⁴

The third component of the Security Development Plan is counterinsurgency training for the Pakistan Army’s elite commando SSG unit and its helicopter mobility unit, the 21st Quick Reaction Squadron, to enhance its ability to conduct combat missions in FATA and other parts of the western border areas.⁶⁵ While SSG is by far the most suitable for counterinsurgency operations—because it is the best, most capable element of the Pakistan Army—Chief of Army Staff Kayani has consistently resisted revamping Pakistan’s forces for counterinsurgency. In June 2008, he told U.S. military and NATO officials that he does not intend to retrain or reequip his army to fight the counterinsurgency along the western border, as requested by the U.S. government. Rather, the bulk of the army will remain deployed along the Indian border, ready to defend Pakistan in the event of an Indo-Pakistan war.⁶⁶

⁶³ Negroponte, 2008.

⁶⁴ Conversations with U.S. Central Command personnel in August 2008, and with DoD personnel in April and May 2008.

⁶⁵ Negroponte, 2008.

⁶⁶ However, according to Pakistani sources obtained by the authors, there were somewhat fewer than 120,000 troops in FATA and NWFP from the regular army, FC, and the Frontier Constabulary. It is important to note that many of these were garrisoned there and thus

More recently, in May 2009, despite the army's public failures to use force discriminately and in the face of an expanding humanitarian disaster due to Pakistani aerial bombardment and artillery shelling of large swaths of Swat and environs, Kayani reacted to criticism by contending that

Owing to its vast experience, [the] Pakistan Army remains the best suited force to operate in its own area. Uncalled for aspersions through various quarters on our training methods/orientation are apparently due to lack of knowledge and understanding of our training system in vogue. [He further said that the] "Pakistan Army has developed a full range of counter insurgency training facilities, tailored to train troops for such operations."

Such recalcitrant defense of tactics that are ill-suited to Pakistan's threat environment should dampen optimism that the Pakistan Army will reorient to effectively challenge its most important threats to state sovereignty.⁶⁷

Other Assistance for Internal Security

The U.S. Departments of State and Justice have provided funds for Pakistan's counternarcotics capabilities, border security, and law enforcement. These programs implicitly acknowledge that the line between combating Pakistan's Islamist militancy and the problems of border

cannot be said to have been "deployed." Nonetheless, between March 2008 and March 2009, between four and five infantry divisions were in the theatre, and they were drawn from Headquarters (HQ) 9 Division, HQ 7 Division, HQ 14 Division, and HQ 17/23 Division. These divisions draw from the XI Corps (Peshawar), X Corps (Rawalpindi), II Corps (Multan), and I Corps (Mangla). These deployments involved approximately 17 infantry brigades, 45 infantry battalions, and some 58 FC wings. This information was obtained from a variety of sources, including personal information received from Pakistani officers. Also see Gurmeet Kanwal, "Losing Ground: Pak Army Strategy in FATA & NWFP," New Delhi: Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, IPCS Issue Brief No. 84, October 2008. Also see Ahmed Rashid, "Pakistan's Worrisome Pullback," *Washington Post*, June 6, 2008b, p. A19.

⁶⁷ See "No Counter-Insurgency Training Needed: Kayani," 2009.

smuggling, corruption, and organized crime is blurry.⁶⁸ U.S. efforts have included

- imparting management and leadership expertise to senior police officers and basic investigative skills training to lower-ranking police officers
- establishing systems to conduct fingerprinting identification and forensic examinations and to set up a national criminal database
- encouraging interagency law enforcement cooperation among Pakistan's police, immigration, border control, and other agencies responsible for internal law and order.⁶⁹

U.S. efforts to enhance Pakistan's counternarcotics capabilities overlap with efforts to strengthen Pakistan's control over the Afghan border. Antismuggling efforts involve the provision of ground and aerial reconnaissance vehicles, the construction of entry and exit points along the border, and poppy eradication.⁷⁰ Despite these programs, the weaknesses of Pakistan's law enforcement institutions, the limited number of U.S. personnel on the ground, and the geographical and topographical challenges posed by the area along the Afghan border make it difficult to achieve success in these areas.⁷¹ The effort has also been relatively limited in scope: U.S. aid for internal security has been much lower than the aid to the military.⁷²

⁶⁸ For detailed discussions of the range of programs funded by the United States in support of these objectives, see Fair and Chalk, 2006, pp. 45–59; Seth G. Jones, Olga Oliker, Peter Chalk, C. Christine Fair, Rollie Lal, and James Dobbins, *Securing Tyrants or Fostering Reform? U.S. Internal Security Assistance to Repressive and Transitioning Regimes*, Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, MG-550-OSI, 2006, pp. 125–160.

⁶⁹ Fair and Chalk, 2006, pp. 49, 51–52, 54.

⁷⁰ Fair and Chalk, 2006, pp. 52, 56; Seth Jones et al., 2006, pp. 139, 144.

⁷¹ For a more detailed assessment of the progress and difficulties these schemes have met with, see Fair and Chalk, 2006, pp. 61–74.

⁷² Kronstadt, 2008a. In that period, \$131 million was spent through the Counternarcotics Funds; \$22 million through International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement.

Assistance That Is Unrelated to Security

Economic and Development Assistance

Between 2005 and 2007, assistance to Pakistan that was not related to security grew 13.5 percent, from \$340 million to \$401 million. In the same period, funding for the Pakistani military through FMF alone more than doubled, from \$148 million to \$300 million.⁷³ Most U.S. funds for economic and development assistance flow through the Economic Support Fund.⁷⁴

U.S. efforts to foster development in Pakistan have focused on education, health, financial stability, and general economic development. In the immediate aftermath of 9/11, the United States supported the financial stabilization already under way in Pakistan with significant budget support that helped Pakistan pay off some of its outstanding debt. The focus of U.S. aid then shifted to more traditional development areas, including especially health and education. In 2007, the United States began a five-year \$100 million program to support the government of Pakistan's own efforts to improve education in primary and secondary schools.⁷⁵ This program emphasized teacher training for primary education, especially in Baluchistan and Sindh.⁷⁶ U.S. funds have also gone to improve the public health care system, and in particular to maternal, child, and reproductive health. The United States also spent \$70 million on humanitarian assistance in response to the October 2005 earthquake in Kashmir.⁷⁷ The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) continues to fund reconstruction projects worth \$193 million in earthquake-affected areas.⁷⁸ Earthquake

⁷³ Totals of Child Survival and Health, Development Assistance, and Economic Support Fund monies are from the U.S. Department of State Budget Authorization for 2007. U.S. Department of State, *FY 2007 Congressional Budget Justification for Foreign Operations*, February 13, 2006, p. 511.

⁷⁴ See also Kronstadt, 2008a.

⁷⁵ U.S. Department of State, 2006, p. 514.

⁷⁶ USAID, "Partnership for Education," not dated (a).

⁷⁷ USAID, "Partnership for Health," not dated (b).

⁷⁸ USAID, "USAID/Pakistan Earthquake Reconstruction News Releases," 2006–2009.

relief is thought to have improved the U.S. image in Pakistan, but most Pakistanis still have a poor image of the United States.⁷⁹

U.S. funds are provided both on a project basis and in the form of cash transfers to the government's budget. There is some debate over the effectiveness of the conditions placed on the budget support, and there is concern that it may not go to supporting the intended programs.⁸⁰ Such concerns have encouraged the United States to target the larger part of its development assistance to specific projects.⁸¹

The problems of militant groups and the porous Afghan border have led the United States to target an increasing amount of development aid to FATA. In 2006, Pakistan authored the "FATA Sustainable Development Plan 2006–2015," which aimed to foster economic development, extend the state, and enhance security in the region. The United States allocated \$750 million over five years for this program.⁸² USAID also provides technical assistance in FATA as part of this plan, and it administers a range of specific programs to improve education and health care and to foster economic activity.⁸³

Some observers have been skeptical about how effective U.S. development aid to FATA can be. Pakistan's own commitment to development in FATA has been weak; some fear that continued lack of attention to the region on the part of the Pakistani government will make it even more difficult for the United States to successfully implement its own programs. Operating conditions in FATA are difficult for aid workers of any origin, but especially for Americans. Widespread corruption increases the chances that U.S. funds will fall into the hands

⁷⁹ Craig Cohen, 2007, pp. 33–37.

⁸⁰ See Craig Cohen, 2007, p. 26.

⁸¹ Richard A. Boucher, Assistant Secretary of State for South and Central Asian Affairs, Addressing Senate Committee on Foreign Relations Subcommittee on International Development, Foreign Economic Affairs and International Environmental Protection, Washington, D.C., December 6, 2007a.

⁸² Camp, 2008.

⁸³ Details of USAID initiatives in FATA, ranging from clean water projects to microcredit schemes, in USAID, "Partnership for Economic Growth," not dated (d).

of militants.⁸⁴ The FATA development plan is sometimes presented as a counterpart to the FATA security plan, but the two have in fact been developed independently of each other.

Non-U.S. Economic and Development Assistance to Pakistan

In addition to bilateral U.S. assistance to Pakistan, the country also receives loans at concessionary interest rates from several international development banks. The World Bank and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) are the two biggest players. The Islamic Development Bank and a number of state-run export credit agencies also grant or guarantee loans to Pakistan. It also receives assistance from other donors, such as UNICEF, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the European Commission, the United Kingdom's Department of International Development (DFID), and Japan.

ADB lending has surpassed lending from the World Bank. Between 1993 and 2003, ADB lent \$6.5 billion to Pakistan, compared with \$5.1 billion from the World Bank over the same period.⁸⁵ In 2007, ADB lent nearly \$2 billion.⁸⁶ ADB's three main aims in Pakistan are achieving sustainable growth favoring the poor, fostering inclusive social development, and, especially, promoting good governance.⁸⁷ To support sustainable growth, ADB has been a major player in financing investments in water, power, transportation, communications, and urban renewal, especially in large cities. To encourage social development, ADB has directly financed government spending on social pro-

⁸⁴ Jane Perlez, "Aid to Pakistan in Tribal Areas Raises Concerns," *New York Times*, July 16, 2007; Rashid, 2008a, p. 273; Craig Cohen, 2007, p. 37.

⁸⁵ The World Bank, *Pakistan: An Evaluation of the World Bank's Assistance*, Washington, D.C., No. 36618, June 15, 2006, p. 63.

⁸⁶ Asian Development Bank, "Pakistan 2008 Fact Sheet," Manila, Philippines, 2008b. See also Asian Development Bank, *Pakistan Country Strategy and Program Update 2006–2008*, Manila, Philippines, August 2006, especially pp. 3–5, 7–8.

⁸⁷ Asian Development Bank, *Pakistan Country Strategy and Program Update 2002–2006*, Manila, Philippines, July 2002.

grams. The main efforts to improve governance have been the Access to Justice Program and the Decentralization Support Program.⁸⁸

Major recent ADB projects have included three highway improvement projects totaling over \$2 billion, a \$900 million project for developing irrigation in Punjab, an \$800 million project for electric power transmission, and a \$600 million project for renewable energy. Other loans have targeted financial sector reform, government efficiency in Punjab and elsewhere, and relief and reconstruction from the 2005 earthquake.⁸⁹ ADB does not “condition” its lending on government policies. It does insist that the projects fall within its overall goals for Pakistan, that they surpass minimum rate-of-return hurdles, and that they meet basic requirements of financial accountability.

As a provider of economic and development loans, the World Bank comes in close second to ADB, although it is more apt to make loans conditional on the Pakistani government making specific changes in policies. Since the late 1990s, the World Bank has provided three major structural adjustment loans to Pakistan. The first was in response to the fiscal and monetary crisis that followed the 1998 nuclear tests. As part of a coordinated rescue package, the World Bank provided \$750 million in a structural adjustment loan. Structural adjustment credits of \$350 million (2001) and \$500 million (2002) followed. The bank also provided smaller structural adjustment credits directly to NWFP and Sindh in support of devolution.⁹⁰

Education has been a central focus of World Bank lending. A \$900 million project to improve education in Punjab and a \$100 million project for education in Sindh were both announced in 2007. Water has also featured high on the list of World Bank priorities. A \$123 million project to rehabilitate the Taunsa Barrages—a series of dams along the Taunsa river—began in 2005, followed by water and irrigation projects for Punjab (\$200 million) and Sindh (\$150 million). Large projects have also been undertaken for electricity transmission,

⁸⁸ Asian Development Bank, *Pakistan Country Strategy and Program Update 2006–2008*, Manila, Philippines, August 2008a, pp. 2–3.

⁸⁹ Full data in Asian Development Bank, “Projects,” Manila, Philippines, not dated.

⁹⁰ The World Bank, 2006, pp. 43–45.

highway rehabilitation, tax service reform, and banking-sector development. Smaller-scale projects for polio eradication and improving Punjab's municipal services have also been on the list. In 2005 and 2006, the World Bank heavily funded reconstruction projects following the earthquake. As of 2008, the World Bank was proposing increasing its focus on transport and highways with loans amounting to \$725 million.⁹¹ In total, the World Bank provided \$1.5 billion in 2006 and almost \$1 billion in 2007.⁹²

World Bank lending is conditioned on qualitative indicators of government efforts to foster social and economic development. However, the World Bank's support for the Pakistan government's Social Action Program in the 1990s was generally considered to have been a failure. Despite the World Bank efforts, the Pakistani government's spending on social programs actually fell as a share of GDP during that period; poverty rose. Corruption and general lack of institutional capacity were major problems. The World Bank has been criticized for focusing too narrowly on social services as a means of poverty reduction, while ignoring unequal access to water in rural areas.⁹³

Prior to 2008, the IMF played an advisory role to Pakistan; it was not a major source of loans for balance-of-payments support. However, following the 2008 financial crisis, the IMF has been a key source of finance, providing more than \$11 billion in loans. Along with the World Bank, the IMF has encouraged Pakistan to move toward more reliance on prices to allocate resources. In particular, it has encouraged the Pakistani government to raise electricity tariffs to cost-recovery levels in order to stimulate more investment in this sector. It has pressed Pakistan to broaden the tax base so the government is less vulnerable to a sudden, sharp decline in inflows of foreign capital. It has also pressed the State Bank of Pakistan to take a more vigorous stance against inflation.

⁹¹ The World Bank, "Pakistan: Projects and Programs," Washington, D.C., Web page, various dates (a).

⁹² World Bank figures from the World Bank, "Country Lending Summaries—Pakistan," Washington, D.C., Web page, various dates (b).

⁹³ The World Bank, 2006, pp. 17–19.

Along with the United States, Japan and the United Kingdom have been major bilateral donors to Pakistan. Japan gave \$167 million for the development of highways in 2006 and over \$189 million for water projects in 2005. The United Kingdom gave \$126 million for maternal and newborn health care in 2006, and \$98 million for health and \$90 million for Pakistan's Poverty Reduction Growth Strategy in 2003. The United Kingdom has also given directly for family planning, with a \$12 million grant aimed at social marketing of contraceptives in 2003.⁹⁴ Improving governance has been another priority. For the 2008–2011 program, the United Kingdom will provide \$858 million in grants to Pakistan, making it the second-largest recipient of British aid worldwide.⁹⁵ Canada, Switzerland, Germany, and Norway also donate considerable sums.⁹⁶

U.S. Public Diplomacy and Democracy Promotion Efforts

Through the U.S. embassy in Islamabad, the United States has worked to strengthen democracy with civil society initiatives, technical training in political processes, and support for devolution. The Economic Support Fund (ESF) has funded efforts to strengthen the Election Commission that oversaw the 2007 election. It also provided training for Pakistani politicians and technical assistance in setting up a committee system in the parliament. The United States has sought to strengthen Pakistan's own ability to evaluate its election procedures. To support devolution, the Economic Support Fund has directed funds to strengthen local management and budget capacity. Such funds have also gone to strengthen the media and civil society.⁹⁷

U.S. efforts at public diplomacy have been growing. The U.S. Department of State runs several programs on a comparatively tight

⁹⁴ OECD, Stat Extracts, databases, Web site, not dated.

⁹⁵ DFID Pakistan, *The UK Government's Programme of Work to Fight Poverty in Pakistan: Country Plan, Development in Pakistan, 2008–2013*, Islamabad, Pakistan: DFID Pakistan, not dated.

⁹⁶ For an outline of donor activities, see Asian Development Bank, 2006, pp. 16–29.

⁹⁷ U.S. Department of State, 2006, pp. 511–515; USAID, "USAID/Pakistan Interim Strategic Plan, May 2003–September 2006," Islamabad, Pakistan, May 2003.

budget, including exchanges that bring younger politicians and members of civil society to the United States and courses throughout Pakistan that teach English and basic civics. Some 2,000 Pakistanis have participated in the exchanges, and roughly 3,000 to 4,000 have taken the English courses, which vary in length from a few weeks to several months. Special efforts have been made to focus these courses on women and extend them to FATA.⁹⁸

The Downsides of “Conditionality”

As the stakes in Pakistan have grown, the United States has increasingly sought to attach conditions to its aid. In 2007, Congress passed a bill stating that assistance to Pakistan in 2008 and 2009 would be conditional on the U.S. president certifying that “the Government of Pakistan is making all possible efforts to prevent the Taliban from operating in areas under its sovereign control.”⁹⁹ These measures tend to increase Pakistani anxiety about the U.S. commitment, contributing to the perception that U.S. aid may disappear, and is based solely on the pursuit of U.S. short-term security goals.

The most significant recent development in U.S. aid to Pakistan is the bipartisan Kerry-Lugar bill.¹⁰⁰ This legislation passed the full Senate in late June 2009. The legislation, among other things, triples nonmilitary aid to \$1.5 billion per year as a long-term pledge to the people of Pakistan, delinks military from nonmilitary aid, and conditions military aid on certification that the Pakistani security forces are (1) working to prevent al Qaeda and associated terrorist groups from operating on Pakistani territory, (2) working to deny the Afghan Taliban sanctuary in Pakistan, and (3) refraining from interfering in Pakistan’s political and judicial processes. The bill earmarked \$7.5 billion of

⁹⁸ Phone interview with U.S. State Department official, September 19, 2008.

⁹⁹ U.S. Congress, 110th Cong., Implementing Recommendations of the 9/11 Commission Act of 2007, Washington, D.C., H.R. 1, 2007–2008, Sec. 1442, pp. 267–276.

¹⁰⁰ U.S. Congress, 111th Cong., 1st Sess., Enhanced Partnership with Pakistan Act of 2009, Washington, D.C., S. 962, 2009–2010.

support to Pakistan between 2009 and 2013, an indication that U.S. support for Pakistan shows no sign of waning.¹⁰¹

While the U.S. Senate has successfully passed the Kerry-Lugar legislation, in May 2009 the U.S. House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee passed the Pakistan Enduring Assistance and Cooperation Enhancement (PEACE) Act of 2009. That bill calls for some \$1.5 billion to be spent on nonmilitary assistance, establishes a fund for nonmilitary aid, and intensifies focus on education. The legislation also allocates some \$400 million as a part of a 2009 supplemental war fund to help Pakistan develop a counterinsurgency capability. However, that legislation includes measures to provide congressional oversight and control over U.S. funds to minimize wastage, and the U.S. president must certify that Pakistan is making progress on combating terrorist groups and limiting nuclear proliferation opportunities.¹⁰²

Both the House and Senate versions of the PEACE Act of 2009 provide ample evidence of growing discontent with the past pattern of spending large sums of American resources without significant results, much less Pakistani efforts to work toward U.S. strategic goals. Reflective of continued divergence in Pakistani and U.S. policy goals, both legislative efforts (albeit in different ways) seek to condition security assistance aid and demand greater visibility and accountability for all resources transferred to Pakistan.

¹⁰¹ See the text of U.S. Congress, 110th Cong., Enhanced Partnership with Pakistan Act of 2008, Washington, D.C., S. 3263, September 26, 2008b.

¹⁰² The legislation was originally introduced as H.R. 1886 (U.S. Congress, 111th Cong., Pakistan Enduring Assistance and Cooperation Enhancement Act of 2009, Washington, D.C., H.R. 1886, April 2, 2009a. As of August 28, 2009). It was passed by the House of Representatives and appended as new matter at the end of the engrossment of H.R. 2410. For text, see U.S. Congress, 111th Cong., 1st Sess., Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 2010 and 2011, Washington, D.C., H.R. 2410, May 14, 2009b. Also see Dan Robinson, "Pakistan Aid Bill Clears House Committee," *Voice of America*, May 21, 2009.

The Downsides of U.S. Support for Individual Pakistani Leaders

U.S. relations with Pakistan have often been predicated on personal ties with Pakistan's president. After 9/11, the U.S. government focused on its relationship with Musharraf. This focus damaged the United States' reputation in Pakistan. As Musharraf tightened his grip, Pakistanis grew to believe that the U.S. government's support sustained his rule despite the aspirations of many Pakistanis for a return to civilian rule. U.S. backing of Musharraf was particularly irksome because one rationale for the U.S. invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq was to create democratic regimes in these countries.¹⁰³ Some Pakistanis objected to Musharraf's willingness to turn over Pakistani citizens to the U.S. authorities; others opposed military operations in FATA conducted at the behest of the U.S. government.

Most observers in Pakistan interpreted Musharraf's decision to resign as Chief of the Army in November 2007 as the end of his political relevance. Many Pakistanis were irked when U.S. officials continued to meet with Musharraf and declare their support for him as the country's president. As late as April 2008, a U.S. congressional delegation met with Musharraf with some fanfare.¹⁰⁴ Many Pakistanis were upset when outgoing U.S. Ambassador Ryan Crocker argued that although Musharraf was an army officer, he was not a dictator, a statement that coincided with Musharraf's crackdown on the pro-democracy lawyers' movement.¹⁰⁵

Although the election of President Zardari in September 2008 returned a civilian to the presidency, the United States should avoid relying too heavily on links to any one individual, including Zardari. Many Pakistanis view Zardari as a kleptocrat; few believe he will

¹⁰³Support for Musharraf has also required working around preexisting U.S. law, specifically the "Section 508" sanctions imposed on Pakistan after Musharraf's 1999 coup.

¹⁰⁴"Musharraf Asks US for Greater Market Access for Pak Products," *Daily Times*, April 29, 2008.

¹⁰⁵See Crocker's statements in "You, Not US, Must Decide Democratic Model for Pakistan, Says Crocker," *Daily Times*, March 27, 2007.

relinquish the presidential powers accumulated under Musharraf and restore Pakistan's parliamentary tradition.

Conclusions

The goals of the United States and Pakistan often diverge. In particular, the United States and Pakistan have different goals concerning Afghanistan and the militant groups in FATA, the areas of most concern to the United States and on which most U.S. assistance is concentrated. Despite very large grants of U.S. funds to Pakistan's military, Pakistan is more unstable and less safe than it was on September 11, 2001. The U.S. reliance on Pakistan's military has failed to yield a Pakistan at peace with itself and with its neighbors.

Pakistan's military has its own institutional motivations for emphasizing conventional security and sabotaging peace overtures to its neighbors. However, if civilians are able to retain control of power and take a more assertive role in formulating Pakistan's security policy, over time Pakistan may become more stable and more responsive to the desires of its citizenry.

The past seven years have yielded little return to the massive U.S. investment in Pakistan. Part of the failure of U.S. policies to shift Pakistan in a more positive direction is due to the overarching U.S. concentration on providing military assistance. Pakistan and the United States have not yet come to a consensus on goals and how to use the resources available to achieve these goals. After the U.S. government demanded that Musharraf align with the United States in the war on terror or face being declared an enemy, the United States has not seriously held Pakistan accountable for policies that the United States views as unacceptable. Pakistan continues to support the Taliban, permitting Taliban leaders to move with impunity. Militants such as Masood Azhar have been permitted to create sanctuaries throughout FATA, NWFP, and Azad Kashmir.

Until the introduction of the white paper on "Af-Pak," there had been no significant overarching framework to structure a more meaningful engagement with Pakistan. And, as noted, the white paper offers

a clearer vision of what needs to be done in Afghanistan than it does for Pakistan. The Bush presidency resisted and even undermined congressional efforts to impose conditions for continued aid. The United States has feared that any efforts to hold Pakistan accountable for assistance received would motivate Pakistan to reject U.S. assistance and go its own way, severing ties with the United States. Under the Bush White House, the United States seemed to have assumed that the willingness of Pakistan's government to accept U.S. dollars was tantamount to cooperation. It remains to be seen how the Obama administration will seek to encourage greater Pakistani transparency and accountability in using U.S. assistance and greater compliance with U.S. strategic goals in fighting terrorism, nonproliferation, and shaping a civilian-controlled democratic state.

Yet the new legislative efforts embodied in the reconciled House and Senate versions of the Enhanced Partnership with Pakistan Act of 2009 offer some limited scope for hope.¹⁰⁶ The United States has never seriously invested in building civilian governance in Pakistan. The time has come to reconsider the direction of past U.S. policies toward Pakistan. U.S. funding to enhance such civilian capabilities as the police, parliament, and human development efforts has been comparatively small under previous U.S. assistance efforts. The new legislation, should it become law, will permit an expansion of assistance that could, in principle, contribute to the social and political development of Pakistan. For these programs to be effective, Pakistan's civilian and military leaders as well as bureaucracies must be committed to change. At the same time, the United States will have to find more effective ways of executing its assistance programs and must be more focused on outcomes rather than outputs if there is to be any reasonable return on U.S. investments.

¹⁰⁶U.S. Congress, 2009–2010. As of October 7, 2009, the reconciled version of the bill was sent to President Obama to sign. However, owing to the conditions under which aid is to be provided, many commentators in Pakistan have rejected the legislation. The army in particular is disgruntled because security assistance requires certification—however lax—that Pakistan is contributing to the effort to limit terrorism. The bill also provides extensive resources to the civilian government. See Colum Lynch and Joshua Partlow, “U.N. Data Show Discrepancies in Afghan Vote,” *Washington Post*, October 7, 2009.

U.S. Policy Options for Pakistan

Since September 11, 2001, Pakistan has become increasingly unstable. Terrorist and insurgent groups operating out of Pakistan threaten the United States, the United States' NATO allies, Pakistan's neighbors, and Pakistan itself. The U.S. government will need to work assiduously to help stabilize Pakistan. It should have no illusions about the difficulties of the task. Financial aid alone will be inadequate: Massive amounts of foreign aid, most of which have gone to Pakistan's military, have failed to stabilize the country.

Learn the Lessons of the Past

To create more-effective U.S. policies for dealing with Pakistan, the U.S. government will need to draw several lessons, not only from the past seven years but also from the past six decades of engagement with Pakistan.

Large flows of funds for which neither the Pakistani government nor its military has been held accountable have failed to induce the Pakistani Army or government to change policies inimical to U.S. interests. Grant aid and reimbursements have helped to secure the Pakistani Army's cooperation on a narrow set of objectives, which the army has generally embraced. But these programs have failed to secure comprehensive support. Ironically, unconditional financial assistance to the Pakistani armed forces has been counterproductive because it has permitted them to undermine U.S. interests without consequences and has alienated the citizenry, which resents U.S. support for the armed

forces. (Pakistanis were particularly incensed by the Bush administration's insistence on spreading democracy in the Arab world—by force if necessary—while viewing Musharraf as a force for greater democratization in the country he governed as a military dictator.) Coupled with unilateral U.S. military actions in Pakistan's tribal areas, this military assistance program has exacerbated anti-American sentiments.

U.S. support for authoritarian (and often military) Pakistani leaders and subsidies to the armed forces in Pakistan have undermined prospects for successful, democratic, civilian governments. The army and the ISI pursue policies that weaken the Pakistani state and destabilize the region. Only the emergence of a capable civilian government offers prospects for a stable Pakistan. Such a government will have to establish control over the military and intelligence agencies.

Despite large amounts of U.S. aid, Pakistan's population remains deeply suspicious of the United States and U.S. policy goals in Pakistan. Pakistanis object to many U.S. policies; their objections cannot be overcome by foreign aid alone.

Foreign assistance without accountability has corroded Pakistani government institutions. Most Pakistanis are deeply disgusted by the corruption and lack of accountability in their government. Many believe that the United States deliberately encourages poor government so as to more easily influence it.

A New Strategy for Pakistan

The U.S. government needs to reorder its priorities with regard to Pakistan. Similar to the authoritarian Pakistani governments with which the United States has dealt in the past, a democratically elected, more competent civilian government may pursue policies at odds with U.S. policy goals. However, such a government provides the best hope that Pakistan will adopt more-constructive policies. Pakistan's military governments have destabilized the country and its neighbors. The Pakistani Army is not a force for modernization or moderation. Supporting a democratic government in Pakistan should be the primary U.S.

policy goal, not an instrument to achieve other goals and quixotically subjugate to other priorities.

To establish a more effective relationship, the U.S. and Pakistani governments should acknowledge that they have different priorities. They need to identify areas in which they can work together to expand areas of common interest. Where interests differ, they should seek to diminish conflict or agree to disagree. Without a frank understanding of the two countries' differing policy goals, Pakistan and the United States will come into increasing conflict.

Because the Pakistani government has failed to halt cross-border attacks into Afghanistan, U.S. forces have resorted to unilateral actions on Pakistani territory. These strikes have killed insurgents intent on attacking U.S., NATO, and Afghan forces. Some strikes have also resulted in the deaths of Pakistani civilians. These strikes have deepened hostility toward the United States among the officer corps and the rank and file of the Pakistan armed forces. They have also fueled an anti-American message, increasing support for militants operating in and from Pakistan.

The Pakistani military and intelligence services have resisted pursuing and eliminating all militants operating in and from Pakistan. The Pakistan government's resistance to shutting down LeT/Jammat-ud-Dawa dramatically illustrates this dangerous propensity. ISI stands accused of helping the Taliban, and FC is accused of passively and actively supporting the Taliban, resulting in more American, allied, and Afghan deaths. In an attempt to change this state of affairs, the U.S. government should forge closer ties with the Pakistan Army and intelligence agencies. Despite the substantial sums of money that the United States has given the Pakistani military, interactions at the middle- and lower-level rank with the U.S. military are very limited. More interaction would improve Pakistani officers' understanding of the U.S. armed forces and U.S. policy goals.

While working to forge closer relations with the Pakistan military, the United States must persuade it to support civilian control to secure Pakistan's future as a successful and stable state. Potentially, expanded interactions with the military could engender greater officer support for Pakistan's emergence as a truly democratic, civilian-governed state.

The Obama administration has clearly made Pakistan a priority, as evidenced by the issuing of the white paper and the across-the-board increase in resources to the Pakistan puzzle. In addition, the new administration should consider taking the steps outlined below.

Develop Alternative Supply Routes for Operations in Afghanistan

Currently, the United States and NATO depend on Pakistan for logistical support for the war in Afghanistan. Most fuel and other supplies move from Karachi through Pakistan to Afghanistan under the protection of the Pashtun transport mafia. Most U.S. officials note that, given the importance of these supply lines to the counterinsurgency in Afghanistan, there have been relatively few incidents of sabotage. The United States has made some progress in securing access to a “northern route” through which it could move nonlethal supplies. However, U.S. officials have noted that these northern routes are not perfect substitutes.

Even though interdiction has been less than one would expect and even though the northern route offers challenges, U.S. efforts to diversify its logistical options are needed to reduce the risk of supply disruptions. Equally—if not more—important diversification would also send a message to Pakistan’s government and military that the United States seeks to become less dependent on it. Such a signal may cause these institutions to reexamine their assumptions about the future of Afghanistan and Pakistan’s role in that future.

Even more provocatively, the United States could consider working with India or other NATO countries on functioning bilateral relations with Iran, to move goods from either Chah Bahar or Bandar Abbas. Iran and India have built a substantial infrastructure linking Iranian ports to Afghan cities.

The cost of inaction is high. Pakistan’s government and military understand that the United States currently depends heavily on supply routes through Pakistan. Consequently, the United States has limited ability to apply pressure on Pakistan. If Pakistan were to cut off access to the port in Karachi, overflight rights, or access to land routes, the results would cause major supply problems for U.S. and NATO forces. If the United States is to be positioned to expect more from Pakistan, it should depend on Pakistan less.

Work with Pakistan's Key Supporters to Develop Cooperative Policies

The United States should work with its allies to forge an international consensus about Pakistan's myriad challenges and to better leverage their assistance programs by setting conditions and insisting on accountability. The Pakistani government and military are likely to resist such efforts. They may seek alternative sources of support from China and Saudi Arabia. However, the Pakistani government understands that neither China nor Saudi Arabia can help it transform the country into a more powerful regional actor. Chinese weapons will not be as effective against India's forces as U.S. weapons.

The Pakistani government has convinced the U.S. government that the United States needs Pakistan more than Pakistan needs the United States. The United States and its partners should realize that while they depend on Pakistan for logistical support for the conflict in Afghanistan, in order for Pakistan to become a secure state it needs the support of the United States and its allies. The relationship between the United States and Pakistan should be symbiotic, not one-sided.

The United States should also use its diplomatic and political tools of suasion more effectively. The United States has not issued a demarche to Pakistan since September 11, 2001, when Musharraf was confronted with the stark choice of being "with" the United States or "against" it. While September 11 triggered a major shift in U.S.-Pakistan relations, the new U.S. administration has an opportunity to redefine the relationship. A precondition for a new relationship must be that the Pakistani government and military abandon support for all militants.

Pakistan's military and security forces may not be persuaded to abandon support for militants with positive inducements alone. The United States and its allies should make it clear to the Pakistani government that they will employ punitive measures if Pakistan does not change its current policies toward militant groups. They should be ready to introduce U.N. Security Council Resolutions criticizing Pakistan. They should also be ready to introduce sanctions against specific individuals or institutions tied to militant groups, such as declaring specific state agencies to be supporters of terrorism and denying visas

to particular individuals. They could also threaten to cut off access to spare parts or maintenance for imported weapons systems from the United States or European Union member states. Credible adverse consequences may be needed to compel Pakistan to change course. For example, the United States took a number of steps in response to the Mumbai attack and the evidence linking Pakistan's LeT to that attack. If needed, similar policy instruments should be used in the future.

Forge a Strategic Dialogue with Pakistan

The U.S. and Pakistani governments have not developed a sustained, broad-based dialogue about the entire relationship. Neither government has admitted their differences over objectives. The U.S. government has assumed that its generosity could shape Pakistani decisionmaking. Pakistan's government has learned the United States will provide substantial amounts of assistance even if Pakistan does not help the United States address major problems concerning important U.S. national interests. This transaction-based relationship has fostered a belief within the United States that Pakistan is perfidious. Within Pakistan, this relationship has encouraged the belief that the United States cares only about the extent to which Pakistan can help to apprehend al Qaeda or control the Taliban. Pakistanis see few signs that the U.S. government cares about their well-being or Pakistan's national interests.

The U.S. government should work to build a strategic partnership by better identifying areas of mutual interest. Such a partnership requires a body akin to the U.S.-Pakistan Strategic Dialogue. However, it must have subcommittees that meet regularly, set priorities, and develop projects. Both governments should work to institutionalize these arrangements. When possible, meetings should include elected politicians from Pakistan's national assembly and the U.S. Congress. Efforts to reach into Pakistan's civil society may help ensure that the engagement does not rely on a particular administration.

This strategic partnership needs to make good on its promises. Joint commitments should be made to work on education, health care, energy, transportation, and economic and trade opportunities. The partnership should also include a revived and genuine DCG.

Forging a better relationship will take time. The U.S. government should be attuned to Pakistan's political constraints and adjust accordingly. For the short term, the U.S. government should be satisfied with procedural changes, incremental improvements, and even improved atmospherics.

It must be stated very clearly that it is doubtful that Pakistan's government genuinely wants this type of relationship. Pakistan's government may reject such a strategic relationship because it prefers the transactional nature of the current relationship. If this is the case, the U.S. government should rethink its approach to Pakistan. Unless the Pakistani government is committed to pursuing mutually agreed-upon policy goals, the substantial assistance that the United States provides Pakistan will not achieve U.S. objectives. If the relationship is to remain transactional, Washington should see some value in this transaction. At present, it is pretty clear that Washington has not realized even modest returns on its sizeable investments in Pakistan.

Rebalance U.S. Assistance to Increase Support to Pakistan's Civilian Institutions and People

Pakistan's civilian institutions are in need of support. Unless Pakistan's government becomes more effective, it will be unable to restrain militancy. However, a better educated, more empowered polity is needed to demand better government. Pakistanis resent U.S. assistance to the Pakistani Army that comes at the expense of support for Pakistan's democratic institutions. Many Pakistanis appreciate the extent of the problems that undermine Pakistan's security, even if Pakistanis view the source of their problems differently than Washington does.

Unconditional budget support has not worked well in Pakistan. The Pakistani government has a limited capacity and desire to make major program and policy changes. A more effective effort to improve Pakistan's government will require that all projects acquire a partner with the ability to make decisions and implement policy changes. U.S. government assistance providers and Pakistani leaders will need to jointly develop and monitor meaningful benchmarks to evaluate these initiatives. They will then need to work together to make course corrections. They should remain willing to experiment and expand projects

that work and abandon projects that do not. All projects should require investments of people, funds, and time from Pakistan.

U.S. assistance to Pakistan will be hampered by the U.S. embassy's and consulates' small footprints and by the security constraints under which they operate. The U.S. Department of State and USAID may have to accept more risk if these programs are to work. The current presence of USAID in Pakistan is inadequate for the task of dramatically expanding the U.S. assistance program. It is also problematic that the USAID business model is unsuitable for Pakistani conditions. Relying on layers of contracting to outsource projects, USAID tends to view the merits of a program based on inputs and outputs rather than outcomes. The importance of Pakistan may merit dramatically expanding the in-country presence of the U.S. Department of State and USAID. The large DoD representation now accounts for the largest share of employees in the mission.

Assistance should be provided to all levels of government—national, provincial, and local. Particular efforts should be made to reach out to civil society. Both the U.S. House and Senate versions of the PEACE Act of 2009 provide important ways forward on these issues. It remains to be seen what elements of these bills will be retained in the final law.

Help Make Politics and Political Institutions More Professional

U.S. assistance should be used to train Pakistan's political parties, including elected officials and party workers, to help them learn how to operate more effectively. U.S. assistance can be used to train parliamentarians serving in provincial assemblies and those in the national assembly and senate. Pakistan's parliament and provincial assemblies lack the ability to commission policy research and papers. There is no reason why U.S. think tanks could not, with adequate funding, establish offices in Pakistan, especially if the Kerry-Lugar bill is passed. Admittedly, the security environment makes this more difficult than in previous years. That said, a number of U.S. and international non-governmental organizations (e.g., National Democratic Institute, IRI, The Asia Foundation, and the Open Society Institute) are suggesting

that if there is a will, then there may be a way to make such research happen.

While the United States has historically focused on training Pakistan's military through IMET or FMF, a comparable program should be established to train office holders and bureaucrats. While top political leaders are probably uninterested in training, local and provincial leaders probably are. A program similar to C-SPAN for Pakistan's national assembly may provide the impetus and incentive for politicians to be more effective. It would provide ordinary Pakistanis with a window from which to observe the activities of their elected officials.

Considerable opportunities exist to help Pakistan's senate and national assembly set up constitutionally mandated committees. Exchange programs with the U.S. Congress or state legislatures, or with such parliamentary democracies as the United Kingdom, would help educate parliamentarians about their duties.

One area of particular concern should be to increase the capacity for civilian oversight of the Pakistani military. Pakistani parliamentarians are often cowed by their belief that military activities and expenditures are beyond their purview because of security concerns. Parliamentarians are often surprised to hear that in the United States, members of select committees are cleared to hear and evaluate classified information. Pakistan's parliamentarians could benefit from understanding this process. In Pakistan's parliamentary system, consistent with its British lineage, civil servants are the main workhorses. Technical expertise of this nature should also be imparted to civil servants.

The Election Commission is another area for productive engagement. The United States, working through USAID and UNDP, has helped Pakistan's Election Commission develop systems to register voters and to provide identification cards, transparent ballot boxes, and the like. The United States should continue working to help Pakistan develop systems that are less vulnerable to corruption. Pakistanis were grateful for U.S. support for their successful, reasonably free, and fair elections in February 2008.

Foster the Rule of Law and Justice

Pakistan's system of justice—including the Federal Investigative Agency (akin to the U.S. FBI), the provincial and other police forces, the judicial system, and the legal training imparted—requires reform. U.S. police training in Pakistan has been viewed as helpful but too limited to make a large difference. Because Pakistan lacks sophisticated personnel management systems and because police officers prefer some billets to others because of opportunities for graft, sometimes police are transferred after training. Efforts to make Pakistan's police force more professional could be more fruitful if they were accompanied by enhanced personnel management tools. Better police officers will require improvements in pay and accountability. Changes in pay for police officers will also likely have to be made within a reform of civil service pay scales. Pakistan has made strides toward reforming the 19th-century legal framework that guides policing. Many high-level former and serving police officials support reform. Opposition comes from the national assembly and the military; some military officers believe they benefit from the decrepit state of the nation's police forces.

Pakistan's justice system works poorly. Targeted assistance could contribute to making the system function better. ADB's Access to Justice Program financed the construction of new courthouses and other buildings needed for the judicial system. However, it did not target training sufficiently. Assistance could be used to help Pakistan improve the process of selecting, promoting, paying, and retaining judges. As with the police force, judges are vulnerable to corruption. Budgetary support (like that for the police) to help pay judges may be appropriate. The quality of Pakistan's judges leaves much to be desired. The United States could finance programs to train lawyers. American or British (or other respected) law schools could be encouraged to pair with high-quality institutions in Pakistan, such as the Lahore University for Management Sciences. Note that many prestigious American educational institutions have been set up in Qatar and elsewhere in the Gulf. With suitable financial incentives, such arrangements could work in Pakistan, both fostering good will and helping improve Pakistan's human capital.

The United States should provide funds to civil society organizations devoted to police oversight, civic education programs, and projects aimed to educate children and adults about their rights and responsibilities. Public education, with a solid civics curriculum, is a necessary component of creating a society that respects and expects the rule of law.

Counternarcotics: Supply and Demand Approaches

Pakistan has a professional and capable counternarcotics force, the Antinarcotics Force. With the massive increases in opium cultivation and yields since 2001 in Afghanistan, more opium is flowing south through Iran and Pakistan. The Antinarcotics Force should receive assistance from the United States. While interdiction can be useful, the Antinarcotics Force has complained that too few resources are spent on reducing demand in Pakistan. The United States should provide expertise and funding to contend with addiction and associated diseases, such as hepatitis and HIV.¹

U.S. Economic and Development Assistance to Pakistan

If the afore-noted PEACE Act of 2009 becomes law, the United States will become the largest provider of direct economic aid to Pakistan, giving aid on a level that compares with the volume of loans provided by the World Bank and ADB. Used carefully, this assistance could provide the United States with a valuable lever to influence Pakistan. Economic aid, like aid to the military, can be used to influence Pakistan's leaders. Coupled with an effective campaign of public diplomacy, it can contribute to improving the image of the United States in Pakistan. However, under current circumstances—especially in FATA—aid will probably not play a decisive role in how Pakistanis view the United States.

To make effective use of assistance, the Pakistani government will have to improve its delivery of public services. To induce policy changes, the United States will need to attach conditions to the use of

¹ See discussion of this topic in Fair and Chalk, 2006.

aid. If U.S. funds are granted without regard to the behavior of Pakistani leaders, they provide little influence.

Where can the United States give assistance to best effect? To effect social change, improve health, alleviate poverty, and reduce birth rates, assistance should be directed at expanding women's access to health and education and ensuring universal access to clean water. To provide a stronger basis for sustained growth, assistance can be used to help develop Pakistan's energy and transport sectors. The quality of government services is so low that effective assistance programs in a variety of areas can improve Pakistani living standards, from the expansion of roads to improvements in health care.

Creating effective programs to improve government services is a greater challenge than disbursing money. The capacity and willingness of Pakistan's government to use aid effectively are limited. In general, the United States should focus on funding projects to improve systems rather than paying for new buildings. This is true even though USAID and others may view building "things" (schools, clinics, wells) as the most obvious symbols of U.S. commitment. Projects should be confined to places where the United States and local actors share a common vision and aims and where there is a relatively high degree of confidence in the desire and capability of the local actors to implement a shared vision. Aid for population policy—desirable for several reasons—will only be effective if suitable Pakistani partners can be found.

Some projects may do no harm, but they are unlikely to have large positive impacts. For example, setting up reconstruction economic zones in FATA, Kashmir, and the earthquake-affected areas is unlikely to have an appreciable impact on local economic activity. Admittedly, it may have some public relations value. The United States would have a greater economic effect by negotiating and signing a free trade agreement with Pakistan as a whole, which would affect more people positively.

Military Assistance

Most U.S. military aid and reimbursement payments have served to improve Pakistan's conventional capabilities. Pakistan's military has not shown much interest in learning how to conduct counterinsurgency operations. U.S. military assistance to Pakistan should be reconfigured to focus resources on transforming at least parts of Pakistan's army and paramilitary organizations into more effective counterinsurgency and counterterrorism forces.

In DCG, U.S. officials should explain why counterinsurgency capabilities are important to Pakistan. This will require revamping how this institution is used. Thus far, DCG has, more often than not, been a forum in which Pakistan has made requests for military equipment and supplies. Meetings have been canceled or postponed frequently—ironically, usually at the request of the United States. DCG should convene regularly, irrespective of the political environment, and serve as a true defense consultative group—not merely as an acquisition opportunity for Pakistani counterparts. The two sides should work out joint goals and plans and agree on the resources needed to meet those goals in this forum.

Currently, the CSF program provides the bulk of U.S. funding through reimbursements with favorable terms for Pakistan's military. The CSF program needs to be reformed. Although the United States will continue to need a reimbursement program as long as Pakistan engages in counterinsurgency operations in support of the war on terror, the rules for reimbursing Pakistan need to be tightened and adhered to more rigorously. If the U.S. Office of the Secretary of Defense is correct in its defense of Pakistan's deficit-of-accounting capabilities, Pakistan's Ministry of Defense requires U.S. assistance to overhaul its financial and accounting systems to properly request reimbursements through the CSF program. This is an important capacity to buttress in the armed forces: Credible financial and accounting systems are important elements of good governance and are required for greater civilian oversight.

Even with a reworked CSF program, opportunities for overbilling and paying for services never rendered or only partially rendered

will persist. For these reasons, activities currently reimbursed through the CSF program should be funneled through FMF, because DoD has more leverage through this latter program. Helicopter maintenance, roads to support the counterinsurgency, replenishment of munitions, and the like could perhaps be funded through FMF. (This may require legislation because FMF is fairly inflexible.) Currently, Pakistan undertakes operations or activities and bills for them irrespective of whether the activity advances U.S. interests. By providing payments through FMF, the United States will be better positioned to demand more discussions with its Pakistani counterparts and will forge closer planning of operations and initiatives. By putting the issue of funding up front, FMF should better ensure that the activities in which Pakistan is engaged (e.g., attack helicopter maintenance) are in the interests of the United States. The CSF program takes about one year to reimburse Pakistan. Because of the lengthy wait for reimbursement, Pakistan may be cautious about investing in programs that are not its highest priorities—even if they are high U.S. priorities. Such a reworking of the CSF program, and the programs and activities that would come under the purview of FMF and CSFs, should be handled under a newly invigorated DCG.

FMF, as well as FMS, should be increasingly focused on activities and platforms that enhance Pakistan's ability through its military and paramilitary organizations to conduct counterinsurgency operations more effectively. The U.S. government should work more closely to honor the U.S. Congress's efforts to reform FMF along these lines. In light of Pakistan's acquisition of F-16s in recent years, the United States can devote more training to helping Pakistani pilots use those planes more effectively in counterinsurgency operations. Currently, the Pakistanis use air strikes clumsily, inflicting many civilian casualties. The U.S. government has developed plans to provide this training. In September 2008, Vice Admiral Jeffrey Wieringa, Director of the Defense Security Cooperation Agency, said that Pakistan has accepted U.S. training to help F-16 pilots conduct day and night operations against

militants in FATA. In the past, Pakistan resisted such training. U.S. training and Pakistan's receptivity to it may be an attempt to placate some U.S. representatives who are justifiably dubious about the platform's utility in battling insurgents.²

In light of the intense anti-Americanism that exists throughout the Pakistan military's officer corps and rank and file, DoD should expand training opportunities for Pakistani military personnel. At present, IMET slots and U.S. national priorities appear to be misaligned.³ For example, in 2003, South Africa was allocated 335 IMET positions, compared to 113 for Pakistan.⁴ South Africa is not in the same category as Pakistan in terms of the priority in cultivating officers. The United States should expand IMET slots and other training through FMF. The United States should also consider other means of bringing Pakistani officers to the United States for courses in American universities. Pakistanis understand why the United States values programs such as IMET. The Pakistani government may not welcome an expanded program even if the U.S. government were to allocate more slots for Pakistani officers.

All the military services and other U.S. government agencies need to develop a better understanding of Pakistan and U.S.-Pakistan relations. Too often Pakistani officials give a self-serving rendition of their history that some U.S. officials accept. Knowledgeable U.S. interlocutors are needed to refute Pakistan's disinformation campaigns.

Wherever possible, the United States should encourage Pakistan's armed forces to make organizational and doctrinal changes that would enhance their capabilities to conduct counterinsurgency and counterterrorism operations. U.S. funding for systems that advance Pakistan's strategic goals, such as logistics and maintenance systems, should

² Tony Capaccio, "Pakistani Pilots Will Get U.S. Training in F-16 Ground Attack," *Bloomberg News*, September 16, 2008.

³ Jennifer D.P. Moroney, Kim Cragin, Eric Gons, Beth Grill, John E. Peters, Rachel M. Swanger, *International Cooperation with Partner Air Forces*, Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, MG-790-AF, 2009.

⁴ See U.S. Department of Defense and U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Military Training in Fiscal Years 2003 and 2004, Volume I*, Joint Report to Congress, June 2004.

be made conditional upon progress on closing training camps and sanctuaries for militants in FATA and elsewhere. The Pakistani government also needs to seriously fight militants and cease support for cross-border activities. The Pakistani military also needs to make institutional changes that would expand its capacity for counterinsurgency and counterterrorism operations.

The United States needs to muster the political will to reduce its military assistance should Pakistan's military fail to embrace these conditions. The United States should also be prepared to conclude that if Pakistan continues to support militant groups that attack U.S. troops, NATO troops, and Afghans and stage attacks in India, then Pakistan is an inherently unsuitable partner and recipient of U.S. assistance. The United States has issued muted warnings to this effect in recent years. However, the U.S. government needs to communicate this message forthrightly and be prepared to follow through with punitive measures.

The PEACE Act of 2009, should it become law, deals with some of these concerns in principle. Only time will tell whether the new legislative approach will encourage greater political will in both Islamabad and Washington or whether the United States will repeat past patterns of finding ways of circumventing its own legal commitments.

Forge a Regional Strategy

U.S. policymaking tends to focus on a specific country. However, Pakistan's predicament is deeply intertwined with the region. Pakistan's fears about India lead to risk-taking in Afghanistan, Kashmir, and India. While the Indo-Pakistan peace process has lumbered along, it has not produced tangible outcomes, although it has reduced the level of violence in Kashmir. While that outcome is important, it does not benefit Pakistan as much as it benefits India. Without meaningful progress on issues Pakistan thinks are important, the nation may again ramp up the violence in Kashmir. Without a dampening of the Indo-Pakistan rivalry, Pakistan is unlikely to abandon its support for insurgents in Afghanistan.

The United States should increasingly think about the Pakistan puzzle through the prism of South Asian security and seek to support peace building across the region. Sustained support for the Indo-Pakistan peace process is required, as is dedicated attention to resolving the disputes between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The appointment of an envoy for Pakistan-Afghanistan relations has been helpful.

The United States should encourage policy measures that would help integrate the Pakistani, Indian, and Afghan economies. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization also has some utility in promoting favorable political and bilateral developments in the region with particular import for trade, infrastructure, and energy. However, the U.S. government is chary of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization because of its anti-U.S. character.⁵ The proposed Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India (TAPI) pipeline could also help tie the region together economically. Although a pipeline traversing Afghanistan and Pakistan is not currently viable because of the political risk, it would help integrate the region economically.

Recommendations for the U.S. Air Force

The U.S. Air Force can make useful—if limited—contributions to U.S. policy toward Pakistan. While the army dominates Pakistan's military forces, the U.S. Air Force has a beneficial role to play by learning more about the role and composition of the Pakistani Air Force. The U.S. Air Force could also help work with Pakistan's air force to foster an increased appreciation of jointness, which could help realign the air force with the army.

Because of the inordinate focus on the Pakistan Army, the Pakistani Air Force is one of the least understood services in Pakistan; yet its personnel have been implicated in several plots to kill former Chief of Army Staff and President Musharraf. More interaction with

⁵ Nicklas Norling and Niklas Swanström, "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Trade, and the Roles of Iran, India and Pakistan," *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 26, No. 3, September 2007, pp. 429–444.

the Pakistani Air Force through exchanges, training, exercises, and other means would help build awareness of Pakistani Air Force officers, capabilities, and, perhaps most importantly, how those officers perceive Pakistan's strategic situation. Accordingly, the U.S. Air Force should review the Military Personnel Exchange Program, the Attaché Program, and the International Affairs Specialist Program in an effort to give a higher priority to Pakistan in each program.

The U.S. Air Force should systematically build and maintain knowledge about Pakistan. The International Airman program helps, but it is limited to just a few officers. To address this gap, the U.S. Air Force should consider increasing the number and duration of training events it carries out in Pakistan. It should also provide incentives to officers to learn more about Pakistan, such as by serving on exchange tours in Pakistan and serving in the U.S. embassy in Pakistan. Ninth Air Force, in particular, can help by scheduling more exercises with the Pakistani Air Force.

In both Iraq and Afghanistan, the U.S. government is emphasizing the importance of expanding the capabilities of the two countries. The U.S. Air Force consciously seeks out partners to increase U.S. influence, to promote interoperability, and to increase U.S. access.⁶ In the case of Pakistan, the U.S. Air Force should work to improve the Pakistani armed forces' ability to counter nonstate adversaries such as the Taliban.

The U.S. Air Force cannot strengthen the will of the Pakistani government. It can help improve the ability of Pakistan's military to conduct counterinsurgency operations by providing equipment and training. U.S. assistance to Pakistan has tended to focus on providing equipment through the FMF and FMS programs. The Ninth Air Force, the U.S. Air Force component assigned to the U.S. Central Command, is working on a number of initiatives to engage with the Pakistani Air Force. Ninth Air Force staff report that Pakistani Air Force officers are more interested in acquiring equipment than in training to use the equipment.⁷ The U.S. Air Force could help Pakistan and could further

⁶ Headquarters, U.S. Air Force, *The Air Force Security Cooperation Strategy*, 2006, p. 1.

⁷ Interview with Ninth Air Force personnel, September 12, 2008.

U.S. policy goals by helping Pakistani officers understand the importance of air power in counterinsurgency operations and the training needed to make air power effective.

Pakistan has provided substantial numbers of troops for United Nations peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance operations. The U.S. Air Force can help train Pakistani units in the role of aircraft in these operations, for example, in airlift, medical evacuation, communications, and other support activities.

The U.S. Air Force should consider increasing the duration and frequency of its training events with Pakistan.⁸ Increasing the length of training events would increase Pakistani competence and would allow more time to deepen relations between Pakistanis and their American counterparts. It would also allow American trainers more time in-country, increasing their familiarity with the operational environment and geographical and cultural features.

One limitation on developing relationships between the U.S. Air Force and its Pakistani counterpart is the size of the Ninth Air Force staff, which has about ten personnel in its A5 division who handle a caseload of 27 countries. Ninth Air Force is not part of a geographically focused major command, such as the Pacific Air Forces or the U.S. Air Forces in Europe. In the case of Thirteenth Air Force, Pacific Air Forces staff can provide support for Air Force functions required by their combatant command. For Ninth Air Force, there is no other Air Force headquarters to provide planning or other organizational support to help engage countries in its area of responsibility. This makes a real difference in the frequency and intensity with which the U.S. Air Force can engage with its Pakistani counterparts. Ninth Air Force currently participates in about ten events a year with Pakistan, which pales in comparison with the number of events that other Air Force components can support.⁹

⁸ The U.S. and Pakistani air forces last held a combined training event together in March 2006. They were supposed to hold another event in 2008, but the exercise was postponed because of the political situation in Pakistan. The exercise was rescheduled for 2009.

⁹ Interview with Ninth Air Force personnel, September 12, 2008.

U.S. Air Force leaders should consider increasing the number of training events that Air Force units undertake in Pakistan and with Pakistani officers in the United States. At present, very little actual training takes place, as a result of funding and statutory restrictions imposed by U.S. law.¹⁰ More events would lead to many of the same benefits associated with increasing the duration of events. In addition, these events would help build personal relationships between Pakistani and American personnel. In this light, it is noteworthy that Pakistan was working to participate in a RED FLAG exercise in the United States in August 2009.

In addition to such high-profile events as RED FLAG, the U.S. Air Force should do what it can, as should all the services, to bring Pakistanis to the United States. The U.S. Air Force should support an increase in the number of slots available through IMET. Even without increasing the number of slots allocated to foreign officers, the U.S. Air Force could increase the percentage of school seats for Pakistan by reducing slots for officers from lower-priority countries. IMET slots include slots for pilot training at Air Force bases and for cadet billets at the Air Force Academy. To the extent that it can, the U.S. Air Force should encourage the Department of State, and those associated with other programs that reach out to foreign militaries, such as FMF, to allocate IMET in accordance with U.S. national priorities.

U.S. military-sponsored efforts to influence the thinking in Pakistan regarding the country's priorities and its role in the world are constrained by Pakistanis' distrust of the U.S. government. Individuals who work with the Pakistani military report that matters that are routinely discussed with other partners are off-limits when dealing with Pakistan. They also report that it is difficult to arrange for information to be released to Pakistanis.¹¹ While this may be understandable given the doubts that many in the U.S. government have over Pakistani intentions, it also complicates efforts to change these intentions.

¹⁰ Interview with Ninth Air Force personnel, September 12, 2008.

¹¹ Interview with Ninth Air Force staff, September 12, 2008.

Need for a Contingency Plan?

As this book suggests, prospects are indeed very slender that Pakistan has the capacity to change its course, and it is far from obvious that the United States, even with the new focus on civilian institutions, will have any meaningful role in helping Pakistan save itself. For reasons enumerated throughout this book, Pakistan is unlikely to comprehensively crack down on militancy and reverse course on an instrument of foreign policy it has long used. Pakistan's political system is broken, with few prospects for reversing course, leaving little hope that one day competent civilian leadership will emerge to exert control over the most dangerous aspects of the state.

Given the numerous and salient U.S. security interests engaged in Pakistan, the United States should seriously consider what the lineaments of a contingency plan for Pakistan may be. It is beyond the scope of this effort to offer such a plan. However, the study team believes that the United States, working across all elements of national power and in consultation with Pakistan's allies, should begin exploring how the most pressing threats emanating from Pakistan may be contained. While such a recommendation is politically fraught, the United States should—sooner rather than later—begin learning to think the unthinkable.

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