

Pakistan, Afghanistan & US Relations: Implications and Future Directions



Saeed Shafiq
Raheem ul Haque

A Publication of the Centre for Public Policy and Governance



Forman Christian College
(A Chartered University)



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Preface

The Centre for Public Policy and Governance (CPPG) at Forman Christian College (A Chartered University) was established in July 2007. Over these years it has evolved around three fundamental concepts; an Academic Institution, passing on rich inter-disciplinary knowledge and professional skills, a policy Think Tank, where applied and evidence-based research to inform the policy process is conducted and where eminent scholars, experts and policy makers are routinely invited as guest speakers to address and participate in our Seminar and Policy Dialogue Series, and finally a Training Institute, where the students are exposed to real-life circumstances that they may, one day, become a part of.

In accordance with the function of the Think Tank, the CPPG compiles its seminars, policy dialogues and research every 3-4 months, in the 'Quarterly', a CPPG publication. While its hardcopies are often circulated in all relevant institutions of higher learning and policy making, discussed with relevant persons, or distributed among the interested, softcopies are available on the CPPG website to be read online or downloaded. To give you a flavour of the menu; the topics of discourse concentrate on issues of governance, democracy and institution building, strategic and foreign policy concerns, demography, environment and urban change, education, health, population, agricultural and industrial policies, terrorism and prospects of economic growth. Similarly, the CPPG actively pursues an 'Occasional Paper' series, posting online papers that were delivered and discussed among the CPPG faculty and students.

CPPG has been striving strenuously to launch Policy Briefs and Mono-

graph Series on specific policy issues. Academic publications and policy relevant research requires not only Peer Review but also funding for publication. On both counts, Dr. Peter Armacost, Rector, has been generous and supportive.

It gives me pleasure to report that the Centre is making progress in this direction. For almost a year we have been deliberating, encouraging dialogue and conducting research on the subject. This year we are ready to share our research on two different topics; the first one is with you. We feel that in the wake of announced and anticipated US withdrawal (2014) from Afghanistan, our Afghan Policy needs serious dialogue, deliberation and change in direction as it has not only transformed Pakistan but also continues to have implications for our future generations, our relations with the US and the region-- Central and South Asia. Tensions on Pakistan's role in Afghanistan, its alleged connections with "Haqqani Network" have recently jolted US-Pakistan relations and could deepen mutual suspicion and distrust. Should Pakistan let its Afghan Policy de-rail the maintainability of US-Pakistan relations?

Now is the time to reflect, adopt corrective path and through consultative process explore alternate policy choices. This Monograph is a small step in that direction.

We look forward to your critique and comments and we also invite individual scholars/ policy analysts and relevant academic institutions for collaborative research. We think its time to build partnerships and develop a consortium of research networks among the public sector, private sector and civil society organizations to influence the policy process in the country by providing evidence based research.

Saeed Shafqat

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“Strategic Depth”: Does It Promote Pakistan’s Strategic Interests?

Raheem ul Haque

In assessing Pakistan’s response to the ongoing ‘global war on terrorism’ in Afghanistan, this paper presents two sets of arguments; first, I argue that Pakistan’s strategic interests constituting secure and peaceful borders along with internal strength, development and prosperity, are annulled rather than furthered by the Strategic Depth policy framework, adopted and pursued for the last three decades. Although this framework has allowed Pakistan to maintain a semblance of regional military power balance with India, yet it has led to a rise of extremism and militancy within Pakistani society and to a loss of internal sovereignty. Today, this flawed policy has created conditions that have made Pakistan a sanctuary for ideological militant non-state actors. Second, with an in-depth analysis and scrutiny of factors and actors in the three decades of the Afghan War theatre, I submit that Strategic Depth is an outcome of the institutionalization of “Ideological Guardianship” mindset within Pakistan Army during the Zia years, and its continuation has led to civil-military power imbalance which needs to be altered to secure Pakistan from militancy and terrorism. Democratic consolidation, peace, prosperity and sustainable development in Pakistan hinges on abandoning the flawed, failed and nationally injurious policy of Strategic Depth.

Overview: from Muslim to Islamic

Pakistan was born with undefined and problematic boundaries. On the

Eastern front it inherited the Kashmir dispute with India and on the Western front the Durand Line¹, which divided the Pashtuns between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Given the Pashtun ethnic factor, relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan remained bitter but generally bearable. For example, at the time of independence Afghanistan was the only country that opposed Pakistan's entry into the UN, yet, over the year's transit trade between the two countries has rarely been discontinued. On the other hand, relations with India have largely remained adversarial to hostile, punctuated by border skirmishes to outright wars (1965 and 71, while 1999 Kargil is recognized as a limited conflict). The 1971 Indo-Pakistan War and the resultant break of Pakistan had three consequences for South Asia. First, India emerged as the 'dominant power' of the region, second that intensified Pakistan's insecurity syndrome leading to an illusive search for Strategic Depth, third, although it shook the foundations of Two Nation Theory, Pakistan still began to drift towards Islamization through invoked fears of 'Hindu India'. All this obliterated Jinnah's vision of liberal, secular and democratic Pakistan. Although the process had begun with the adoption of Objectives Resolution in 1949, anti-Ahmedia riots in 1953, Pakistan's joining of anti- Communist block, SEATO and CENTO pacts, however, it accelerated through State sanction in post 1971 Pakistan with the passage of bill (1974) declaring Ahmedis as 'non-Muslim', the religious parties led Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) movement against the PPP government in March-April 1977 and General Zia- ul Haq's military coup in July—who was quick to announce that Pakistan was an 'Ideological State'², thus Jinnah's vision of Pakistan was deconstructed³.

Institutionalization of Ideological Guardianship within the Military: 1978 - 1989

General Zia-ul-Haq's rise in Pakistan coincided with the Islamic Revolution in Iran, and the Socialist Revolution in Afghanistan supported

by Russian forces. He had been quick in revealing his 'Islamist and fundamentalist' streak when he changed the army's motto from Jinnah's 'Unity, Faith, Discipline' to 'Iman, Taqwa, Jihad fi sabeelillah' (Faith, Obedience of God, Struggle in the path of Allah) as Army Chief.⁴ Following the coup, he went full pace in Nifaz-e-Islam (the implementation of Islam) making the army not just the guardian of territorial but also the ideological frontiers of Pakistan.⁵ Zia aligned himself with the Islamist Jamaat-Islami, inducted its cadres in state institutions, while manipulated his core constituency, the Army through promotion and incentivization of religiosity, even allowing Tableeghi Jamaat to preach in the military academy. More importantly, the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) which had developed links with Jamaat-e-Islami during the era of General Yahya Khan(1969-71) to counter mainstream PPP, NAP and National Awami League⁶, became directly responsible for operational, logistical and psychological warfare during the US and Saudi-Arabia sponsored Afghan Jihad. This network was instrumental in churning out 80,000 warriors between 1982 and 1987⁷. By most accounts ISI emerged as the sole conduit of funds to Afghan Mujahideen and encapsulating both operations and intelligence functions, it became independently powerful and resourceful growing in strength from 2000 employees in 1978 to 40,000 with a \$1bn budget in 1988⁸. The distribution of funds and linkages to Afghan groups based solely on being more Islamist and pro-Pakistan⁹ helped it take on an ideological character. Thus as Saudi Arabia matched America's funding for the Afghan War, in reality Zia's Islamization drive would be better categorized as 'Wahabization' of Pakistani State and society¹⁰. Additionally, during this decade use of ideology emerged as a potent factor in regional and global politics.

The 1980s also saw the rise of an ideological US president Ronald Reagan, thus providing an ideological affinity for the Pak-US leadership. This affinity was to play a crucial role in subsequent years on

the formation and emergence of Taliban and the internationalist Al-Qaeda. While the situation fit the strategic interests of both America to counter the Soviet Union and Saudi Arabia to counter Iran—giving it overt sectarian overtones. On the other hand, Pakistan played the role of a client state accepting America's strategic interest of defeating the Soviet Union rather than securing its Western border; simultaneously, accepting thousands of Islamic radicals from other countries and putting up hundreds of 'militant training cells' to generate the radicalized manpower needed for this task. There was little realization about the cultural consequences to a plural and a relatively peaceful society. Rather than finding a political solution to the Afghan imbroglio to end war and its consequences as suggested by the Russians as early as 1983¹¹, Pakistan pressed on with America's strategic interests to defeat the Russians in Afghanistan only to sign on the Geneva Accords in 1988. After fulfilling its strategic interests in Afghanistan, America left the region leaving behind a war torn country, millions of refugees and thousands of trained Islamist militants while additionally splashing sanctions on Pakistan soon after for its nuclear program. This period thus involved an overt State sponsorship of Islamist ideology, full throttle international support for ideological non-state militants (the Mujahideen) and institutionalization of Ideological Guardianship within the army.

Manifestations of Ideological Guardianship in Strategic Depth: 1989 - 2001

The third phase of Pakistan's history began with a transition to democracy rather than a fundamentalist ideologue at the helm, however, the ideological tilt of the military lingered on; first, the army ventured to undercut the liberal PPP in elections through the formation of an alliance of rightist parties—Islami Jamhuri Ittehad (IJI), then it dictated terms for government formation¹² and eventually it brought an aligned

political party to power. Zia's ideological focus continued with the new Army Chief Gen. Mirza Aslam Baig, who disregarded Pakistan's territorial interests by wanting to sell nuclear know how to Iran, but the deal was rejected even by the ideologically aligned civilian leader¹³. The Soviet failure and eventual withdrawal provided further impetus to the framework of Jihad- the nexus of Islamist ideology and the use of militant non-state actors. Thus as the Kashmiri rose up in open revolt against Indian policies and a rigged election, rather than strengthening the nationalist movement to build internal and international impetus to resolve the tripartite issue, Pakistan instead wrested the struggle away in favor of an ideological framework¹⁴ negating the territorial aspect of undefined boundary and nationalist aspirations at the heart of the issue. The surplus manpower and infrastructure of the Afghan War was redirected to the Kashmiri struggle with the confidence that if a superpower could be defeated so could India.¹⁵ The ideological aspect was pushed to its logical conclusion by Zia's civilian protégé, Nawaz Sharif with the appointment of an Islamist ideologue (General Javed Nasir, who had connections with Tableeghi Jamaat) to head the ISI thus extending Jihad operations beyond Afghanistan and Kashmir. It was only after the fall of civilian government that the existing military dispensation removed the ISI chief and sent personnel back to their regular army units, but only when Pakistan was threatened with being declared a terrorist state¹⁶.

The concept of Strategic Depth evolved and was promoted under these broad considerations. With the US departure; Afghanistan still in shatters, the Western front gradually became an extension of Pakistan's battle with India. The institutionalization of Ideological Guardianship was based on the fear of India invoked in religious terms; the non-state actors were galvanized as ideological weapons and the second line of defense against India. This provided a rationale for the option of strategic space in Afghanistan to safeguard military assets against

India. Its practical manifestation was the pursuit of an illusionary and flawed policy of Strategic Depth. With Jihad now transformed into a civil war among former Mujahideen leaders, Pakistan shifted its support¹⁷ to an alternative Pushtun movement of the Taliban (Deobandi Madrassa students) to bring peace in Afghanistan. While the march through Pushtun areas into Kabul was easy, the diversity of Afghanistan either afforded peace of the dead or a multi-ethnic and multi-sectarian broadening of the Taliban, an impossibility within the Taliban's ideological framework. As Pakistan became one of only three countries (in addition to UAE and Saudi-Arabia) to recognize the Taliban Government, Afghanistan instead became a regional battleground. Still, even a dependent Afghan Government refused to accept the territorial integrity of its neighbor¹⁸ and there was no change in the Afghan position on Durand Line. Rashid argues otherwise stating that Durand Line was never a priority for Pakistan because a fixed border would amount Strategic Depth as blatant interference in another State. He further states that even though the UN was inclined to resolve the Durand Line issue during Geneva talks in 1988, Pakistan never raised the issue then or during the decade that Pakistan proxies ruled Afghanistan¹⁹. Thus the Strategic Depth policy became the practical manifestation of strategic interests understood through the prism of Ideological Guardianship of Pakistan military. This policy had four components; first, an undefined boundary—retaining the contested Durand Line, second, ensuring a friendly regime in Afghanistan, third, curbing Pashtun separatism and nationalism through Islamism, fourth, ensuring a safe sanctuary for training ideological non-state actors for Pakistan's regional policy objectives.

Although Pakistan's connections with few internationalist Jihadi groups continued because of their convergence of interest in supporting the Taliban against the Northern Alliance, they were not a part and parcel of the Strategic Depth framework as conflicting reports ap-

peared in regards to Pakistan's policy towards Al-Qaeda. On the one hand, Osama Bin Ladin's training camp 'The Lions Den' in Afghanistan reportedly also trained ISI linked local Jihadist groups, on the other, Pakistan also repatriated foreign Jihadists to their countries in 1993.²⁰ Yet, another report indicates that just before the 1999 military coup the Prime Minister of Pakistan had agreed in principle to support the American effort to nab Osama Bin Ladin.²¹

The internal cost of Ideological Guardianship combined with privatization and outsourcing of military functions (Jihad) started to be felt in the 1990s²². The proliferation and militarization of Deobandi-Wahabi mosque-madrassa network grew in parallel to Khomeini inspired Shia mobilization deepening the sectarian divide within Pakistan. This had an impact on the more peaceful and Sufi tradition inspired Barelvīs, who also resorted to militarization to protect their interests²³. As Saudi-Iran funded proxies battled it out, the use of ideology by the State disallowed any comprehensive counter terrorism strategy while trained militants changed garbs and seamlessly moved between overtly sectarian and Jihadi organizations, some hunted while others supported and funded by the paradoxical security environment. The sectarian divide had become pronounced much earlier as even General Zia ul Haq had to concede that some Ulema were using the Anti-Ahmedia Ordinance to fan sectarianism²⁴. Thus it was not a surprise when a decade later an ideological ally, the Taliban refused to hand over sectarian terrorists enjoying sanctuary in Afghanistan while the same person (Riaz Basra of Lashkar-e-Jhangvi) had earlier 'disappeared' from the courts in Pakistan²⁵. The level of accountability for ideologically aligned non-state actors can be judged from the fact that a Jihadi commander (Qari Saifullah Akhtar) implicated in an internal military coup in collusion with military officers was let go while the officers were incarcerated.²⁶ In total 997 were killed and 2,523 were injured in sectarian violence from 1989-2000.²⁷ Furthermore, Pakistan's sectarian Jihadist connec-

tions had raised tensions with neighbor Iran as the killing of the Iranian Counselor General in Lahore²⁸ and the killing of Iranian Consulate Staff in Mazar-e-Sharif were blamed on groups linked to Pakistan's intelligence agency.

Thus during this period, the Strategic Depth framework based on the internalization of Ideological Guardianship within the military and the institutionalization of non-state actors as a tool for furthering it gained momentum. Resultantly, there emerged a Jihad Industry with numerous militant organizations, some proxies of the Pakistani state and others driven by their own independent agenda. These organizations competed for battlefield success, publicized their ideology and adventures through more than a hundred publications²⁹ while generating funds through State patronage, and international and domestic private contributors³⁰.

Territorial versus Ideological Guardianship: The Aftermath of 9/11

The dawn of Sept 12, 2001, while changing the strategic interests of the West did not alter the existing regional game play where the Pakistan-Saudi alliance backing the Taliban was pitched against the Iran-India-Russia alliance supporting the Northern Alliance throughout the 1990s. Additionally, Afghanistan had become a sanctuary of global Jihadi groups-- including Pakistani, Arab, Uzbek, Chechen, Uighur Chinese and others, each pursuing its own agenda.

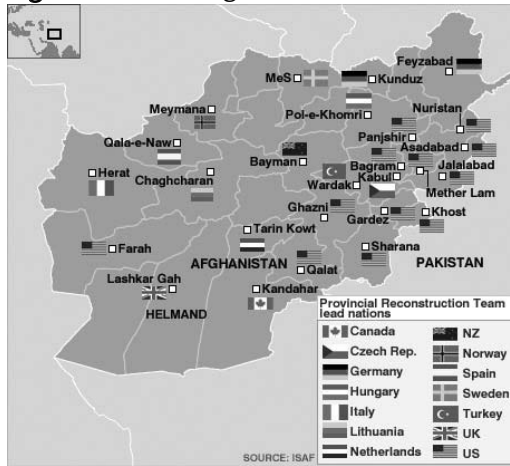
Faced with territorial threat from the sole superpower, the head of ISI agreed to all American demands in Washington. But he was one of the four generals to argue against pulling out support for the Taliban in favor of America in the Corps Commander meeting³¹. While tactically Pakistan had changed its position to safeguard the home territory, still

the military deeply imbued in Strategic Depth ideology over the last two decades needed time to rethink its future options in the region now that America had become an active player. Additionally the Jihad infrastructure created over these years needed just the right compromise to avoid a blowback. This explained General Musharraf's defensive speech to the nation supporting the American "War on Terror", literally abandoning the Taliban, but sheepishly shielding Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons and the Kashmir Policy, while ensuring that Pakistan was not declared a state sponsoring terrorism or was encircled by India. Pakistan accepted most American demands, breaking diplomatic ties and logistical support for the Taliban, providing bases, over flight and landing rights, and sharing of intelligence on key Taliban and Al-Qaeda leaders among others³². But while getting billions in military and economic aid³³, Pakistan's strategic interests of a friendly Afghan Government through inclusion of moderate Taliban³⁴ (who disown Al-Qaeda) or Hizb-e-Islami³⁵ did not find any ears and instead a Northern Alliance dominated government was formed in Kabul.

General Musharraf was quick to conduct a military shakeup disbanding two main units of the ISI with links to Islamist militants and rooting out Generals who had disagreed with his policy shift³⁶. Against intense American pressure, Pakistan moved 80,000 soldiers to the Afghan border to stem and capture Al-Qaeda operatives entering into Pakistan. According to Rashid, Pakistani military was careful not to place security forces at the border adjoining Warizistan or Baluchistan, implying it allowed Al-Qaeda operatives' access to Waziristan³⁷. While Pak-US intelligence worked closely to capture Al-Qaeda, Pakistani or Afghan Taliban who had been furthering Pakistan's policy objectives in the region were not touched and simply went home or to the mosque-madrassa establishments that facilitated them. Furthermore some 500-1000 men fighting the Americans to a standstill were airlifted from Kunduz as a personal favor to Musharraf in late November³⁸. A complete

strategic re-alignment had yet to come as the military safeguarded its assets either because its strategic interests still required them or because it considered the risk to take on the complete ideological network it had molded for twenty years as too high. Pre-empting Pakistan's policy agenda, the ideological groups conducted a master stroke on December 13, 2001 (Tora Bora fell on December 16) with an attack on the Indian Parliament forcing Pakistan to stop troop deployment to the Afghan border³⁹ and for Pakistan to reflect on who its ally and foe were as Pakistan Army came face to face with the largest Indian troop mobilization since 1971⁴⁰ as more than 1,000 Al-Qaeda operatives slipped through the border⁴¹.

Figure 1: ISAF Regional Commands



Source: ISAF

The Afghan chess board which was dominated by the Pakistan-Saudi-Taliban alliance throughout the 1990s was shuffled overnight following the US and NATO engagement. America initially needed and then supported the Iran-India proxy-- the Northern Alliance to dominate the Kabul government. Iran looked the other way as its arch foe Amer-

ica dismantled Taliban in Afghanistan. India began making strategic investments worth more than \$1.2bn⁴², constructing road infrastructure (connecting Iranian port Charbahar to Central Asia thus bypassing Gawadar), telecom facilities which used Indian satellites and re-opening four consulates especially Qandahar and Jalalabad close to the Pakistan border⁴³. Pakistan while logistically supporting the American “War on Terror” and capturing Al-Qaeda was unsure of its future course of action. With the history of American cut and run in 1989, its own strategic interests unchanged, its rivals gaining ground and most importantly a society socialized to the Islamist discourse through twenty years of Jihad propagation and Taliban eulogizing by Army establishment in cahoots with right wing forces, Pakistan dithered to make a clean break with the Taliban as it would have demanded a complete reorientation of its ideological strategic outlook.

Policy Ambivalence and the Making of FATA Insurgency: 2002 - 2006

With the changed post 9/11 scenario, Pakistan could not keep its Kashmir policy of using non-state actors intact for too long especially after Kashmiri Jihadi groups were implicated in the attack on Indian Parliament in December 2001. The attack forced Pakistan to ban Kashmir oriented Jihadi groups⁴⁴, however, these groups moved their training camps to Azad Kashmir or FATA continuing training till at least March 2004⁴⁵. The 3000 arrested members of banned organizations were freed after a month⁴⁶ but continued American pressure forced demobilization of Kashmiri militants in 2003-04⁴⁷ and closing of the intelligence’s Kashmir Cell by 2004 without extensive de-weaponization or rehabilitation. The great majority of Kashmir centric Jihadi organizations drew their manpower from Punjab. Most of these groups had trained in Al-Qaeda camps in Afghanistan where their leaders rubbed shoulders with Al-Qaeda and Taliban leadership. While the ideologically imbued

secular institution of Pakistan Army took its time deciding between its ideological inclination and territorial necessity, the Punjabi Taliban no doubt were clear about the ideological basis of their cause. Few restrained (Lashkar-e-Taiba) under the ISI umbrella, others split (Jaish-e-Mohammad - JeM) or moved wholesale (Lashkar-e-Jhangvi) into the Al-Qaeda camp. Christian and American installations were the initial target of these groups across Pakistan in 2002 till they regrouped in Waziristan. It was only after General Pervez Musharraf came under attack in December 2003, that Pakistan Military began to review its policy of maintaining connections with Jihadi groups. This attack clearly indicated a nexus between the Punjabi Taliban and Al-Qaeda while showing their penetration in the armed forces as more than fifty Air Force personnel linked to JeM were charged.⁴⁸ Various senior Kashmir Jihad leaders were picked up and interrogated further increasing the gulf between the once partners. This led highly trained guerrillas along with master strategists such as Ilyas Kashmiri of the 313 Brigade to join the Afghan War theatre in 2005⁴⁹. Although Kashmiri argued that he would not go against Pakistan's interests, still the strategic guidance to Punjabi/Kashmiri groups based in Waziristan was now being provided by Al-Qaeda rather than the ISI.

On the political front, the Islamist and religious parties who came together under the banner of Defense of Afghanistan Council⁵⁰ and later took the shape of Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (a conglomeration of Deobandi, Wahabi, Shia and Barelvi parties but effective power lay with the larger JUI & JI) came to power in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (NWFP) and Baluchistan. Several factors contributed to the emergence of MMA—its open anti-American stance, exclusion of PPP and PML- N leadership from electoral process (while Azam Tariq, the head of Sipah-e-Sahaba was allowed to contest from his jail cell), the requirement of a bachelors degree while accepting madrassa degrees. All these factors demonstrated that the Military Government was falling back on its

ideological proxies to cobble together a pliant government that fit its strategic interests.⁵¹ Thus as JUI virtually gave Pashtunabad, Quetta to the Afghan Taliban, heads of JUI madrassas along the Quetta-Chaman area met in Quetta with senior ISI officers for funds and student rotation every month⁵² and Musharraf made Ijaz-ul-Haq, son of the fundamentalist military dictator the Minister for Religious Affairs, the MMA reciprocated by supporting the constitutional amendment to make Musharraf a powerful president. With ideological godfathers of the Taliban in power, those who had fought America alongside the Taliban as ministers, and a cadre that considered sheltering Al-Qaeda leaders a responsibility, the Afghan Taliban and other militant groups were given a free hand in organizing, mobilizing and propagating their message at the local level without any threat from the provincially controlled police.

For the Taliban and Al-Qaeda, it was a time to regroup. While Al-Qaeda regenerated in its new high Hindu Kush safe haven, the Afghan Taliban prepared their manpower as expansion of madrassas gained pace along the Quetta-Chaman Highway. Pakistan had no counter-terrorism strategy other than intelligence and operational facilitation to the Americans in hunting Al-Qaeda members, while not a single top Taliban was given to the Americans⁵³ who themselves were also least interested, instead shifting their strategic focus to Iraq. Still the ISI (collusion with CIA is suggested) did create proxies early on either to keep the Jihad flame burning or to split the Taliban through the notion of 'moderate' Taliban - the Jamiatul Khudamul Koran or later Jaish Muslimin condemned Mullah Omar's support for Al-Qaeda while fighting foreign forces in Afghanistan⁵⁴. Initially the Afghan Government became concerned about Taliban regrouping in Pakistan in mid 2003 and later as American casualties in Afghanistan doubled in 1st six months of 2004 compared to the previous year, American pressure vis-à-vis Taliban changed into threats. Americans had been pressuring

for action in Waziristan since mid 2002 owing to cross border attacks and hostage taking. Pakistan had initially tried the tribal elder route to dissuade locals to shelter foreigners or to conduct cross border attacks but to no effect. It then followed it up with small scale operations which did not resolve the problem either. But following the assassination attempt on Musharraf traced to Waziristan and American pressure to tackle Al-Qaeda militants in South Waziristan, Pakistan eventually went for a larger scale operation⁵⁵ leading to high military casualties at Kaloosha (See Figure 2). Two leading Pakistani journalists present varied interpretation of the operation; Gul calls it a spontaneous reaction and mobilization of people to defend a comrade leader and a wakeup call for the military in relation to militants. Rashid goes a step further terming it an intelligence failure blaming the ISI, which understood the ground realities in South Waziristan. This would lead to first of many peace agreements with FATA militants done from a position of weakness. The peculiarity of the Shakai Agreement was that it was done in Jamia Arabia Ahsanul Madaris, a madrassa rather than the usual public jirga thus subscribing legitimacy to the mullah-militant nexus in the eyes of the local people.⁵⁶

The terms of agreement required tribal militants not to attack the Pakistan Armed Forces, conduct cross border attacks or to establish parallel administration while committing to register foreign militants. In turn the Army would dismantle check posts in the area, free incarcerated tribal militants and compensate the tribe for damage done during the operation. While the agreements stopped attacks on Pakistan Military, attacks on NATO forces in Afghanistan spiked invoking a conflict of interest between the two partners in the “War on Terror”. This tactical conflict of interest could have been resolved if Pakistan and America had the same strategic vision but low trust factor and demonizing of the ISI and America in the Western and Pakistani press respectively precluded a real partnership for a troubled relationship instead. Thus

a cycle ensued where America would either sabotage the peace agreement through a drone strike⁵⁷ making new martyrs or Pakistan would conduct a haphazard operation coinciding with a meeting of an American dignitary inflaming a new tribe, followed by a new peace agreement⁵⁸.

Additionally, the Military's air raids, scorched earth and collective punishment practices affecting civilians in trying to kill or capture key militant commanders followed by peace agreements led to enmity with the tribe⁵⁹ while raising commander's profile as often compensation was distributed to the tribe through his offices. It also gave the militant commander financial strength, while pulling the Army back from the areas made it easy for militants to target pro government tribal leaders who had initially invited or acquiesced government's operation. In total 400 Tribal Maliks in FATA⁶⁰ were killed leaving the militants to run a parallel government where they were the only negotiating partner and decision maker for the tribe while hundreds of thousands of civilians were displaced. Thus in Waziristan where the Pakistan Army had initially targeted Ahmadzai Wazir militants for harboring foreign elements in 2003, by 2006 the three tribes of Waziristan, the Mehsuds, Wazirs and the Dawars were fighting together against a common enemy for the first time in history⁶¹. Thus while the Pakistani State showed policy ambivalence similar to the 1990s at a cursory level; in reality it was still focused on its ideological Strategic Depth policy, the difference being that two independent players, America and Al-Qaeda had now joined the fray. Pakistan targeted Al-Qaeda only to keep America happy while opting for peace accords with tribal militants to concentrate their activities inside Afghanistan and not attack Pakistani forces. America had yet to differentiate between Al-Qaeda and Afghan Taliban and wanted Pakistan to target both groups rather than sign peace accords. Al-Qaeda wanted to stay an important player in the Afghan theatre as this ensured its survival in the Waziristan safe haven primar-

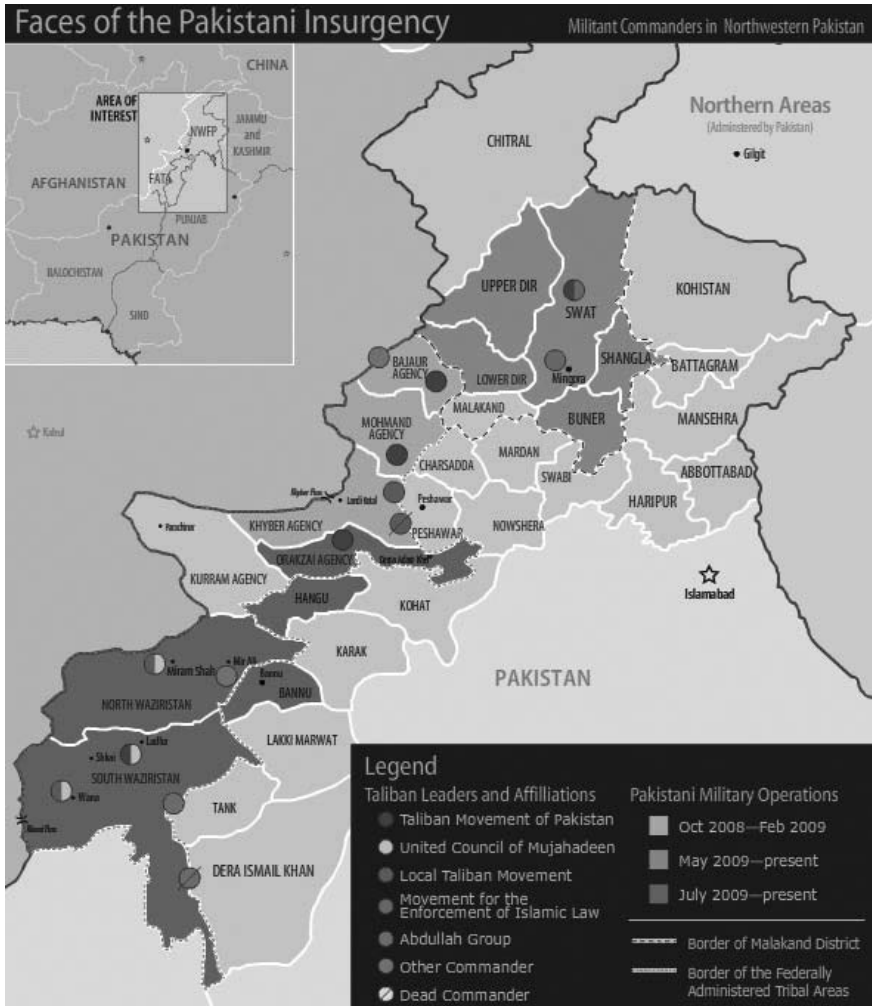
ily because it could be sacrificed for Pakistan's strategic interests and was the primary reason for American presence in Afghanistan. Pakistan Military had misjudged that Jihadis, especially the lower cadre would also understand compulsions of state craft where Al-Qaeda was targeted while Afghan Taliban facilitated. Thus even though Pakistan's strategic interests gained ground as Taliban insurgency flourished in Afghanistan by the summer of 2006, it had instead managed to spark its own insurgency in FATA through haphazard military operations being ill-trained for a highly mobile war, taking responsibility for American attacks in FATA⁶², and allowing militants to consolidate their control. The Government had tried but failed to outbid Al-Qaeda, which was handsomely paying its tribal hosts for housing and security, and provided ideological guidance while military's actions alienated tribes and only enhanced militant hold in other agencies. Additionally the State negligently allowed shifting of militants from Kashmir to the Afghan front; not realizing that they could move under the umbrella of Al-Qaeda enhancing both Al-Qaeda's skill set and strike capability within Pakistan.

War Hits Home: The Loss of Internal Sovereignty 2007 - 2008

The spillover effects of policy ambivalence appeared as the militants' targets increasingly moved beyond the tribal areas focusing on the State's security apparatus. Mullah Dadullah, the Afghan Taliban Commander in Chief had earlier brokered a ceasefire between militants and Pakistan Army arguing that militants should concentrate their efforts on fighting NATO forces in Afghanistan; while foreign militants and Al-Qaeda linked groups such as Tahir Yuldashev, the head of Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) disagreed.⁶³ Although there was a short reprieve when Uzbek militants were expelled from Wazir section of South Waziristan due to infighting and with Army's support of the Taliban commander Mullah Nazir, they found sanctuary with the Meh-

suds. Thus indicating both turf wars and enmeshed linkages between groups in the tribal areas of Pakistan.

Figure 2: Taliban Insurgency & Military Operations in Pakistan



Source: Interactive Map; Leaders of Pakistan’s Militant Groups. Center for American Progress. www.americanprogress.org

The situation had aggravated earlier when government authorities brushed aside the killing of 82 including 12 teenagers at a Tehreek-e-Nifaz Sharia Muhammadi (TNSM) seminary in October 2006 in Damadola, Bajaur in an air strike calling them militants, thus provoking TSNM movement in Swat to openly call for arms⁶⁴. But it was the military’s quashing of militants in the Lal Masjid operation in July 2007 in full media publicity and national public uproar, when militants finally gave up the possibility of rapprochement with the military further moving into the Al-Qaeda camp, leading them to formulate a common strategy across FATA. Other than a spate of suicide bombings across the country, the affect of Lal Masjid could be judged from the ‘abduction’ of 200-250 security personnel in August 2007 including nine army officers who offered little resistance⁶⁵.

Table1: Fatalities in Terrorist Violence & Number of Attacks

	Civilians	Security Force Personnel	Terrorists/ Insurgents	Total	Drone Attacks	Suicide Attacks	Bomb Attacks
2002						2	35
2003	140	24	25	189		2	41
2004	435	184	244	863		7	137
2005	430	81	137	648	1	4	245
2006	430	325	538	1,471	0	7	299
2007	1,522	597	1,479	3,598	1	56	678
2008	2,155	654	3,906	6,715	19	59	485
2009	2,324	991	8,389	11,704	46	78	499
2010	1,796	469	5,170	7,435	90	67	193
Total	9,410	3,325	19,888	32,623	157	282*	2,612*

Source: [South Asia Terrorism Portal](http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/database/index.html), Institute of Conflict Management. Last Accessed March 11, 2011. <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/database/index.html>

*Figures calculated from [Social Impact of the Security Crises, Social Development in Pakistan Annual Review 2009-10](#), (Karachi: SPDC, 2010)

Pakistan lost its key link with the Qandahari group⁶⁶, and leverage over FATA militants with the killing of Dadullah in March 2007. His death was a defining moment as it led to a shift in the Afghan Taliban leadership, which increasingly came under the influence of the Haqqani Network, a closer associate of Al-Qaeda. By this time, militants had carved out a territory for their command and control centers, more than 100 illegal FM stations operated in FATA & Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (NWFP), half of them in settled areas working as their propaganda arms⁶⁷ while Al-Qaeda's media arm Al-Sahab tripled its audio visual production to 58 in 2006 and 89 in 2007⁶⁸ for militants' strategic guidance in both Pakistan and Afghanistan. The year culminated with formation of Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) with an estimated strength of about 40,000 militants⁶⁹.

Table2: Incidence of Terrorist Attacks/Clashes in Pakistan

	Terrorist attacks ¹	Operational attacks ²	Clashes militants ³	Border clashes	Political violence ⁴	Inter-tribal clashes	Drone Attacks
Number of attacks							
2008	2,148		95	55	88	191	32
2009	2,586	596	209	78	130	217	51
2010	2,113	260	369	69	233	214	135
Number of persons killed							
2008	2,267	3,182	655	395	162	1,336	216
2009	3,021	6,329	1,163	700	210	1,209	667
2010	2,913	2,631	2,007	65	660	766	961

1. Including insurgent and sectarian incidents.

2. Operations conducted by security forces against militants.

3. Ethno-political and sectarian.

4. Clashes between security forces and militants.

Source: Pakistan Security Reports 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, and 2010. Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies (PIPS), referenced from Social Impact of the Security Crises, Social Development in Pakistan Annual Review 2009-10. (Karachi: SPDC, 2010)

As an all out war began in 2008, TTP gained an upper hand with militants seizing to try to blow up the Kohat Tunnel cutting off Peshawar's access from the Indus Highway unsuccessfully. It overran the Sararogha Fort, South Waziristan in January 2008 and increased suicide bombings in urban areas leading the government to launch military operations in a number of tribal agencies followed by peace agreements. While it seemed that the Pakistani State had finally woken up to the militant terrorist threat, the valley of Swat away from FATA proved otherwise as a small time mullah practically took over the territory with the help of TTP militants (foreigners included) who had shifted from FATA to get away from military operations and more importantly the drone attacks. Though he had been facilitated by the MMA government and intelligence agencies⁷⁰, the 2007 military operation neither closed down his propaganda radio, nor targeted his headquarters (Imam Deri) or arms dump, thus allowing the emerging Taliban to increase their control of Swat from 15% to 70%, eventually leading a Malik (tribal leader) Afzal Khan Lala to ask if Taliban and the Military were actually partners?⁷¹

The Americans unable to contain the Afghan insurgency shifted the blame to Pakistan and its inability to close down militant sanctuaries in FATA. America's reassessment of the war shifted the focus on Pakistan to do more in the "War on Terror". America thus supported a negotiated settlement between Musharraf and Benazir Bhutto, the head of a liberal party who could rally public support and provide the much needed civil political backing for a complete break with Pakistan's ideological strategy, which was required to tackle the Afghan Taliban problem along with Al-Qaeda. But Benazir Bhutto, a strategic threat to Islamist, Jihadi and the Islamist segment of military establishment became the biggest Pakistani casualty of war. With momentum shifting to the militants, the insurgency increasingly over taken by Al-Qaeda linked groups and under increased pressure from the inter-

national community to do more, Pakistan allowed America to setup a secret CIA base for drone attacks inside FATA in January 2008⁷². The drone attacks would strictly be an American affair, disowned and publicly berated by the Government of Pakistan allowing it to keep its peace agreements intact with FATA militants.

The year 2007 was a year of political turmoil in Pakistan as pro-democracy movement gained speed along side the TTP insurgency in FATA, specifically denting the Army's morale as it was being criticized by all segments of the political spectrum – the liberal segments berating it for being in alliance with the Mullah-Jihadi nexus, questioning its will to take on the surging militants while the Islamists condemned it for bringing the American war to Pakistan. The political dynamics changed as the new Army Chief took over followed by the formation of government by an alliance of secular liberal parties in the Centre and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in March 2008. Policy formulation now included the civilian leadership which wanted good relations with the Afghan and Indian governments⁷³ along with a more independent role for America to tackle threats emanating from Pakistan but had to convince the powerful ideological guardians, the military and intelligence establishments.

The overtures of the weak coalition civilian government in regional policy matters were soon rebuffed and its international credibility ruined with the attack on the Indian Embassy⁷⁴ and Hamid Karzai in Kabul. The nail in the coffin was the December 2008 terrorist attack in Mumbai implicating Lashkar-e-Taiba, the most disciplined and the only non-state actor which had not split staying within the ISI umbrella after the demobilization of Kashmir Jihad.⁷⁵

Regaining Governance: Are We Approaching the End Game 2009 – 2010?

As Taliban control in Afghanistan increased from 30/364 districts in 2003 to 164/364 districts by end of 2008⁷⁶ owing partly to suicide attacks 21 (2005), 136 (2006) and 137 (2007)⁷⁷, it was clear that the American policy of outright military victory over the Taliban had failed. America shifted blame equally to corruption in the Afghan Government and the double game of the Pakistan ISI arguing that 80% of the suicide attacks in Afghanistan could be traced back to Warizistan⁷⁸ as CIA shared evidence of ISI links with the Haqqani Network⁷⁹ which was behind Afghan suicide attacks. The Afghan voices had started arguing in late 2007 that there could be no peaceful solution to Afghanistan without Hekmatyar & Taliban⁸⁰, later taken up by the British Defense Secretary⁸¹. Obama laid out his Afghan Policy (Af-Pak) in March 2009 accepting both a reconciliation strategy in principle as well as the importance of Pakistan's role in American exit strategy. But rather than initiating a political dialogue with the Afghan Taliban, the American strategy involved a military buildup to break the Taliban momentum while using the eighteen month period till July 2011 to articulate a political strategy followed by draw down of troops. The reconciliation strategy was eventually endorsed by the international community in the January 2010 London Conference with even India and Russia giving up their opposition to talks with the Taliban⁸².

The peak years of war (2008 & 2009) in Pakistan were years of realignment as well as a movement away from clandestine to a relatively more open articulation of its interests. Pakistan had bore the brunt of the "War on Terror" losing 1,211 soldiers by Dec 2007⁸³ along with excessive collateral damage as suicide bombings jumped from 7 (2006), 54 (2007) to 59 (2008)⁸⁴. While the Pakistan military had formally launched military operations in FATA on July 19, 2007⁸⁵, it still seemed

to lack the resolve to tackle the insurgency holistically either because this went against its strategic goals in Afghanistan, it was scared of defections within Army ranks due to soldiers' subscription of Al-Qaeda ideology, or because it needed public support lost during years of military dictatorship. Gul argues that GHQ finally woke up to the internal threat when the war came home in late 2008. But more importantly, pressurized from all fronts: by the international community following Bombay massacre; by civil society in Pakistan after Swat fell to the militants; by the Civil Government after militants broke the Swat peace agreement; and by the Americans invoking security of Pakistan's nuclear weapons and the capital Islamabad, the military conducted a successful large scale operation in Swat with political backing. However, almost all top militant leaders escaped. This was followed by another successful operation against the command and control centre of TTP in South Waziristan in the summer of 2009 while keeping peace agreements intact with two main Taliban commanders of South & North Waziristan. This arrested the Pakistani Taliban momentum in FATA and adjoining areas thus pushing them into North Waziristan⁸⁶, which was outside the writ of the State. Pakistan's new initiative increased the cost of war with 76 suicide bombings in 2009⁸⁷ (Also see Table 1 & 2) and then finally the seat of power, the Army General Head Quarters (GHQ) was attacked in October 2009 while additionally army families were targeted in a mosque attack. It seemed that the Army had finally taken note with a serving general stating that the Army had reached a consensus in principle to go after all groups indiscriminately, irrespective of their earlier links to military institutions⁸⁸.

By now, America had recognized the need to engage Pakistan in a strategic dialogue to influence its policy rather than solely using it as a client state to try to achieve American goals in Afghanistan. Although Pakistan still publicly denied the existence of Quetta Shura and the presence of Haqqani Network in Pakistan⁸⁹, it picked up key leaders

and incarcerated more than half of the top Afghan Taliban leadership to stall a direct channel between Karzai and the Taliban without ISI sanction⁹⁰ as well as to show its leverage before entering into a strategic dialogue with America in March 2010. Pakistan finally opened up regarding its own interests in the Pak-US Strategic Dialogue. America acknowledged the importance of Pakistan's role in peace talks between Kabul and the Taliban but rebuffed a civil nuclear deal similar to India's while asking the Army to abandon its 30-year reliance on Islamist militants for foreign policy objectives⁹¹. Additionally, Pakistan and America were still at odds with specific aspects of their Afghan strategy, as America wanted to weaken or divide the Taliban⁹² through the surge, extension of drone strikes in Baluchistan and military operation in North Waziristan, to negotiate with the Taliban from a position of strength. While Pakistan agreed in principle with the need for a North Waziristan operation, it excused itself citing overextension. In actuality Pakistan's leverage in Afghanistan depended on the strength of the Taliban with sanctuaries and nerve centers both in the Quetta-Chaman border region and North Waziristan. Additionally, the Army leadership was unsure of the backlash of such an operation understanding full well that it would exceed all previous operations given NW was now a sanctuary of all kinds of militants groups (Haqqani, Hezb-i-Islami, Al-Qaeda, TTP and the Punjabi Taliban).

As Pakistan delayed the North Waziristan operation, the Americans doubled drone attacks to 90-124⁹³ in 2010. But the Pak-US perspective differed drastically as independent Pakistani media reports put casualty figures in terms of terrorist to civilian ratio at 41:59⁹⁴, while an American journal assessing all drone attacks till June 2010 put the terrorist: civilians: unknown ratio at 80:4.5:15⁹⁵. This provides an apt indication of why America could not relate to the increasing anti-Americanism in the country. Although there had been an American presence in Pakistan since 2001, the terms of engagement had been

settled with the Pakistan Army. But since the return to civilian rule and with its acquiescence⁹⁶, America had increased its footprint through a \$1bn embassy and personnel expansion from 300 to 1,000 including both civilians (for Kerry Lugar Bill's civilian support) and also covert operatives outside the ISI domain⁹⁷. As American pressure and operations increased leading to the killing of two Pakistani soldiers in Kurram Agency crossing the red line of cross border operations, Pakistan closed the Afghan border crossing constituting 80% of NATO's non-lethal supply line for 10 days⁹⁸ while more than a 100 trucks were burnt by Taliban inside Pakistan, further indicating Pakistan's leverage over NATO forces just a few weeks before the Pak-American Strategic Dialogue in October. With its enhanced leverage intact, Pakistan Army, the real power in the country took steps to limit American covert operations in the country, primarily those being conducted unilaterally.

Thus this period saw America falling back to the original Pakistani position of negotiating with the Taliban for peace in Afghanistan. Additionally, Pakistan Army practically showed its strength and leverage in all spheres of the Afghan imbroglio: taking on militant groups within the country, incarcerating Afghan Taliban leadership, strangulating the NATO supply line, and lastly arresting America's independent intelligence operations within Pakistan. Although Pakistan had now acted in all tribal agencies of FATA except NW, it clearly discriminated between militant groups targeting the Pakistani State and those targeting Afghanistan. Thus suggesting that Pakistan's Strategic Depth policy, which seemed to be in disarray following 9/11, was back on track and Pakistan was well positioned to negotiate its interests in Afghanistan and the region.

Rethinking Pakistan's Strategic Interests

Afghanistan, a land locked gateway between South, Central and West Asia has been a confluence of competing interests of regional states (Central Asian States, Iran, India, China and Pakistan) and international powers (US, Russia). Pakistan's initial interests in Afghanistan had been based on the territorial security of its unrecognized western border inhabited by 19 tribes⁹⁹ living on both sides of the Durand Line. While America left the region following Soviet withdrawal, it's sponsored Jihad, the ideological warfare that it had helped groom with Saudi Wahabi ideology and ISI's logistical expertise was continued by Pakistan for its own strategic interests in the region. Although Pakistan had gradually left the secular ideals of its founder increasingly using Islam for bringing together a multinational state before the 1980s Afghan War, the sponsorship of Deobandi-Wahabi ideology mixed with militancy training and funding facilitation by the State had created a huge Jihad industry. This industry allowed Pakistan to gain Strategic Depth in Afghanistan and to keep India bogged down in the Kashmir border conflict throughout the 1990s but with tremendous internal costs.

As 9/11 brought the West back to Afghanistan primarily to undo the same ideological militant infrastructure it had helped germinate, it left Pakistan's regional policy executed through ideological non-state actors in tatters while also threatening Pakistan's territorial security. Musharraf allayed the territorial threat by joining the American "War on Terror" but America's expedient policy framework which excluded the Taliban from the Bonn process, aptly phrased "the original sin" by Lakhtar Brahimi,¹⁰⁰ led to a hostile Kabul dispensation. Further, sensing America's lack of long term interest in Afghanistan by not putting needed boots on the ground and more importantly by shifting strategic priority to Iraq left Pakistan Army with no choice but to preserve its

Table3: Pakistan's Burden of War

	(Rs in Billion)		
	2007-8	2009-10 increase	%
Direct Cost of War on Terror	149	320	115
(Potential) cost compensation to victims	3	6	100
Cost of damage to property and infrastructure ^b	8	13	63
Higher cost of defence	109	247	127
Higher cost of police	21	43	105
Higher cost of private security	8	11	38
Indirect Cost of War on Terror	231	521	126
Costs to local economies	42	130	210
Loss of economic growth in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	40	130	225
Cost of IDPs	2	n.a	n.a
Costs of higher risk perceptions	189	391	107
Fall in private investment	52	244	369
Fall in stock market capitalization ^a	120	123	2
Others	17	44	41
Total Cost of War (Pak Rs.)	380	841	
Total Cost of War (US\$ billion)	6	10	
US Bilateral Assistance (US\$ billion)	2	3.6	
Pakistan's Burden of War (US\$ billion)	4	6.4	

Source: Social Impact of the Security Crises, Social Development in Pakistan Annual Review 2009-10, (Karachi: Social Policy & Development Centre (SPDC), 2010)

blood line in Afghanistan, especially when its arch enemy India was closing its grip by opening consulates near the Pakistan border and making investments which could bypass Pakistan's strategic location as the transit trade route for energy rich Central Asia. As Pakistan's competition for influence in the region vastly outweighed the country's interests in the "War on Terror",¹⁰¹ its perceived policy ambivalence towards militants was in actuality a conscious decision as Pakistan Army never considered Al-Qaeda, the Afghan Taliban or the Punjabi Taliban a threat to the State. But a forced closing of Kashmir Jihad at the threat of war with India and the incursions in FATA to net Al-Qaeda primarily to show its support for the "War on Terror" to America, re-directed some militant factions to instead focus on the Pakistani State and security apparatus. Pakistan's elite perceived that targeting of the Pakistani State had been because of its alliance with US rather than the militants wanting State power¹⁰². Thus Pakistan's implicit policy has since been to convince all militant groups to concentrate their energies in Afghanistan while tackling anti-state groups who fail to understand Pakistan's compulsion vis-à-vis America¹⁰³. Taliban still fit Pakistan's interest well within the Strategic Depth framework, allowing Pakistan's influence in Kabul following NATO withdrawal, check Pushtun nationalism, provide access to Central Asia and facilities for Kashmir bound militants¹⁰⁴.

But does Pakistan want to have the same scenario in Afghanistan as the 1990s when its intelligence agency was deeply linked in an Afghan civil war (along with other regional players) while being diplomatically isolated for supporting the Taliban? The Pakistan Army Chief Kiyani while subscribing to Strategic Depth defined it as "a border we don't need to worry about" indicating his interest in a peaceful, stable and friendly Afghanistan rather than its descent into obscurantism¹⁰⁵. He has stated that a gradual transition within the Military Establishment is under way while hinting a policy change towards non-state actors,

saying that national defense will not be outsourced¹⁰⁶. But Pakistan still perceives Afghanistan as a battleground for influence with India as Kiyani told Obama in their meeting that US was not addressing his strategic imperatives (vis-à-vis India)¹⁰⁷. This India centric security thinking which dictates Pakistan's Afghan policy, leading to the support of the Taliban in Afghanistan and reluctance of the army to become a counter insurgency force,¹⁰⁸ thus following containment rather than eradication of militants at home (military refuses to act against Lashkar-e-Taiba till Kashmir and other issues with India are resolved¹⁰⁹) is based on a number of assumptions. First, the reconcilable ideological militant groups can be separated from the irreconcilable, who can then be tackled independently without affecting relationship with the others. Second, Pakistan alone has the strength to compete with the interests of the sole superpower, NATO and regional players who all now see militant non-state actors as a threat to their security in a post 9/11 security environment.

Experts agree that multiple groups constitute the insurgency in Afghanistan and FATA but only Shahzad accepts that a gulf is possible between the Taliban and Al-Qaeda¹¹⁰. The Qandahari group is less inclined towards Al-Qaeda¹¹¹ and its foot soldiers are less ideologically inclined than the Pakistan based groups. Others argue that Mullah Omar, although key to reconciliation has little power on the ground which rests with the neo-Taliban (the new generation Sirajuddin Haqqani versus Jalaluddin Haqqani) who predominantly subscribe to the pan-Islamic Al-Qaeda ideology¹¹²; the Haqqani Network especially has close ties with both Al-Qaeda and TTP (Baitullah Mehsud got three members of the Haqqani family released in a prisoner swap with Pakistan Army¹¹³). Thus most experts dismiss Pakistan's strategic thinking that homegrown militants can be crushed while maintaining the Afghan Taliban proxy for final settlement.¹¹⁴

America's war in Afghanistan initially focused on the elimination of Al-Qaeda but has since evolved into an Af-Pak framework. This includes both a stable Afghanistan devoid of terrorist bases and civil war, as well as a stable Pakistan, which does not support militant groups¹¹⁵. America's concern regarding Pakistan, with some terming it the biggest foreign policy challenge of the 21st century is because of Pakistan's mix of the fastest growing nuclear arsenal in the world and being home to a large number of terrorist organizations¹¹⁶. This concern is now shared by other European capitals and the change of focus can be termed from the fact that Lashkar-e-Taiba is now mentioned alongside Al-Qaeda in most policy reviews. Mindful of its current weak position vis-à-vis Pakistan, which enjoys unusually strong leverage with both sides of the Afghan War, and could jeopardize the American war effort through reduction of intelligence cooperation and closing of NATO's logistical route¹¹⁷, America pursues a carrot heavy strategic dialogue to encourage Pakistan towards its own policy interests while strategizing to decrease its reliance on Pakistan¹¹⁸. America had lost leverage in the region because of the earlier deterioration of Pak-India, US-Iran, US-China and Russia-NATO relations¹¹⁹ and thus roping in China and others to pressure Pakistan or to defuse regional tension through Pakistan India peace have not yet borne fruit. But on the contrary, American policy analysts have also put the option of cut & run in Afghanistan, putting Pakistan on the list of states sponsoring terrorism¹²⁰ and forming a strategic alliance with India to contain a dangerous Pakistan¹²¹ on the table. Additionally, America is aware of its long-term leverage over Pakistan as 1/4 of Pakistan's exports are US bound, 1/3 foreign investment comes from US, and additionally it has the power to use IFI's to isolate Pakistan or curtail military assistance stalling Pak-Army's American made weaponry for lack of spare parts¹²².

Thus both assumptions underlying the current policy framework are

weak, but even if they are granted, what can not be looked over is the internal cost of the Strategic Depth policy framework which discriminates between good versus bad ideological militants and uses non-state actors as a key tool for foreign policy objectives. Terrorism cant not be countered when suicide bomber training camp in Shawal, SW is run jointly by Sirajuddin Haqqani, a strategic asset for Pakistan Army focusing on Afghanistan and Qari Hussain¹²³, a hunted TTP militant commander responsible for most suicide attacks within Pakistan. Such paradoxical security framework is a step up from the 1990s instead making Pakistan the Strategic Depth for Afghan and international Islamist militants, and leading to State's loss of sovereignty over vast areas. It has allowed domestic terrorism for strategic needs in Afghanistan to the effect that militants practically gained control over people's lives in FATA and Swat by eliminating traditional leadership. But more importantly, it is this subservience of domestic security to the Strategic Depth framework that has led to immeasurable costs in the socio-cultural domain. The continuing need of Deobandi-Wahabi schools for Jihad has led to increased religious extremism, militarization and criminality in society as other sects have followed suit in safeguarding their own communities. Sectarianism and violence earlier restricted to Sunni-Shia has taken on a new dimension as other than the Ahmedi and Shia, now the Barelvi sect (Sufi saint mausoleums and Eid Milad-un-Nabi) is also being targeted while religious scholars (the ulema), who have passed injunctions against suicide bombings have been killed irrespective of their schools of thought¹²⁴. Since 2001, a total of 2,564 citizens have been killed while 5,071¹²⁵ have been injured in sectarian violence, triple the casualty figure of 1989-2000¹²⁶.

Conclusion and Policy Options

To sum up, a change in Strategic Depth policy is necessary for Pakistan's internal stability. While Pakistan Army as an institution is skilled

in the realism of international relations, as it forgoes its ideological partner when faced with a territorial threat; it closes down and reforms sections of the ISI when faced with internal threat and insubordination; still it fails to understand that its strategic policy framework is flawed and hurting the country. An important factor in this regard is the civil military power imbalance and a lack of trust between the two institutions. The Army has managed the Afghan and Kashmir policy since Zia's time leading to a lack of rethinking and reassessment for the last 30 years as policy change is primarily an outcome of pluralism, opposition and peaceful transfer of power, the beauty of democracy. It is also perfectly understandable for a military institution to be strategically trained in a zero sum game with its arch enemy, but for that to be unchallenged State policy for decades is anathema to growth and progress of any nation. This can be judged from the fact that all democratically elected leaders since the last 30 years have either extended or accepted peace overtures towards India and Zardari's foreign policy agenda also includes peace with India, no Taliban safe havens in Pakistan and good relations with America¹²⁷. But the civil political leadership has yet to gain the confidence of the powerful security establishment and lacks the institutional strength to forcefully make a case for policy change¹²⁸, thus the strategic policy role stays with the Military¹²⁹.

As the end game in Afghanistan nears, Pakistan would be well advised to understand that the root of its current predicament lies in its undefined borders in the West and East and thus its leverage should be used towards these ends. Although Pakistan is in a strong position to gain strategic space in Afghanistan, the Pakistan Military should understand that this leverage is an outcome of excessive internal costs and its unaccountability. Pakistan should not confuse this short-term leverage with long-term influence, which is dependent on internal strength and strong diplomatic relations based on mutual interests. For this,

Pakistan would need to bury the Strategic Depth policy framework to explore and exercise the following set of policy options: First, make a clean break from using ideological non-state actors for its policy objectives. Second, enhance its diplomatic relations (US, Saudi, and China), which were built on the foundations of security arrangements with security agenda usually trumping economic interests,¹³⁰ to encompass a broad development focus. Third, Pakistan desperately needs to put its internal house in order and to that end seeking peace with India, which is involved in proxy wars with Pakistan and can exploit its internal troubles¹³¹, would be a desirable goal. Finally, Pakistan needs to evolve a comprehensive counter terrorism and extremism strategy, foremost being integration of FATA with the rest of the country and strengthening its public institutions to create the 2 million yearly jobs¹³² required for its current demographics. This demands a paradigm shift, which is not possible with a war in its own neighborhood that has caused 9,410 civilian and 3,325 security agencies fatalities¹³³ while displacing more than 3 million people from their homes (although most have gone back). Pakistan continues and could leverage in Afghanistan in strategic terms, however, time is running out and it has already lost the 1st decade of the 21st century with \$43bn¹³⁴ (Also see Table 3) as the cumulative cost of war to the economy and additionally reduced public services spending (due to higher spending on security) leading to Pakistan most likely missing its Millennium Development Goals 2015 targets¹³⁵. Thus there is a growing realization in Pakistan that a continuation of war in Afghanistan does not serve its national interest.¹³⁶

On the other hand America has yet to devise a regional solution to allay Pakistan's security concerns¹³⁷ vis-à-vis India. It is pushing ahead the combat troop withdrawal date to 2014¹³⁸ buying itself more time. Pakistan still has time and opportunity to re-strategize and devise an innovative policy towards Afghanistan combing regional and bilateral approach, whereby Afghanistan and India are seen as part of the

solution to dismantle and disrupt terrorism in the region and have stake in peace and sustainable development of the region. Such a vision demands broad internal consensus, which implies that the Civilian Government and the Pakistan Army must act in unison and concert, supplementing and supporting each other and pursuing shared goals.

Notes

1. The Durand Line was agreed upon as the border between Afghanistan and British India in 1893 to be in effect for a 100 years till 1993.
2. Sadr Pakistan General Zia ul Haq. Speeches Vol. 1 5 July – 31 Dec 1977. In the founding address to Council of Islamic Ideology on Sept 29, 1979 he is quoted "We want to make Pakistan as experiment in Islam". On July 5, 1977 quoted "Pakistan came into being and will stay for Islam. Islamic System is necessary".
3. Justice Mohammad Muneer. From Jinnah to Zia, (Lahore: Vanguard Books 1979).
4. Shuja Nawaz. Crossed Swords, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 384.
5. Sadr Pakistan General Zia ul Haq. Speeches Vol. 1 5 July – 31 Dec 1977. Zia's addressed the Pakistan Army as "Soldiers of Islam" in Address to the Nation 27th July 1977. Ayesha Jalal. The State of Martial Rule, (Lahore: Vanguard Books 1991). For Zia, Pakistan & Islam were two sides of the same coin. Protection & integrity of both was the task of military establishment alone.
6. Shuja Nawaz (2008), p. 373.
7. *ibid*, p. 375.
8. Bruce Riedel. Deadly Embrace: Pakistan, America and the future of global Jihad, The Brookings Institution, JIHAD-2011/01/08. Last Accessed on March 11, 2011. www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/events/2011/0118_pakistan/20110118_deadly_embrace.pdf
9. Zahid Hussain. Frontline Pakistan: The Struggle with Militant Islam, (Lahore: Vanguard, 2007).
10. The Tableeghi Jamaat and Jamiat –Ulema-Islam (JUI) are Deobandi groups while the Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) though eschewing sectarianism is much closer to Deobandi, Wahabi groups in ideology than the Barelvi or Shia. Among the Islamists, JUI & JI have primarily influenced State policy as elected government or through the support of dictators.
11. Shuja Nawaz (2008), p. 377.
12. Mubashir Hasan. 'The Military loses and gains clout', The Express Tribune, October 26, 2010. Military allowed Benazir slot of Prime Minister on 3 conditions: 1. Military to remain independent in its own affairs; 2. No jurisdiction over nuclear program; 3. Ghulam Ishaq Khan to serve as President, Lt. Gen Retd. Yaqub Khan as foreign minister and VA Jaffery as head of the finance ministry.
13. Zahid Hussain (2007), p. 166.
14. Amir Rana. Jihad-e-Afghanistan or Kashmir, (Urdu), Lahore: Mashal Publications 2002, p. 20.
15. Seth G. Jones & Christine C. Fair. Counterinsurgency in Pakistan, (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2010). Last Accessed on March 13, 2011. www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2010/RAND_MG982.pdf
16. Zahid Hussain (2007), p. 27. General Nasir was sacked in May 1993 and some 1100 ISI operative were retired or sent back to their army units.
17. Seth G. Jones & Christine C. Fair (2010). Pakistan supported with logistics and supplies through ISI offices in Herat, Qandahar and Jalalabad.

18. I. Khattak, "Taliban Claim Mohmand Agency". The Friday Times, 11th February, 2001.
19. Ahmed Rashid. Descent Into Chaos, (London: Penguin Books, 2008), p. 267.
20. Zahid Hussain (2007), p. 27. The governments of Egypt, Jordan and Libya had specifically complained about the Peshawar base for terrorism planning in their country.
21. Zahid Hussain (2007), p. 38.
22. Although two purges of the Shia in Parachinar and Gilgit had already taken place in 1988.
23. Arif Jamal. "Sufi Militants Struggle with Deobandi Jihadists in Pakistan", The Jamestown Foundation: Terrorism Monitor, V.9 I.8. www.jamestown.org. Last Accessed on March 11, 2011.
24. Zia ul Haq, Speech to the Majlis Shura, 1983. Last accessed Feb. 28, 2011. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iPKlq4nNIM>.
25. Mujahid Hussain. Punjabi Taliban, (Lahore: Nigareshaat, 2009), p. 138.
26. Amir Rana & Rohan Gunaratna. Al-Qaeda Fights Back Inside Pakistani Tribal Areas, (Islamabad: Pak Institute for Peace Studies 2008), p. 86.
27. "Sectarian Violence in Pakistan", South Asia Terrorism Portal. New Delhi: The Institute for Conflict Management. Last accessed March 15, 2011. <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/database/sect-killing.htm>. The sectarian killings were initially restricted to leaders and activists, then state symbols eventually becoming indiscriminate by 1997 according to Mariam Abou Zahab, "The regional dimension of sectarian conflict in Pakistan", CERI Archives. Last Accessed March 11, 2011. www.ceri-sciencespo.com/archive/octo00/artmaz.pdf. The sectarian penetration of body politics could be assessed by the promulgation of two ministers of Sipah-e-Sahaba (the parent party of anti-Shia terrorist outfit Lashkar-e-Jhangvi and also categorized as the 'mother' of all Deobandi Jihad organizations) in the 1995 Punjab Government in Khaled Ahmed, Religious Developments in Pakistan 1999-2008. (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2010).
28. Mujahid Hussain (2009) p. 24.
29. Amir Rana, "Jihadi Print Media in Pakistan: An Overview", Conflict and Peace Studies, Issue 1 Number 1, Islamabad: PIPS 2008. p. 47.
30. Mujahid Hussain (2009), p. 138. The ISI facilitated Lashkar-e-Taiba's fund raising drive by asking traders to contribute. Additionally LeT's donation boxes across the country generated Rs. 120 million daily.
31. Zahid Hussain (2007), p. 41.
32. Seth G. Jones & Christine C. Fair (2010) p. 41. Pakistan provided three bases Jacobabad, Dalbandin and Shamsi.
33. Zahid Hussain (2007). Economic Aid included \$1 bn loan writeoff, \$600 million budgetary support, \$12.5bn debt rescheduling.
34. Zahid Hussain (2007), p. 45.
35. Syed Saleem Shahzad, "Pakistan has its own battle to fight". The Asia Times, June 28, 2010. Last Accessed on March 15, 2011. <http://www.atimes.com>.
36. ibid
37. Ahmed Rashid (2008), p. 148
38. ibid p. 91
39. Zahid Hussain (2007), p. 120.
40. ibid, p. 107
41. A Pakistan-India war at this time would have achieved Al-Qaeda's civilizational war paradigm through an America-India-Israel (the 'Christian-Hindu-Jew') alliance versus a nuclear armed Muslim state. Still, that this later came to dominate the conspiracy theory whirlwind behind terrorist attacks in Pakistan attests either to the dominance of Islamism in the Pakistani public discourse or to the sponsorship of this discourse by the dominant military establishment.
42. Pakistan Policy Working Group. The Next Chapter: The United States and Pakistan, (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, September 2008). Last Accessed on March 11, 2011. <http://www.cfr.org/pakistan/pakistan-policy-working-group-next-chapter-united-states-pakistan/p17413>.

43. Rahimullah Yousafzai, "A New Proxy War?", Newsline, 19 June 2006.
44. Though Jaish-e-Muhammad initially took credit for it, some authors state that it was instead a Lashkar-e-Taiba operation. These and two sectarian groups Sipah-e-Sahaba and Tekrik-e-Jafaria were banned.
45. Imtiaz Gul. The Most Dangerous Place, (London: Penguin Books, 2010), p. 165.
46. Ahmed Rashid (2008), p. 147.
47. Imtiaz Gul (2010), p. 159.
48. Zahid Hussain. "General Sympathy Aiding the Taliban", Newsline, 18 Nov, 2009.
49. Syed Saleem Shahzad, "Al-Qaeda's guerrilla chief lays out strategy". The Asia Times Oct 15, 2009. Last Accessed on March 15, 2011. <http://www.atimes.com>.
50. Zahid Hussain (2007), p. 173, while Ahmed Rashid calls it a ISI sponsored alliance.
51. *ibid*, p. 175. While these parties publicly criticized Musharraf's policies and enflamed the public with Anti-American rhetoric, still they were aligned with military's objectives as indicated by the three hour meeting between Musharraf and head of Jamaat-e-Islami on the eve of 2002 elections.
52. Ahmed Rashid (2008), p. 249
53. Ahmed Rashid (2008), p. 240
54. Syed Saleem Shahzad. "Pakistan has its own battle to fight". The Asia Times, June 28, 2010. Last Accessed on March 15, 2011. <http://www.atimes.com>. Jaish Al-Muslim was publicly and officially launched on Sept 17, 2003 in Peshawar.
55. Amir Rana & Rohan Gunaratna (2008), p. 71.
56. Seth G. Jones & Christine C. Fair. (2010).p. 76. A Lt. Gen went to the militants' location and exchanged gifts. He thus accepted the madrasa and associated clergy as the new power in the area while subscribing legitimacy to the militants as negotiating partner rather than tribal chiefs.
57. Syed Saleem Shahzad. "Another deadly blow for Pakistan". The Asia Times, Oct 31, 2006. Last Accessed on March 15, 2011. <http://www.atimes.com>. While Nek Mohammad was killed by a Drone strike in South Waziristan, the Pakistan Army took credit for the killing. Similarly Baitullah Mehsud was targeted by Drone few days after an agreement with Pak Army. Additionally the Oct 2006 American helicopter gunship strike in Damadola, Bajaur came two days before Pakistan Army and militants were to sign a peace deal.
58. Amir Rana & Safdar Sial & Abdul Basit. Dynamics of Taliban Insurgency in FATA, (Islamabad: Pak Institute for Peace Studies, 2010). Fact Files 2 & 3. Major military operations which began in South Waziristan (2004), extended to North Waziristan (2005), Swat (2007), Bajaur (2008) and Khyber (2009). In all but Khyber, military action was followed by a peace agreement with the militants.
59. Syed Saleem Shahzad. "Hostage deaths adds to Musharraf's woes". The Asia Times, October 16, 2004. Last Accessed on March 15, 2011. <http://www.atimes.com>. Argues that September 2004 bombing by Pakistani planes leading to civilian deaths among the Mehsuds led the Mehsud youth to join the insurgency which was earlier limited to few Waziri sub-tribes. Even Baitullah Mehsud had earlier disagreed with Abdullah Mehsud in targeting Pakistani forces only to change his opinion later.
60. Imtiaz Gul (2010),
61. Syed Saleem Shahzad. "Revolution in Pakistan Mountains". The Asia Times, March 23, 2006. Last Accessed on March 15, 2011. <http://www.atimes.com>.
62. Pakistan government took responsibility of American attacks on Nek Mohammad and the attacks in Bajaur Agency in 2006.
63. Syed Saleem Shahzad. "Waziristan Jihadi wage war on each other". The Asia Times, March 13, 2007. Last Accessed on March 15, 2011. <http://www.atimes.com>.
64. Aqeel Yousafzai, Talibalization, (Lahore: Nigarishat Publications 2009), p. 205. Fazlullah's

- brother died in the strike leading him to take a militant route.
65. "Tehrik-Taliban Pakistan", [GlobalSecurity.org](http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/ttp.htm), Last accessed on April 4, 2011. Alexandria: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/ttp.htm>.
 66. Syed Saleem Shahzad. "Pakistan makes a deal with the Taliban". [The Asia Times](http://www.atimes.com), March 1, 2007. Last Accessed on March 15, 2011. <http://www.atimes.com>.
 67. Amir Rana Et Safdar Sial Et Abdul Basit (2010) p. 155.
 68. Ahmed Rashid (2008)
 69. Ibid, p. 385.
 70. Aqeel Yousafzai (2009), When trucks full of arms from Dir to Imam Deri, Swat was intercepted by the police, both SHO and DCO were transferred in 2007. Earlier in a case of Bank Robbery in 2004, when police captured the robbers, three Al-Qaeda men were flown out by helicopters while the investigation officer linking it to Peochar Camp was transferred at the behest of Intelligence Agencies.
 71. ibid, p. 215.
 72. Ahmed Rashid (2008), p. 389.
 73. Karzai's (much criticized for being anti-Pakistan in the media) attended the inauguration of President Zardari signaling government's intention of good relations with Afghanistan while PPP-ANP-MQM have long been considered Indophile (India loving) parties by the military establishment.
 74. Imtiaz Gul (2010), p. 163. The Indian Embassy bombing in Kabul on July 7, 2008 had been traced back to Pakistani intelligence while both Karzai and embassy bombings were carried out the Haqqani group.
 75. Zahid Hussain (2007), p. 53.
 76. Ahmed Rashid, "The Afghanistan Impasse" [The New York Review of Books](http://www.ahmedrashid.com) August 10, 2009. Last Accessed on March 01, 2011. www.ahmedrashid.com.
 77. Ahmed Rashid (2008), p. 366.
 78. Zahid Hussain, "From Suicide to Safety", [Newsline](http://www.newsline.com) Aug 8, 2009.
 79. Imtiaz Gul (2010), p. 161.
 80. Rahimullah Yousafzai, "Much ado about nothing", [Newsline](http://www.newsline.com) September 9 2007.
 81. Rahimullah Yousafzai, "More money more problems", [Newsline](http://www.newsline.com) December 9, 2007.
 82. Rahimullah Yousafzai, "Desperately seeking peace", [Newsline](http://www.newsline.com) February 26, 2010.
 83. "Fatalities in Terrorist Violence in Pakistan 2003-2011", [South Asia Terrorism Portal](http://www.satp.org). New Delhi: The Institute for Conflict Management, Last Accessed on Feb. 20, 2011. <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/database/casualties.htm>.
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98. Rahimullah Yousafzai, "Still at Odds: Pakistan-US Relations", Newsline November 13, 2010.
99. Imtiaz Gul (2010), p. 178
100. Ahmed Rashid (2008)
101. Robert Wirsing referenced in Fair & Crane & Chivvis & Puri & Spirtas, Pakistan: Can the United States secure an insecure State? (Santa Monica: RAND, 2010). Last Accessed on March 15, 2011, www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2010/RAND_MG910.pdf.
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103. Imtiaz Gul (2010), p. 56. Thousands of Punjabi Taliban were allowed into Wana in late 2006 to fight against the Uzbeks in allegiance with Mulla Nazir with the commitment that their struggle would only be against foreign forces in Afghanistan and Pakistani forces would not be attacked even if they conduct a military operation at America's behest or allow American drone attacks in its territory.
104. Seth G. Jones & Christine C. Fair. (2010)
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107. Bruce Riedel (2011)
108. Seth G. Jones & Christine C. Fair (2010)
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 128. Both placing the ISI under Interior Ministry as well as sending of ISI Chief to India post Mumbai Massacre were rebuffed by the military.
 129. Rahimullah Yousafzai, "*The fly in the ointment*", Newsline June 11, 2008.
 130. Fair & Crane & Chivvis & Puri & Spirtas (2010)
 131. Imtiaz Gul, "*It takes two to tango*", The Friday Times, April 8-14, 2011.
 132. Armitage & Berger & Markey (2010)
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 136. It seems time is in favor of Taliban, India and Saudi Arabia's interests. India's costs in Afghan involvement are negligible while its adversary Pakistan bears the brunt of war. Saudi Arabia would rather have Al-Qaeda stationed in Afghan-Pakistan border than Yemen. America & West have a falling public support for war as well as high costs in the time of an economic downturn. Afghan citizens have a war fatigue as Afghanistan has been at war since 1980. Pakistan's internal governance problems are increasing with insurgency in Pushtun & Baloch areas, its economic disparity vis-à-vis India increasing drastically. Pakistan needs an end to war for development and for putting its internal house in order.
 137. Ahmed Rashid, "*Bridging a gap for India and Pakistan*", Washington Post, November 25, 2009. Last Accessed on March 1, 2011. www.ahmedrashid.com.
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Saving Pakistan: Devising an Agenda for Counter Terrorism Strategy

Saeed Shafqat

The three recent incidents, namely, Raymond Davis Affair (January 2011), killing of Osama Bin Laden from Abbottabad (May 2nd), and attack on Mehran Naval Base (May 22nd) in Karachi have shaken the foundations of Pakistani security establishment and alarmed public on the vulnerability of Pakistani State. It has created skepticism about the professional capabilities of the armed forces to protect their physical infrastructure, Pakistani air space and citizens. This has highlighted fissures within, and cast aspersions on the organization, command structure and capability of Pakistan Military to respond and manage the terrorist challenge. These incidents have not only exposed the vulnerability but also raised questions about the competence, credibility and gaps in the chain of command of armed forces leadership. It has jolted China-Pakistan project on Gawadar and also produced vibrations between the already complex, multilayered and painfully enduring US and Pakistan relations. This manifest vulnerability demands a fresh look at our strategic goals and defense policies. Is it the flawed policies and jaundiced strategic vision that has made Pakistan vulnerable? Is it time to re-imagine and rethink security? I would argue for a five steps pronged approach; first, abandon Religious Militancy/Extremism as a policy tool, second, adopt peace as policy tool for internal harmony and regional collaboration, third, stay engaged with US and foster relations with China, fourth, shift away from 'India centric' to Chinese modal of realist pragmatism—avoiding conflict and pursuing

trade. Finally, prioritize developing a framework for national counter terrorism strategy.

America, Afghan War and its Impact on Pakistan

As American and NATO forces make a phased withdrawal from Afghanistan starting summer of 2011 leading to a declared total disengagement by 2014; radicalism and governance are likely to gain new regional salience-- improving transnational governance and security will increasingly fall upon Afghanistan, its neighbors and near neighbors (Iran, Pakistan, India, Russia and Central Asian States). These regional actors had been engaged in the Afghan War and its spillover effects--civil war, cross border terrorism and civil strife since the late 1970s. Pakistan has been and for the foreseeable future is likely to be a key player in the region. Pakistan's involvement in Afghanistan has led to transformative political, economic and social consequences at home. Breeding religious militancy, escalation in suicide attacks disrupting societal peace and harmony and deepening the crisis of governance. Over three million Afghan refugees moved into Pakistan and changed the demographic composition and culture of many parts of Pakistan: heroine trade, drug addiction, proliferation of portable arms and cross border terrorism emerged as serious new governance challenges. Consequently, over these decades a complex web of jihad, sectarianism and extremist groups become a potent force, changing the complexion of Pakistani State and society.

A number of policy analysts have argued and conducted evidence based studies to expose the involvement of Pakistani State in cultivating and patronizing the religious right and militant groups.¹ In the post 9/11 period Pakistan came under enormous pressure from the US and the Western Powers to break its 'perceived' and 'real' connections with the militant groups. Reluctantly and half heartedly, when the Pakistani

State tried to rein in these groups under intense international pressure, a full scale insurgency erupted leading to more than 253 suicide attacks since 2002. Resultantly the socio-economic fabric of Pakistani State and society has been ruptured and disrupted. Under these conditions, the year 2011 could become a defining year for Pakistan to help stabilize Afghanistan and formulate a policy response to disrupt, destroy and dismantle Al Qaeda and Taliban led militant networks and ensure regional security. Are Pakistan and its policy makers ready to make such a strategic shift? That remains a critical question and demands dialogue, deliberation and actionable policy research.

Historically and current trends clearly show that for Pakistan and its policy makers defense and security concerns remain 'India centric'. There is considerable body of literature, which articulates that in pursuit of its security goals the Pakistani state has been cultivating and maintaining links with militant religious groups. Pakistan has yet to demonstrate that it has made a clean break from its previous pattern. There is growing awareness and realization among the civil society, academia and media circles that Pakistan needs to redefine its national security paradigm- move away from 'India centric' to a broader formulation of counter terrorism and to combat home based radicalism.² That would imply re-defining national interest and broadening the scope of national security framework—a framework which explores the modalities of engaging with India and opens up new avenues of academic research, policy dialogues and deliberation. That calls for developing some minimal consensus on an alternative policy framework by engaging all stakeholders including civil bureaucracy, political and military leadership, academia, researchers and civil society.

Let me sketch an outline of alternate policy framework that centerpieces on peace.

Pursuing Peace brightens Prospects of Internal Reform and Development

In the Realist world view State has primacy in the international system, invariably the prospects of peace are linked with resolution of external conflict—thus perpetual rivalry and prospects of war make conflict endemic. Ironically in South Asia and many other cases the states themselves have used the instrument of ‘external enemy’ to perpetuate rivalry and deflect and curb inner peace and societal reform. Consequently, internal culture of peace, tolerance and harmony has suffered stagnation. Lack of culture of peace has been used by states to perpetuate insecurity syndrome, animosity and hatred of the other. Thus the notion of ‘external enemy’ has often been used to create an impression of domestic order and internal peace, but this has neither curbed social injustices nor led to sustainable development. While at times, external conflicts have forced leaders to restrict the needed reforms for internal peace. For example, In the 1920’s British India witnessed two models of peaceful reform; first the Gandhian Model which propounded non-violence and communal harmony; second E. V. Ramasawami Naiker’s model of Self-Respect, calling for restoring the dignity of the lowest of the low and marginalized-- the Adivasis.³ Neither was particularly successful. But looking at growth, development, innovation and relative peace in South India it appears Naiker’s model has provided better development dividend to South India, which appears to have an edge in education, innovation and development and offers better opportunity for peace, growth and sustainable development.

The examples of Britain vs. Germany vs. France and France vs. Britain as perpetual rivals and ‘enemies’ until the end of Second World War is yet another and often quoted historical narrative. Was it death, destruction, and demolition of their economies as a result of the two World Wars or internal peace, growth, reconstruction and rejuvenation

of their communities in the post World War period that brought home the salience of peace and creation of the European Union? There is considerable evidence to suggest that more than perpetual rivalry and animosity, its internal reform and conditions enabling the promotion of culture of peace that encouraged regional cooperation and led to the founding of the European Union.

Modern China offers another example, where internal peace and reform have paved the way for economic growth and rise of China. A China that opposes cross border violation and encourages cross border cooperation—a China that is at peace within, in the region and globally.

These examples clearly show that for peace, internal reforms are a necessary pre-condition. It is thus important for both Pakistan and India to rethink their current relationship of perpetual conflict and animosity. Both countries are confronted with internal insurgencies, violence and terrorism and yet continue to make exorbitant defense expenditure to combat an 'external enemy'. Changing this mind set demands a structural change – a change from an economy of war to an economy of peace and that implies internal reform. This also means cross border and proxy wars must be replaced by cross-border cooperation. The negotiations and troubles for Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) pipeline continue, while the recent signing of Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) energy pipeline agreement is a step in the right direction. For internal peace, expanding economic opportunity and improving social justice needs to be recognized which takes quality of manpower as a pre-requisite and requires investments in human resources. Citizen security, citizen welfare and drive for promoting internal harmony and peace would encourage a culture of peace. By incentivising peace for self growth, community development, internal reform and prosperity, a culture of peace and economic growth would gain momentum.

It is only improvement in quality of life which instills the value for life, respect for the well being of fellow citizens and possibly curbing and deflating tendency towards violence and terrorism. But most importantly, it is the democratic process which promotes evolutionary change through negotiated settlements and resolves conflicts on resource allocation that eventually leads to internal peace. That is where Pakistan and South Asia need a Cultural Revolution, where peace is cherished and conflict is abhorred, where upholding cultural values and territorial integrity gains respect, where intractable conflicts are managed and resolved through negotiation and non-violence and brutal force of the State is curbed. With out internal reforms, promoting a culture of peace will remain a distant goal. Imagining new South Asia demands imagining a culture of peace and that implies dismantling, disrupting and destroying the nexus of poverty, social injustice and economic inequities.

Is there a Way Forward? Yes,

- First, it is time to review and abandon any and all backing of Militant/Jihadi groups/networks. Pakistani State has to make a clean break on this issue.
- Second, any and all sanctuaries for militant groups must be destroyed and dismantled. Both the State and civil society need to act in concert to demonstrate zero tolerance for any form of terrorist activity/group.
- Third, Kerry-Lugar Act demands a more robust consultation and debate among Pakistani civil society to effectively utilize the support for democratic and social sector development that the Act offers. Pakistani Government needs to develop a broad consensus on Energy, Governance, Education and Health as key areas for cooperation with the US on priority basis. Through internal political consultation, a priority list of areas on which the country needs support be

created and a shared vision for cooperation and support in social sector developed with the US.

- Fourth, Pakistan needs to initiate a national dialogue on reviewing the status of the Durand Line and that implies assessment of entire FATA policy. Through consultative process in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) and at the federal level we need to embark on a policy where by Durand line is defined as a boundary between Afghanistan and Pakistan. This is going to be a cumbersome and tedious process and we will need to show patience and prudence to achieve our goal. A well defined border with Afghanistan would be a step forward in curbing cross border terror and terrorist sanctuaries.
- Finally, on Baluchistan we need to come clean on providing sanctuaries to Afghan Taliban leadership and the issue of ‘missing persons’—its alleged that Intelligence Agencies have been involved in human rights violations and abducting opponents of the military in the province. Many analysts point out that there is a low level ‘separatist insurgency’ and that needs to be addressed politically.⁴ Baluchistan Package was a good beginning but the implementation process has yet to take off, therefore it is time to take into cognizance the issue of rights, representation and protecting the interests of Baluchs of different tribes and origins. Over the years a policy of benign neglect in Baluchistan has alienated the people from the Pakistani State and that demands a comprehensive and sustainable development plan for the province.

Next Steps: Strategic Vision and Counter Terrorism Strategy

To pursue this alternate framework, Pakistan needs to develop a counter terrorism strategy. At the global level that implies despite challenges and agonizing differences, staying engaged with the US and consolidating relations with China. Taking cognizance of primacy of relations

with the US, Pakistan needs to develop a strategic vision that explores at least five areas of mutual cooperation and shared understanding; First, institutional development, second, intra-governmental and civil-military institutional coordination, third, data sharing, fourth, international institutional collaboration and fifth, assessing shared needs and developing a research agenda based on the needs and threats identified. In defining the principles and guidelines of its counter terrorism strategy, National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA) needs to assess extremism and terrorism at three levels; the local level and its domestic context; regional level includes neighboring countries in the analysis to appraise the regional situation; and lastly the global level, the global context is the most intricate and troublesome; which increasingly perceives and identifies Pakistan as the epicenter of terrorism.

In terms of research and policy prescription, the initial step towards devising a counter terrorism strategy requires an in depth study on threat assessment for Pakistan emerging from domestic and external sources. To initiate a process of consultation and policy formulation, following ten areas are suggested:

1. **Demographic:** It explores the nexus between youth bulges, poverty and inequality and how a combination of these makes large populations in general and youth in particular vulnerable to conflict. Given 67% of the Pakistani population is under the age of 30 with limited prospects of employment increases the possibility of conflict. The hugely unequal class structure of society further aggravates social, ethnic and economic tensions, which promotes politics of protest, agitation and mass mobilization.
2. **Ideology, Infrastructure & the Cold War:** The proliferation of religiosity; politicization and later militarization of Islam has changed the ideological nature of religious practice; both have created space

for extremism in society; producing a small but belligerent cadre of ideologically motivated militants (who have captured the madrassa system and penetrated in the public and private sector educational institutions) who have built a vast religious infrastructure to promote their brand of militant Islam.

3. **Psychological:** An all encompassing religious identity had led to a belief based world view, viewing social and political issues in terms of contrasting belief system thus requiring defense of one's belief against non-believers. Thus religious belief not only shapes narrow identity but also influences the understanding of worldly and scientific matters through the prism of belief, inducing violence against the 'other' and trivializing evidence based, rational and scientific knowledge. What is inexplicable through belief is explained through conspiracy syndrome; increasingly the challenge in Pakistan is developing credence for knowledge base.
4. **Hate Literature & Curriculum:** More than 80% of the student population is enrolled in public schools and there is growing evidence that their world view is shaped by the curricula that is taught to them. This curriculum and other hate literature need to be assessed carefully to understand if it is tied to the ideology promoted by the State. Specific policy choices and Shariah Laws that the State promulgated need to be examined methodically to assess the severity of threat arising from this problem (refer to 8th Amendment).
5. **Hate Speech & Media:** The advent of private electronic media roused hope and expectation of freedom of speech, diversity of information and knowledge, and the making of an effective watch dog. It has increasingly become a powerful instrument of indoctrination. In the absence of established rules and ethics of journalistic professionalism and ineffective regulation of programming guidelines, it

has at times led to blatant hate speech and promotion of a particular ideology.

6. **Urban Growth & Unregulated Territories:** In South Asia, Pakistan is considered to be the most rapidly urbanizing state (35% of Pakistan is urban). Urban centers are becoming breeding grounds of urban insurgency (Karachi since the 1990s and more recently). This demands better understanding of urban centers, laws and institutions that govern them. Increasingly, the unplanned and unequal growth of cities has left them wide open for criminality. Similarly peripheral territories where either State regulation is lacking by design (PATA, FATA) or writ of the State is minimal are turning into sanctuaries for 'abandoned fighters', militants and even criminals. At least four cities, namely, Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad and Peshawar are important entry and exit points for migration and international travel and this flow needs to be carefully researched.
7. **Expatriates & Global Networks:** A large number of Pakistanis reside outside the country in alien cultures. Depending on the country of residence, their stay could lead to indoctrination in a harsher brand of religious ideology (Saudi Arabia), a born again religious worldview in reaction to the perceived moral laxity of society or militant Islamist worldview in reaction to the perceived injustices of the world order perpetrated by the host country (West). The global networks providing linkages among expatriates and various domestic and international groups' need to be assessed.
8. **Proxy Wars:** As a consequence of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and the Iranian Revolution (1979), the territory of Pakistan and adjacent areas have been used for proxy wars by Saudi Arabia, Iran, US, Britain and India either in competition with activities of Pakistani intelligence agencies in their respective country or in

competition with one another. The impact of events of 1979 and intelligence wars needs to be scrutinized dispassionately.

9. **Weaponization & Privatization of Security:** With the rise of insecurity in the country, there has been privatization of security functions leading to proliferation of portable weapons and increased weaponization of society. A lack of legislation and regulation has further enhanced the problem. Private armed guards and private militias have become a way of life for the powerful and privileged. This demands careful examination.
10. **State Role:** The role of the state is changing in Pakistan or is it? It is adapting and changing according to global demands. Pakistani State has the dubious distinction of ‘sponsoring terrorism’. It has been alleged, insinuated and sometimes researchers and reporters have provided evidence that Pakistani state has ‘cultivated particular religious groups’, promoted ‘fundamentalist ideology’, sponsored specific religious groups and organizations and continues to follow a policy of ‘deliberate ambiguity’ on its role and relationship with militant groups.⁵ A systematic examination of these dimensions of State could help us in appraising the severity of threats allegedly emanating from its role and thereby assist in re-strategizing the role of the State.

Notes

1. See for example, Ahmad Rashid, Descent into Chaos: How the War Against Islamic Extremism is being lost in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia (New York: Allen Lane, 2009), Riaz Ahmad Khan, Afghanistan and Pakistan: Conflict, Extremism and Resistance to Modernity (Washington: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011) Amir Rana, A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan (Lahore: Mashal Books, 2004) Imtiaz Gul, The Most Dangerous Place: Pakistan's Lawless Frontier (Penguin Books, 2010) Steve Coll, Ghost Wars: The Secret History of Afghanistan and Bin Laden (New York: Penguin, 2004)
2. Raheem ul Haque, "Strategic Depth": Does It Promote Pakistan's Strategic Interests?", Pakistan, Afghanistan & US Relations: Implications and Future Directions (Lahore: CPPG, 2011)
3. Louis Fischer, Gandhi: His Life and Message for the World (New York: Signet Classic, 2010) Paper

- back Saeed Shafqat, "*Dravidian Movement: Its Origins and Development*", Scrutiny—A Journal of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, vol,5, NO-4,5,1979.pp 53-66.
4. Robert Wirsing, Baloch Nationalism and the Geopolitics of Energy Resources: The Changing Context of Separatism in Pakistan (Carlisle: Army War College, 2008) Maqbool Ahmed, "*The Dead End*" Herald, March,2011 pp51-54 also see, "*Unfulfilled Promises*",pp59-60.
 5. Syed Saleem Shahzad, Inside Al- Qaeda and The Taliban: Beyond Bin Laden and 9/11 (London: Pluto Press/Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) Ayesha Siddiqa, "*Jihadism in Pakistan: The Expanding Frontier*" Journal of International Affairs, Fall/Winter 2009, Vol. 63,No 1, PP 57-71.

US Withdrawal from Afghanistan & Pakistan’s Strategy: A Policy Dialogue

The Centre for Public Policy & Governance (CPPG) held a day long policy dialogue titled “US Withdrawal from Afghanistan & Pakistan’s Strategy” on the 28th of July 2011. The dialogue was divided into two sessions, One, “Pakistan’s Afghan Policy in Light of American Exit Strategy” and two, “Counter Terrorism and Counter Extremism Strategy”. This was followed by a session on Next Steps. The objective of the dialogue was to build a consensus among the various stakeholders on the future direction of Pakistan’s policy in light of the existing policy framework and to examine the range of policy options available. This Policy Brief provides a short summary of the key consensus points among the participants. It also highlights issues that require further deliberation.

Pakistan’s Afghan Policy in Light of American Exit Strategy

US Withdrawal: There was a general consensus that US was unlikely to withdraw completely from the region as it had long term interests. It was argued by some that there was an evolving convergence of interest between US-China on South Asia. It was also observed that America’s economic and domestic political concerns would lead to real draw down of troops and eventual transfer of power to the Afghans; others argued that without a functioning Political Centre in Afghanistan, dialogue among Afghan parties and Afghans assuming management of their security looked suspect while the declared drawdown policy

was in fact a pull back of surge troops. The 'end game' only suggested a period of transition accompanied by competing perspectives of enduring American interests in the region – Central Asia and the Indian Ocean. The real question was whether the transition would be peaceful and if Pakistan would seize the opportunities that this transition period offered. Pakistan could evolve a trilateral consensus with Iran & Afghanistan, develop a triangular relationship with Iran and China or use the renewed security concerns of the Gulf States due to the Arab Spring to extract economic benefits for security guarantees. However, there was a general consensus that Pakistan needed to redefine its terms of engagement with the US rather than move towards a path of confrontation.

Strategic Depth: A broad consensus emerged that the policy of Strategic Depth needed to be revisited. Since the 1980's, its quest had been futile and had caused horrific blowback, manifested in the form of militarization and radicalization of society. Pakistan's domestic anti-terror and anti-extremism strategy had been held subservient to it, with the State providing institutional patronage to militant non-state actors. It had disconcerted some important friendly countries in the region and could accelerate Pakistan's isolation from the world. Before it spiraled completely out of control, a serious review and rollback of Strategic Depth policy was in order. While accepting that Pakistan was not alone in strategic power plays in the region, it was argued that as a weak State, its assets and resources should be used to tackle the disruptive internal problems while promoting external peace which required a complete denunciation of the use of violence and non-state actors as a Foreign Policy tool. Few participants understood the Strategic Depth policy as a baggage from the Cold War, which had stayed primarily because Pakistan had continued being a Security rather than a Welfare State relying on non-state actors as a line of defense. Thus Strategic Depth had been strictly limited within the security domain rather than

the wider economic linkages and commercial contacts, which were accepted means for acquiring strategic space in contemporary international affairs.

Afghan Policy: It was observed that Afghan policy may be examined in the framework of Maximalist-Minimalist approach; the advocates of maximalist approach contended that Pakistan must strive to gain the maximum benefits suiting Pakistan's needs and desires from the Afghan settlement. This approach encompassed: one, no accommodation with India, closing of Indian Qandahar and Jalalabad consulates and no Indian role in the regional settlement as near neighbour of Afghanistan; two, any power sharing agreement between Afghan Government and Taliban had to be guaranteed by Pakistan and thus Pakistan must be at a party in negotiations between Taliban and Kabul or Taliban and US; three, Pakistan had to be recognized as the key player, while other neighbouring countries play a secondary role because of its lengthy common border and hosting of large Afghan refugee population. While the Minimalists, proposed a broad based peace in the region without Pakistan necessarily gaining overarching advantage. Minimalist approach encompassed: one, build trust among neighboring countries for a regional settlement by trying to balance Pakistan's interests with those of other countries; two, intense and innovative diplomacy between Pakistan & India specifically to clarify each other's role in Afghanistan; three, facilitate rather than monopolize intra-Afghan dialogue to build bridges with Afghan factions who are unfriendly towards Pakistan; four, give Taliban the freedom to negotiate independently with Afghan Government and the US-- case in point being Mullah Baradar's continued incarceration in Pakistan. There was a general consensus that Pakistan should take the middle route rather than pursuing a Maximalist agenda or Minimalist approach, with an understanding that brandishing Pakistan's strategic indispensability and insisting on an Afghan government of choice would deepen the

Afghan quagmire, further expanding the theatre of war which had already engulfed FATA, six Frontier Regions and seventeen districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Thus Pakistan should facilitate the peace process rather than to monopolize it. Pakistan needed to engage in a constructive and intense dialogue with Kabul, Afghan Taliban, US and Regional countries with the objective of peace and stability in Afghanistan-- a friendly (few participants even disagreed with this terminology linking it with the Maximalist agenda) rather than a subservient Afghan Government with non-interference guarantees from all external parties including Pakistan. The participants cautioned our policy makers against trying to micro-manage the Afghan Taliban who wanted to negotiate their role in the Afghan future independently. While some participants argued that the Afghan Taliban had matured from a narrow jihadist to more of an Afghan Nationalist view in recent years, others disagreed arguing that any Afghan Taliban Government meant 'talibanization' of the region. There was a general consensus that any change in Taliban's policies needed to be validated as part of a peace agreement while a commitment that Al-Qaeda (& affiliates) would not be tolerated was supported by all stakeholders. There was a growing realization that Pakistan's immediate challenge had become a balancing act between the Taliban and other violent actors as these actors could leverage various bargaining tools vis-à-vis the Pakistani Government. Still Pakistan could use the peace process to gain trust of the various Afghan factions; the Northern Alliance and the Nationalist Afghan Pashtuns who have been alienated because of Pakistan's predisposition towards the Taliban. More importantly, security should not be the sole criteria driving Pakistan's Afghan policy and instead economic considerations must be given primacy as economic advantages in regional development through stable and peaceful Afghanistan were enormous: trade corridor and energy pipelines (linking Gulf, China, Central & South

Asia).

India Centricity: India was recognized as a regional power, relatively better governed than Pakistan with a robust economy. The expectation that India, a status quo power doing well internally, would make any concessions to Pakistan, while Pakistan did not adopt self corrections, was delusional. There was broad consensus among the participants that Pakistan's policy of confrontation with India was misplaced, as it had led to depletion of Pakistan's resources; disintegration of the country and the emergence of violent militias while India had risen to the ranks of world powers. It was also observed that Pakistan's Afghan policy needed greater flexibility to show tolerance towards fencing off Indian interests as Pakistan demanded (closing down of Indian Consulates in Kandahar and Kabul) protection of its interests. A general consensus emerged that Pakistan needed to revisit its India centric policy and pursue more nuanced and creative diplomacy for the attainment of peace. The participants were raucous in suggesting that the current tension between Pakistan and India was not on Kashmir but on each other's role in Afghanistan, however, in the last decade or so, there had hardly been any dialogue on Afghanistan between Pakistan & India. Thus a policy change was desirable on the contents of dialogue process between India and Pakistan- it needed to be broader than simply ritualistic. To make Pakistan a regional trading hub, it was imperative that the transit trade agreement with Afghanistan allowing Afghan goods access to India was implemented and trade cooperation between the two countries deepened. Some of the participants observed that the goal of becoming a regional trading hub while denying transit facility to India was incomprehensible. The Jamaat-e-Islami representative voiced dissent on this point of consensus.

Military Civil Relations & Foreign Policy: Participants agreed that although Foreign Policy formulation was generally an elitist phenom-

enon and Foreign Office provided the lead. However, 34 years of military rule, Cold War and our overwhelming considerations for State security had made it the domain of the military elite. But military's (& Intelligence Agencies) dominance of Pakistan's foreign policy had primarily been its undoing. It was worth noting that Pakistan's major foreign policy disasters were all under the military: 1965 – took on India, a country whose size and resources surpassed our own resulting in economic retardation and political polarization, 1971 – defied international opinion and advice from friendly countries to impose a military solution on our own citizens leading to the disintegration of the country; 1980 – partnered with the US to counter the Soviet Union in Afghanistan but while US emerged victorious, Pakistan was left to deal with the ravages of war; 1999 - tried to forcefully arrest Kargil from India leading to hundreds of deaths and irreparable damage to the Kashmir cause. These had been due to Pakistani policy makers' attempt to carve a role larger than the country's size and beyond its capacity. Thus it was imperative that Foreign Office regained control of formulating and executing foreign policy of the country. The civilian government must assert to own foreign policy; encourage consultation with the parliament and political parties, so that Pakistan's Foreign Policy positions were publicly discussed and debated. More importantly, Pakistan's Foreign Policy needed to take into cognizance its domestic situation. Faced with escalating challenges of internal governance (economic, insurgency, terrorism), Pakistan could not afford regional or international isolation. Nor should it embark on a confrontational path to antagonize the world, the great powers, particularly, the United States. The US would determine on its own when to stop fighting and leave Afghanistan. Pakistan thus needed to engage the US and regional countries (Afghanistan, Iran & India) rather than alienate them. Additionally, there was an urgent need to improve policy coherence and coordination among the civilian leadership, the Foreign Office and the GHQ.

Durand Line: Majority of the participants argued for a need to normalize borders (both East & West) though few did not give Durand Line the importance and immediacy that it deserved, arguing that the 700 Pakistani military check posts along the Line had not stopped attacks from across the border by militants; second, the issue was contentious-- as Pashtuns along the Line were unwilling to accept the division. Still participants agreed that such contentious issues needed to be put on the table for discussion in bilateral dialogue between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Counter Terrorism and Counter Extremism Strategy

Conspiracy Theories & Siege Mentality: There was a general consensus among participants that Pakistan needed to get out of its collective siege mentality, bury conspiracy theories and blaming others; and start assessing the situation according to changing realities. The fact was that Pakistan was facing a blowback of its own policies. It had continued the Jihad policy even when America left the region in 1989 and its current terrorism and extremism predicament would need to be tackled whether the US stayed or left the region. Thus it was imperative for Pakistan to get out of the denial mode, start putting its internal house in order and not shy away from seeking international help. Despite Pakistan's crisis of reputation, the regional states and the global powers were favorably disposed towards helping Pakistan to counter the extremism and terrorism menace; of course they wanted to help Pakistan in their own interest. A second type of terrorism was sectarian in nature involving domestic groups but fueled by the Arab-Iran rivalry. It was thus important to reach a consensus with the Arab States and Iran that Pakistan was being destabilized and could not afford their proxy war on its soil.

Policy Framework: A general consensus existed on the immediate need for the government to formulate a comprehensive and holistic policy response to fight against extremism and terrorism (some arguing for a ministerial level) as no mechanism had been put in place by either the army or the civilian government. Research on successful tackling of insurgencies drew attention to several options: first, real democratic countries had a better chance than autocratic regimes; second, the level of civilian willingness to report insurgent activity was critical; third, the cheapest investment was a strong, handpicked, police intelligence operation backed by strong incentives and resources with an understanding that best intelligence came from the lowest ranks who lived among the population. Thus, without belittling army's role in fighting terrorism, it was accepted that any comprehensive drive needed to be spearheaded by the civilian forces and institutions including legislature, judiciary, prosecution, intelligence and police. Additionally, the failure to counter insurgencies rested on one, delayed recognition of the threat, lack of clarity regarding the root causes, failure to identify major shifts in strategic momentum, failure to extend credible writ into rural areas and lastly becoming dependent on fickle sponsors. Given that not a single terrorist had been punished through due process of law indicated that the Regulatory Framework had not kept pace with changing ground realities. For example, the Anti-Terrorist Act of 1997 designed to deal with Shia-Sunni violence had not been updated and needed rapid and immediate changes to deal with issues like: Witness Protection, Judges Security and Usage of Mobile Phones as evidence among other aspects.

Writ of the State: Establishment of the writ of the State was termed an important factor in countering extremism and terrorism. It was argued that extremism had been imposed on areas under intimidation. Evidently, the indigenous populations rejected extremism as soon as the writ of the State was reestablished. It was observed that almost all of

FATA, 16 districts in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the country side in Sindh and large areas in Southern Punjab were beyond the writ of the State. It was pointed out that the number of madaris and mosques had increased from 14000/15000 in 2005 to 19,000 in 2011. Such growth required State regulation to ensure that these institutions were not built illegally or were being used for militant training or hate speech.

Ideology & Radicalization: For both Anti-extremism and Anti-terrorism strategy, participants laid great emphasis on how the Ideology of the State of Pakistan and identity formation were constructed through State curriculum. The ideology of the State came under particular scrutiny. There was a consensus among the participants that usage of ideology facilitated extremism rather than countering it; few participants even equated it with Al-Qaeda ideology in aspiring for a hard line State. Others blamed indigenous 'Islamization' of Pakistan as a contributory factor in perpetuating and promoting terrorism. A consensus emerged (the Jamaat-e-Islami representative took exception) that use of religion for political means, hate and exclusion in State curriculum and mosque sermons had created a mindset which encouraged extra territorial and transnational loyalties in the name of Islam rather than national. It was thus imperative that social support for militancy, extremism be countered through refurbishing national curriculum, building an alternative peace oriented narrative, dismantling militant support base within state apparatus (for example attack on GHQ, Mehran Naval Base and Osama Bin Ladin case) and through State regulation of the Mosque-Madrassa network. There was a consensus (including the religio-political party representatives) that Al-Qaeda and Tehreek-Taliban Pakistan had no ethical or religious justification for terrorism. But participants argued that political parties, especially the religio-political parties --whose support base was being encroached and their youth network infiltrated by Al-Qaeda, needed to take public position against extremism, militancy and terrorism. This demanded that

the anti-extremism strategy must take into cognizance that Pakistani society had become extremely conservative and the challenge was to ensure that conservatism was not instrumentalized into extremism; similarly, to counter Al-Qaeda's propaganda (pamphlets and new CD every 15 days), an alternative narrative needed to be devised whose esthetics could penetrate the madrassa and youth network. However it was also suggested that society's radicalization was driven by multiple factors, each influencing a different social class. These factors ranged from economic exclusion, lack of justice and political alienation to an identity crises and challenges of cultural globalization.

Institutional Capacity & Governance: The anti-terrorism and extremism strategy required a three pronged approach; first, threat assessment, second, formulating an appropriate response to the threat and finally managing and eradicating the threat. Pakistan continued to suffer from unrecognizing the scale of the threat, few elements being recognition of the composition of militant actors in the region, their linkages and relationships, prevalence of social support for militants, militant penetration of State agencies, the likelihood of State agency personnel acting supra-state in the name of Islam and lastly revenge based reaction to thoughtless State actions and torture. The immediate need for initiating a process of Threat Assessment was recommended as a possible policy choice rather than the current ambivalence and neglect.

Police, the first line of defense against terrorism, was ill-trained, ill-equipped and practically clueless about counter terrorism. No strategic thinking had taken place and no long term strategy had yet been prepared. Given that the network of extremist forces existed in many small and large towns of Pakistan along with manpower, cache of weapons and supporters, the most critical factor for success was reliable and actionable intelligence. While technical intelligence was important, hu-

man intelligence was crucial. In such a scenario, Community Policing which made citizens active participants in policing with the help and facilitation of the police force seemed the most logical policy approach. But it was not well regarded by either the police officers or the politicians even though a recent experiment in Community Policing in district Raheem Yar Khan had successfully brought down the crime rate by 50%. Participants thus argued for capacity building of the police as a service and not as a force (military training, automatic weapons, armored vehicles, sniper etc.) critiquing current focus on Elite Force training by the military. A senior police officer perceptively remarked that militarization of police went hand in hand with militarization of society; it encouraged traits of ruthlessness and violence, increased the distance from the common man and was counter productive to effective policing which required emotional intelligence, empathy, problem solving and interpersonal skills. It was also observed that police reforms had to go hand in hand with other institutional initiatives for Intelligence Led Policing. This required an Intelligence Data Base, software and trained manpower for Police Record and Office Management Information System, anti-money laundering campaign, cyber crime and digital forensic capability (a sample test currently took 20 days as capacity was limited to ISI & IB), registration of madrassas, criminal justice system reforms for cheap and speedy justice, a program for the rehabilitation of youth brainwashed by extremists and lastly a mix of traditional/community policing to evolve knowledge based policing. Although a School for Police Intelligence was recently established with international help, it lacked required funds as the department only allocated 2.5% of its budget on training instead of the 10% international standard.

The Intelligence Establishment came under considerable discussion. It was observed that the intelligence community needed to improve its professional skills to effectively deal with the scale of threat faced by

the country. The Intelligence Agencies (the ISI, MI, IB, CID, and Special Branch) had not been effective and skillful in disrupting and dismantling terror networks. The terrorists had become quite sophisticated in managing and operating their networks and thus effective action against them required intelligence on their sponsors, financiers, weapons procurement and logistics. Several factors had contributed towards ineffectiveness; political use of intelligence agencies by the ruling elite, Inter intelligence rivalries, an absence of coordinated mechanisms, lack of accountability and the dominance of one intelligence agency over the rest. Participants agreed that the main objective of intelligence was to provide and share real time data with both domestic and international agencies and that was a casualty. Additionally the process of receiving, collating and analyzing terror related incidences needed improvements beginning with recruitment. It was pointed out that the parameters of induction needed to change from religious orientation of the officer as the sole criteria for postings in the Intelligence agencies among the armed forces (for example, Khalid Khwaja) to personnel with primary loyalty to the country and its constitution above all other factors. The skills and techniques of field operators needed reform and qualitative improvement as they were still governed by intrusive methods at the cost of insightful and timely intelligence gathering.

The capacity of other institutions was not any better. The lack of State commitment could be evaluated by the inadequate number of judges in Anti-terror courts, and the non-serious attitude towards both funding (Asian Development Bank's Judicial Reform project) and technical help extended by international partners.

FATA: There was a broad consensus among the participants on integrating FATA with the rest of the country either as a separate province or as part of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. A legal and constitutional ground was considered a pre-requisite for development of the area. Further-

more, it was noted that an effective anti-terrorist strategy demanded restoration of the writ of the State and political activity. Some participants slightly differed in their view of why even slight reforms in the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) accepted by the presidency had not yet been notified*, few pointing their finger towards the proponents of Strategic Depth—who aimed to maintain FATA as a sanctuary where militants could be kept, others suggested a fear that reforms (local government system) in FATA would lead to extremists winning. But a consensus emerged that these reforms were not enough, FCR was against the constitutional rights of the people of FATA and thus integration with the State and full citizen rights were required.

US Consul General's Remarks

Ms. Carmela Conroy, the US Consul General of Lahore focused on four issues of governance. one, she associated insurgency and conflict with weakness of the State arguing that the State should be seen as the only legitimate user of force; two, she stated that a sense of justice was needed for any society and delays in problem resolution attracted people to swift justice; three, she called concentration on madrassas a red herring arguing for reforms in State curriculum instead; four, she held that police's work to protect the population was lot more difficult than that of the army and thus policing and police reforms required more attention and support. Lastly, she stated that in the contemporary Nation State System, every nation needed to analyze what their national interest was and how best to pursue it. Pakistan needed an internal discussion in this context; she informed the participants that two US government initiatives were recently rebuffed; one, technical training for police which the police was eager to accept but other officials termed it against Pakistan's interests; second, the training offer for Public Prosecutors which the Punjab Government turned down though was accepted by the Sindh Government.

Chairperson's Closing Remarks

Ms. Bushra Gohar, Member National Assembly from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa supported a broadening of the current Pakistani approach arguing for a middle ground between Maximalist and Minimalist positions. She asserted that it was the right of Afghans to negotiate a strategic partnership with Americans post 2014. Similarly, it was important for Pakistan to re-negotiate the terms of engagement with Americans and move from a transactional relationship with occasional spats to one built on mutual trust with clearly defined goals and interests. Pakistan should also engage in diplomatic talks with all regional states that have interests in Afghanistan. She articulated that there was a certain degree of convergence in Pakistan-India long term interests and thus a Pak-Afghan-India trilateral dialogue was the need of the hour. Sharing her thoughts on Durand Line, she suggested, this issue could be discussed in a Pak-Afghan bilateral dialogue. She was upfront in observing that the Taliban represented only a segment of the Pashtun opinion and it was important that in framing Pakistan's Afghan Policy, all Pashtun opinions were considered rather than only giving weight to armed groups holding Pashtun populations hostage across the region (Afghanistan, FATA, Swat). She was emphatic in stating that a Taliban Government in Afghanistan meant 'talibanization' of the region.

Gohar reminded the audience that radicalization of society had been a considered policy of the Pakistani State since 1947 whereby nationalist groups were persecuted while the religio-political parties were actively supported. However in the 1980s, the international community also used religion for its proxy war while our children were used as cannon fodder. It was thus important to recognize that our internal situation was dire and there was a need to build a broad societal consensus for a way out of the current predicament. We could then ask for international help if needed. She pointed out, it was time that the military realized

that in the past, policy mistakes were made and unilateral decision making on Afghan and other foreign policy issues was no longer desirable. She argued for shifting some of the burden to the elected representatives to build alternative policy consensus. Ms. Gohar claimed that the Parliamentarians were conscious of their responsibility and recognized the gravity of the situation created by the global war on terror. She drew the attention of participants on the parliamentary resolution which was clear to the affect that Pakistan would not allow its land to be used for terrorist activities internally or externally. She observed that the Parliamentary Committees do and could play a more effective role in the policy formulation process but needed research and policy analysis support from the universities, think tanks and centre's of excellence like the CPPG. She encouraged the CPPG to arrange a similar dialogue with the political leadership of the country. She expressed her optimism on the 18th amendment and considered it as a good first step that could lead to creativity in educational curriculum at the provincial level.

Next Steps:

The first of its kind policy dialogue on US withdrawal from Afghanistan and the ramifications it could have on the region was a modest beginning by the FC College (A Chartered University). The objective was to bring together experts and representatives from academia, think tanks, political parties, religious and defense establishments, NGO's and students from FC College and other institutions. The dialogue gained tremendously from the presence of political and academic representatives from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as well as the US Consulate diplomatic staff. However it was strongly felt that policy level representation was required from the Media, State and Government including the Foreign Office, the Armed Forces, Intelligence Establishment, Political Leadership and concerned Parliamentary Committees to carry forward the process of consensus building. To move forward the process the

following next steps were suggested:

- Pakistan needed to start preparing for US Withdrawal (draw down). Foreign Policy issues were complex, required expert management and couldn't be left alone to Politicians or the Defense Establishment. It was thus important that the Foreign Office, particularly the Divisions and Directorates that dealt with Afghanistan, Central Asia and India/South Asia were more forthcoming and engaging in such dialogues. For evidence based, futuristic and policy relevant research on such vital topic of national importance, support and facilitation by the ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defense and Interior was needed and would be a welcome gesture.
- Pakistan needed to devise a comprehensive Counter Terrorism, Insurgency & Extremism Strategy for which research was a pre-requisite. The participants were persuasive in suggesting that Police and Intelligence Establishments needed to be involved in a similar dialogue for an open, transparent and academic exchange which explored threat assessment, intra-departmental reforms and inter-departmental collaboration. Here provincial governments and particularly Punjab could play a leading role.
- For implementing any policy a broad State & societal consensus on the nature and direction of a policy was an essential pre-condition. Thus similar dialogues both individualized and collective involving a broad segment of society and State were needed to raise awareness and sensitize and evolve an anti-terror and extremism communication strategy.
- Given the enormity, scale and implications of US troop reduction in Afghanistan – since its implications directly impinged on Pakistani reality and reputation, therefore Pakistan needed to work at three levels. First, Pakistan needed to improve and streamline inter-provincial academic exchanges for better understanding of provincial perceptions and concerns on this issue. Second, to avert the possibility of regional isolation and to promote better understanding of

Pakistani sufferings as a consequence of prolonged Afghan War and global war on terror, we needed to actively engage with academics, cultural institutions and policy think tanks at the regional level (Afghanistan, Iran, India, China, and Central Asia). Finally, international (United States, Europe & Russia) level as it was extremely important to change the focus from personalized emotional anti-ism to interest based national objectives, demonstrating respect, understanding and willingness to pursue and uphold UN Conventions and Treaties. Simultaneously deepen engagement and collaboration in research with academia and policy community at this level.

*Since the dialogue, the President of Pakistan has amended the FCR to make it more responsive to human rights as well as extended the Political Parties Order 2002 to allow political parties in FATA. <http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2011/08/fcr-amended-political-parties-allowed-in-tribal-areas>

Dialogue Participants:

Dialogue Initiators:

Mr. Ahmed Rashid is the Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia correspondent for the Far Eastern Economic Review and The Daily Telegraph of London with twenty five year reporting experience. He is the author of *The Resurgence of Central Asia: Islam or Nationalism, Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* and most recently, *Descent into Chaos: How the war against Islamic extremism is being lost in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia*.

Mr. Amir Rana is the founding member and Director, Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies and a Research Analyst. He edits the English Research Journal 'Conflict and Peace Studies' and Urdu Monthly "Tajziat". He has written several books including *Jihad-e-Kashmir-o-Afghanistan, Gateway to Terrorism, Dynamics of Taliban Insurgency in FATA* (co-authored) and forthcoming *Dynamics of Political Islam in Pakistan*.

Ms. Bushra Gohar is the Senior Vice President of the Awami National Party (ANP) and Member of Parliament. She is Chair, National Assembly's Standing Committee on Women's Development; and Member, Finance and Revenue, Interior and Kashmir Affairs Committees. She has been a member of the National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW); Chair, South Asia Partnership-International (SAP-I) and Regional & Global VP., International Council of Social Welfare (ICSW).

Ms. Carmela Conroy is US Consul General Lahore. She has served in the US diplomatic staff in various capacities including Deputy Principal Officer, U.S. Consulate General Naha, Okinawa, Japan; Refugee Coordinator for Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran at the U.S. Embassy in Kabul and Advisor to the Provincial Reconstruction Team in Bamyan, Afghanistan.

Dr. Farid Piracha is currently the Deputy Secretary General Jamaat-e-Islami and a former MNA, MPA Punjab. He has been a member of the Ulema Academy since 1976, the Al-Khidmat Foundation since 1975, and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth since 1978. He has also served as the President, Punjab University Students Union and as member of the Punjab University Senate.

Mr. Imtiaz Gul is a correspondent for The Friday Times and German broadcaster Deutsche Welle. A career journalist, he writes columns for The News and hosts a weekly political talk show on Hum TV. His books include *The Most Dangerous Place: Pakistan's Lawless Frontier*, *The Unholy Nexus: Afghan-Pakistan Relations under the Taliban Militia* and edited volumes including *Liberalism, Islam and Human Rights*.

Ambassador (r) Iqbal Ahmad Khan is a career diplomat in the Pakistan Foreign Service. He writes regularly on International Affairs and diplomatic relations for various newspapers including the Daily Times. He has served as Pakistan's Ambassador to Iran and Bangladesh.

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Mr. Sarmad Saeed Khan is currently Additional IGP Training. He has served as Deputy Commandant, National Police Academy, IG Northern Areas and in the United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Liberia. His areas of expertise within policing are Community Policing, Stress Management and Human Rights.

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CPPG Policy Brief

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Appendix: AFPAK Policy Document

White Paper of the Interagency Policy Group's Report on U.S. Policy toward Afghanistan and Pakistan

Introduction

The United States has a vital national security interest in addressing the current and potential security threats posed by extremists in Afghanistan and Pakistan. In Pakistan, al Qaeda and other groups of jihadist terrorists are planning new terror attacks. Their targets remain the U.S. homeland, Pakistan, Afghanistan, India, Europe, Australia, our allies in the Middle East, and other targets of opportunity. The growing size of the space in which they are operating is a direct result of the terrorist/insurgent activities of the Taliban and related organizations. At the same time, this group seeks to reestablish their old sanctuaries in Afghanistan.

Therefore, the core goal of the U.S. must be to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al Qaeda and its safe havens in Pakistan, and to prevent their return to Pakistan or Afghanistan.

The ability of extremists in Pakistan to undermine Afghanistan is proven, while insurgency in Afghanistan feeds instability in Paki-

stan. The threat that al Qaeda poses to the United States and our allies in Pakistan - including the possibility of extremists obtaining fissile material - is all too real. Without more effective action against these groups in Pakistan, Afghanistan will face continuing instability.

Objectives

Achieving our core goal is vital to U.S. national security. It requires, first of all, realistic and achievable objectives. These include:

Disrupting terrorist networks in Afghanistan and especially Pakistan to degrade any ability they have to plan and launch international terrorist attacks.

- Promoting a more capable, accountable, and effective government in Afghanistan that serves the Afghan people and can eventually function, especially regarding internal security, with limited international support.
- Developing increasingly self-reliant Afghan security forces that can lead the counterinsurgency and counterterrorism fight with reduced U.S. assistance.
- Assisting efforts to enhance civilian control and stable constitutional government in Pakistan and a vibrant economy that provides opportunity for the people of Pakistan.
- Involving the international community to actively assist in addressing these objectives for Afghanistan and Pakistan, with an important leadership role for the UN.

A New Way Forward

These are daunting tasks. They require a new way of thinking about the challenges, a wide ranging diplomatic strategy to build support for our efforts, enhanced engagement with the publics in the region and at home, and a realization that all elements of international power – diplomatic, informational, military and economic – must be brought to bear. They will also require a significant change in the management, resources, and focus of our foreign assistance.

Our diplomatic effort should be based on building a clear consensus behind the common core goal and supporting objectives. To this end, we will explore creating new diplomatic mechanisms, including establishing a “Contact Group” and a regional security and economic cooperation forum. The trilateral U.S.-Pakistan-Afghanistan effort of February 24-26, 2009 will be continued and broadened, into the next meeting planned for early May, in Washington.

The United States must overcome the ‘trust deficit’ it faces in Afghanistan and Pakistan, where many believe that we are not a reliable long-term partner. We must engage the Afghan people in ways that demonstrate our commitment to promoting a legitimate and capable Afghan government with economic progress. We must engage the Pakistani people based on our long-term commitment to helping them build a stable economy, a stronger democracy, and a vibrant civil society.

A strategic communications program must be created, made more effective, and resourced. This new strategy will have no chance of success without better civil-military coordination by U.S. agencies, a significant increase of civilian resources, and a new model of how we allocate and use these resources. For too long, U.S. and inter-

national assistance efforts in Afghanistan and Pakistan have suffered from being ill-organized and significantly under-resourced in some areas. A large portion of development assistance ends up being spent on international consultants and overhead, and virtually no impact assessments have yet been done on our assistance programs.

We must ensure that our assistance to both Afghanistan and Pakistan is aligned with our core goals and objectives. This will involve assistance that is geared to strengthening government capacity and the message that assistance will be limited without the achievement of results. Additional assistance to Afghanistan must be accompanied by concrete mechanisms to ensure greater government accountability. In a country that is 70 percent rural, and where the Taliban recruiting base is primarily among under-employed youths, a complete overhaul of our civilian assistance strategy is necessary; agricultural sector job creation is an essential first step to undercutting the appeal of al Qaeda and its allies. Increased assistance to Pakistan will be limited without a greater willingness to cooperate with us to eliminate the sanctuary enjoyed by al Qaeda and other extremist groups, as well as a greater commitment to economic reforms that will raise the living standard of ordinary Pakistanis, including in the border regions of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, the North West Frontier Province, and Baluchistan.

Summary of Recommendations for Afghanistan and Pakistan

The following steps must be done in concert to produce the desired end state: the removal of al-Qaeda's sanctuary, effective democratic government control in Pakistan, and a self-reliant Afghanistan that will enable a withdrawal of combat forces while sustaining our commitment to political and economic development.

- Executing and resourcing an integrated civilian-military counter-insurgency strategy in Afghanistan.

Our military forces in Afghanistan, including those recently approved by the President, should be utilized for two priority missions: 1) securing Afghanistan's south and east against a return of al Qaeda and its allies, to provide a space for the Afghan government to establish effective government control and 2) providing the Afghan security forces with the mentoring needed to expand rapidly, take the lead in effective counterinsurgency operations, and allow us and our partners to wind down our combat operations.

Our counter-insurgency strategy must integrate population security with building effective local governance and economic development. We will establish the security needed to provide space and time for stabilization and reconstruction activities.

To prevent future attacks on the U.S. and its allies - including the local populace - the development of a strategic communications strategy to counter the terror information campaign is urgent. This has proved successful in Iraq (where the U.S. military has made a significant effort in this area) and should be developed in Afghanistan as a top priority to improve the image of the United States and its allies. The strategic communications plan -- including electronic media, telecom, and radio -- shall include options on how best to counter the propaganda that is key to the enemy's terror campaign.

- Resourcing and prioritizing civilian assistance in Afghanistan

By increasing civilian capacity we will strengthen the relationship between the Afghan people and their government. A dramatic increase in Afghan civilian expertise is needed to facilitate the

development of systems and institutions particularly at the provincial and local levels, provide basic infrastructure, and create economic alternatives to the insurgency at all levels of Afghan society, particularly in agriculture. The United States should play an important part in providing that expertise, but responding effectively to Afghanistan's needs will require that allies, partners, the UN and other international organizations, and non-governmental organizations significantly increase their involvement in Afghanistan.

- Expanding the Afghan National Security Forces: Army and Police

To be capable of assuming the security mission from U.S. forces in Afghanistan's south and east, the Afghan National Security Forces must substantially increase its size and capability. Initially this will require a more rapid build-up of the Afghan Army and police up to 134,000 and 82,000 over the next two years, with additional enlargements as circumstances and resources warrant.

The international community must assume responsibility for funding this significantly enhanced Afghan security force for an extended period. We will also have to provide support for other Afghan security forces such as the Afghan Public Protection Force. Salaries paid to Afghan National Army and Afghan National Police must become more competitive with those paid by the insurgents.

Over time, as security conditions change, we should continue to reassess Afghan National Security Forces size, as it will be affected by such factors as: the overall security situation, the capabilities of the Afghan National Security Forces, and the rate at which we can grow local security forces and integrate them into the overall ANSF structure.

- Engaging the Afghan government and bolstering its legitimacy

International support for the election will be necessary for a successful outcome. We should do everything necessary to ensure the security and legitimacy of voter registration, elections, and vote counting. The international military presence should help the Afghan security forces provide security before, during and after the election. International monitoring will also be required to ensure legitimacy and oversee Afghanistan's polling sites.

The overall legitimacy of the Afghan government is also undermined by rampant corruption and a failure to provide basic services to much of the population over the past 7 years. Where Afghan systems and institutions have benefited from high quality technical assistance and mentoring, they have made great progress. Making such support more consistent with qualified mentors to advise and monitor officials, pushing such efforts to the provincial and district levels, and channeling more assistance through Afghan institutions benefiting from this high quality support will help restore and maintain the legitimacy of the Afghan government.

- Encouraging Afghan government efforts to integrate reconcilable insurgents

While Mullah Omar and the Taliban's hard core that have aligned themselves with al Qaeda are not reconcilable and we cannot make a deal that includes them, the war in Afghanistan cannot be won without convincing non-ideologically committed insurgents to lay down their arms, reject al Qaeda, and accept the Afghan Constitution.

Practical integration must not become a mechanism for instituting medieval social policies that give up the quest for gender equality and human rights. We can help this process along by exploiting differences among the insurgents to divide the Taliban's true believers

from less committed fighters.

Integration must be Afghan-led. An office should be created in every province and we should support efforts by the Independent Directorate of Local Governance to develop a reconciliation effort targeting mid-to-low level insurgents to be led by provincial governors. We should also explore ways to rehabilitate captured insurgents drawing on lessons learned from similar programs in Iraq and other countries.

- Including provincial and local governments in our capacity building efforts

We need to work with the Afghan government to refocus civilian assistance and capacity-building programs on building up competent provincial and local governments where they can more directly serve the people and connect them to their government.

- Breaking the link between narcotics and the insurgency

Besides the global consequences of the drug trade, the Afghan narcotics problem causes great concern due to its ties to the insurgency, the fact that it is the major driver of corruption in Afghanistan, and distorts the legal economy. The NATO/International Security Assistance Forces and U.S. forces should use their authorities to directly support Afghan counternarcotics units during the interdiction of narco-traffickers. The new authorities permit the destruction of labs, drug storage facilities, drug processing equipment, and drug caches and should contribute to breaking the drug-insurgency funding nexus and the corruption associated with the opium/heroin trade. Crop substitution and alternative livelihood programs that are a key pillar of effectively countering narcotics have been disastrously underdeveloped and under-resourced, however, and the narcotics trade will persist until such programs allow

Afghans to reclaim their land for licit agriculture. Targeting those who grow the poppy will continue, but the focus will shift to higher level drug lords.

- Mobilizing greater international political support of our objectives in Afghanistan

We need to do more to build a shared understanding of what is at stake in Afghanistan, while engaging other actors and offering them the opportunity to advance our mutual interests by cooperating with us.

- Bolstering Afghanistan-Pakistan cooperation

We need to institutionalize stronger mechanisms for bilateral and trilateral cooperation. During the process of this review, inter-agency teams from Afghanistan and Pakistan came to Washington, DC for trilateral meetings. This new forum should continue and serve as the basis for enhanced bilateral and trilateral cooperation.

- Engaging and focusing Islamabad on the common threat

Successfully shutting down the Pakistani safe haven for extremists will also require consistent and intensive strategic engagement with Pakistani leadership in both the civilian and military spheres. The engagement must be conducted in a way that respects, and indeed enhances, democratic civilian authority.

- Assisting Pakistan's capability to fight extremists

It is vital to strengthen our efforts to both develop and operationally enable Pakistani security forces so they are capable of succeeding in sustained counterterrorism and counterinsurgency operations. In part this will include increased U.S. military assistance for helicop-

ters to provide air mobility, night vision equipment, and training and equipment specifically for Pakistani Special Operation Forces and their Frontier Corps.

- Increasing and broadening assistance in Pakistan

Increasing economic assistance to Pakistan - to include direct budget support, development assistance, infrastructure investment, and technical advice on making sound economic policy adjustments - and strengthening trade relations will maximize support for our policy aims; it should also help to provide longer-term economic stability. Our assistance should focus on long-term capacity building, on agricultural sector job creation, education and training, and on infrastructure requirements. Assistance should also support Pakistani efforts to 'hold and build' in western Pakistan as a part of its counterinsurgency efforts.

- Exploring other areas of economic cooperation with Pakistan

We need to enhance bilateral and regional trade possibilities, in part through implementing Reconstruction Opportunity Zones (which were recently re-introduced in Congress) and encouraging foreign investment in key sectors, such as energy. In addition, assisting Islamabad with developing a concrete strategy for utilizing donor aid would increase Islamabad's chances for garnering additional support from the international community.

- Strengthening Pakistani government capacity

Strengthening the civilian, democratic government must be a centerpiece of our overall effort. Key efforts should include fostering the reform of provincial and local governance in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas and the North West Frontier Province. We need to

help Islamabad enhance the services and support in areas cleared of insurgents so that they have a real chance in preventing insurgents from returning to those areas.

With international partners, we should also promote the development of regional organizations that focus on economic and security cooperation, as well as fostering productive political dialogue.

- Asking for assistance from allies for Afghanistan and Pakistan

Our efforts are a struggle against forces that pose a direct threat to the entire international community. While reaching out to allies and partners for their political support, we should also ask them to provide the necessary resources to accomplish our shared objectives. They have the same interest in denying terrorists and extremists sanctuaries in Pakistan and Afghanistan that we do. In approaching allies we should emphasize that our new approach is integrated between civilian and military elements and in looking at Afghanistan and Pakistan as one theater for diplomacy.

For the mission in Afghanistan, we should continue to seek contributions for combat forces, trainers and mentors, strategic lift, and equipment from our friends and allies. The U.S. will also pursue major international funding and experts for civilian reconstruction and Afghan government capacity building at the national and especially the provincial and local levels.

The United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan should take the lead in exploring ways that donors could systematically share the burden of building Afghan capacity and providing civilian expertise. As part of its coordination role for civilian assistance, the UN should consolidate requests and identify gaps.

In Pakistan, the U.S. will urge allies to work closely with us both bilaterally and through the 'Friends of Democratic Pakistan' to coordinate economic and development assistance, including additional direct budget support, development assistance, infrastructure investment and technical advice on making sound economic policy adjustments. Similarly, we should ask them to provide technical advice and assistance in strengthening government capacity, such as improving Pakistani institutions.

Conclusion

There are no quick fixes to achieve U.S. national security interests in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The danger of failure is real and the implications are grave. In 2009-2010 the Taliban's momentum must be reversed in Afghanistan and the international community must work with Pakistan to disrupt the threats to security along Pakistan's western border.

This new strategy of focusing on our core goal - to disrupt, dismantle, and eventually destroy extremists and their safe havens within both nations, although with different tactics - will require immediate action, sustained commitment, and substantial resources. The United States is committed to working with our partners in the region and the international community to address this challenging but essential security goal.

*** AFPAC Policy Document downloaded on June 20, 2011 from the White House website. www.whitehouse.gov/assets/document/Afghanistan-Pakistan_White_Paper

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